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Collection/Office of Origin: Domestic Policy Council
Series: Yale, Ken, Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 02039
Folder ID Number: 02039-001

Folder Title:
Global Climate Convention [Binder]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Letter	From President Bush to Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers Re: Hague Declaration (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Domestic Policy Council
Series: Yale, Ken, Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Global Climate Convention

Pinksheet Number: ES798
OA/ID Number: 02039-001
Date Closed: 2/15/2018
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2017-0310-F
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TALKING POINTS FOR GLOBAL CLIMATE

- The issue of discussions on a global climate framework convention has received considerable attention.

- There is interest in developing an interagency consensus on this issue.

- The DPC Working Group on Environment, Energy and Natural Resources has been working on options to approach discussions on a framework convention.

- There is an interest domestically and internationally in beginning discussions in the near future on an international framework convention on global climate change.

- Because of the work currently underway in the DPC working group, and other environmental initiatives under consideration, it would be inappropriate for U.S. delegates to the Response Strategies Working Group (RSWG) to move too quickly on the issue of a framework convention.

- We understand that IPCC has determined that RSWG will consider "legal issues" associated with climate change response strategies and that the RSWG steering committee may consider "new legal and institutional mechanisms that could be used to implement options to limit or adapt to climate changes."

- It is our understanding that the U.S. could work within the RSWG steering committee, as currently directed, to examine existing legal processes and to consider new processes, such as options to discuss a framework convention.

- Discussions should take place in the steering committee.

- It is not clear that a separate group or process needs to be established within the RSWG at this time to consider legal and institutional measures or possible approaches to considering a framework convention.

- The concept of a framework convention is receiving attention by the Federal government.

- Should options be considered at the RSWG meeting to approach discussions on a framework convention, the U.S. delegates should report back their findings.

Christe caused & other issues

May 8, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID Q. BATES
ROGER B PORTER

SUBJECT: Global Climate Change Convention

The issue of a global climate framework convention has received considerable attention recently in the press. There is reason to be cautious in approaching this issue, due to the great uncertainties in climate change science and the large potential impact of any new policy direction.

The Administration is currently considering the global warming issue in a number of ways. Research is underway sponsored by the Environmental Protection Agency, the Department of Energy, NOAA, NASA, and other agencies. On the international front, the U.N. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change is also considering this matter. A working group of this organization, which the U.S. chairs, is holding its second meeting this week in Geneva to consider the state of scientific knowledge on global climate.

There is considerable disagreement about the causes and effects of global warming. Nevertheless, the U.S. has played a leadership role in the IPCC review, and in other efforts to address this matter.

You and your Administration have taken a number of actions that will have an impact on this subject. You directed a phase-out of CFCs by the year 2000. The FV 1990 budget includes $190 million for global environmental research and $710 million to encourage the development of innovative clean coal technologies to deal with acid rain. Finally, the Domestic Policy Council is considering legislation to amend the Clean Air Act and deal with the problems of acid rain, toxic air pollutants, and how our cities can best meet attainment of air quality standards.

We are not yet ready for a convention, but we will seek aggressive review of the data and significant progress in analyzing our scientific knowledge. The Geneva meeting will assist in reviewing the current scientific evidence. U.S. delegates to the meeting are aware of Administration interest and have been instructed not to move too quickly. They will report back their findings. The Domestic Policy Council may take up the issue of a framework convention in the near future.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 9, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID BATES

FROM: KEN YALE KY

SUBJECT: Global Climate Convention

This morning the Washington Post reported that the United Kingdom announced support for an international global climate convention, leaving the U.S. as the only nation of the G-7 group of countries that did not support such a move. The paper also reported that the Administration was divided over the issue. There may be questions brought up today about this issue, and concerns that the U.S. should address it.

It is important to keep this in perspective. This issue has such far reaching implications that there must be good policy before we go for the good press. Thus, it is not important to be the first to announce support for a convention, as long as you have some good initiatives to show the American public. As you know, there are several environmental initiatives "in the works."

Moreover, the U.S. has never "rejected" the concept of a global climate convention. It is only one of many possible envirnmental initiatives that the U.S. is actively considering. In addition, the U.S. has several ongoing programs, especially in research, focused on global climate change. We have not received much credit for these activities.

Therefore, it may be important to develop a package of initiatives to highlight the Administration's activities in environmental issues. It could potentially be announced with the decision on Clean Air legislation as a centerpiece. In addition to announcing Clean Air, a decision on the international conference could also be made, and possibly a call to study or direct an international convention (depending on the outcome of the DPC review).

Other initiatives could also be prepared for such a package. If it was planned appropriately, these could all be announced with the Clean Air decision in June.

May 8, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

THROUGH: DAVID Q. BATES

FROM: KEN YALE

SUBJECT: Global Climate Change Convention

The issue of a global climate framework convention has received considerable attention recently in the press.

Uncertainties in Science. There is reason to be cautious on this issue, due to uncertainties in climate change science and the large potential impact of any new policy direction. There is consensus that the earth is warming. However, how fast it is occuring, its extent, and whether caused by man or natural variability is a matter of ongoing debate. One extreme of the debates was recently presented in Congressional testimony.

International Pressure to Move Ahead. There is pressure in the international community to move on this issue. Canada, Norway, the Netherlands, Malta, Germany, Japan, and recently the U.K. have shown some support for a framework climate convention. In addition to the above countries, other European nations, such as France, have shown support for increased international cooperation to address global climate change. Several key nations may be skeptical about an international law initiative at this time, including the Soviet Union, China, Korea, and India.

Domestic Interest. The Administration is currently addressing the global warming issue. Research is underway sponsored by the Environmental Protection Agency, the Department of Energy, NOAA, NASA, and other agencies. The FV 1990 budget includes $190 million for this research.

There also is interest in developing interagency consensus on the issue of a framework convention and the Domestic Policy Council could take up the issue in the near future. Other environmental policy initatives currently under consideration include: the Clean Air Act and the idea an international conference. Congress is also very interested in this issue.

Upcoming Events. The U.N. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) is considering this matter. An IPCC working group, chaired by the U.S., is holding its second meeting this week in Geneva to consider global climate issues, including a possible framework convention. U.S. delegates to the meeting are aware of Administration interest and will report back their findings.

Environmental issues will also be highlighted in the Economic Summit this July. It will be important for the U.S. to develop policy on international environmental issues before then.

May 4, 1989

U.S. POSITION ON A CLIMATE CHANGE FRAMEWORK CONVENTION

The possibility of global warming has received much attention and both domestic and international interest in the issue of climate change continues to intensify. The U.S. is participating in various ongoing international activities regarding global climate change, and there is interest in discussions on an international framework convention on global climate change.

The United States is firmly committed to a sound strategy on global climate issues. It has shown leadership through the Montreal Protocol on ozone reduction, in calling for a phase-out of CFCs, in a significant budget for global climate change research, and as a participant in the United Nations Environmental Programme/International Programme on Climate Change. Other initiatives are currently under consideration, including the concept of a framework convention.

The IPCC has determined that the Response Strategies Working Group (RSWG), chaired by the U.S., will consider "legal issues" associated with climate change response strategies. In the workplan adopted by the RSWG, the steering committee was given the charge to consider "new legal and institutional mechanisms that could be used to implement options to limit or adapt to climate changes."

The U.S. should work within the RSWG steering committee, as currently directed, to examine existing legal processes and to consider new legal processes. This may include, but is not limited to, consideration of elements that could be included in a framework convention. Such discussions should take place within the RSWG steering committee. The U.S. should insist that no separate groups be established within the RSWG at this time to consider legal and institutional measures and that no separate process for considering possible elements of a framework convention be established.

The concept of a framework convention is receiving attention by the Federal government. Should options be considered at the RSWG meeting for discussing a framework convention, the U.S. delegates should report back their findings.

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May 4, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE
ADMINISTRATOR OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

SUBJECT: Discussion of a Climate Change Framework Convention at the May 5-12 Response Strategies Working Group Meeting

The possibility of global warming has received much attention and both domestic and international interest in the issue of climate change continues to intensify. The U.S. is participating in various ongoing international activities regarding global climate change, and there is interest in discussions on an international framework convention on global climate change.

The United States is firmly committed to a sound strategy on global climate issues. It has shown leadership through the Montreal Protocol on ozone reduction, in calling for a phase-out of CFCs, in a significant budget for global climate change research, and as a participant in the United Nations Environmental Programme/International Programme on Climate Change. Other initiatives are currently under consideration, including the concept of a framework convention.

The IPCC has determined that the Response Strategies Working Group (RSWG), chaired by the U.S., will consider "legal issues" associated with climate change response strategies. In the workplan adopted by the RSWG, the steering committee was given the charge to consider "new legal and institutional mechanisms that could be used to implement options to limit or adapt to climate changes."

The U.S. should work within the RSWG steering committee, as currently directed, to examine existing legal processes and to consider new legal processes. This may include, but is not limited to, consideration of elements that could be included in a framework convention. Such discussions should take place within the RSWG steering committee. The U.S. should insist that no separate groups be established within the RSWG at this time to consider legal and institutional measures and that no separate process for considering possible elements of a framework convention be established.

The concept of a framework convention is receiving attention at the highest levels of the Federal government. The U.S. delegation may explore options for discussing a framework convention at the RSWG meeting and report back its findings.

May 4, 1989

U.S. POSITION ON A CLIMATE CHANGE FRAMEWORK CONVENTION

The possibility of global warming has received much attention and both domestic and international interest in the issue of climate change continues to intensify. The U.S. is participating in various ongoing international activities regarding global climate change, and there is interest in discussions on an international framework convention on global climate change.

The United States is firmly committed to a sound strategy on global climate issues. It has shown leadership through the Montreal Protocol on ozone reduction, in calling for a phase-out of CFCs, in a significant budget for global climate change research, and as a participant in the United Nations Environmental Programme/International Programme on Climate Change. Other initiatives are currently under consideration, including the concept of a framework convention.

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The U.S. should work within the RSWG steering committee, as currently directed, to examine existing legal processes and to consider new legal processes. This may include, but is not limited to, consideration of elements that could be included in a framework convention. Such discussions should take place within the RSWG steering committee. The U.S. should insist that no separate groups be established within the RSWG at this time to consider legal and institutional measures and that no separate process for considering possible elements of a framework convention be established.

The concept of a framework convention is receiving attention by the Federal government. Should options be considered at the RSWG meeting for discussing a framework convention, the U.S. delegates should report back their findings.

- Concerned about many too fast
- Engage in discussions
- fully vetted, thought thru
- may want to embed this as part of a larger pkg of envio initiatives

- we should - we continue
- fly out of concern + schedule on spelling discussions that

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 3, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID Q. BATES
ROGER B. PORTER

FROM: NANCY MALOLEY nam
KEN YALE

SUBJECT: Framework Convention on Global Climate

A meeting was held today to discuss environmental issues as they relate to the upcoming economic summit. The discussion quickly turned to the issue of an international convention. Present were representatives from State, EPA, OPD and DPC.

There is little support, except from OMB, for a flat refusal to discuss possible elements of a framework convention. The issue is whether it should be discussed in the normal RSWG process, or if a separate group should be formed to focus discussions.

EPA firmly supports creating a separate process in the U.N. Response Strategies Working Group (RSWG) meeting next week, to begin discussions. International interest in the concept, and the concern that the issue would be taken away from the U.S.-chaired RSWG in other upcoming international environmental meetings, were mentioned.

State was clearly divided over the issue. The Bureau of Oceans, and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs (OES, in charge of environmental issues) also stressed growing international interest and the possibility of other international organizations taking up the issue. The Office of the Under Secretary for Economic and Business Affairs (in charge of Economic Summit preparations) was interested in making sure there was interagency agreement before we proceed, that the issue is framed to the advantage of the President, and avoiding dilution of the issue prior to the Summit.

It was concluded that:

1. No one wants to see premature creation of a convention.
2. There is no consensus on the creation of a separate process within RSWG to focus attention on discussions of a framework convention.
3. There already exists a mechanism for discussion of the issue in RSWG, and that could be used next week.
4. The Secretary of State and other Cabinet members are interested in seeking interagency consensus on how to approach a discussion on a framework convention, before discussions formally begin.

The best approach may be to delay a decision on the appropriate process within RSWG for discussions of a framework convention, until the DPC has thoroughly reviewed the issue. U.S. participants in RSWG can still discuss options for discussing a framework convention at the meeting next week, and report back to the DPC. This will avoid focusing on this issue in RSWG prematurely and place the focus for this issue on the White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 2, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: DAVID Q. BATES
ROGER B. PORTER

SUBJECT: Framework Convention on Global Climate Change

Several departments and agencies have contacted the White House for direction on how to approach the issue of a framework global climate convention at the May 5-12, U.N. International Programme on Climate Change/Response Strategies Working Group (RSWG) meeting. The U.S. chairs the RSWG.

There is considerable interest from two agenices to rush into discussions on a framework convention. However, discussions could easily turn into a call for an unfavorable convention. On the other hand, other agencies are more cautious due to the great uncertainties in climate change science and the large potential impact of any new policy direction.

Moreover, it is important for any action at the RSWG not to conflict with Administration strategy on environmental issues. Beginning discussions in the RSWG next week would not be appropriate in light of the overall environmental strategy.

For these reasons, we recommend delaying discussions of a framework convention in the RSWG next week, and continuing the following actions, which are already underway:

-- Obtain results of ~~soon-to-be released~~ studies on global climate that will shed more light on the issues.

-- Complete consideration of the framework convention issue in the Domestic Policy Council, so the President can make a fully informed decision, this ~~will occur soon~~.

-- Announce our position on a framework convention on global climate as part of a package -- this could be very favorable for the President and include initiatives in acid rain, ozone (smog) and air toxics reduction, an international conference on the environment, and others.

We believe this strategy will maintain the Administration's leadership on environmental issues, give the credit for these initiatives to the President, and avoid the international community pushing us into policy changes and taking the attention on environmental issues away from the Administration.

SCHEDULE OF KEY REPORTS AND STUDIES

Dec. 1988 - EPA study on health and environmental effects of climate change.

Dec. 1988 - EPA study on policy options that would stabilize_current levels_of atmospheric greenhouse gas emissions.

Dec. 1988 - NOAA report to the Congress on the findings of research and and monitoring of the stratosphere for early detection of change and climate consequences of such change.

Apr. 1989 - DOE greenhouse gas data collection study of the Federal Government's existing data about the sources and trends of greenhouse gas emissions and the trends toward climatic change. Second Week in May

Apr. 1989 - DOE study of options to mobilize the private sector to cooperate in mitigating, adapting, and preventing global climate change. Second Week in May

Jul. 1989 - DOE alternative energy research and development study to (a) assess the current state of r&d and (b) suggest appropriate r&d strategies with particular emphasis on the potential of such strategies to stabilize the concentrations of the gases that contribute to global climate change.

Oct. 1989 - DOE carbon dioxide inventory and policy study that inventories the sources of CO2 and arranges the policy options to be formulated with the EPA which would lead to a 20-percent reduction in CO2 emissions in the short run (5 to 10 years) and a 50-percent emissions reduction in the long run (15 to 20 years).

Jul. 1989 - NOAA plan to construct and operate a worldwide system of ground-based remote sensors to monitor stratospheric levels of chemicals which can affect the amount of ozone in the stratosphere.

Dec. 1989 - EPA/DOC summary analysis of current international scientific understanding of the greenhouse effect, assessment of U. S. efforts to gain international cooperation, and strategy for seeking furthur international cooperation, pursuant to Global Climate Protection Act.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 1, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID Q. BATES
ROGER B. PORTER

FROM: KEN YALE KY
NANCY MALONEY NM

SUBJECT: Global Climate Convention Decision

The concept of a framework convention on climate change is undergoing careful review through the Domestic Policy Process. However, there is pressure to rush to a decision in order to allow the President to grandstand on the issue during the Mulroney and Brundtland visits on May 3 & 4.

Due to delays, a thoughtful decision on this issue has not been reached at this time. Delays have been caused both by agencies who favor the concept (they did not produce paperwork on the issue until last week), and by those who strongly oppose it (and want to kill it). Nevertheless, after the paperwork was obtained, we proceeded at a very quick pace and could bring the issue to the Domestic Policy Council at any time. However, the President may need guidance for a decision by May 3 and 4.

A working group has developed a number of options that reflect the concerns of all interested departments and agencies. Although the general concept seems to have some support, the exact approach taken by the U.S. has yet to be worked out due to the great uncertainties in climate change science and the large potential impact of any new policy direction. In addition, the positions of key Cabinet Secretaries are not at all clear.

We understand that several attempts to end-run the process have been, and will be, made. We are therefore submitting this draft options paper, with the understanding that it may not reflect the opinions of the Cabinet Secretaries, but it is the best material on the issue. Options 1 and 2 are the least disruptive of current policy positions. Option 3 would probably be interpreted as a major new policy initiative that would require DPC consideration.

Should there be a need for the President to discuss global climate with the prime ministers, he could point to the considerable amount of research done by the Federal government on global climate, the fact that the issue of a framework convention is under active consideration by the Cabinet, and other activities of the Federal government. In addition, Options 1 & 2 outline other actions he could safely take.

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GLOBAL CLIMATE CONVENTION

ISSUE: Should the U.S. modify its past position and initiate discussions on an international climate change convention?

BACKGROUND: The possibility of global warming has received much attention and both domestic and international interest in the issue of climate change continues to intensify. However, the present understanding of complex earth system processes is rudimentary and substantial research will be necessary before we can begin to make reliable predictions of global climate change.

Conflicting studies have highlighted the uncertainties in our understanding of the climate system. The lack of adequate models of the earth system, and the unknown ability of clouds and the oceans to mitigate climate changes, indicate some of the uncertainties. Nevertheless, there is growing political pressure to take action. The U.S. is participating in various ongoing international activities regarding global climate change and pressure is building to modify our current policy by allowing discussions to begin on an international convention on global climate change.

DISCUSSION: The United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was established in November 1988 as an international focal point for climate change issues. Three working groups, chaired by the U.K., U.S.S.R., and the U.S., respectively, were created to consider global climate science, environmental and socioeconomic impacts, and response strategies. The IPCC plans to complete an interim report of its findings by November 1990. The report would provide a foundation for future actions.

Secretary Baker opened the January meeting of the Response Strategies Working Group (RSWG), chaired by the U.S., with a speech supporting IPCC activities and articulating a four point U.S position. The Secretary stated: we cannot resolve all the uncertainties before acting, immediate focus should be on steps that can be justified for other reasons, global solutions should be cost-effective and they should reconcile economic development with a safe environment.

RSWG holds its next meeting on May 8-12 in Geneva. A key issue is expected to be how discussion of an international convention on global climate change will be handled within the RSWG.

Since its inception, the IPCC has been pressured to consider creating an international convention on climate change. A convention would provide an institutional framework, or formal mechanism, for assessment of issues, discussion of possible responses, and recommendations for future actions. It could lead to the adoption of protocols or other formal, legal initiatives, but might not impose an obligation on parties to agree to future actions or join any protocol.

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The charter of the IPCC calls for consideration of "legal matters." The workplan adopted by the RSWG at its January meeting mandated consideration of "new legal ... and institutional mechanisms that could be used to implement" responses to climate change. These could be considered moves towards eventual consideration of a convention.

Advancing too quickly toward a global climate change convention might circumvent the IPCC process, which considers the science and impacts of global climate changes in addition to possible responses. The U.S. has therefore succeeded in preventing either creation of a separate group within RSWG to consider legal and institutional mechanisms or explicit discussion within RSWG of the global climate convention concept. It is unclear whether the U.S. can continue to delay discussion of these issues, and there is increasing international pressure to begin discussions on a convention.

Last year Canada convened a meeting on global climate and drafted a report that promoted a Law of the Atmosphere and timetables for CO2 reduction. A Law of the Atmosphere is highly controversial, and some believe a climate change convention could lead to such a broad agreement. In December of 1988 the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for consideration of "elements of a future climate convention" in the IPCC. A Canadian meeting in February of this year urged adoption of a convention and protocols to ensure quick action in global climate and limits emissions of CO2 and other greenhouse gasses thought to result in global warming.

The "Declaration of the Hague" was an agreement among 24 nations in March of this year on the climate change issue. It stated that global warming is the world's top environmental problem and urged new international authority to combat it. The group will meet again in May and could discuss a convention proposal at that time. Significantly, major industrialized nations, including the U.S., were not represented at the meeting.

Upcoming events may also increase pressure for further action. How to initiate discussion of an international convention will be an issue at the May 8-12 RSWG meeting. Many RSWG participants will also attend the first meeting of the Parties to the Montreal Protocol on May 2-5 and the convention issue could be discussed.

The UNEP Governing Council will meet in Nairobi in mid May. Discussion is expected on a global climate change framework convention, which is favored by executive director Mostafa Tolba. The IPCC will hold a meeting in Nairobi on June 28-30 where the convention issue is also expected to be raised. Finally, a number of leaders attending the July, seven-nation Economic Summit in Paris may raise the subject.

Pressure for additional action seems to have come mainly from those countries that have strong environmental movements or would

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have little adverse economic impact from a global warming convention.

Arguments in favor of discussions of a convention include:

-- A convention is inevitable, and RSWG is a favorable forum because this U.S. chaired group can guide international activity towards a reasonable approach to a convention.

-- A convention could be similar to the Vienna Convention on ozone protection, providing an institutional framework for assessment of the issue and discussion of responses, and a legal framework for agreement on specific measures, such as the adoption of protocols -- without any obligation on the parties to agree to the specific measures.

-- Discussions to consider formalizing and expanding existing international cooperation, even in a limited fashion, would be an aggressive U.S. response and could attract substantial international attention.

Arguments opposed to discussions of a convention include:

-- Discussions would be a major, threshold step in the direction toward a climate change convention. No matter how limited, the process would be uncontrollable and could result in international pressure for the U.S. to sign a protocol which is not based on sound science and could have a serious impact on the U.S. economy.

-- The U.S. has already taken a leadership role by making the world's largest contribution to global climate research and initiating and supporting the IPCC process. Leadership on global climate issues does not need to be defined in terms of a convention, as pushed by other nations with less at stake.

-- Any U.S. response to climate change must be based on sound scientific evidence. The IPCC process is designed to lead to scientifically sound international policy decisions. There is no scientific evidence that quick action, even under the most pessimistic assumptions, will make any significant difference in global warming.

-- The Vienna Convention was different. There was much more science available and the effects were better understood than what is currently known about global climate change. Moreover, the economic impacts of controls are much less.

-- The U.S. does not have to react to the Hague Declaration because it did not represent the positions of the major greenhouse gas producers (US, ~23%; USSR, ~19%; China, ~10%) and thus was not a serious international effort to address global climate change.

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-- The IPCC is the major international effort on global climate change. It is moving to assess the science, consider the social and economic impacts, and identify possible policy responses. Further negotiations would prematurely lead to a convention, early protocols, and poor policy based on political expediency and motivations of nations not subject to serious economic impacts.

-- The U.S. policy on global climate should not be determined in a multi-lateral negotiation process where U.S. leverage is traditionally weak. The U.S. should not decide on a position on a convention until its domestic policies are more firmly established.

OPTIONS:

OPTION #1:

The U.S. delegation re-affirms its commitment to the current IPCC process and articulates the U.S. position within the parameters of Secretary Baker's four points.

The U.S. should insist that no separate groups be established at this time within the RSWG to consider legal and institutional measures and that no separate process for considering possible elements of a framework convention be established.

Pros:

o Provides the President the opportunity to develop foreign policy aspects of climate change policy as an outgrowth of domestic policy.

o Establishes the U.S. position that negotiation of climate response actions would be premature until the IPCC develops the requisite information for sound negotiations.

o Maintains the focus of the IPCC on developing a common international understanding of the science, its uncertainties, the potential impacts, and the implications of potential international responses.

o Will help discourage demands that the U.S. and other industrialized nations reduce fossil fuel emissions to reduce global warming before a sound scientific basis exists for such costly actions.

Cons:

o U.S. opposition to discussion of a convention in RSWG, will encourage international activity on a possible convention outside RSWG to become more formalized and organized. In such fora, U.S. views will be given significantly less attention than those within RSWG.

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- It is unclear whether the U.S. could succeed in postponing the discussion, given that such discussion is consistent with the UNGA and RSWG mandates.

- It will appear to some that the U.S. is dragging its feet on a major international issue.

OPTION #2:

The U.S. delegation re-affirm its commitment to implementation of the IPCC process while announcing two new initiatives.

1) A research initiative, calling upon the other members of the IPCC to join in an international research program. The program would build upon the U.S. global climate change research program, as well as the IPCC science assessment. The U.S. has proposed to spend about $200 million in FY 1990 on global research, with increasing amounts likely in future years. The results of this research will benefit the world. Other nations should be asked to share in this effort and in the costs.

2) An invitation to an International Conference on Global Environmental Issues, to be hosted by President Bush.

In addition, the delegation would re-state U.S. policy that all countries should focus immediate attention on actions that can be justified for other reasons, and call upon RSWG to give priority to such actions in its assessment report. To further buttress this effort, the U.S. would issue a report on all such actions that have been initiated within the first 100 days of the Bush Administration.

The U.S. delegation would oppose any additional efforts to initiate any actions leading to a possible global convention, until the IPCC assessments are completed.

Pros:

- The U.S. would maintain and strengthen its position as a world leader on international environmental issues.

- The U.S. would take a pro-active posture in shaping the international agenda in directions where the U.S. has a position of strength, such as scientific research, rather than reacting to proposals form other countries from a position of weakness.

- The U.S. delegation should seek to take credit for the Bush Administration global environmental initiatives, rather than continue to be portrayed in a reactive posture.

Cons:

- With U.S. opposition to discussion of a convention in RSWG,

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existing international activity on a possible convention, now carried on outside RSWG, may become more formalized and organized, with U.S. views given significantly less attention than those within RSWG.

- It will appear to some that the U.S. is taking only small steps toward the resolution of a grave international issue.

OPTION#3:

The U.S. delegation proposes that a separate group be established within the RSWG Steering Committee with the purpose of drafting a report on possible institutional mechanisms for addressing the climate change issue expressly including, but not limited to, possible elements of a framework convention based on the Vienna Convention model. The group would be given a specific timetable, such as an annotated outline report for discussion at the Steering Committee meeting in Fall 1989, a full draft report for review by the Steering Committee in Spring 1990, and inclusion in the RSWG section of the IPCC report in Fall 1990. The head of the U.S delegation would have discretion to seek the chair of the group or to support another country.

Pros:

- The discussions concerning the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention would remain within RSWG under potential U.S. control.

- The U.S. would assert an aggressive position on an important international issue.

Cons:

- The present IPCC process, which emphasizes the development of an international understanding of the science and other relevant considerations before beginning negotiations, may take a back seat to discussions over a convention and ensuing protocols.

- Financial markets may be startled by the appearance of U.S. movement toward international treaties mandating the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.

- The movement toward maturation of international policy may preempt the President's development of a comprehensive climate change policy.

- The U.S. may not be able to exercise leadership in a separate RSWG group since it would probably not be chaired by the U.S. For example, Canada, which has already pursued an aggressive policy on atmospheric issues, is a likely candidate for the chair.

GLOBAL CLIMATE CONVENTION

ISSUE: How should the United States approach international discussions on an international climate change convention?

BACKGROUND: Domestic and international interest in the issue of global climate change continues to intensify. The possibility of global warming has received much attention. However, the present understanding of complex earth system processes is rudimentary and substantial research will be necessary before we can begin to make reliable predictions of global climate change.

Conflicting studies have highlighted the uncertainties in our understanding of the climate system. The lack of adequate models of the earth system, and the unknown ability of clouds and the oceans to mitigate climate changes, indicate some of the uncertainties. Nevertheless, there is growing political pressure to take action and the U.S. is participating in various ongoing international activities regarding global climate. There is also pressure to modify current U.S. policy to allow discussions to begin on an international convention on global climate change.

DISCUSSION: The United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was established in November 1988 as an international focal point for climate change issues. Three working groups, chaired by the U.K., U.S.S.R., and the U.S., respectively, were created to consider global climate science, environmental and socioeconomic impacts, and response strategies. The IPCC plans to complete an interim report of its findings by November 1990. The report would provide a foundation for future actions.

Secretary Baker opened the January meeting of the Response Strategies Working Group (RSWG), chaired by the U.S., with a speech supporting their activities. The Secretary said: we cannot resolve all the uncertainties before acting, immediate focus should be on steps that can be justified for other reasons, global solutions should be cost-effective and they shoud reconcile economic development with a safe enviroment.

RSWG holds its next meeting on May 8-12 in Geneva. A key issue is expected to be how discussion of an international convention on global climate change will be handled within the RSWG.

There has been pressure from the beginning for the IPCC to consider creating an international convention on climate change. A convention would provide an institutional framework, or formal mechanism, for assessment of issues, discussion of possible responses, and recommendations for future actions to further international interests in global climate issues. It could lead to the adoption of protocols or other formal, legal initiatives,

but might not impose an obligation on parties to agree to future actions or join any protocol.

The charter of the IPCC calls for consideration of "legal matters." The workplan adopted by the RSWG at its January meeting mandated consideration of "new legal ... and institutional mechanisms that could be used to implement" responses to climate change. These could be considered moves towards eventual consideration of a convention.

Advancing too quickly towards a global climate change convention might circumvent the IPCC process, which considers the science and impacts of global climate changes in addition to possible responses. The U.S. has therefore succeeded in preventing either creation of a separate group within RSWG to consider legal and institutional mechanisms or explicit discussion within RSWG of the global climate convention concept. It is unclear whether the U.S. can continue to delay discussion of these issues, and there is increasing international pressure to begin discussions of a convention.

Last year Canada convened a meeting on global climate and drafted a report that promoted a Law of the Atmosphere and timetables for CO2 reduction. A Law of the Atmosphere is highly controversial, and some believe a climate change convention could lead to such a broad agreement. In December of 1988 the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for consideration of "elements of a future climate convention" in the IPCC. A Canadian meeting in February of this year urged adoption of a convention and protocols to ensure quick action in global climate and limits emissions of CO2 and other greenhouse gasses thought to result in global warming.

The "Declaration of the Hague" was an agreement among 24 nations in March of this year on the climate change issue. It stated that global warming is the world's top environmental problem and urged new international authority to combat it. The group will meet again in May and could discuss a convention proposal at that time. Significantly, major industrialized nations, including the U.S., were not represented at the meeting.

Upcoming events may also increase pressure for further action. How to initiate discussion of an international convention will be an issue at the May 8-12 RSWG meeting. Many RSWG participants will also attend the first meeting of the Parties to the Montreal Protocol on May 2-5 and the convention issue could be discussed.

The UNEP Governing Council will meet in Nairobi in mid May. Discussion is expected on a global climate change framework convention, which is favored by executive director Mostafa Tolba. The IPCC will hold a meeting in Nairobi on June 28-30 where the convention issue is also expected to be raised. Finally, a number of leaders attending the July, seven-nation Economic Summit in Paris may raise the subject.

Pressure for additional action seems to have come mainly from those countries that have strong environmental movements or would have little adverse economic impact from a global warming convention.

Arguments in favor of discussions of a convention include:

-- A convention is inevitable, and RSWG is a favorable forum because this U.S. chaired group can guide international activity towards a reasonable approach to a convention.

-- A convention could be similar to the Vienna Convention on ozone protection, providing an institutional framework for assessment of the issue and discussion of responses, and a legal framework for agreement on specific measures, such as the adoption of protocols -- without any obligation on the parties to agree to the specific measures.

-- Discussions to consider formalizing and expanding existing international cooperation, even in a limited fashion, would be an aggressive U.S. response and could attract substantial international attention.

Arguments opposed to discussions of a convention include:

-- Discussions would be a major, threshold step in the direction toward a climate change convention. No matter how limited, the process would be uncontrollable and could result in international pressure for the U.S. to sign a protocol which is not based on sound science and could have a serious impact on the U.S. economy.

-- The U.S. has already taken a leadership role by making the world's largest contribution to global climate research and initiating and supporting the IPCC process. Leadership on global climate issues does not need to be defined in terms of a convention, as pushed by other nations with less at stake.

-- Any U.S. response to climate change must be based on sound scientific evidence. The IPCC process is designed to lead to scientifically sound international policy decisions. There is no scientific evidence that quick action, even under the most pessimistic assumptions, will make any significant difference in global warming.

-- The Vienna Convention was different. There was much more science available and the effects were better understood than what is currently known about global climate change. Moreover, the economic impacts of controls are much less.

-- The U.S. does not have to react to the Hague Declaration because it did not represent the positions of the major greenhouse gas producers, and thus was not a serious

today. Also, the socioeconomic impacts of CFC controls are significantly less.

-- The Hague Declaration should not be viewed as a process with which we must catch up. We were not invited to the meeting (until the last minute), nor did the other significant greenhouse gas producers (U.S.S.R. and China) take part in the proceedings. Any serious international effort on global climate change must include these three nations. It is unjust to single out the U.S. as being intransigent when a majority to the world's nations, representing 75% of global CO2 emissions, were not a part of The Hague process.

-- The IPCC is the major international effort in regard to climate change and its agenda, correctly, reflects the need to: (1) assess the state of the science, (2) develop a better understanding of the social and economic effects of possible global climate change, and (3) begin the identification and preliminary analysis of possible policy response. The three IPCC working groups are moving to meet these needs. The IPCC process is an orderly way to develop the information and international understanding of that information needed for sound international decision-making on global climate change. At the present time, further negotiations would not be based on a sound understanding of (a) the science (b) the possible social and economic effects, or (c) the costs and other implications of potential policy responses. The early participation in such negotiations will likely lead to an early convention, early protocols, and poor policy which is based on emotion, political expediency, and the motivations of nations not destined to be economically damaged by immature climate change responses.

-- The U.S. should not decide to support a convention on climate change until its domestic policies are more firmly established. Otherwise, the U.S. runs the risk of having its domestic policies determined in a multi-lateral negotiation process where traditionally U.S. leverage is weak. Joining in such an international process may imply the adoption by the U.S. of certain domestic policies, including all or a combination of the following: (1) energy taxes; (2) tightened CAFE standards for automobiles; (3) improvements in the efficiency of utilities; (4) increased reliance on nuclear power; and (5) reforestation programs.

OPTIONS:

OPTION #1:

The U.S. delegation re-affirms its commitment to the current IPCC process, ~~and following Secretary Baker's four points, describes the U.S. position as follows:~~

-- Given the great scientific and other uncertainties about climate change, it would be irresponsible and premature to

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negotiate actions that can only be justified on the basis of benefits from avoiding global climate change.

-- However, we cannot afford to wait for all uncertainties to be reached. Therefore, we should focus immediately on steps which can be justified for other reasons.

-- The IPCC should identify and analyze those steps in its first reports so early and informed international discussion of them can begin.

-- Further steps of the kind which might be included in a convention must be based on a full international understanding of the state of the science and its uncertainties, a full understanding of the potential social and economic impacts that are likely from climate change, and a full understanding of the costs and other implications of potential international joint actions to respond to global change. Those understandings do not exist now, but the IPCC process is designed and intended to create them in an orderly and participatory way.

-- The U.S. considers it essential to the success of any joint international actions on global climate change that they be based soundly on an agreed upon understanding of the science and other considerations and upon a wide consensus about what should be done. Anything less is likely to fail. The Montreal Protocol has been a success because the consensus is very broad.

-- ~~For these reasons~~ the U.S. insists that no separate groups be established at this time within the RSWG to consider legal and institutional measures and that no separate process for considering possible elements of a framework convention be established.

Pros:

- Provides the President the opportunity to develop foreign policy aspects of climate change policy as an outgrowth of domestic policy.

- Establishes the U.S. position that negotiation, ~~at this time,~~ of climate response actions would be premature, ~~and unwise~~ and ~~that the IPCC process will build in an orderly fashion the common~~ scientific and policy analysis understandings needed for sound and useful negotiations.

- ~~Keeps~~ Maintains the focus of the IPCC, ~~at this time,~~ on developing a common international understanding of the science, its uncertainties, the potential impacts, and the implications of potential international responses.

- Will help discourage demands that the U.S. and other industrialized nations reduce fossil fuel emissions to reduce global warming before a sound scientific basis exists ~~that~~ for

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such costly actions ~~are justified by the benefits.~~ Countries with possible emissions and greenhouse gases

Cons:

- ~~With~~ U.S. opposition to discussion of a convention in RSWG will encourage other ~~existing~~ international activity on a possible convention, ~~now carried on~~ outside RSWG, ~~to~~ may become more formalized and organized, ~~with~~ U.S. views will be given ~~significantly~~ less attention than those within RSWG.

- It is unclear whether the U.S. could succeed in postponing the discussion, given that such discussion is consistent with the UNGA and RSWG mandates.

- It will appear to some that the U.S. is dragging its feet on a major international issue.

OPTION #2:

The U.S. delegation re-affirm its commitment to implementation of the IPCC process while announcing two new initiatives.

1) A research initiative, calling upon the other members of the IPCC to join in an international research program. The program would build upon the U.S. global climate change research program, as well as the IPCC science assessment.

2) An invitation to an International Conference on Global Environmental Issues, to be hosted by President Bush.

In addition, the delegation would re-state U.S. policy that all countries should focus immediate attention on actions that can be justified for other reasons, and call upon RSWG to give priority to such actions in its assessment report. ~~To further buttress this effort, the U.S. would issue a report on all such actions initiated within the first 100 days of the Bush Administration.~~ ??

The U.S. delegation would oppose any additional efforts to initiate any actions leading to a possible global convention, until the IPCC assessments are completed.

Pros:

- The U.S. would maintain and strengthen its position as a world leader on international environmental issues.

- The U.S. would take a pro-active posture in shaping the international agenda in directions where the U.S. has a position of strength, such as scientific research, rather than reacting to proposals form other countries from a position of weakness.

- The U.S. has proposed to spend about $200 million in FY 1990 on global research, with increasing amounts likely in future

years. The results of this research will benefit the world. Other nations should be asked to share in this effort and in the costs.

- The U.S. delegation should seek to take credit for the Bush Administration global environmental initiatives, rather than continue to be portrayed in a reactive posture.

Cons:

- With U.S. opposition to discussion of a convention in RSWG, existing international activity on a possible convention, now carried on outside RSWG, may become more formalized and organized, with U.S. views given significantly less attention than those within RSWG. The U.S. call for an International Conference of Global Environmental Issues will help mitigate this criticism.

- It will appear to some that the U.S. is taking only small steps toward the resolution of a grave international issue.

OPTION#3:

The U.S. delegation proposes that a separate group be established within the RSWG Steering Committee with the purpose of drafting a report on possible institutional mechanisms for addressing the climate change issue expressly including, but not limited to, possible elements of a framework convention. The group would be given a specific timetable such as an annotated outline of report to Steering Committee for discussion at Steering Committee meeting in Fall 1989, a full draft report for review by Steering Committee in Spring 1990 and inclusion in the RSWG section of the IPCC report in Fall 1990.
The head of the U.S delegation would have discretion to seek the chair of the group or to support another country.

Pros:

- The discussions concerning the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention would remain within RSWG under potential U.S. control.

- The U.S. would assert an aggressive position on an important international issue.

Cons:

- The present IPCC process, which emphasizes the development of an international understanding of the science and other relevant considerations before beginning negotiations, may take a back seat to discussions over a convention and ensuing protocols.

- Financial markets may be startled by the appearance of U.S.

movement toward international treaties mandating the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.

- The movement toward maturation of international policy may preempt the President's development of a comprehensive climate change policy.

- The U.S. may not be able to exercise leadership in a separate RSWG group since it would probably not be chaired by the U.S. For example, Canada, which has already pursued an aggressive policy on atmospheric issues, is a likely candidate for the chair.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 2, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR ROGER PORTER

FROM: KEN YALE

SUBJECT: Alternative on Global Climate Convention Issue

You may want to consider an alternative that would assist the domestic policy side of the White House to avoid losing control over the issue of global climate.

Although we understand that Secretary Baker has signed off on the concept of allowing discussions to go forth on the potential for a framework convention, we still are not sure when those discussions have to begin. Therefore, you may still want to contact Bob Zoellich to determine whether there is a need to come to a decision on this issue immediately.

If State senses that a decision is definitely needed thus week, there is still an opportunity to use the options paper of the EENR Working Group to effectively advise the President.

If State believes a decision is imperative, and if the decision needs to be made at the Presidential level, the options paper could be circulated one last time to the agencies. A memorandum could then be attached and the paper sent in to the President for his decision.

In this fashion, you preserve the domestic policy process, utilize the input of the domestic agencies, and give the President information needed to make an informed decision.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 10, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

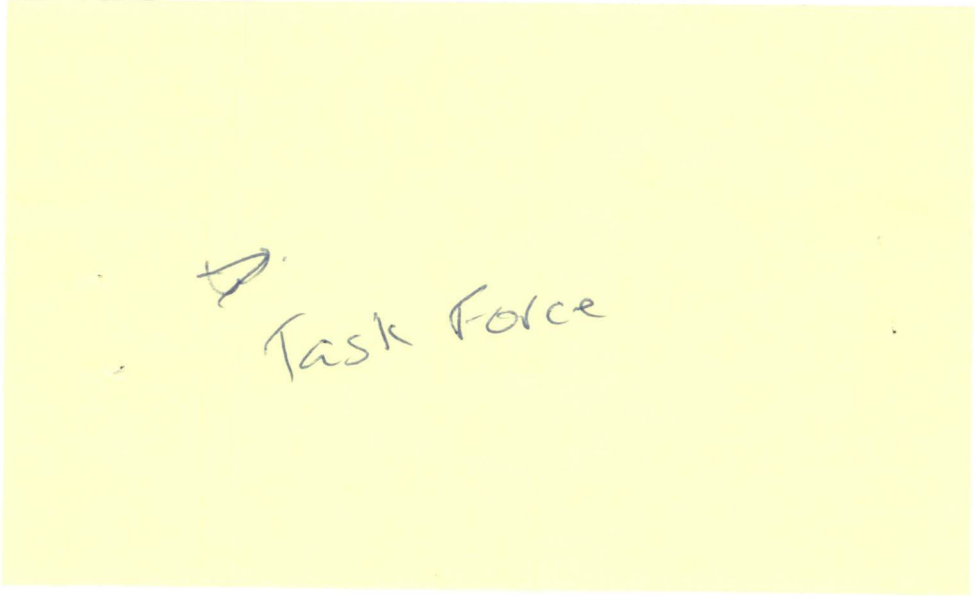
THROUGH: DAVID Q. BATES

FROM: KEN YALE

SUBJECT: Global Climate Coordination

Due to the recent interest in the issue of global climate, it would be appropriate to ensure timely information and close coordination on international environmental issues. The attached paper gives a suggested approach that would bring order to these wide ranging issues. Action is needed due to pending events that may require policy development and coordination.

The task force will essentially tap an existing mechanism by forming a smaller, more streamlined group of agency representatives already meeting in the DPC Working Group on Environment, Energy and Natural Resources. By streamlining an existing process, the White House will have a more efficient resource with which it can more effectively handle a very broad issue.



GLOBAL CLIMATE COORDINATION

ISSUE: Due to the interest of the Administration in global climate issues and upcoming international meetings, there is a need for timely information on the overall issues and greater coordination between agencies and the White House.

BACKGROUND: Six major agencies and several White House offices have direct involvement in global climate issues. Due to the size of the issue and overlap in Federal agency jurisdiction, none of the agencies have been willing to trust any of the others to take a lead role.

In the past, it has been up to the White House to coordinate efforts in this area. In the previous Administration, the Domestic Policy Council was given the mandate to consider international environmental issues that have an impact on domestic agencies. This avoids the potential for international interests deciding domestic policy. The Departments of State and Defense have always participated in these issues in the DPC.

The DPC Working Group on Environment, Energy and Natural Resources (EENR) has considered the global climate issue. However, due to involvement with other issues (Clean Air, Wetlands, and others) and the fact that other agencies without a legitimate interest in global climate are members of the EENR, it may be appropriate to create a Task Force on Global Climate, which would report to the Domestic Policy Council. The group would also coordinate its activities with the Economic Summit preparation group.

PROPOSAL: The task force could be headed by the President's Science Advisor. The agencies represented would include: State, EPA, Energy, Agriculture, Commerce, and Interior. These are the major agencies with a legitimate interest in the issues. White House participants could include: OMB, NSC, OPD, CEQ, OSTP, OCA, CEA, and others as appropriate.

Having the Science Advisor as head of the group solves the lead agency problem and addresses the concern that we approach the issues from a sound scientific and factual perspective. It also places coordination of the issue within the White House and allows for an open process in which all parties with a legitimate interest can participate. The task force could assist in policy formulation and coordination at a critical time for these issues.

_____ Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Discuss

AGENCY RXN.

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

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GLOBAL CLIMATE CONVENTION

ISSUE: Should the United States modify its past position and initiate discussions on an international climate change convention?

BACKGROUND: The possibility of global warming has received much attention and both domestic and international interest in the issue of climate change continues to intensify. However, the present understanding of complex earth system processes is rudimentary and substantial research will be necessary before we can begin to make reliable predictions of global climate change.

Conflicting studies have highlighted the uncertainties in our understanding of the climate system. The lack of adequate models of the earth system, and the unknown ability of clouds and the oceans to mitigate climate changes, indicate some of the uncertainties. Nevertheless, there is growing political pressure to take action. The U.S. is participating in various ongoing international activities regarding global climate change and pressure is building to modify our current policy by allowing discussions to begin on an international convention on global climate change.

DISCUSSION: The United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was established in November 1988 as an international focal point for climate change issues. Three working groups, chaired by the U.K., U.S.S.R., and the U.S., respectively, were created to consider global climate science, environmental and socioeconomic impacts, and response strategies. The IPCC plans to complete an interim report of its findings by November 1990. The report would provide a foundation for future actions.

Secretary Baker opened the January meeting of the Response Strategies Working Group (RSWG), chaired by the U.S., with a speech supporting IPCC activities and articulating a four point U.S position. The Secretary stated: we cannot resolve all the uncertainties before acting, immediate focus should be on steps that can be justified for other reasons, global solutions should be cost-effective and they should reconcile economic development with a safe environment.

RSWG holds its next meeting on May 8-12 in Geneva. A key issue is expected to be how discussion of an international convention on global climate change will be handled within the RSWG.

There has been pressure from the beginning for the IPCC to consider creating an international convention on climate change. A convention would provide an institutional framework, or formal mechanism, for assessment of issues, discussion of possible responses, and recommendations for future actions to further international interests in global climate issues. It could lead to the adoption of protocols or other formal, legal initiatives,

but might not impose an obligation on parties to agree to future actions or join any protocol.

The charter of the IPCC calls for consideration of "legal matters." The workplan adopted by the RSWG at its January meeting mandated consideration of "new legal ... and institutional mechanisms that could be used to implement" responses to climate change. These could be considered moves towards eventual consideration of a convention.

Advancing too quickly toward a global climate change convention might circumvent the IPCC process, which considers the science and impacts of global climate changes in addition to possible responses. The U.S. has therefore succeeded in preventing either creation of a separate group within RSWG to consider legal and institutional mechanisms or explicit discussion within RSWG of the global climate convention concept. It is unclear whether the U.S. can continue to delay discussion of these issues, and there is increasing international pressure to begin discussions on a convention.

Last year Canada convened a meeting on global climate and drafted a report that promoted a Law of the Atmosphere and timetables for CO2 reduction. A Law of the Atmosphere is highly controversial, and some believe a climate change convention could lead to such a broad agreement. In December of 1988 the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for consideration of "elements of a future climate convention" in the IPCC. A Canadian meeting in February of this year urged adoption of a convention and protocols to ensure quick action in global climate and limits emissions of CO2 and other greenhouse gasses thought to result in global warming.

The "Declaration of the Hague" was an agreement among 24 nations in March of this year on the climate change issue. It stated that global warming is the world's top environmental problem and urged new international authority to combat it. The group will meet again in May and could discuss a convention proposal at that time. Significantly, major industrialized nations, including the U.S., were not represented at the meeting.

Upcoming events may also increase pressure for further action. How to initiate discussion of an international convention will be an issue at the May 8-12 RSWG meeting. Many RSWG participants will also attend the first meeting of the Parties to the Montreal Protocol on May 2-5 and the convention issue could be discussed.

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Pressure for additional action seems to have come mainly from those countries that have strong environmental movements or would have little adverse economic impact from a global warming convention.

Arguments in favor of discussions of a convention include:

-- A convention is inevitable, and RSWG is a favorable forum because this U.S. chaired group can guide international activity towards a reasonable approach to a convention.

-- A convention could be similar to the Vienna Convention on ozone protection, providing an institutional framework for assessment of the issue and discussion of responses, and a legal framework for agreement on specific measures, such as the adoption of protocols -- without any obligation on the parties to agree to the specific measures.

-- Discussions to consider formalizing and expanding existing international cooperation, even in a limited fashion, would be an aggressive U.S. response and could attract substantial international attention.

Arguments opposed to discussions of a convention include:

-- Discussions would be a major, threshold step in the direction toward a climate change convention. No matter how limited, the process would be uncontrollable and could result in international pressure for the U.S. to sign a protocol which is not based on sound science and could have a serious impact on the U.S. economy.

-- The U.S. has already taken a leadership role by making the world's largest contribution to global climate research and initiating and supporting the IPCC process. Leadership on global climate issues does not need to be defined in terms of a convention, as pushed by other nations with less at stake.

-- Any U.S. response to climate change must be based on sound scientific evidence. The IPCC process is designed to lead to scientifically sound international policy decisions. There is no scientific evidence that quick action, even under the most pessimistic assumptions, will make any significant difference in global warming.

-- The Vienna Convention was different. There was much more science available and the effects were better understood than what is currently known about global climate change. Moreover, the economic impacts of controls are much less.

-- The U.S. does not have to react to the Hague Declaration because it did not represent the positions of the major greenhouse gas producers (US, °23%; USSR, °19%; China, °10%)

and thus was not a serious international effort to address global climate change.

-- The IPCC is the major international effort on global climate change. It is moving to assess the science, consider the social and economic impacts, and identify possible policy responses. Further negotiations would prematurely lead to a convention, early protocols, and poor policy based on political expediency and motivations of nations not subject to serious economic impacts.

-- The U.S. policy on global climate should not be determined in a multi-lateral negotiation process where U.S. leverage is traditionally weak. The U.S. should not decide on a position on a convention until its domestic policies are more firmly established.

OPTIONS:

OPTION #1:

The U.S. delegation re-affirms its commitment to the current IPCC process and articulates the U.S. position within the parameters of Secretary Baker's four points.

The U.S. should insist that no separate groups be established at this time within the RSWG to consider legal and institutional measures and that no separate process for considering possible elements of a framework convention be established.

Pros:

o Provides the President the opportunity to develop foreign policy aspects of climate change policy as an outgrowth of domestic policy.

o Establishes the U.S. position that negotiation of climate response actions would be premature until the IPCC develops the requisite information for sound negotiations.

o Maintains the focus of the IPCC on developing a common international understanding of the science, its uncertainties, the potential impacts, and the implications of potential international responses.

o Will help discourage demands that the U.S. and other industrialized nations reduce fossil fuel emissions to reduce global warming before a sound scientific basis exists for such costly actions.

Cons:

o U.S. opposition to discussion of a convention in RSWG, will encourage international activity on a possible

convention outside RSWG to become more formalized and organized. In such fora, U.S. views will be given significantly less attention than those within RSWG.

- o It is unclear whether the U.S. could succeed in postponing the discussion, given that such discussion is consistent with the UNGA and RSWG mandates.

- o It will appear to some that the U.S. is dragging its feet on a major international issue.

OPTION #2:

The U.S. delegation re-affirm its commitment to implementation of the IPCC process while announcing two new initiatives.

1) A research initiative, calling upon the other members of the IPCC to join in an international research program. The program would build upon the U.S. global climate change research program, as well as the IPCC science assessment. The U.S. has proposed to spend about $200 million in FY 1990 on global research, with increasing amounts likely in future years. The results of this research will benefit the world. Other nations should be asked to share in this effort and in the costs.

2) An invitation to an International Conference on Global Environmental Issues, to be hosted by President Bush.

In addition, the delegation would re-state U.S. policy that all countries should focus immediate attention on actions that can be justified for other reasons, and call upon RSWG to give priority to such actions in its assessment report. To further buttress this effort, the U.S. would issue a report on all such actions that have been initiated within the first 100 days of the Bush Administration.

The U.S. delegation would oppose any additional efforts to initiate any actions leading to a possible global convention, until the IPCC assessments are completed.

Pros:

- o The U.S. would maintain and strengthen its position as a world leader on international environmental issues.

- o The U.S. would take a pro-active posture in shaping the international agenda in directions where the U.S. has a position of strength, such as scientific research, rather than reacting to proposals form other countries from a position of weakness.

- o The U.S. delegation should seek to take credit for the Bush Administration global environmental initiatives, rather than continue to be portrayed in a reactive posture.

Cons:

- With U.S. opposition to discussion of a convention in RSWG, existing international activity on a possible convention, now carried on outside RSWG, may become more formalized and organized, with U.S. views given significantly less attention than those within RSWG.

- It will appear to some that the U.S. is taking only small steps toward the resolution of a grave international issue.

OPTION#3:

The U.S. delegation proposes that a separate group be established within the RSWG Steering Committee with the purpose of drafting a report on possible institutional mechanisms for addressing the climate change issue expressly including, but not limited to, possible elements of a framework convention. The group would be given a specific timetable such as an annotated outline of report to Steering Committee for discussion at Steering Committee meeting in Fall 1989, a full draft report for review by Steering Committee in Spring 1990 and inclusion in the RSWG section of the IPCC report in Fall 1990.
The head of the U.S delegation would have discretion to seek the chair of the group or to support another country.

Pros:

- The discussions concerning the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention would remain within RSWG under potential U.S. control.

- The U.S. would assert an aggressive position on an important international issue.

Cons:

- The present IPCC process, which emphasizes the development of an international understanding of the science and other relevant considerations before beginning negotiations, may take a back seat to discussions over a convention and ensuing protocols.

- Financial markets may be startled by the appearance of U.S. movement toward international treaties mandating the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.

- The movement toward maturation of international policy may preempt the President's development of a comprehensive climate change policy.

- The U.S. may not be able to exercise leadership in a separate RSWG group since it would probably not be chaired by the U.S. For example, Canada, which has already pursued an aggressive

policy on atmospheric issues, is a likely candidate for the chair.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

April 27, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO NANCY A. MALOLEY

SUBJECT: GLOBAL WARMING ISSUE PAPER

FROM: BEVERLY J. BERGER BB

The draft paper on global climate change issue paper is making significant progress. We appreciate your considerable efforts. We would, however, like to have an opportunity to review the next draft as there are likely to be extensive, substantive changes.

OSTP revisions are provided on the attached, including background on the scientific aspects of this issue.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELECOPY MESSAGE

OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT
ROOM 220
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

FAX: (202) 456-7739
PHONE: (202) 456-6554

TO: Beverly Berger DATE: 4/26

ORGANIZATION: OSTP TIME: _____

PHONE # 395-3902

FAX # 395-3462

FROM: Nancy A. Maloley, OPD/WH

SUBJECT: EENR Working Group

☐ PER OUR CONVERSATION. ☐ AS REQUESTED.

☐ FOR YOUR INFORMATION. ☐ FOR COMMENT.

☐ OTHER _____

REMARKS: _____

7 PAGES INCLUDING THIS COVER.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 26, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR MEMBERS OF THE EENR WORKING GROUP

FROM: NANCY A. MALOLEY Nam

SUBJECT: Global Warming

Attached is the paper concerning discussions on a global convention. Please provide comments by 4:00 P.M. tomorrow, Thursday, April 27.

Please FAX as available, as it appears to be the most expedient.

Attachment

GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE

ISSUE: How should the United States respond to growing international pressure for a climate change convention?

BACKGROUND:

The U.S. has urged that the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), jointly established by the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) in November 1988, serve as the central policy forum for the climate change issue. Three working groups, chaired by the U.K., U.S.S.R. and the U.S., respectively, were established under the IPCC to consider 1) the science, 2) environmental and socioeconomic impacts and 3) response strategies.

Considered to be an unprecedented example of rapid international cooperation on environmental problems, the IPCC project aims to submit an interim report of its findings in time for the Second World Climate Conference scheduled for Geneva in November 1990.

Secretary Baker echoed the President's stated commitment to addressing global environmental concerns by opening the Response Strategies Working Group (RSWG) January meeting in Washington with a strong statement of Administration support for the overall effort. The meeting was designed to be largely procedural and was considered to be an overall success.

We are witnessing, however, a rapid growth of international interest in the quick advancement toward a global climate change convention. insert (A) here

-- On March 11, France and Netherlands convened ministers representing 24 nations (the U.S. was not invited until the last minute) on the global warming issue. At the meeting, the ministers signed the Declaration of The Hague stating global warming is the world's top environmental problem and calling for a new UN authority to combat it. The organizers will meet again in May to address a convention proposal with timetables, emission reduction targets, and new international regulatory authority. (*) insert

-- The RSWG holds its second meeting on May 8-12 in Geneva. A key issue is expected to be the concept of a convention on global warming. The terms of reference adopted by WMO and UNEP for the RSWG include consideration of "legal matters." The 18-month workplan adopted at the group's first meeting in January 1989 embraced consideration of "new legal and institutional mechanisms that could be used to implement options to limit or adapt to climate change." The U.S. has, however, succeeded to date in preventing either (1) creation of a separate group within RSWG to consider legal or institutional measures or (2) explicit discussion within RSWG of the global climate convention concept or of what such a convention might contain.

(*) insert (Note: The US, UK, USSR and China did not attend the Hague meeting. Attendees included most European and third world countries, Japan, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.)

Insert (A)

-- On June 27-30, 1988 Canada convened with the support of Prime Minister Minister Mulroney, a meeting entitled "The Changing Atmosphere; Implications for Global Security." The Candian-drafted report of the meeting promoted a Law of the Atmosphere and targets and timetables for CO_2 reductions.

-- On February 20-22, 1989 an international meeting of legal and policy experts was held in Ottawa, Canada to develop further the legal and institutional framework for dealing with existing emerging atmospheric problems. This group recommended that "an international convention or conventions with appropriate protocols are needed as a means to ensure rapid international action to protect the atmosphere and limit the rate of climate change. It also recommended that protocols to limit carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere are urgently required, either within the frame work of a Convention on Climate Change or a Convention on the Protection of the Atmosphere and that negotiation of protocols on priority issues should proceed simultaneously with the development of any such convention."

-- The Governing Council of the UNEP meeting in Nairobi on May 15-26 is expected to discuss a global climate change framework convention, which is favored by its executive director, Mostafa Tolba.

-- At the IPCC meeting in Nairobi on June 28-30 a climate change convention is also expected to be discussed.

-- A number of leaders attending the July seven-nation Economic Summit in Paris are likely to force discussions concerning a climate change convention.

The U.S., the Soviet Union, and China together produce over 50% of man's contribution to greenhouse gases. Although any serious international effort toward a response to climate change must include these nations, to date the three have not participated in any discussions calling for a climate change convention. (not quite true – the US participated in both Toronto + Ottawa meetings.)

DISCUSSION:

ARGUMENTS FAVORING CONVENTION DISCUSSIONS

The U.S. may want to modify its past position by initiating new discussions at the May 8-12 RSWG meeting that would lead to the formation of a ~~separate~~ group within RSWG mandated with the authority to discuss the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention. Those in favor of modifying U.S. policy make the following arguments.

-- The need for early discussions is predicated on the belief that the U.S. chaired RSWG is a more favorable forum for international discussion on a global climate change convention. The convention approach is seen as inevitable, so it would be better to guide international activity toward a convention containing general principles of cooperation, monitoring mechanisms, and research programs. With strong U.S leadership this approach may be able to stop movements -- such as the Hague Declaration -- toward a convention with targets, timetables, and UN authority. for reductions in green house gas emissions

-- A framework convention could follow the general approach of the 1985 Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer, providing an institutional framework for continuing assessment of the issue and discussion of possible responses. It would also provide a legal framework under which specific measures could be subsequently agreed, possibly through the adoption of protocols, as with the ozone convention. However, a framework convention would not impose any obligation on the parties to agree to specific response measures or join any protocol.

-- A call for discussions to consider formalizing and expanding existing international cooperation on climate change by some form of climate treaty -- even one limited to scientific cooperation -- would be a significant step beyond the current IPCC process.

delete, as this is inaccurate and very misleading

Such an U.S. proposal could attract substantial international attention and would represent a serious governmental response. Depending on its timing, content, and presentation, a treaty proposal could afford the U.S. an opportunity to reassert a leadership position on the issue of global climate change. For example, the President could propose an international legal initiative in some highly visible form.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST CONVENTION DISCUSSIONS

The U.S. may not want to modify its past position by initiating discussions on the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention. Those against early modification of U.S. policy make the following arguments.

-- It is vitally important that any potential U.S. response to climate change be based on sound scientific evidence. Toward this end, our efforts must accentuate research. The U.S. is making the world's largest contribution to overall global climate change research and our representatives may want to impress on other nations the importance of this leadership role. The process leading to the Montreal Protocol is an example of international cooperation on a known environmental problem. There was considerably more science available on CFCs and their effect on the ozone layer at the beginning stages of that process, however, than is known about global climate change today.

-- The Hague Declaration should not be viewed as a process with which we must catch up. We were not invited to the meeting (until the last minute), nor did the other significant greenhouse gas producers (U.S.S.R. and China) take part in the proceedings. Any serious international effort on global climate change must include these three nations.

-- The IPCC is the major international effort in regard to climate change and its agenda, correctly, reflects the need for scientific data collection and analysis. The three IPCC working groups are progressing and at the present time there is no need for further ~~negotiations~~ discussions leading toward a mechanism for developing potential future responses. The early participation in such negotiations will likely lead to an early convention, early protocols, and poor policy which is based on emotion, political expediency, and the motivations of nations not destined to be economically damaged by immature climate change responses.

-- The U.S. should decide if a convention on climate change is in its best interest. This decision should be considered within the context of a comprehensive U.S. approach to the climate change issue. Until the President has had an opportunity to develop his overall policy, the Administration should defer taking positions at international meetings which will limit his later options. Joining in such an international process may imply the adoption by the U.S. of certain domestic policies,

including all or a combination of the following: (1) energy taxes; (2) tightened CAFE standards for automobiles; (3) improvements in the efficiency of utilities; (4) increased reliance on nuclear power; and (5) reforestation programs. The called for modification of U.S. policy is a major threshold step in the direction toward a climate change convention. This mechanism may ultimately end with intense international pressure on the U.S. to sign a protocol which is not based on sound science and which has the potential of imparting a severe negative impact on our economy.

OPTIONS:

OPTION #1:

The U.S. delegation ~~continues to insist~~ maintains the position that no separate group be established within RSWG to consider legal and institutional measures and that no separate process for considering possible elements of a framework convention be established and uses the power of the chair to prevail.

Pros:

- Provides the President the opportunity to develop a ~~comprehensive~~ foreign policy global climate change policy ~~with all options still intact~~. as an outgrowth of domestic policy. aspects of
- ~~The development of science will remain the focus of the IPCC and the concept of a convention will remain a future option.~~ Promotes focussing on technical aspects of global change within the IPCC; avoids having legal issues dominate at this stage.

Cons:

- ~~With U.S. intransigence on the convention concept~~, international activity ~~may be moved~~ from RSWG to a less desirable forum.
- Maintenance of the current US position on legal and institutional issues with RSWG may result in a shift in
- The U.S. would appear to the world ~~to be dragging its feet on a major international issue.~~ not to be responsive to pressures for a global climate convention as articulated at the Toronto, Ottawa, and Hague meetings

OPTION #2:

The U.S. delegation takes the initiative in proposing that a separate group be established within RSWG to consider legal and institutional measures and that it immediately begin to discuss what might be included in a framework convention.

Pros:

- The discussions concerning the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention would, among other legal options, remain within RSWG where the U.S. ~~can~~ may be able to guide them to a reasonable conclusion. // a must
- The U.S. would ~~reassert its position as a bold leader on an important international issue.~~ show that it is responsive to international pressures. // a must

Cons:

- The present IPCC process, which emphasizes the development of science, may take a back seat to discussions over a convention and ensuing protocols.

- Financial markets may be jolted by the appearance of U.S. movement toward international treaties mandating the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.

- The early maturation of international policy may preempt the President's development of a comprehensive climate change policy.

• INSERT (B)

OPTION#3:

The U.S. delegation takes the initiative in proposing that a separate group be established within the RSWG Steering Committee with the purpose of drafting a report on possible institutional mechanisms for addressing the climate change issue expressly including, but not limited to, possible elements of a framework convention. The group would be given a specific timetable such as an annotated outline of report to Steering Committee for discussion at Steering Committee meeting in Fall 1989, a full draft report for review by Steering Committee in Spring 1990 and inclusion in the RSWG section of the IPCC report in Fall 1990. The head of the U.S delegation would have discretion to seek the chair of the group or to support another country.

Pros:

- The discussions concerning the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention would remain within RSWG where the U.S. can guide them to a reasonable conclusion.

- The U.S. would reassert, to a lesser degree than option #2, its position as a leader on an important international issue.

Cons:

- The present IPCC process, which perhaps emphasizes the development of science, may take a back seat, to a lesser degree than option #2, to discussions over a convention and ensuing protocols.

- Financial markets may be jolted, to a lesser degree than option #2, by the appearance of U.S. movement toward international treaties mandating the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions. INSERT (C)

- The movement toward maturation of international policy may preempt the President's development of a comprehensive climate change policy.

• INSERT (D)

OPTION # 4 - attached

Inserts

(B)

- The group would undoubtedly be chaired by Canada which played leadership roles in the Toronto, Ottawa and the Hague meetings, all of which promoted either a climate convention or law of the atmosphere as well as targets and timetables for greenhouse gas reductions.

(C)

- Financial markets may be jolted, to a lesser degree than option #2, by the appearance of U.S. accommodation to international pressure seeking to establish a convention on global climate change and subsequent targets and timetables for greenhouse gas reductions.

(D)

- The group would most likely be chaired by Canada which played leadership roles in the Toronto, Ottawa and the Hague meetings, all of which promoted both a climate convention or law of the atmosphere as well as targets and timetables for greenhouse gas reductions.

Option 4: Same as 3 except legal group is chaired by RSWG chairman (which is U.S.)

Pro's and con's the same except that U.S. will undoubtedly chair and have some control over scope and process.

SCIENCE

The magnitude, rate, and timing of any climatic change which might be caused by human activities is subject to very high scientific uncertainty. In 1979, the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) estimated on the basis of results from the available climate models that a doubling in CO_2 levels would yield--with a 50 percent probability--a global warming ranging from 1.5 to 4.5 degrees C. The NAS most probable estimate out of this range was 3 degrees C. A subsequent (1983) NAS review of the issue, and the 1979 estimate, concluded that:

> "the climate record of the past hundred years and our estimates of CO_2 changes over that period suggest that values in the lower half of this range are more probable."

These projections are based, however, on a very limited knowledge base--much of the information needed to make projections of global change including possible climate change is not known. We currently understand too little of the physical science and even less of the life sciences necessary to predict global change. As a result, improving our ability to understand and to predict global change, whether natural or human-induced, is essential for providing a sound basis for developing policy.

Areas of uncertainty include:

-- We do not have quantitative models of terrestrial ecosystems and marine biogeochemistry. These are important components to any model of the total earth system.

-- The effects with global change on cloud cover. Some people believe an increase in low-cloud cover of only a few percent would outweigh the radiative effect of a doubling in atmospheric CO_2 levels.

-- The heat capacity of the oceans could, in principle, delay substantially a projected rise in global temperature and modify polar-to-equator temperature gradients in the interim. We require a better understanding of the processes governing ocean circulation and a credible numerical model to quantify these effects.

United States Department of the Interior

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20240

TAKE PRIDE IN AMERICA

TRANSMISSION NOTICE

FAX NUMBER: 202/343-4867

VOICE NUMBER: _____

TO: Name Paul Roellig
Voice no. 456-7988
Fax Phone # 456-7739

FROM: T. Goklany 343-4951
Office of Program Analysis
DOI, 18th & C Sts., N.W., MS 4412
Washington, D.C. 20240

NO. OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 5

DATE: 4/28 TIME: 12:30 p.m.

COMMENTS:

_____
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_____

Paul, I've some very quick comments. Sorry I could not get it to you earlier or devote more time to it. Bob

GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE

ISSUE: How should the United States respond to growing international pressure for a climate change convention?

BACKGROUND:

The U.S. has urged that the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), jointly established by the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) in November 1988, serve as the central policy forum for the climate change issue. Three working groups, chaired by the U.K., U.S.S.R. and the U.S., respectively, were established under the IPCC to consider 1) the science, 2) environmental and socioeconomic impacts and 3) response strategies.

Considered to be an unprecedented example of rapid international cooperation on environmental problems, the IPCC project aims to submit an interim report of its findings in time for the Second World Climate Conference scheduled for Geneva in November 1990.

Secretary Baker echoed the President's stated commitment to addressing global environmental concerns by opening the Response Strategies Working Group (RSWG) January meeting in Washington with a strong statement of Administration support for the overall effort. The meeting was designed to be largely procedural and was considered to be an overall success.

We are witnessing, however, a rapid growth of international interest in the quick advancement toward a global climate change convention.

-- On March 11, France and Netherlands convened ministers representing 24 nations (the U.S. was not invited until the last minute) on the global warming issue. At the meeting, the ministers signed the Declaration of The Hague stating global warming is the world's top environmental problem and calling for a new UN authority to combat it. The organizers will meet again in May to address a convention proposal with timetables, emission reduction targets, and new international regulatory authority.

Were we even invited?

-- The RSWG steering ~~group~~ committee holds its second meeting on May 8-12 in Geneva. A key issue is expected to be the concept of a convention on global warming. The terms of reference adopted by WMO and UNEP for the RSWG include consideration of "legal matters." The 18-month workplan adopted at the group's first meeting in January 1989 embraced consideration of "new legal and institutional mechanisms that could be used to implement options to limit or adapt to climate change." The U.S. has, however, succeeded to date in preventing either (1) creation of a separate group within RSWG to consider legal or institutional measures or (2) explicit discussion within RSWG of the global climate convention concept or of what such a convention might contain.

Re uncertainty in emerging science on climate change and its likely impacts. Also it makes talk about the need of premature action. Does more or less direction, rapid and timely action important - its effects.

-- The Governing Council of the UNEP meeting in Nairobi on May 15-26 is expected to discuss a global climate change framework convention, which is favored by its executive director, Mostafa Tolba.

-- At the IPCC meeting in Nairobi on June 28-30 a climate change convention is also expected to be discussed.

-- A number of leaders attending the July seven-nation Economic Summit in Paris are likely to force discussions concerning a climate change convention.

The U.S., the Soviet Union, and China together produce over 50% of man's contribution to greenhouse gases. Although any serious international effort toward a response to climate change must include these nations, to date the three have not participated in any discussions calling for a climate change convention.

DISCUSSION:

ARGUMENTS FAVORING CONVENTION DISCUSSIONS

The U.S. may want to modify its past position by initiating discussions at the May 8-12 RSWG meeting that would lead to the formation of a separate group within RSWG mandated with the authority to discuss the ~~advisability and~~ possible elements of a framework convention. Those in favor of modifying U.S. policy make the following arguments.

and/or advisability

-- The need for early discussions is predicated on the belief that the U.S. chaired RSWG is a more favorable forum for international discussion on a global climate change convention. The convention approach is seen as inevitable, so it would be better to guide international activity toward a convention containing general principles of cooperation, monitoring mechanisms, and research programs. With strong U.S leadership this approach may be able to stop movements -- such as the Hague Declaration -- toward a convention with targets, timetables, and UN authority.

-- A framework convention could follow the general approach of the 1985 Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer, providing an institutional framework for continuing assessment of the issue and discussion of possible responses. It would also provide a legal framework under which specific measures could be subsequently agreed, possibly through the adoption of protocols, as with the ozone convention. However, a framework convention would not impose any obligation on the parties to agree to specific response measures or join any protocol.

-- A call for discussions to consider formalizing and expanding existing international cooperation on climate change by some form of climate treaty -- even one limited to scientific cooperation -- would be a significant step beyond the current IPCC process.

Such an U.S. proposal could attract substantial international attention and would represent a serious governmental response. Depending on its timing, content, and presentation, a treaty proposal could afford the U.S. an opportunity to reassert a leadership position on the issue of global climate change. For example, the President could propose an international legal initiative in some highly visible form.

reducing the uncertainties in our scientific knowledge and data base, and a much better understanding of the social, environmental and economic consequences of any policy options.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST CONVENTION DISCUSSIONS

The U.S. may not want to modify its past position by initiating discussions on the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention. Those against early modification of U.S. policy make the following arguments.

-- It is vitally important that any potential U.S. response to climate change be based on sound scientific evidence. Toward this end, our efforts must ~~accentuate research~~. The U.S. is making the world's largest contribution to overall global climate change research and our representatives may want to impress on other nations the importance of this leadership role. The process leading to the Montreal Protocol is an example of international cooperation on a known environmental problem. There was considerably more science available on CFCs and their effect on the ozone layer at the beginning stages of that process, however, than is known about global climate change today. Also, the socioeconomic impacts of CFC control are at least an order of magnitude less.

-- The Hague Declaration should not be viewed as a process with which we must catch up. We were not invited to the meeting (until the last minute), nor did the other significant greenhouse gas producers (U.S.S.R. and China) take part in the proceedings. Any ~~serious~~ international effort on global climate change ~~must include~~ these three nations will be still born. (by STET...) (must without participation by)

-- The IPCC is the major international effort in regard to climate change and its agenda, correctly, reflects the need for scientific data collection and analysis. The three IPCC working groups are progressing and at the present time there is no need for further negotiations leading toward a mechanism for developing potential future responses. The early participation in such negotiations will likely lead to an early convention, early protocols, and poor policy which is based on emotion, political expediency, and the motivations of nations not destined to be economically damaged by immature climate change responses. (of social, environmental and economic consequences of action or inaction)

-- The U.S. should decide if a convention on climate change is in its best interest. This decision should be considered within the context of a comprehensive U.S. approach to the climate change issue. Until the President has had an opportunity to develop his overall policy, the Administration should defer taking positions at international meetings which will limit his later options. Joining in such an international process may imply the adoption by the U.S. of certain domestic policies,

including all or a combination of the following: (1) energy taxes; (2) tightened CAFE standards for automobiles; (3) improvements in the efficiency of utilities; (4) increased reliance on nuclear power; and (5) reforestation programs. The called for modification of U.S. policy is a major threshold step in the direction toward a climate change convention. This mechanism may ultimately end with intense international pressure on the U.S. to sign a protocol which is not based on sound science and which has the potential of imparting a severe negative impact on our economy.

OPTIONS:

OPTION #1:

The U.S. delegation continues to insist that no separate group be established within RSWG to consider legal and institutional measures and that no separate process for considering possible elements of a framework convention be established and uses the power of the chair to prevail.

Pros:

- Provides the President the opportunity to develop a comprehensive global climate change policy with all options still intact.
- The development of science will remain the focus of the IPCC and the concept of a convention will remain a future option.

Cons:

- With U.S. intransigence on the convention concept, international activity may be moved from RSWG to a less desirable forum.
- The U.S. would appear to the [activist nations of] world to be dragging its feet on a major international issue. ; Other nations may view this as a responsible attitude.

OPTION #2:

The U.S. delegation takes the initiative in proposing that a separate group be established within RSWG to consider legal and institutional measures and that it ~~immediately~~ begin to discuss what might be included in a framework convention without, at this time, getting into a discussion on the advisability of such a framework convention.

Pros:

- The discussions concerning the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention would remain within RSWG where the U.S. can guide them to a reasonable conclusion.
- The U.S. would reassert its position as a bold leader on an important international issue. } Is this a "pro"?

Cons:

- The present IPCC process, which emphasizes the development of science, may take a back seat to discussions over a convention and ensuing protocols. } not necessarily

- Financial markets may be jolted by the appearance of U.S. movement toward international treaties mandating the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.

- The early maturation of international policy ~~may preempt~~ presents some danger in reducing the flexibility in the President's development of a comprehensive climate change policy.

OPTION#3:

The U.S. delegation takes the initiative in proposing that a separate group be established within the RSWG Steering Committee with the purpose of drafting a report on possible institutional mechanisms for addressing the climate change issue expressly including, but not limited to, possible elements of a framework convention. The group would be given a specific timetable such as an annotated outline of report to Steering Committee for discussion at Steering Committee meeting in Fall ~~1990~~, a full draft report for review by Steering Committee in Spring ~~1990~~ and inclusion in the RSWG section of the IPCC report in Fall ~~1990~~. The head of the U.S delegation would have discretion to seek the chair of the group or to support another country.

This timetable is unreal... It should be a co

Pros:

- The discussions concerning the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention would remain within RSWG where the U.S. can guide them to a reasonable conclusion.

- The U.S. would reassert, to a lesser degree than option #2, its position as a leader on an important international issue.

Cons:

- The present IPCC process, which emphasizes the development of science, may take a back seat, to a lesser degree than option #2, to discussions over a convention and ensuing protocols.

- Financial markets may be jolted, to a lesser degree than option #2, by the appearance of U.S. movement toward international treaties mandating the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.

- The movement toward maturation of international policy may preempt the President's development of a comprehensive climate change policy.

- Could have major adverse social, economic and environmental impacts on the U.S. & the world ... & necessarily a commensurate benefit

(accelerating development of a convention)

Department of Energy
Washington, DC 20585

Note to: Nancy Maloley

From: Melinda Downing

Subject: EENR Working Group on Global Warming

Please see the attached information from Polly Gault. The Admiral and Polly are on official travel Friday, April 28, 1989 to Savannah River. All comments on this issue should be coordinated with John Easton. He can be reached on 586-6210 or by fax number 586-7644.

Attachment

cc: Bob Grady

DOE FORRESTAL COMM CENTE TEL: 202-586-5067 Apr 27,89 18:00 No.030 P.02

Department of Energy
Washington, DC 20585

MEMORANDUM FOR: Nancy A. Maloley
Office of Policy Development
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

FROM: Polly Gault
Chief of Staff
Office of The Secretary of Energy

Polly Gault

SUBJECT: EENR Working Group on Global Warming

Discussion of Paper

The Department of Energy is concerned that some of the statements contained in the "Background" section are not factually correct. For example, on page 1 there is a statement that the Hague Declaration calls for a "new UN authority." In fact, Principle (a) calls for "strengthening existing institutions or by creating a new institution" (emphasis added).

On page 3 the process leading to the Montreal Protocol was described as an example of international cooperation on a "known" environmental problem. The use of this word overstates the degree of scientific knowledge or scientific agreement about the problem.

A more serious problem is the lack of specificity with regard to the options. A more detailed analysis of the nature and content of a framework convention is needed.

Prior to any discussion at the Geneva meeting, the U.S. delegation must have a clear understanding of what would be an acceptable content of a framework convention. If a framework convention were limited only to endorsing the work of the IPCC and calling for wider participation in the IPCC process, emphasizing scientific cooperation to determine the effect of greenhouse gases and calling for further development and analysis of various response options, it could serve a constructive purpose.

The Department of Energy strongly believes that any discussion of a framework convention should occur within RSWG and IPCC rather than UNEP. The U.S. should assure that the IPCC retains control of this issue rather than have UNEP assume responsibility for it. Since UNEP has exclusively focused on environmental issues, it would not consider other competing issues such as energy and economy in the same way that the IPCC would.

3/2137

DOE FORRESTAL COMM CENTE TEL: 202-586-5067 Apr 27,89 18:00 No.030 P.03

Comments on the Options Presented by EENR:

Option #1: This course of inaction could undermine the U.S. position. It would appear to be foot dragging. There is mounting pressure on the U.S. for action that emanates from a cross section of countries, not just the activists. Continued refusal to discuss a framework convention will hinder development of consensus on other matters.

Option #2: If the possibility of a framework convention is discussed, such a discussion should occur before the entire RSWG. This would allow the U.S. to retain the chair. In addition, the person selected for the chair should be a strong, unbiased representive of the U.S. position. In the past the U.S. agreed that RSWG subgroups should have foreign chairmen thereby weakening U.S. influence. By contrast, the Environmental and Socio-Economic Impacts Working Group chaired by the USSR has a Soviet cochair for each subgroup.

Option #3: This option puts discussion of the framework in the RSWG Steering committee. This is a closed forum with a more limited representation than a separate RSWG subgroup. Since there would be no chance for industry and other Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) to be heard, there is a greater chance that views contrary to U.S. interests could be carried.

Recommendation:

The consensus on this issue has not been formed and the process needs more time. This group should continue to work toward formulation of a USG leadership position without the pressure of a decision to place discussion of the matter on the next RSWG agenda. After a USG leadership position is completed, we may choose our forum to unveil our plan (e.g., IPCC in Nairobi in June).

A/2137

DOE FORRESTAL COMM CENTE TEL: 202-586-5067 Apr 27,89 18:00 No.030 P.04

OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT
ROOM 220
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

FAX: (202) 456-7739
PHONE: (202) 456-6554

TO: Polly Gault

DATE: 4/27

ORGANIZATION: Dept. of Energy

TIME: 9:30

PHONE # 586-6210

FAX # 586-7644

FROM: Nancy Maloley, OPD/WH

SUBJECT: EENR Working Group

☐ PER OUR CONVERSATION.

☐ AS REQUESTED.

☐ FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

☐ FOR COMMENT.

☐ OTHER

REMARKS:

1 PAGES INCLUDING THIS COVER.

DOE FORRESTAL COMM CENTE TEL: 202-586-5067 Apr 27,89 18:00 No.030 P.05

5/212

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

APR 27 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR KEN YALE

FROM: for Jay Plager

SUBJECT: Global Warming

1) The background discussion should present a short discussion of the current state of the science. (See attached statement.)

2) The discussion does not provide the reader with a clear explanation of what a framework convention is, and how it differs from the current IPCC structure. [Surely, for example, the current IPCC provides a framework "for continuing assessment of the issue and discussion of possible responses."]

3) The discussion should also point to the points of U.S. leadership in terms of, for example, the phasedown of CFCs and the commitment to an ambitious agenda of scientific research. There must be other ways to lead besides jumping on the framework convention bandwagon.

4) Rewrite Option #1, as follows:

The U.S. delegation maintains the position that RSWG will not consider legal and institutional measures and that no separate process for considering possible elements of a framework convention will be established. The U.S. delegation will use the power of the chair to prevail.

5) Tuesday's discussion suggested that even if the U.S. initiates a discussion of a framework convention in the context of RSWG, it may not be able to control the ensuing discussion within RSWG or in the variety of other international fora on global change. There is no discussion of this possibility.

6) The draft at several points (p.2 and Option #3 on p.5) suggests that initiating discussions on the issue would lead to the formation of a separate group within RSWG to discuss the advisability, etc., of a framework convention. In Tuesday's meeting, there seemed to be general agreement that the U.S. would retain greater control if such discussions were part of the basic agenda of RSWG, instead of creating a subgroup.

7) Use of "intransigence" in the first "con" bullet in Option 1 is pejorative. Bullet should be re-written as follows:

> Maintenance of the current U.S. position on
> may result in a shift in international
> activity from RSWG to a less desirable form.

Attachment

SCIENCE

The magnitude, rate, and timing of any climatic change which might be caused by human activities is subject to very high scientific uncertainty. In 1979, the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) estimated on the basis of results from the available climate models that a doubling in CO_2 levels would yield--with a 50 percent probability--a global warming ranging from 1.5 to 4.5 degrees C. The NAS most probable estimate out of this range was 3 degrees C. A subsequent (1983) NAS review of the issue, and the 1979 estimate, concluded that:

> "the climate record of the past hundred years and our estimates of CO_2 changes over that period suggest that values in the lower half of this range are more probable."

These projections are based, however, on a very limited knowledge base--much of the information needed to make projections of global change including possible climate change is not known. We currently understand too little of the physical science and even less of the life sciences necessary to predict global change. As a result, improving our ability to understand and to predict global change, whether natural or human-induced, is essential for providing a sound basis for developing policy.

Areas of uncertainty include:

-- We do not have quantitative models of terrestrial ecosystems and marine biogeochemistry. These are important components to any model of the total earth system.

-- The effects with global change on cloud cover. Some people believe an increase in low-cloud cover of only a few percent would outweigh the radiative effect of a doubling in atmospheric CO_2 levels.

-- The heat capacity of the oceans could, in principle, delay substantially a projected rise in global temperature and modify polar-to-equator temperature gradients in the interim. We require a better understanding of the processes governing ocean circulation and a credible numerical model to quantify these effects.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 26, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR MEMBERS OF THE EENR WORKING GROUP

FROM: NANCY A. MALOLEY

SUBJECT: Global Warming

Attached is the paper concerning discussions on a global convention. Please provide comments by 4:00 P.M. tomorrow, Thursday, April 27.

Please FAX as available, as it appears to be the most expedient.

Attachment

4/27/89

Nancy - The key issue here is — does the President want to have international concerns drive domestic policy, or does he want to decide what we do domestically and then let those decisions drive our relations with other nations. The issue needs very early DPC consideration.

Notes in margins.

Al Hill

Such an U.S. proposal could attract substantial international attention and would represent a serious governmental response. Depending on its timing, content, and presentation, a treaty proposal could afford the U.S. an opportunity to reassert a leadership position on the issue of global climate change. For example, the President could propose an international legal initiative in some highly visible form.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST CONVENTION DISCUSSIONS

The U.S. may not want to modify its past position by initiating discussions on the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention. Those against early modification of U.S. policy make the following arguments.

-- It is vitally important that any potential U.S. response to climate change be based on sound scientific evidence. Toward this end, our efforts must accentuate research. The U.S. is making the world's largest contribution to overall global climate change research and our representatives may want to impress on other nations the importance of this leadership role. The process leading to the Montreal Protocol is an example of international cooperation on a known environmental problem. There was considerably more science available on CFCs and their effect on the ozone layer at the beginning stages of that process, however, than is known about global climate change today.

-- The Hague Declaration should not be viewed as a process with which we must catch up. We were not invited to the meeting (until the last minute), nor did the other significant greenhouse gas producers (U.S.S.R. and China) take part in the proceedings. Any serious international effort on global climate change must include these three nations.

-- The IPCC is the major international effort in regard to climate change and its agenda, correctly, reflects the need for scientific data collection and analysis. The three IPCC working groups are progressing and at the present time there is no need for further negotiations leading toward a mechanism for developing potential future responses. The early participation in such negotiations will likely lead to an early convention, early protocols, and poor policy which is based on emotion, political expediency, and the motivations of nations not destined to be economically damaged by immature climate change responses.

-- The U.S. should decide if a convention on climate change is in its best interest. This decision should be considered within the context of a comprehensive U.S. approach to the climate change issue. Until the President has had an opportunity to develop his overall policy, the Administration should defer taking positions at international meetings which will limit his later options. Joining in such an international process may imply the adoption by the U.S. of certain domestic policies,

Right!

-- The Governing Council of the UNEP meeting in Nairobi on May 15-26 is expected to discuss a global climate change framework convention, which is favored by its executive director, Mostafa Tolba.

-- At the IPCC meeting in Nairobi on June 28-30 a climate change convention is also expected to be discussed.

-- A number of leaders attending the July seven-nation Economic Summit in Paris are likely to force discussions concerning a climate change convention.

The U.S., the Soviet Union, and China together produce over 50% of man's contribution to greenhouse gases. Although any serious international effort toward a response to climate change must include these nations, to date the three have not participated in any discussions calling for a climate change convention.

What do USSR & China feel?

DISCUSSION:

ARGUMENTS FAVORING CONVENTION DISCUSSIONS

The U.S. may want to modify its past position by initiating discussions at the May 8-12 RSWG meeting that would lead to the formation of a separate group within RSWG mandated with the authority to discuss the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention. Those in favor of modifying U.S. policy make the following arguments.

-- The need for early discussions is predicated on the belief that the U.S. chaired RSWG is a more favorable forum for international discussion on a global climate change convention. The convention approach is seen as inevitable, so it would be better to guide international activity toward a convention containing general principles of cooperation, monitoring mechanisms, and research programs. With strong U.S leadership this approach may be able to stop movements -- such as the Hague Declaration -- toward a convention with targets, timetables, and UN authority.

-- A framework convention could follow the general approach of the 1985 Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer, providing an institutional framework for continuing assessment of the issue and discussion of possible responses. It would also provide a legal framework under which specific measures could be subsequently agreed, possibly through the adoption of protocols, as with the ozone convention. However, a framework convention would not impose any obligation on the parties to agree to specific response measures or join any protocol.

-- A call for discussions to consider formalizing and expanding existing international cooperation on climate change by some form of climate treaty -- even one limited to scientific cooperation -- would be a significant step beyond the current IPCC process.

Note: need to define: ① what global climate change is ② contributing pollutants ③ source of those pollutants.

GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE

ISSUE: How should the United States respond to growing international pressure for a climate change convention?

BACKGROUND:

The U.S. has urged that the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), jointly established by the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) in November 1988, serve as the central policy forum for the climate change issue. Three working groups, chaired by the U.K., U.S.S.R. and the U.S., respectively, were established under the IPCC to consider 1) the science, 2) environmental and socioeconomic impacts and 3) response strategies.

Considered to be an unprecedented example of rapid international cooperation on environmental problems, the IPCC project aims to submit an interim report of its findings in time for the Second World Climate Conference scheduled for Geneva in November 1990.

Secretary Baker echoed the President's stated commitment to addressing global environmental concerns by opening the Response Strategies Working Group (RSWG) January meeting in Washington with a strong statement of Administration support for the overall effort. The meeting was designed to be largely procedural and was considered to be an overall success. ? Delegates rejected opening US position!

We are witnessing, however, a rapid growth of international interest in the quick advancement toward a global climate change convention.

-- On March 11, France and Netherlands convened ministers representing 24 nations (the U.S. was not invited until the last minute) on the global warming issue. At the meeting, the ministers signed the Declaration of The Hague stating global warming is the world's top environmental problem and calling for a new UN authority to combat it. The organizers will meet again in May to address a convention proposal with timetables, emission reduction targets, and new international regulatory authority.

-- The RSWG holds its second meeting on May 8-12 in Geneva. A key issue is expected to be the concept of a convention on global warming. The terms of reference adopted by WMO and UNEP for the RSWG include consideration of "legal matters." The 18-month workplan adopted at the group's first meeting in January 1989 embraced consideration of "new legal and institutional mechanisms that could be used to implement options to limit or adapt to climate change." The U.S. has, however, succeeded to date in preventing either (1) creation of a separate group within RSWG to consider legal or institutional measures or (2) explicit discussion within RSWG of the global climate convention concept or of what such a convention might contain.

Institutional orientation of list of nations.

including all or a combination of the following: (1) energy taxes; (2) tightened CAFE standards for automobiles; (3) improvements in the efficiency of utilities; (4) increased reliance on nuclear power; and (5) reforestation programs. The called for modification of U.S. policy is a major threshold step in the direction toward a climate change convention. This mechanism may ultimately end with intense international pressure on the U.S. to sign a protocol which is not based on sound science and which has the potential of imparting a severe negative impact on our economy.

OPTIONS:

OPTION #1:

The U.S. delegation continues to insist that no separate group be established within RSWG to consider legal and institutional measures and that no separate process for considering possible elements of a framework convention be established and uses the power of the chair to prevail.

Pros:

- Provides the President the opportunity to develop a comprehensive global climate change policy with all options still intact.

- The development of science will remain the focus of the IPCC and the concept of a convention will remain a future option.

Cons:

- With U.S. intransigence on the convention concept, international activity may be moved from RSWG to a less desirable forum.

- The U.S. would appear to the world to be dragging its feet on a major international issue.

OPTION #2:

The U.S. delegation takes the initiative in proposing that a separate group be established within RSWG to consider legal and institutional measures and that it immediately begin to discuss what might be included in a framework convention.

Pros:

- The discussions concerning the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention would remain within RSWG where the U.S. can guide them to a reasonable conclusion.

- The U.S. would reassert its position as a bold leader on an important international issue.

This assumes others will listen to us - not necessarily

Cons:

- The present IPCC process, which emphasizes the development of science, may take a back seat to discussions over a convention and ensuing protocols.

- Financial markets may be jolted by the appearance of U.S. movement toward international treaties mandating the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.

- The early maturation of international policy may preempt the President's development of a comprehensive climate change policy.

OPTION#3:

The U.S. delegation takes the initiative in proposing that a separate group be established within the RSWG Steering Committee with the purpose of drafting a report on possible institutional mechanisms for addressing the climate change issue expressly including, but not limited to, possible elements of a framework convention. The group would be given a specific timetable such as an annotated outline of report to Steering Committee for discussion at Steering Committee meeting in Fall 1989, a full draft report for review by Steering Committee in Spring 1990 and inclusion in the RSWG section of the IPCC report in Fall 1990. The head of the U.S delegation would have discretion to seek the chair of the group or to support another country.

Pros:

- The discussions concerning the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention would remain within RSWG where the U.S. can guide them to a reasonable conclusion.

- The U.S. would reassert, to a lesser degree than option #2, its position as a leader on an important international issue.

Cons:

- The present IPCC process, which emphasizes the development of science, may take a back seat, to a lesser degree than option #2, to discussions over a convention and ensuing protocols.

- Financial markets may be jolted, to a lesser degree than option #2, by the appearance of U.S. movement toward international treaties mandating the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.

- The movement toward maturation of international policy may preempt the President's development of a comprehensive climate change policy.

United States Department of State

Bureau of Oceans and International
Environmental and Scientific Affairs

Washington, D.C. 20520

RAPIDFAX

CANON FAX-620

Date: 4/27

Time: 1630

FROM:

Name: A. D. Sens TEL. No. 6479266

Office Symbol/Number OES Fax No. 647-5947

Document Description: _____ Pages to Follow: _____

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TO:

Name: Paul Rollis Tel. No.: 456-7988

Office Symbol/Number OPD Fax No.: 456-7739

****
****

MESSAGE

Comments on 4/26 Mallody
Paper, per request.

GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE

ISSUE: How should the United States respond within RSWG to international pressure for immediate consideration of a climate change convention?

BACKGROUND: The U.S. has urged that the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), jointly established last year by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), serve as the central policy forum for the climate change issue. Three working groups, chaired by the U.K., USSR, and the U.S., respectively, were established under the IPCC to consider: 1) the science, 2) the environmental and socioeconomic impacts; and 3) response strategies.

Considered to be an unprecedented example of rapid international cooperation on an environmental problem, the IPCC is to submit an interim report of its findings in time for the Second World Climate Conference scheduled for Geneva in late 1990.

Secretary Baker echoed the President's stated commitment to addressing global environmental concerns by opening the Response Strategies Working Group (RSWG) January meeting in Washington with a strong statement of Administration support for the overall effort. The meeting was designed to be largely procedural and was considered to be an overall success.

We are witnessing, however, a rapid growth of international interest in the quick advancement toward development of a global climate change convention:

-- On December 8, 1988, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution (which the U.S. did not oppose) calling upon UNEP and WMO, acting through the IPCC, to recommend "elements of a future climate convention".

-- On March 11, France and the Netherlands convened heads of governments representing 24 nations (the U.S. was not invited until the last minute and did not attend) on the climate change issue. The resulting "Declaration of The Hague" stated that global warming is the world's top environmental problem and called for new international authority to combat it. This group will meet again in May to follow up and discuss a convention proposal.

-- The RSWG holds its second meeting on May 8-12 in Geneva. A key issue is expected to be how discussion of the convention issue will be handled within RSWG. The terms of reference of the IPCC call for consideration of "legal matters". The 18-month workplan adopted at the RSWG's first meeting mandate consideration of "new legal and institutional mechanisms that could be used to implement options to limit or adapt to climate change".

The U.S. has succeeded to date in avoiding 1) the creation of a distinct group within RSWG to consider legal and institutional mechanisms and 2) explicit discussion within RSWG of the convention concept. However, given the UNGA resolution's call for the IPCC to recommend "elements of a future climate convention" and the RSWG's mandate to consider "new legal and institutional mechanisms", it is inevitable and, in fact, required, that the convention issue be discussed within RSWG at some point before it issues its report in late 1990. In light of the growing international pressure for early elaboration of a framework convention, the U.S. must decide how best to manage the RSWG process and its responsibilities as RSWG Chairman.

Option 1: The US should seek to postpone discussions of a framework convention until the end of the RSWG process.

Pros:

Would be consistent with USG expressed belief to date that it is premature to begin discussing a framework convention.

Could provide the USG with more time to develop a comprehensive global climate change policy with all options still intact.

Cons:

Faced with U.S. intransigence on early consideration of the convention concept, international activity may move from RSWG to a less desirable forum.

It is unclear whether the US could succeed in postponing the discussion, given that such discussion is consistent with the UNGA and RSWG mandates.

The US would appear to the world to be dragging its feet on a major international environmental issue.

Option 2: The US should acquiesce in, but not propose, discussions now of a framework convention within the RSWG. The US should seek to focus discussion on the Vienna Convention model (i.e., general principles of cooperation, monitoring, and research with no targets/timetables) within a subgroup of the RSWG Steering Committee in the context of elaborating a range of implementation mechanisms.

Pros:

Discussions on a convention would remain within RSWG where the US can influence the outcome.

Discussions on a convention would remain within RSWG, which would strengthen the IPCC by giving it more political visibility -- a U.S. policy objective to date.

Early consideration of a convention within RSWG might forestall consideration of the issue in other less desirable forums.

The US would not be perceived as dragging its feet on the convention issue.

Because the US had not itself proposed early consideration of a convention, it could not be tagged later with having impliedly endorsed the need for or contents of a convention.

Cons:

Would require us to acquiesce in discussions that the US might believe are premature.

Only acquiescing now to consider elements of a framework convention would be a lost opportunity for the President to exert international leadership on this issue.

Option 3: The US should itself propose discussions now of a framework convention within the RSWG. The US would seek to focus discussion on the Vienna Convention model within a subgroup of the RSWG Steering Committee in the context of elaborating a range of implementation mechanisms.

Pros:

first four pros of Option 2

Such a US proposal would attract substantial international attention, resulting in political credit for the President.

Cons:

first con of Option 2

A US proposal for consideration now of a convention could later be interpreted as implied US endorsement of the need for a convention, thus limiting the President's options should he later decide not to begin actual negotiations.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

April 27, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR: NANCY MALOLEY

FROM: Robert E. Grady /Herzi for REG

SUBJECT: Global Warming

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on the draft DPC Options Paper. A detailed mark-up of the draft paper with our specific comments is attached.

I strongly believe that the draft paper is extremely biased and flawed. In particular, I propose that Option 2, as currently drafted, be deleted and replaced with a new proposal that I believe is a leadership initiative that can be supported by all of the agencies.

I strongly recommend that all of the attached comments should be incorporated into the next draft. If you have any problems with any of the comments, please call me immediately.

Attachment

Should the U.S. modify its past position by initiating discussions on a climate change convention?

GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE

ISSUE: ~~How should the United States respond to growing international pressure for a climate change convention?~~

BACKGROUND:

(A) CURRENT U.S. POLICY AND THE IPCC PROCESS:

The U.S. has urged that the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), jointly established by the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) in November 1988, serve as the central policy international forum for the climate change issue. Three working groups, chaired by the U.K., U.S.S.R. and the U.S., respectively, were established under the IPCC to consider 1) the science, 2) environmental and socioeconomic impacts and 3) response strategies.

Considered to be an unprecedented example of rapid international cooperation on environmental problems, the IPCC project is currently on an ambitious schedule ~~aims~~ to submit an interim report of its findings in time for the Second World Climate Conference scheduled for Geneva in November 1990. THIS INTERIM REPORT WOULD THEN PROVIDE THE FOUNDATION FOR CONSIDERING FUTHER ACTIONS.

Secretary Baker echoed the President's stated commitment to addressing global environmental concerns by opening the Response Strategies Working Group (RSWG) January meeting in Washington with a strong statement of Administration support for the overall effort. The meeting was designed to be largely procedural and was considered to be an overall success.

(B) ARGUMENTS FOR FURTHER ACTION:

DESPITE THE LARGE SCIENTIFIC UNKNOWNS, AND THE RAPID PACE OF CURRENT EFFORTS, THERE ARE PRESSURES TO "LEAPFROG" THE CURRENT IPCC PROCESS AND ADVANCE

~~We are witnessing, however, a rapid growth of international interest in the quick advancement toward~~ a global climate change convention.

-- On March 11, France and Netherlands convened ministers representing 24 nations (the U.S. was not invited until the last minute) on the global warming issue. At the meeting, the ministers signed the Declaration of The Hague stating global warming is the world's top environmental problem and calling for a new UN authority to combat it. The organizers will meet again in May to address a convention proposal with timetables, emission reduction targets, and new international regulatory authority.

-- The RSWG holds its second meeting on May 8-12 in Geneva. A key issue is expected to be the concept of a convention on global warming. The terms of reference adopted by WMO and UNEP for the RSWG include consideration of "legal matters." The 18-month workplan adopted at the group's first meeting in January 1989 embraced consideration of "new legal and institutional mechanisms that could be used to implement options to limit or adapt to climate change." The U.S. has, however, succeeded to date in preventing either (1) creation of a separate group within RSWG to consider legal or institutional measures or (2) explicit discussion within RSWG of the global climate convention concept or of what such a convention might contain.

STATE OF THE SCIENCE?

[A]

The scientific basis to justify costly policy actions to affect climate change does not currently exist. The National Academy of Sciences (NAS) in 1979 estimated, on the basis of existing computer models of climate change, that the most likely outcome from a doubling of CO2 was a global average warming of 3 degrees C., with a 50% probability that the warming would fall between 1.5 and 4.5 degrees C. This necessarily implies a 50% probability that the average warming would be either less than 1.5 or more than 4.5 degrees C.

Since 1850 the CO2 in the atmosphere has increased by 25%. According to the computer models this should have already caused a 1 degree C. warming. The temperature record doesn't show that much warming. The U.S. record shows no significant warming trend from 1910 to 1984. The NAS, in a 1983 review of the issue, and the 1979 estimate, concluded that:

> "the climate record of the past hundred years and our estimates of CO2 changes over that period suggest that values in the lower half of this range [1.5 to 4.5 degrees C.] are more probable."

Estimates of potential warming are highly uncertain because a number of very important feed-back mechanisms in the climate system are poorly understood and inadequately treated in the computer models. For example, clouds could make the warming from CO2 doubling either policy trivial or policy serious depending on how they behave. The response of precipitation and sea ice in the polar regions could either substantially amplify or dampen any initial warming from CO2.

In a recent report, "Global Environmental Change: Recommendations for President-Elect George Bush", the NAS acknowledged that we lack sufficient scientific understanding to predict with confidence global or regional environmental change. The NAS recommended strong support for research now underway, both nationally and internationally. In their view, "reducing the (scientific) uncertainties would lead to more informed and effective policy decisions."

In addition, NAS stated that a strong scientific program for understanding and coping with global change will require strengthened scientific and governmental institutions and mechanisms -- both in the U.S. and in the international scientific community. In its view, the U.S. is "well positioned to take a leadership role in. . . gaining an international consenses on this difficult issue."

CLIMATE ?.

He said that: (1) we cannot wait to resolve all uncertainties before acting, (2) we should focus immediately on steps which are justified for other reasons, (3) global solutions should be as specific and cost-effective as possible, and (4) solutions must reconcile economic development and a safe environment. His statements were widely quoted as representing U. S. policy views.

-- The Governing Council of the UNEP meeting in Nairobi on May 15-26 is expected to discuss a global climate change framework convention, which is favored by its executive director, Mostafa Tolba.

-- At the IPCC meeting in Nairobi on June 28-30 a climate change convention ~~is also expected to be discussed.~~ MAY RAISED. THE IDEA OF

-- ~~A number of leaders attending the July seven-nation Economic Summit in Paris are likely to force discussions concerning a climate change convention.~~ NOT LIKELY ON THE AGENDA.

-- The U.S., the Soviet Union, and China together produce ~~over~~ ABOUT 50% of man's contribution to greenhouse gases. Although any serious international effort toward a response to climate change must include these nations, to date the three have not participated in any discussions calling for a climate change convention. WITH THE U.S. & USSR HAVING ALMOST EQUAL 20% SHARES.

DISCUSSION:

ARGUMENTS FAVORING CONVENTION DISCUSSIONS

The U.S. may want to modify its past position by initiating discussions at the May 8-12 RSWG meeting that would lead to the formation of a separate group within RSWG mandated with the authority to discuss the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention. Those in favor of modifying U.S. policy make the following arguments.

-- The need for early discussions is predicated on the belief that the U.S. chaired RSWG is a [redacted] favorable forum for international discussion on a global climate change convention. The convention approach is seen as inevitable, so it would be better to guide international activity toward a convention containing general principles of cooperation, monitoring mechanisms, and research programs. With strong U.S leadership this approach may be able to stop movements -- such as the Hague Declaration -- toward a convention with targets, timetables, and UN authority.

-- A framework convention could follow the general approach of the 1985 Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer, providing an institutional framework for continuing assessment of the issue and discussion of possible responses. It would also provide a legal framework under which specific measures could be subsequently agreed, possibly through the adoption of protocols, as with the ozone convention. However, a framework convention would not impose any obligation on the parties to agree to specific response measures or join any protocol.

-- A call for discussions to consider formalizing and expanding existing international cooperation on climate change by some form of climate treaty -- even one limited to scientific cooperation -- would be a significant step beyond the current IPCC process.

(C)

The pressure for additional action has come from those countries that either: (a) have powerful environmental political movements and/or (b) have little or no adverse economic impacts (or potentially could gain a competitive advantage) from a global warming convention. For example, the 24 nations participating at the Hague meetings account for only 25% of global CO2 emissions. By comparison,

Such an U.S. proposal could attract substantial international attention and would represent ~~a serious~~ governmental response. ~~Depending on its timing, content, and presentation, a treaty proposal could afford the U.S. an opportunity to reassert a leadership position on the issue of global climate change. For example, the President could propose an international legal initiative in some highly visible form.~~

ARGUMENTS AGAINST CONVENTION DISCUSSIONS

The U.S. may not want to modify its past position by initiating discussions on the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention. Those against early modification of U.S. policy make the following arguments.

-- It is vitally important that any potential U.S. response to climate change be based on sound scientific evidence. Toward this end, our efforts must accentuate research. The U.S. is making the world's largest contribution to overall global climate change research and our representatives ~~may want to~~ impress on other nations the importance of this leadership role. The process leading to the Montreal Protocol is an example of international cooperation on a known environmental problem. There was considerably more science available on CFCs and their effect on the ozone layer at the beginning stages of that process, however, than is known about global climate change today.

-- The Hague Declaration should not be viewed as a process with which we must catch up. We were not invited to the meeting (until the last minute), nor did the other significant greenhouse gas producers (U.S.S.R. and China) take part in the proceedings. Any serious international effort on global climate change must include these three nations.

-- The IPCC is the major international effort in regard to climate change and its agenda, correctly, reflects the need for ~~scientific data collection and analysis~~. The three IPCC working groups are progressing and at the present time there is no need for further negotiations leading toward a mechanism for developing potential future responses. The early participation in such negotiations will likely lead to an early convention, early protocols, and poor policy which is based on emotion, political expediency, and the motivations of nations not destined to be economically damaged by immature climate change responses.

-- The U.S. should ~~decide if~~ a convention on climate change ~~is in its best interest. This decision should be considered within the context of a comprehensive U.S. approach to the climate change issue. Until the President has had an opportunity to develop his overall policy, the Administration should defer taking positions at international meetings which will limit his later options.~~ Joining in such an international process may imply the adoption by the U.S. of certain domestic policies,

(D)

-- The calling for modification of U.S. policy is a major threshold step in the direction toward a climate change convention. No matter how narrowly it is defined, it would initiate a process that could become virtually uncontrollable. This process could easily end with intense international pressure on the U.S. to sign a protocol which is not based on sound science and which has the potential of having a severe negative impact on the U.S. economy.

-- The U.S. is permitting other nations, which have much less at stake, to define leadership on global climate issues in terms of a convention. In this context, U.S. support for a convention is really fellowship rather than leadership. Instead, the U.S. should seek to define leadership in ways that serve U.S. interests. The U.S. is already exercising leadership by initiating and supporting the IPCC process, designed to lead to scientifically sound international policy decisions.

-- There is no scientific evidence that hasty precipitous actions, even under the pessimistic assumptions, will make any significant difference to the rate, maganitude, and timing of global warming.

including all or a combination of the following: (1) energy taxes; (2) tightened CAFE standards for automobiles; (3) improvements in the efficiency of utilities; (4) increased reliance on nuclear power; and (5) reforestation programs. The called for modification of U.S. policy is a major threshold step in the direction toward a climate change convention. This mechanism may ultimately end with intense international pressure on the U.S. to sign a protocol which is not based on sound science and which has the potential of imparting a severe negative impact on our economy.

OPTIONS:

OPTION #1:

The U.S. delegation continues to insist that no separate group be established within RSWG to consider legal and institutional measures and that no separate process for considering possible elements of a framework convention be established and uses the power of the chair to prevail.

Pros:

- Provides the President the opportunity to develop a comprehensive global climate change policy with all options still intact.
- The development of science will remain the focus of the IPCC and the concept of a convention will remain a future option.

Cons:

- With U.S. intransigence on the convention concept, international activity may be moved from RSWG to a less desirable forum.
- The U.S. would appear to the world to be dragging its feet on a major international issue.

OPTION #2:

The U.S. delegation takes the initiative in proposing that a separate group be established within RSWG to consider legal and institutional measures and that it immediately begin to discuss what might be included in a framework convention.

Pros:

- The discussions concerning the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention would remain within RSWG where the U.S. can guide them to a reasonable conclusion.
- The U.S. would reassert its position as a bold leader on an important international issue.

E

[~~C~~]

(1) to assess the state of the science, (2) to develop a better understanding of the social and economic effects of possible global climate change, and (3) to begin the identification and preliminary analysis of possible policy responses. The three IPCC working groups are moving to meet these needs. The IPCC process is an orderly way to develop the information and international understanding of that information needed for sound international decision-making on global climate change. At the present time, furthur negotiations would not be based on a sound understanding of (a)the science and its uncertainties, (b) the possible social and economic effects, or (c) the costs and other implications of potential policy responses.

F

[~~D~~]

OPTION #1:

The U. S. delegation [RE-AFFIRMS its COMMITMENT TO THE CURRENT IPCC process AND, following Secretary Baker's four points,] describes the U. S. position ~~in the terms already summarized by Secretary Baker~~ as follows:

- Given the great scientific and other uncertainties about climate change, it would be irresponsible and premature to negotiate actions that can only be justified on the basis of benefits from avoiding global climate change.

- However, we cannot afford to wait for all uncertainties to be reduced. Therefore we should focus immediately on steps which can be justified for other reasons.

- The IPCC should identify and analyse those steps in its first reports so early and informed international discussion of them can begin.

- Furthur steps of the kind which might be included in a convention must be based on a full international understanding of the state of the science and its uncertainties, a full understanding of the potential social and economic impacts that are likely from climate change, and a full understanding of the costs and other implications of potential international joint actions to respond to global change. Those understandings do not exist now, but the IPCC process is designed and intended to create them in an orderly and participatory way.

- The U. S. considers it essential to the success of any joint international actions on global climate change that they be based soundly on an agreed upon understanding of the science and other considerations and upon a wide consensus about what should be done. Anything less is likely to fail. The Montreal Protocol

has been a success because the consensus is very broad

- For these reasons the U. S. insists that no separate group be established at this time within the RSWG to consider legal and institutional measures and that no separate process for considering possible elements of a framework convention be established.

[E]

o Establishes the U. S. position that negotiation, at this time, of climate response actions would be premature and unwise and that the IPCC process will build in an orderly fashion the common scientific and policy analysis understandings needed for sound and useful negotiations.

o Keeps the focus of the IPCC, at this time, on developing a common international understanding of the science, its uncertainties, the potential impacts, and the implications of potential international responses.

o Will help discourage demands that the U. S. and other industrialized nations reduce fossil fuel emissions to reduce global warming before a sound scientific basis exists that such costly actions are justified by the benefits.

Cons:

o With U. S. opposition to discussion of a convention in RSWG, existing international activity on a possible convention, now carried on outside RSWG, may become more formalized and organized, with U. S. views given less attention than within RSWG.

o Despite the U. S. stated reasons for its position, it might appear to some that it is dragging its feet on a major international issue.

(H)

Option #2: The U.S. delegation re-affirms its commitment to implementation of the IPCC process. In addition, the delegation announces two new initiatives:

- a research initiative, calling upon the other members of the IPCC to join in an international research program. The program would build upon the U.S. global climate change research program, as well as the IPCC science assessment.

- an invitation to an International Conference on Global Environmental Issues, to be hosted by President Bush.

In addition, the delegation would re-state U.S. policy that all countries should focus immediate attention on actions that can be justified for other reasons, and call upon RSWG to give priority to such actions in its assessment report. To further buttress this effort, the U.S. would issue a report on all such actions initiated within the first 100 days of the Bush Administration.

The U.S. delegation would oppose any additional efforts to initiate any actions leading to a possible global convention, until the IPCC assessments are completed.

Pros:

- The U.S. would maintain and strengthen its position as a world leader on international environmental issues.

- The U.S. would take a pro-active posture in shaping the international agenda in directions where the U.S. has a position of strength, such as scientific research, rather than reacting to proposals from other countries from a position of weakness.

- The U.S. has proposed to spend about $0.2 billion in FY 1990 on global change research, with increasing amounts likely in future years. The results of this research will benefit the world. Other nations should be asked to share in this effort and in the costs.

- The U.S. delegation should seek to take credit for the Bush Administration global environmental initiatives, rather than continue to be portrayed in a reactive posture.

Cons:

- The U.S. would fail to embrace the views of the most environmentally radical foreign countries that account for a small minority of the world's population and CO2 emissions.

- The U.S. is not likely To[5] be able to exercise leadership in a separate RSWG group since undoubtedly it would not be chaired by the U.S. For example, Canada, which has pursued an aggressive policy on atmospheric issues, has already sought chairmanship of such a group.

Cons:

- The present IPCC process, which emphasizes the development of science, may take a back seat to discussions over a convention and ensuing protocols.

- Financial markets may be jolted by the appearance of U.S. movement toward international treaties mandating the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.

- The early maturation of international policy may preempt the President's development of a comprehensive climate change policy.

OPTION#3:

The U.S. delegation ~~take the initiative in proposing~~ PROPOSES that a separate group be established within the RSWG Steering Committee with the purpose of drafting a report on possible institutional mechanisms for addressing the climate change issue expressly including, but not limited to, possible elements of a framework convention. The group would be given a specific timetable such as an annotated outline of report to Steering Committee for discussion at Steering Committee meeting in Fall 1989, a full draft report for review by Steering Committee in Spring 1990 and inclusion in the RSWG section of the IPCC report in Fall 1990. The head of the U.S delegation would have discretion to seek the chair of the group or to support another country.

Pros:

- The discussions concerning the advisability and possible elements of a framework convention would remain within RSWG UNDER NOMINAL U.S. CONTROL. ~~where the U.S. can guide them to a reasonable conclusion.~~

- The U.S. would AN EXTREMELY AGRESSIVE LEADERSHIP ~~assert to a lesser degree than option #2,~~ ~~its~~ position as ~~a leader~~ on an important international issue.

Cons:

- The present IPCC process, which emphasizes the development of science, ~~may~~ take a back seat, ~~to a lesser degree than option #2,~~ to discussions over a convention and ensuing protocols.

- Financial markets may be jolted, ~~to a lesser degree than option #2,~~ by the appearance of U.S. movement toward international treaties mandating the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.

- The movement toward maturation of international policy ~~may~~ WOULD preempt the President's development of a comprehensive climate change policy.

AND OTHER RELEVANT CONSIDERATIONS BEFORE BEGINNING NEGOTIATIONS. WOULD

OF AN INTERNATIONAL ~~OR~~ UNDERSTANDING OF THE

DOMESTIC

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20250

April 27, 1989

SUBJECT: Global Warming, EENR Working Group

TO: Nancy Maloley

My comment focuses on the writeup for Option #3. First, I believe that Option #3 outlines an approach that the U.S. could propose, and, if accepted, provide constructive leadership to RSWG.

Next, I agree with the tone and content of the "pros" for Option #3, but the "cons" seem to overstate the potential negative effects of the option on the development of the science base and on the markets. On the latter, one must consider that no action by the U.S. may raise market concerns also. As to the third bullet, it would seem that further discussions through an options paper should not preempt action by the President.

Orville

ORVILLE G. BENTLEY
Assistant Secretary
Science and Education

HHS

Option 3

H

THE OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-8000

PRODUCTION AND
LOGISTICS

APR 27 1989

E

MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD.

SUBJECT: Department of Defense Comments on the Paper that Discusses the Pros and Cons for an International Global Climate Change Convention

The speed at which international cooperation has been gained to address the global climate change issue is a strong indication of the perceived importance of the subject. Consequently, it seems appropriate that the United States should modify its past position and initiate discussions, within the framework of the Response Strategies Working Group (RSWG), to form a subgroup that would work towards holding a convention.

Even though the arguments against holding a convention have merit, the Department of Defense (DoD) considers it inevitable that a convention will eventually be held. Despite the lack of consensus within the scientific and political communities it seems that the prudent move would be for the United States to establish and maintain control of the RSWG and any subgroup that is formed to ensure that the speed at which issues move forward is in consonance with the Administration's policy.

The global climate change issue is of particular concern to DoD, since it is one part of the holistic approach that the Administration is taking in the development of a bill to reauthorize the Clean Air Act. We have found that many of the policy issues discussed to date at the Domestic Policy Council's Energy, Environment, and Natural Resources Working Group have the potential for direct and significant impact on DoD. As such, the DoD would like to be invited to take an active role in the RSWG.

William H. Parker, III, P.E.
Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense
(Environment)

United States
Environmental Protection Agency
Washington, D.C. 20460

April 28, 1989

The Administrator

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: A "State of the Environment" Message

I think the time is fast approaching when you may wish to deliver a major statement on the environment. The ground has been well prepared during your first 100 days by two important initiatives: 1) your decision to phase out ozone-destroying CFCs by the end of the century; and 2) your commitment to propose legislation to ban shipments of hazardous waste to other countries unless we have a bilateral agreement with them to assure the waste is disposed of responsibly.

If you decide to tighten automobile fuel efficiency standards to 27.5 miles per gallon, a move that can reduce by 2 million tons per year the carbon dioxide emitted into the atmosphere, that will rank as the third significant plus. (It will also make it easier to advocate energy development in Alaska if we can point to an energy conservation initiative.)

These decisions, together with the proposed suspension and possible veto of the Two Forks Dam in Colorado, have established a climate of genuine receptivity on the part of many Members of Congress, environmentalists, the press and, I believe, the country regarding the Administration's environmental intentions. The Alaska oil spill set us back in the public mind but I tend to believe that our environmental prospects will recover as Prince William Sound itself does. The following are some of the initiatives you might address in a message on the environment, or in a series of major speeches.

1. Clean Air. The big test of the Administration's approach to the environment will be the Clean Air legislation we propose. As you know, we have made a commitment to the Congress to get such legislation to the Hill sometime in May. (Any later than May, we were advised by a number of Senators and Congressmen, would be late for engaging the issue and tracking the committees' own schedule and their bills.)

Now is a good time to consider a communications strategy on clean air and on other possible initiatives. A number of forthcoming events will require us to take environmental positions and I would propose we initiate in anticipation of these events rather than react to the proposals of others.

The first is Prime Minister Mulroney's visit on May 4. The Canadian Ambassador has advised me that acid rain will be at the top of Mulroney's list. You may wish to announce on the occasion of his visit your decision to propose legislation to require a specific reduction of sulfur dioxide emissions by the year 2000. The Clean Air Working Group under Roger Porter's direction has not yet reached a consensus on the details of our recommendation to you but the desirability -- and feasibility -- of a 10 million ton objective and on the necessity to achieve some reasonably significant part of that by 1995 or 1996 is very likely to have significant support from many quarters. Yesterday Cong. Dingell, much to our surprise, indicated a 10 million tons reduction was a minimum necessary for a credible bill. Your commitment to 10 million tons by a date at or around the year 2000, would confirm that our bill will be serious. Such an announcement whenever it comes would help restore some slippage related to the oil spill. And, of course, it would delight the Canadians, providing Mulroney a great moment and his first genuine concession from the United States on what his Ambassador indicates is their number one priority with the United States.

2. Framework Convention on Climate Change. The Governing Board meeting of the United Nations Environmental Programme, which convenes in Nairobi beginning May 15, will assemble a large number of environment ministers and will, I am sure, consider the need for a Framework Convention on Climate Change. I would advise you to consider calling for such a convention very soon, well before the Nairobi meeting. This is one of those initiatives which is desirable and probably inevitable and which your leadership could put us in a position to help shape and control.

This past year has heard many of the leaders of the Western Alliance speaking seriously of the ecological threats posed by the possibility of global warming. While the scientific evidence is not as established as that of the ozone layer hole, there is growing scientific opinion that we may already be experiencing a mild foretaste of a profound warming trend to come. Scientists agree that a change of even 1-2 degrees Celsius could produce significant flooding of our coastal population centers by a rise in ocean levels as a result of the expansion of the oceans and partial melting of the polar ice caps. Droughts similar to that experienced in the United States last year could plague many currently fertile agricultural areas.

The greenhouse effect is linked to the build-up of carbon dioxide from the burning of carbon-based fuels and deforestation as well as to "trace" greenhouse gases such as CFCs and methane. Since the production of these gases is universal, any effective attempt to mitigate this global warming trend will require international agreement.

A number of our major allies, including Canada, France, the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany, favor or tend to favor beginning formal negotiations of an international agreement on climate change. The positions of the United Kingdom and Italy are unclear. Just this morning, I learned that the Japanese Environment Minister will introduce the subject of a Framework Convention on Global Climate at the US-Japan Bilateral Environment Meeting next week. Thus far, the U.S. has not even agreed to consider the advisability of an international agreement and has called only for more study. This argument was advanced for eight years on acid rain, and it is viewed by many with skepticism.

You may expect that Prime Ministers Brundtland of Norway and Mulroney will raise climate change, including a possible convention, in their meetings with you next week. The question of a climate change convention is also arising in the preparations for the July Paris Economic Summit.

I believe that in order for the United States to aspire to leadership on this issue, we need to come out in support of a climate change convention. Acknowledging that the details need to be fleshed out, I would envision a broad framework convention calling for cooperation on research and information exchange and providing a basis for later substantive control measures. Based on a discussion with Admiral Watkins, I believe he too is supportive of such an approach.

The Domestic Policy Council may give you an options paper on this soon. There is concern on the part of some that support of a convention may lead to a slippery slope, to measures we will not want to accept. In my view that concern overstates what other developed nations will want to do; reducing carbon dioxide emissions will be no easier for other nations than for us. And global climate change is the significant international environmental issue. What we need is a formal framework for dealing with it in concert with other countries, together with a recognized role as leader to be able to shape the agenda.

3. Debt-for-Nature. I would also hope we could make some major debt-for-nature commitments in the context of the Brady Plan. These could dovetail nicely with global warming initiatives since a major objective would be to preserve tropical forests, the destruction of which contributes to global warming.

4. International Conference on the Environment. We are narrowing options for an international conference on the global environment and may soon propose one or more such meetings. We are examining the pros and cons of a U.S.-Canada-Mexico conference later this year, a Pacific Rim Conference early next year, a conference on oceans, and a conference directly on climate change. There will likely be a very important international conference in Stockholm in 1992 on the 20th anniversary of the 1972 Stockholm United Nations Conference on the Human Environment which established UNEP and launched a new international environmental agenda. An important role for U.S.-sponsored meetings before 1992 ought to be to influence the agenda and set the stage for Stockholm 1992.

5. Wetlands Executive Order. Work has begun within EPA preparing proposals to include in your promised Executive Order giving policy expression to your commitment to "no net loss of wetlands." I hope that the Domestic Policy Council will take this issue up soon. On wetlands protection we are going to need a clear conservation priority and it will be important to ensure that all agencies espouse it. At present the Corps of Engineers and EPA take quite different approaches to applications to develop wetlands. EPA puts the burden on an applicant to establish that a proposed use is water-dependent and that there is no alternative to loss of the wetland. Only then does EPA look at ways to mitigate losses of wetlands. The Corps typically presumes the permit will be granted and goes directly to consider mitigation options. Early in the Nixon Administration the Corps took a more conservative approach. A clear Presidential policy will be necessary to bring all federal agencies into line on wetlands.

6. Pollution Prevention. I would like to propose a major Administration commitment to pollution prevention, emphasizing industrial process changes such as those being developed to make biodegradable plastics, and fostering recycling and reuse. Governor Branstad of Iowa has proposed to require food packaging be made of biodegradable cornstarch -- and 93 percent of Iowans support the proposal. The public is increasingly hungry for leadership on waste reduction. People are looking for ways to reduce the garbage. The growing cost of waste disposal (from $8 to $10 per ton 10 years ago to $125 per ton in some areas now and rising), the fact that a third of the nation's landfills will close within the next 5 years, make this timely and, it seems me, even urgent. A federal executive order on procurement could have a profound effect, establishing at a stroke a market for secondary products of all sorts. If tax forms were to be printed on recycled paper, for example, we would give a dramatic push to the cause of waste reduction.

* * *

The point of setting these thoughts down is to suggest that you have a great deal to work with, things you have already done, have promised to do, or will wish to consider. They add up to a major message, if you want to make one. Or they can provide initiatives for a number of upcoming events -- commencement speeches, meetings with Mulroney and Brundtland, the Economic Summit. Your commencement speech on May 21 at Boston University could be an occasion for a major statement on acid rain, or on the smog non-attainment part of your Clean Air Act bill, both big issues in the Northeast and very popular with students. Governor Kean would love to have you make our proposal on air toxics, the third major part of our promised bill, in New Jersey where toxics are a serious problem and where the gubernatorial race could usefully be injected with some solid Republican environmentalism. (Kean expects Florio to flog us on beach waste and Superfund throughout the summer.)

7. A Vision for our Environmental Policy. I am enclosing a speech I delivered last week at the National Press Club in which I set out my sense of the environmental vision of the Bush Administration. Essentially it sets proposed terms for the press and others to judge us by. So often we read of "the big tests of the Bush Administration's environmental policy." So I wrote my own suggested terms for a test.

Bill

William K. Reilly

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
The Under Secretary for
Oceans and Atmosphere
Washington, D.C. 20230

April 25, 1989

Honorable William K. Reilly
Administrator
Environmental Protection Agency
401 M Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20460

Dear Mr. Reilly:

This letter and its enclosures are the initial comments of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), the International Trade Administration (ITA), the National Institute of Standards and Technology, and the Office of Economic Affairs of the Department of Commerce on the EPA Draft Report to Congress entitled "Policy Options for Stabilizing Global Climate" dated February 1989. The Department will provide further comments as we continue our review of the draft report and the referenced materials.

We believe strongly that perturbation of climate by human activities should be minimized. To this end, NOAA is devoting significant resources to increase our understanding of the global climate system and our ability to predict climatological changes forced by natural processes or human activities. NOAA is participating in the United States Global Change Research Program, coordinated by the Committee on Earth Sciences, to establish the scientific basis for national and international policymaking related to natural and human-induced changes in the global Earth system.

Our current understanding of the Earth's climate system, including how it varies naturally and the potential impact of human-induced actions on that variability, is woefully inadequate. If our actions are to be intelligent and effective, we must embark upon a long-term scientific commitment to improve that understanding. Precautionary policy actions may, indeed, be warranted (and justifiable on a number of socio-economic and environmental grounds), but to imply that they are based on the scientific certainty of global warming is inappropriate and potentially damaging to this Nation's attempt to secure a commitment to an effective U.S. and international global

change research program. Our single most important policy decision at this time might be the acceleration of a solid science program in global change.

Although substantial changes in climate have been identified over the last century, an inadequate understanding of global processes prevents reliable prediction of future trends and, therefore, defining actions to alter future trends. It is essential that our scientists work together to improve our ability to understand and predict global change and provide a sound basis for developing policies and response strategies. Our comments outline the principal scientific and economic uncertainties that must be clarified before we can adopt policies and response strategies with confidence they will have their desired effect.

The Scientific Uncertainties

The Executive Summary of the draft report should further clarify the scientific uncertainties. For example, natural variability, although it is discussed somewhat in Chapter 3, should be emphasized in the Executive Summary. Natural emissions and variations contribute significantly to climate change. Climate variations from glacial to interglacial periods have been caused naturally, and controlling anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions will not prevent climate change. More specifically, water vapor, the gas that is mainly responsible for the favorable atmospheric "greenhouse" effect on Earth, is not included in the list of greenhouse gases, and its effects on warming are not included fully in the models used in the analysis.

With respect to the models, more specific elaborations are required. The atmospheric models employed, while among the most sophisticated, are relatively simple compared to the feedback mechanisms that exist in the real atmosphere. The model physics grossly oversimplify the real world. The models do not yet adequately describe the present climate and, thus, projections must be viewed with extreme caution. More explanations of model uncertainties are needed, with some examples of the variability in results due to these uncertainties.

Current models cannot adequately represent the physical processes that may have the capacity to engender relatively rapid transitions in the equilibrium state of the climate system, as well as transient responses in general. When

the potential for system transients is taken into account, the concept of model-based "climate sensitivity" analysis used in the draft report could be very misleading.

Some of the as yet unsettled physical and biogeochemical "feedback" mechanisms may counter the effect of increased radiative forcing in the atmosphere. One particularly important example relates to model deficiencies in incorporating convection, clouds, and the hydrologic cycle. In addition, current models do not adequately represent the details or effects of ocean circulation patterns or biogeochemical transformation processes on climate change.

The discussion on climate models in Chapter 3 emphasizes that models show significant warming occurring at high latitudes with an increase in carbon dioxide. However, work at the NOAA Geophysical Fluid Dynamics Laboratory with a "realistic" coupled ocean-atmosphere general circulation model indicates that, while the Northern high latitudes may warm significantly, the Southern high latitudes, where most of the globe's glacial ice is located, show virtually no warming.

The discussion on global temperature trends in Chapter 3 does not mention the work performed by NOAA. Two recent NOAA studies show no evidence of warming due to the greenhouse effect. Surface, tropospheric, and lower stratospheric temperatures were analyzed and, although evidence both for and against the greenhouse effect was found, it is premature to state that the greenhouse effect has been observed (Angell, J.K., Journal of Climate, December 1988). An analysis of temperature over the contiguous U.S. indicates that there has been no significant trend in temperature from 1895-1987 (Hanson, K., et. al., Geophysical Research Letters, January 1989). Copies of these studies are enclosed.

The policy options discussed in the draft report are flawed in that they target carbon-based fuels as the major contributor to the presumed global warming, without regard to the relative "greenhouse potential" of the gasses in question. While it may be true that CO2 "is the most abundant and single most important trace greenhouse gas in the atmosphere" (Executive Summary, page 15), it is also true that CO2 ranks far behind other trace greenhouse gasses in its incremental contribution, as shown in the draft report, table 2-1 (page II-21), in which "greenhouse potential" is described as "radiative forcing." The draft

report lists radiative forcing (expressed in degrees C per parts per billion) for CO2 as 0.000004 and for CHC13 (chloroform) as 0.04, a ratio of one to 10,000. In other words, removal of 120 pounds (one pound-mole) of chloroform in the global atmosphere would produce the same greenhouse effect as the removal of 440,000 pounds (10000 pound-moles) of CO2. From a strategy viewpoint, this suggests that gases should be targeted for removal in order of their relative greenhouse potential (all other considerations being equal).

In like manner, the policy options should be framed, mindful of the relative cost of removal per unit change in greenhouse potential, not per unit change in concentration per se. As illustrated in the above example, an expenditure of, say one million dollars, to remove 440,000 pounds of CO2 would be just as cost-effective as spending one million dollars to remove 120 pounds of chloroform.

Additional comments on the Executive Summary of the draft report, prepared by Dr. J. O. Fletcher, Director of NOAA's Environmental Research Laboratories, were submitted under separate cover. A copy of those comments is also enclosed.

Certain of the policy assumptions used in the draft report exaggerate the possibility of forced warming. For example, in the "rapidly changing world" scenario, CO2 emissions increase because use of "very carbon intensive" fuels is assumed; whereas, over the next century, no fusion and virtually no increase in fission are assumed. The draft report should provide a fusion/fission scenario so that the reader can compare the "global warming" effect of that option relative to the "very carbon intensive" option.

Another significant policy assumption that needs further discussion in the Executive Summary is that of population growth. Over the next 100 years, a driving factor in ultimate greenhouse emissions will be population growth. The draft report should provide some analysis holding other factors stable, while varying assumptions on population growth so that the reader can understand the sensitivity of greenhouse emissions to population growth.

Finally, the title of the draft report "Policy Options for Stabilizing Global Climate" is misleading. As noted above, the global climate system has and will continue to exhibit change induced by natural variability. Because of this fact and our limited ability model global climate, it cannot be demonstrated that any of the options would

"stabilize" global climate. Moreover, the task assigned to EPA by the Congress was to examine options to stabilize current levels of atmospheric greenhouse concentrations. The extension of the legis- lative request wrongly implies that actions to stabilize anthropogenic radiative forcing of the atmosphere will perforce stabilize global climate. A better title for the report would be "Policy Options for Stabilizing Anthropogenic Greenhouse Gas Emissions."

The Economic Uncertainties

In order to "stabilize" global climate, the draft report identifies various restrictions on the use of fossil fuels. These proposals could have substantial implications for the industrial structure of the United States. The ramifications of policies to reduce emissions of CO2 could significantly alter the industrial structure of our economy, our international trade, and our balance of payments. The implications to the U.S. economy would depend on the options selected and their timing. If significant reductions in emissions of CO2 were directed over a short period of time, their adoption could reduce the rate of economic growth--perhaps substantially.

The U.S. economy is considerably more energy intensive than those of most of the other major Western industrialized countries with which the bulk of our international trade is conducted. These countries are particularly important in our trade in manufactured goods. Moreover, the United States is more dependent on coal than most of these countries. Thus, a worldwide tax on fossil fuels according to their CO2 content would necessarily have a greater impact on the U.S. economy than on many other industrialized countries.

Coal provides about one-fourth of total U.S. energy requirements, and is used to generate about half of our electricity. In contrast, France relies mainly on nuclear power, Canada has large hydroelectric resources, and the Netherlands enjoys abundant natural gas reserves. Coal is also a leading U.S. export commodity, and coal exports amounted to about $3.5 billion in 1987. Although West Germany and the United Kingdom depend on coal as an energy source to about the same extent as the United States, neither country has a balance of payments problem as serious as that of the United States.

To the extent that the United States reduces coal consumption, greater reliance must be placed on other energy sources. As a practical matter, these would have to

be imported oil or gas, at least in the short run. In 1987, the United States consumed 836 million short tons of coal. Based on the average 1987 price for imported oil, for example, to replace one-fourth of the coal burned with imported oil would have cost about $14 billion. This would have been in addition to net imports that year of $30.7 billion in crude oil, $9.6 billion in petroleum products, and $1.9 billion in natural gas. However, it can be assumed that oil and gas prices would have risen sharply due to increased demand if the United States and other countries had actually attempted to buy the much larger quantities coal replacement would have entailed. Consequently, the actual cost to the balance of payments of a shift from coal to oil and natural gas could be substantially larger. There could also have been widespread repercussions throughout the economy from higher oil and gas prices, as well as additional balance of payments costs to compensate for higher fuel prices factored into the prices of other imported goods.

In addition to the direct balance of payments cost, a reduction in coal use and substitution by more costly fuels could also lead to a loss in international competitiveness in many downstream industries, especially through increased electricity prices. Since about 10,000 BTU's are required to generate one kilowatt hour of electricity, a switch from coal to oil or natural gas for electricity generation could lead to a substantial increase in electricity costs. Electric power is a significant factor in virtually all manufacturing operations, and is of critical importance in a number of industrial processes, such as primary metals, chemicals, and building materials. Enclosed is a recent ITA report on the "Long-Term Trends Affecting Major Electricity Consuming Manufacturing Industries" that identifies the intensity with which the principal manufacturing industries use electricity.

Finding IV in the Executive Summary of the draft report that "(a) wide range of policy choices is available to reduce greenhouse gas emissions while promoting economic development...," overstates our understanding of the scientific issues and the economic impacts of global warming or measures to limit it. We urge great caution not to let policy commitments get too far ahead of our scientific and economic understanding.

The draft report effectively contemplates a switch in the energy economy potentially as great as that from animal power to fossil fuels during the industrial revolution.

There are two important differences, however. The industrial revolution was induced by new technologies that clearly offered economic productivity increases and was gradually introduced through market mechanisms. The energy revolution contemplated by the draft report would be government-directed and may or may not support economic development. The radical shifts contemplated will have significant social and economic effects. For example, the geography of economic activity may shift significantly as transportation costs rise, perhaps altering the suburban structure of American culture.

Given the likely magnitude of such effects, the Administration should initiate major multidisciplinary research efforts engaging the Nation's leading political scientists, sociologists, and economists to study the socioeconomic ramifications of the contemplated policies, in addition to more traditional direct cost analysis for cost-effectiveness rankings.

As alternatives to the draft Finding IV, we recommend the following three findings:

> Proposed Alternative Finding IV: From a technical viewpoint, a wide range of policy choices are available to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. From an economic viewpoint, it is not clear at this point whether policy measures that would reduce greenhouse gas emissions would not also reduce the rate of economic growth--perhaps substantially.
>
> Proposed Finding V: Significantly more analytic work is needed to evaluate the direct costs of each policy option (both globally and nationally) as well as the "packages" of options proposed in this report to Congress--in order to identify the least socially and economically disruptive approaches for reaching various CO2 reduction targets. A major multi-disciplinary research program is needed to evaluate the potentially huge political, social, and economic ramifications (as well as direct costs) of adopting the policies contemplated and to develop recommendations for actions to address the global warming problem.
>
> Proposed Finding VI: The "packages" of options listed in this report are meant to stimulate further study. They do not constitute a cost-effective or socially desirable plan for action and should not be

interpreted as such. EPA will conduct, in cooperation with other agencies, substantial socio-economic analyses to evaluate policy measures needed for reaching varied levels of greenhouse gas reductions.

More extensive comments of the International Trade Administration (ITA) on the draft report are enclosed. During its review of the draft report, ITA consulted with business interests that are represented on the Department's various advisory committees. The comments received from the business community are attached to the ITA comments.

The traditional scientific method is to observe the natural phenomena, to diagnose the observed behavior, to understand the physical interactions, to simulate the observed behavior with models, to predict future behavior, and to control that behavior subject to human intervention. In order for controls to have their desired effect, they cannot be selected without having carried out the preceeding five steps.

In summary, we find that there are scientific uncertainties in predicting global climate change, and there are significant economic, trade, and national security implications should the United States adopt the policy options identified in the draft report. In view of these circumstances, we ask that EPA examine, prior to issuing a final report, both (1) the scientific confidence level in its predictions of an eventual global warming as a result of increase in greenhouse gases, the timing of such a warming, and the ability of each policy option to "stabilize" anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases (climate cannot be stabilized); and (2) the economic, trade and national security implications to the United States of adopting each policy option. In addition, we ask that EPA revise and amend the findings of the draft report as discussed above.

We look forward to working with you to examine the scientific and economic uncertainties discussed above. Thank you for the opportunity to submit these comments.

Sincerely,

William E. Evans

Enclosure

ENCLOSURES

General comments on the Executive Summary by J. O. Fletcher (submitted on March 13, 1989)

Journal of Climate, J. K. Angel, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, December 1988

Geophysical Research Letters, K. Hanson, et. al., National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, January 1989

International Trade Administration comments on EPA Draft Report "Policy Options for Stabilizing Global Climate." (Attached to the ITA comments are copies of comments by various business organizations on the draft report.)

Long-Term Trends Affecting Major Electricity Consuming Manufacturing Industries, U.S. Department of Commerce, International Trade Administration (March 1989)

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TO : KEN YALE

FROM : J R SPRADLEY

SUBJECT: CLIMATE CONVENTION

Some thoughts on the climate convention issue.

I think we are missing the forrest. The U.S. is the chair of an IPCC Working Group directed to consider "new legal processes". If we dont do it, someone else will--someone without the best interests of the U.S. at heart.

In the circumstances, perhaps it is best simply to allow the RSWG team to proceed with its work without great fanfare. Once the RSWG properly (in our view) defines the task of considering "new legal processes" (including a framework convention), then we can take credit as if we meant it all along.

OPTIONS:

- Continue to consider "new legal processes" in the RSWG Steering Committee under Task B. " Implementation Mechanisms".
    - establish a separate ad hoc effort within the Steering Committee, similar to that established to implement Task A, to consider "legal and institutional measures".
    - examine existing and new legal processes, including elements of a framework convention on climate change.
- Discontinue consideration on "new legal processes" in the RSWG Steering Committee.

DISCUSSION:

- If the RSWG refuses to consider "new legal processes", they will be considered either outside the RSWG (and therefore U.S. control) or outside the IPCC (and therefore outside the balancing influence of the WMO).
- The worst case for the U.S. is for consideration of a climate convention ot take place under the influence of a biased forum, such as in Canada, by the Hague Summit Parties, or by the UNEP.
- Because of its energy/coal intensive economy, the U.S. will be effected more significantly by a global reduction in CO2 than most of its trading partners.
- It is important, therefore, that the IPCC RSWG continue to claim the "new legal processes" issue and that the U.S., as chair of the RSWG, assure an even handed treatment of the legal issues. For example, the U.S. should assure that:
    - existing legal mechanisims get full consideration;
    - attention on a convention be directed to a framework rather than regulatory convention; and,
    - "new" processes focus on monitoring and detecting (rather than controlling) global climate change.

RECOMMENDATION:

- o The U.S. should not announce that it is for or against considering a Framework Convention.
- o The U.S. should work within the RSWG Steering Committee as currently directed to examine existing legal processes and to consider new legal processes.
- o As a part of that consideration the U.S. (State OLA) should examine what elements could be included in a Framework Convention.
- o The Framework Convention should focus on cooperative actions to monitor, understand, predict and detect globlal climate change.
- o The U.S. should report that the RSWG is considering "new legal processes", including a framework convention:
    - o To the UNEP Governing Council. (May 15-26)
    - o To the WMO Executive Council. (June5-16)
    - o To the final G-7 sherpa. (June 2-4)
    - o To the IPCC. (June 28-30)
    - o At the Economic Summit. (July)
    - o At the Japan Conference. (September)
    - o At the Netherlands Ministerial. (November)
- o Such action is consistent with the directions of the IPCC and RSWG and with the UNGA Resolution and the Hague Summit Declaration.

Department of State
Bureau of Oceans and International
Environmental and Scientific Affairs
Washington, D.C. 20520

RAPIDFAX

CANON FAX-620

Date: 5/3/89

Time: 11:15

FROM:

Name: SEMS TEL. No. 647-9266

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Document Description: _____ Pages to Follow: 1

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TO:

Name: Ed Watts Tel. No.: 395-6827

Office Symbol/Number OMB Fax No.: 345-3746

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MESSAGE

Ed: As my policy decision on a more forthcoming approach is likely at this point, could we agree to an instruction along the following lines?

MTA TO 5/4/89 - 4PM

BB

RSWG Position Paper -- Convention Issue

Background:

The first IPCC meeting last November determined that the RSWG was to consider "legal issues" associated with response options to climate change. The first RSWG meeting in January established, more specifically, that the RSWG was to develop a strategy for identifying implementation mechanisms that would include consideration of "new legal and institutional mechanisms that could be used to implement options to limit or adapt to climate change". Discussions on the advisability of, and possible elements of, a framework climate convention clearly fall within the RSWG's mandate.

Instructions:

-- The U.S. delegation does not have instructions to affirmatively propose that discussions on a framework convention take place within the RSWG.

-- The U.S. delegation does not have instructions to resist (or postpone) such discussions if they are proposed by another RSWG member.

-- Thus, given the RSWG's mandate, if another RSWG member proposes that the RSWG, in the context of considering new legal and institutional mechanisms, discuss the need for and possible contents of a framework climate convention, the U.S. should concur.

-- If such discussions are proposed, however, the U.S. ~~should seek~~: should take the position that

-- to retain certain control over the process (while not dominating it)

-- to have such discussions take place within a ~~group that reports to~~ the RSWG Steering Committee

-- to create an explicit mandate for such group that makes clear in what context the convention issue is to be discussed, i.e., within the broader context of elaborating a range of implementation mechanisms

-- to focus such discussions on a framework convention (i.e., general principles of cooperation, monitoring and research without targets/timetables), along the lines of the Vienna Ozone Convention

Fisher Nitze Grody Clarke Smedley
EPA, State, OMB, DOE, Commerce

vote to map players

describing in hybrid terms what

decision

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note -

quick note

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Letter	From President Bush to Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers Re: Hague Declaration (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Domestic Policy Council
Series: Yale, Ken, Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Global Climate Convention

Date Closed:	2/15/2018	**OA/ID Number:**	02039-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2017-0310-F	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:		**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
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P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

DATE: 5/5/89

TO: Ken Yale

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NUMBER OF PAGES, INCLUDING COVER SHEET: 3

SPECIAL INSTRUCTION:

Urgent

Bureau of Oceans and International
Environmental and Scientific Affairs

Washington, D.C. 20520

Bendy

RAPIDFAX

CANON FAX-620

Date: 5-5-89

Time: _____

FROM:

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Document Description: _____ Pages to Follow: 1

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TO:

Name: Norm Hartness Tel. No.: 395-6840

Office Symbol/Number OMB Fax No.: 395-5836

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MESSAGE

THIS DRAFT MANDATE REPRESENTS THE CONSENSUS REACHED AT YESTERDAY"S RSWG PREPARATORY MEETING. PLEASE PHONE ANY COMMENTS TO SUE BINIAZ (647-1370) BY NOON TODAY (5/5).

The U.S. delegation should seek to include the following paragraph in the report of the RSWG Steering Committee meeting:

"The RSWG Steering Committee decided to establish a task group to contribute to the implementation of Task B. The so-called "legal and institutional mechanisms task group" is charged with examining a range of legal and institutional mechanisms, drawing on all the categories set forth in Task B, that could be used to implement response options. In addition to examining existing legal and institutional mechanisms relevant to climate change, the group should, in the context of considering new legal and institutional mechanisms, provide recommendations on the advisability of, and possible elements of, a framework climate change convention, along the lines of the Vienna Convention on the Protection of the Ozone Layer. The task group is to report back to the Steering Committee by _____."

BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES

POLICY STATEMENT
33/89

MONDAY, 8 MAY 1989

GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE

"The atmosphere knows no boundaries and the winds carry no passports".

Attached is a statement to the UN Economic and Social Council by the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations, Sir Crispin Tickell, .

Summary

* The effect of "greenhouse gases" is comparable in its scale and complexity to the problems which arose from the discovery of nuclear energy, fifty years ago.

* On 26 April 1989 the British Prime Minister held a seminar of scientists, industrialists, politicians and academics. Their concensus was that despite great uncertainties there was no time to wait.

* There are three areas in which international work is required - a framework in which to operate, a review of institutions and a basis for action to manage the consequences of a warmer world.

* The framework has two main aspects: an umbrella convention which would set out general principles or guidelines. This task falls to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. Secondly, as scientific evidence requires, specific protocols should be fitted into the framework.

* There are enough international institutions already. The challenge we face is how to make best use of them and, if necessary, adapt them to changing circumstances. Are the problems of global warming sufficiently taken into account by the many UN and international institutions working in this area?

* We may need to [illegible]

- we may need to consider whether UNEP might be promoted to a specialized agency. An intergovernmental commission to provide a secretariat and monitor the global framework convention on climate should be considered. There could also be a role for the Security Council under Article 34 of the Charter and a Committee of the General Assembly might also be created.

845 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10022, Telephone: (212) 752-8400

A1-6, B3, B4, B5, EEC, P1/2/3/4/5/6

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BIS NEW YORK 212 758 5395 989-05-08 12:40

GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE

Mr President,

I congratulate my colleague the Danish Ambassador on his election as President of the Economic and Social Council and thank him for arranging, at short notice, this unscheduled meeting of the Council.

The Council recently agreed that environmental issues would be a major theme at the Second Regular Session to be held in Geneva this July. We welcome this decision. At last year's General Assembly political leaders from many countries expressed alarm at the degradation of the environment of our planet. More recently the governments of several member states have made proposals for coordinated international action. We have noted with interest the letter from the Soviet Foreign Minister to the Secretary-General proposing the formation of a Centre for Emergency Environmental assistance. We are also studying carefully proposals which will be discussed at the forthcoming Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme to strengthen the Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change.

1

1989-05-08 12:41 212 758 5395 BIS NEW YORK

The British government has long been concerned at the prospect that the steady increase of the so called greenhouse gases - especially carbon dioxide, chlorofluorocarbons and methane - in the atmosphere could lead to a rise in average global temperature with incalculable consequences for human society. This problem is comparable in its scale and complexity with that which arose from the discovery of nuclear energy more than fifty years ago. It is an inter-generational problem of a kind which time-bound governments have never before had to deal with. The atmosphere knows no boundaries, and the winds carry no passports. Just as member states of the United Nations came together to take action on damage to the ozone layer, so we now need to come together to see how to cope with the wider problem of likely global warming.

This is not the occasion to spell out some of the possible consequences. It is sufficient to say that a warmer world with wide variations of temperature in different places and latitudes would involve major changes in the character of the earth's surface, and the society which we have built upon it. There would be shifts in patterns of rainfall so that what is now fertile could become arid, and what is now arid could receive unmanageable rainfall. There could be greater climatic instability with higher incidence of storms, hurricanes, [illegible]

storms, hurricanes, floods and droughts. There could be rises in sea level which could affect low lying areas and the large proportion of the world's population now living in them. There could be disruption the intricate webs of life on a scale now hard to imagine. For if

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comparable changes have taken place in the past, they have never happened at such speed. Scientists have not yet succeeded in devising models which could spell out for every region or country what warming would involve for each of them. But we can safely say that within a human time scale there would be no winners: only victims.

My Prime Minister held an all-day meeting or seminar on 26 April attended by people from a wide cross-section of society: scientists, industrialists, politicians, academics and others. Their consensus was that despite the great uncertainties, there was no time to wait. The British Government has subsequently been considering the actions it believes should be taken by the international community. I convey them first to the Economic and Social Council. We shall further develop them at the meeting of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme, which begins in Nairobi next week. We shall do likewise at the Second Session of the Economic and Social Council in July, and at the General Assembly in New York in the autumn.

There are three main areas in which international work is required. First we need a framework in which to operate. Next we need to look at institutions. Last we need to establish a basis for action to manage the

:tion to manage the consequences of a warmer world. I shall have a
)rd to say about each.

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First the framework. Let me remind you of the terms of the resolution A/Res/43/53 adopted unanimously by last year's General Assembly. In operative paragraph 10 we invited the Secretary General of the World Meteorological Organization and the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme, through the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, to initiate action leading as soon as possible to a comprehensive review and recommendations with respect to - among other things - "the identification and possible strengthening of relevant existing international legal instruments having a bearing on climate"; and "elements for inclusion in a possible international convention on climate". Work on this comprehensive review is proceeding, and we are contributing to it. We trust that it will draw on other work which has taken place on this subject, notably at a meeting in Ottawa last February in which we actively participated.

In the meantime I set out the British approach. It has two main aspects. First we believe that we should seek to establish as soon as possible a simple framework or umbrella convention, which would set out general principles or guidelines. In doing so we could follow the precedent set by the Vienna Convention of 1985 on the ozone layer. The drafting of principles and guidelines

... and drafting of principles and guidelines for good climatic behaviour should not be too difficult, and could be completed fairly soon. It is a task clearly falling to the Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change. We have ideas about what might be covered and how it might be expressed.

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Secondly we should fit specific Protocols into the framework as scientific evidence requires and permits. Again we could follow the precedent of the Montreal Protocol on the ozone layer which was fitted into the broader Vienna Convention on the same subject. In this fashion we could establish arrangements sufficiently flexible to make early progress on problems which might otherwise prove intractable. It will be easier to decide on those subjects on which we need specific Protocols after the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change has reported next year.

Next I turn to the question of institutions. In our view time does not allow us the luxury of trying to create something new. We all know the difficulties and complexities. In any case there is no need for new institutions. We have institutions enough already. The challenge we face is how to make best use of them, and if necessary adapt them to changing circumstances.

Let me enumerate what already exists. There is the World Meteorological Organization which has long done an admirable job. There is the United Nations Environment Programme with responsibility for coordinating the functions of Specialized Agencies and other UN

associated bodies with environmental responsibilities. There is the World Climate Programme with its subsidiary programmes. Perhaps most relevant at present is the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change with its three working groups. As you know the Intergovernmental Panel is charged to report to the second World Climate Conference in late 1990. In doing so it will take account of last year's General

89-05-08 12:44 212 758 5395 BIS NEW YORK

Assembly resolution to which I have already referred.

The difficulties which most existing institutions have so far encountered arise from lack of support, in particular financial support, from their members and the international community generally. The United Nations Environment Programme has particularly suffered in this respect In our view it needs urgently to be strengthened. The British Government has already more than doubled its contribution, and we urge other Member States to do likewise. But more money will not be enough by itself. Institutions must change and adapt. We need to look again at the status of the United Nations Environment Programme; we may even need to consider in the longer term whether it might be promoted into a specialised agency. Without sufficient resources or status, it can hardly be expected to achieve its aims, particularly in coordinating the environmental work of other Agencies.

The forthcoming report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change will be of particular importance as it will lay out the scientific basis for future international work on this subject. The Panel was created with this specific purpose, and in the normal way of things would not necessarily

...ld not necessarily continue after the publication of its report. But in view of its quality, we believe that thought should be given to its prolongation, perhaps in the form of some ...tergovernmental Commission, whose task would be to provide the Secretariat for and monitor the global framework convention on climate, and report from time to time as appropriate.

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You may wonder to whom such a body should report. It should of course continue to report to the present Intergovernmental Panel's parent bodies the World Meteorological Organization and the United Nations Environment Programme. But one of the more central organs of the United Nations system might also be involved. Work on a matter of this importance requires high level political direction. For that reason there could in future be a role for the Security Council which could take up environmental issues from time to time under Article 34 of the Charter.

A Committee of the General Assembly might also be created which would have environmental matters as its prime responsibility.

Most of the existing United Nations or United Nations-associated bodies have an environmental dimension to their work. I need only mention the Food and Agriculture Organization, the United Nations Development Programme and the various international financial institutions. The World Bank and the regional development banks have recently worked out new environmental guidelines. We need to consider whether the specific problems of global warming are sufficiently taken into account by these bodies.

... by these bodies.

Last I come to the most difficult problem of all: the basis for the actions which the international community will need to take to cope with what is above all an international problem. This is not the occasion for examining the detailed reasons for global warming.

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As we all know, it has arisen from changes in the use of land; changes in the way in which we generate and use energy; and changes in the transformation of agricultural into industrial economies. All actions to mitigate global warming and adapt human society to it relate to these three areas. No-one planned what has happened. Only one or two forecast it. But we now have to live with it.

The report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change will obviously be critical in deciding on specific actions. We need consensus on the science if governments are to work successfully together and draw conclusions for policy. In the meantime we must recognize that as with the ozone layer, the problem arises substantially from the process of industrialization, and in particular the consumption of fossil fuels. It is for the older industrial countries to give the leadership when the time comes by discouraging the further build up of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. But if the burning of fossil fuel is a major component of the problem, it is by no means the whole problem. Changes in land use, in particular deforestation, are important worldwide. They are often the result of pressures generated by an increasing human population with associated species of animals and plants.

Naturally the industrial countries must, as with hlorofluorocarbons, be ready to help the rest of the world. Such el[illegible]hould relate to land use, energy, and industrial development. here is no need for everyone to follow the same path and make the ame mistakes. We have to find means to help others leapfrog over

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the technologies which have caused the problem. Such help can be given in many ways, some through multilateral, some through bilateral channels. For our part we have already put new emphasis in the British aid programme on help for forestry and finance for studies to work out alternatives to chlorofluorocarbons. We will also respond positively to requests for help from aid recipient countries in re-equipping plants to use substitutes for chlorofluorocarbons and to develop industries free of them. We hope that others will do likewise.

These are no more than the outlines of the British approach towards one of the most difficult and challenging problems of our time. We need the right framework; we need the right institutions; we need the right basis for future actions. This planet is the only one we have got. Its good health is our good health. We need to bequeath to our successors the marvellous world we inherited from our predecessors. Our species has evolved through its ability to adapt. We must continue to adapt in order to survive. The United Nations has a central role in making that possible.

troops at their present level in West Germany is not set in cement by this administration as has been U.S. policy in -- since -- for 40 years.

MR. FITZWATER: Well, what it implies is the point that, having some 300,000 troops, or whatever it is, in Western Europe is part of the flexible response policy of the NATO Alliance. That's why we think it's important and why it should be maintained. Similarly, that's why we think the short-range nuclear force issue is so important, that it's a part of the flexible response and a part of the equation that goes with having our troops in Europe. There is no intention of changing that policy at this time.

These gentlemen are simply speaking out on any number of options when you have a changing climate or changing situation, as is being considered in NATO now.

Q They're not responding to a changed Soviet threat. They're responding to a policy of one of our allies and saying that it would be retribution to --

MR. FITZWATER: Well, I refer you to them for consideration of what was behind their statements, but, nevertheless, our policy has not changed.

Q Well, these are two responsible public officials dealing directly with that problem --

MR. FITZWATER: That's right.

Q -- and you're saying "ignore what they say."

MR. FITZWATER: No, no, I'm not saying that at all. I'm saying our policy has not changed, and it's all part --

Q They are making threats, though.

MR. FITZWATER: No, they're simply discussing the issue -- pointing out the nature of our flexible response policy, what the various components are, how they relate, what the strategic interrelationships are. And those are true for everybody. Everybody in the administration understands that and agrees.

Q Marlin, I wanted to ask you about the -- OMB's changes in the testimony of the Goddard official on global warming. Was this authorized by the White House? Was this done unilaterally by someone over at OMB? Is the President aware of it now? Does the President approve of that being done?

MR. FITZWATER: Thank you, John. The administration is considering the global warming issue in a number of ways. Research is underway sponsored by the Environmental Protection Agency, NASA and any number of other scientific units. On the international front, the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change is also considering this matter. A working group of this organization, which the U.S. chairs, is holding its second meeting this week in Geneva, Switzerland to consider the state of scientific knowledge about this phenomenon.

As with most matters of science, there is considerable disagreement about the cause and effects of global warming. Nevertheless, we have worked diligently and in the lead to begin the IPCC review of this matter. The United States is deeply concerned about global warming and its implications for the future. To this end, the President has taken a number of actions that will have an impact on the subject.

He has directed a phase-out of chloroflurocarbons by the year 2000. Our Fiscal Year 1990 budget includes $190 million for global environmental research. The clean coal technology program

involves $710 million in Fiscal Year 1990 to encourage the development of innovative technology to deal with acid rain. And finally, the administration, through it's Domestic Policy Council, is now considering legislation to amend the Clean Air Act and deal with the problems of acid rain, toxic air pollutants and how our cities can best meet attainment of air quality standards. All of these have an impact on global warming.

It's in this setting that the administration has had to consider its position before the working group meetings this week and a testimony before the Congress. The Geneva meeting was not called to discuss the convention. It was called to review the scientific evidence to date. Our position is that we are not yet ready for a convention, but we do seek aggressive review of the data and significant progress in analyzing our scientific knowledge.

Q In other words, yes?

MR. FITZWATER: Our concern is that unless we base decisions on sound scientific data, we could end up being forced to agree with reductions in global warming gases that are neither realistic nor economically sound.

At the same time, you mention the story this morning that OMB edited the testimony of Dr. James Hansen, Director of NASA's Goddard Institute for Space Studies. Dr. Hansen's testimony before the Subcommittee on Space Technology and Science was routinely reviewed by the OMB for conformity with administration policy. The OMB staff-level changes made in Dr. Hansen's testimony we felt related to the policies of the administration and not to Dr. Hansen's basic scientific conclusions.

The changes in testimony reflected the OMB's interest in insuring the statements of administration policy reflected the fact that there are many points of view on the global warming issue. And many of them conflict with those stated by Dr. Hansen. However, there is no effort to limit Dr. Hansen's views or to prevent him from presenting his own conclusions to the Committee. We assume he did just that. Thank you very much. (Laughter.)

Q Looks like you were ready for that one.

MR. FITZWATER: One of Marlin's finest, folks. Right there, baby. (Laughter.) It's all there.

Q When he testifies today is he testifying for himself?

Q Is that a yes or a no?

MR. FITZWATER: His cleared testimony will represent administration policy.

Q When does he talk about his own --

MR. FITZWATER: In question and answer, he can present his own conclusions.

Q Is he off the reservation?

MR. FITZWATER: No, no. He's doing a great job.

Q What is the reservation?

Q Doesn't this testimony and this statement that you made sort of conflict with what's come from the State Department and their assessment of that and the assessment by the EPA?

MR. FITZWATER: There is disagreement within the EPA, within the State Department, and within the administration on the

[illegible] occasions. Does he have any persons

scientific conclusions related to global warming. It's a process much like you recall going through on acid rain in the late '70s and early '80s. That's the way scientific evidence is. There are differing agreements. So the answer is yes and no. There are some people at EPA who say we're ready, there are some people who say we're not. Similarly at the State Department.

Q Marlin, you say that you think the changes were made only in terms of administration policy. As I recall reading the story this morning, Dr. Hansen is saying that that wasn't what was changed. What was changed was his scientific conclusions. He's saying that science is being changed to conform to administration policy.

MR. FITZWATER: Yes, we disagree with that. We believe that the changes were made to reflect the fact that his conclusions represent his ideas, but not necessarily those of all scientists who consider this matter. And we welcome his expression of his findings. We welcome his work. He's an outstanding and distinguished scientist. We urge him to present his views in any and every form possible. But we simply point out there are other points of view on this issue and that the administration policy has not been established.

Q What role did John Sununu play in making this decision in terms of --

MR. FITZWATER: On the convention?

Q On the convention. Doesn't this violate a campaign statement by George Bush supporting the idea of an international conference on global warming?

MR. FITZWATER: No, he does support that. We simply are not ready to move in that direction. The issue here is a convention, not a conference. A convention is, as you know, a treaty document kind of thing that sets forth findings of the world community and views on how they should proceed. We do not believe we are ready to reach that point. Governor Sununu's role was minimal if any in this issue.

Q You said -- you called them staff level changes in Dr. Hansen's testimony. At what level was making those changes approved?

MR. FITZWATER: There is an OMB examiner about four levels down from the top -- five levels down from the top, who made these changes.

Q It didn't come over here across the street at all?

MR. FITZWATER: No. But he's a brilliant examiner and does great work. (Laughter.)

Q Bring him out.

Q You said that there's disagreement within the administration on the assessment of the science. Does the President at this point have any personal view on this question? He's talked about global warming on several occasions. Does he have any personal view, tentatively, about which side of this dispute he's on or is he --

MR. FITZWATER: His personal view is that this is a serious problem that America needs to show and take leadership on. We have, in terms of leading this working group effort. But the science is something that still has to be sorted out. Obviously the President hasn't made a judgment about scientific assessments; that has to be done through an established consensus approach. And there is an approach for that through publications and magazines and it's

considered in these conferences. And that's the way the scientists sort these things out.

Q When did Dick Darman start letting fifth-level officials make changes in people's testimony?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, you have to remember that they consider maybe eight, 10 pieces of testimony a day. And normally these are reviewed by the examiners for each agency and department and they are not elevated. That's fairly normal.

Q Did Darman ride herd on this all the way? He runs a pretty tight ship over there.

MR. FITZWATER: No, not on this one. He directs the process. When I was in the agencies, OMB rewrote everything we did.

Q Marlin, could you clarify -- you said he's welcome to testify today also as to his own conclusions. Does that mean he's going to be presenting dual testimony?

MR. FITZWATER: No.

Q I mean, has he been unmuzzled now or what?

MR. FITZWATER: He's never been muzzled. He's free to say whatever he wants.

Q I'm still wondering what kind of a precedent --

Q Well, then why was his testimony --

Q As long as it follows your script, or what?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, prepared testimony represents administration policy. But he's free to say whatever he wants.

Q Well, I'm just wondering what kind of a precedent --

MR. FITZWATER: The Congress wants that -- the Congress wants testimony that reflects administration policy.

Q I'm just wondering what kind of a precedent this sets for future testimony by eminent government scientists. Are you saying that when a scientist is called up before a congressional committee from now on that they're going to have to reflect administration policy or that they could still express their view with an OMB caveat somewhere in there that they don't necessarily reflect administration policy?

MR. FITZWATER: For the 20 years I've been in government, everybody who has ever testified before Congress does so with the same ground rules, that their written testimony represents that of the administration because it's approved by the OMB, and in question and answer, they're free to give any opinion they want. Nothing changed, no difference then or now.

Q But you're talking about opinion of policy. We're talking here about a scientist presenting scientific evidence or scientific assessments. Are you now saying that those things also are going to have to conform with administration policy in the written part of that testimony?

MR. FITZWATER: No. We're saying we felt we were commenting on policy, not scientific evidence.

Q Marlin, one of the things that was changed involved the -- as I recall, the doctor's assessment of the effects and impact of a long-range global warming trend -- effects in terms of drought, in terms of temperature changes. Is this a question of

administration policy? Does the administration have --

MR. FITZWATER: Well, I'm not a scientist. First of all, I'm not sure that your summation of the information in question is accurate, and --

Q We can pull the story and check it up close.

MR. FITZWATER: well, fine, pull it up, come up later, and we'll talk about it at length. I'll give you the benefit of my vast knowledge of chlorofluorocarbons and global warming.

Q Exactly right. But do you understand my question? That doesn't sound -- a prediction of what happens as the effect of a long-term global warming trend -- doesn't sound like policy.

MR. FITZWATER: Well, it may not sound that way to you, and I don't know what the words were that were at question, but the OMB's position was that it was a policy issue and not a scientific one.

Q Was this fifth-level person that changes testimony, was he a scientisit, or is it just some bureaucrat that says that this is our policy?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't know who it was, but we stand behind his work, so it doesn't matter.

Q Does the White House, in retrospect, wish it had been handled differently?

MR. FITZWATER: No, I think it's scientific information like this -- these kinds of differences of opinion often occur, and here again, I hate to give my age, but I remember when I was at EPA we had these kinds of debates all the time. And they were always congressional testimony and scientists -- one side and another. It just goes with the territory.

Q Except that the scientist said that the change negated the whole impact of his testimony, what he was trying to say, which was, there was enough --

MR. FITZWATER: Well, we don't agree. And the fact is, he is free to go up there and say that. He's free to tell the Congress, the world, and I suggest he do that. If he feels the prepared testimony is not accurate to describe his position, then I urge him to go to the Congress and to the American press and tell them exactly what he thinks.

Q -- afterwards?

MR. FITZWATER: Sure.

Q Aren't you effectively saying that policy repudiates scientific evidence because it doesn't conform with what you want the policy to be?

MR. FITZWATER: No, I'm saying they're totally different.

Q Wait -- I'm sorry. You're saying what?

MR. FITZWATER: They're different.

Q They're different?

MR. FITZWATER: The policy we are concerned about was the conclusion that there was unanimity in the goverment on this matter, and we simply wanted to point out there isn't.

Q But you seem to be saying that, regardless of what

Dr. Hansen's conclusions may be, if they don't conform with policy, you're going to disregard them.

MR. FITZWATER: No, his conclusions are part of the making of policy.

Q But he works for you. He is a government scientist. Do you -- are you essentially just rejecting his work?

MR. FITZWATER: No, I'm saying that we can produce a half dozen or more scientists on the same issue who all work for the United States government who have different conclusions. They have to be weighed and assessed in the proper forums. And there are forums for doing that.

Q And the ones you accept are those that conform with policy.

MR. FITZWATER: No, the ones that come out of this assessment process are submitted to the appropriate policy reviews -- the Domestic Policy Council and others -- and policies are formed. This gentleman's views may be totally accepted; they may be totally objected -- I mean, rejected. Chances are it will be something in between.

Q But by taking this approach and rewriting his testimony, aren't you discrediting his scientific work?

MR. FITZWATER: No, not at all. Doesn't reflect on his scientific ability in any way.

Q Marlin, you said this was done by a forth or fifth-level examiner. But how high did the level reach where this was signed off on or approved?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't know.

Q Did Darman sign off on this?

MR. FITZWATER: But the administration stands behind it.

Q Marlin, you said the President wants to show leadership in this area. I'm wondering when you think they might be interested in moving toward a convention on this.

MR. FITZWATER: Depends on the progress of the science. Depends on the information.

Q Many people -- many of the world's leaders -- I think Mrs. Brundtland may have spoken to the President about it when she was here -- urging him to move this toward a convention. Did he give her any indication of a time or --

MR. FITZWATER: No.

Q -- the kind of assessment that you're going to do here?

MR. FITZWATER: No.

Q Do you have any comment on the view attributed to President -- former President Reagan in a recent column by Lou Cannon that Mr. Bush is moving too slowly in the foreign policy area?

MR. FITZWATER: No, I don't have any comment.

Q Did President Reagan express that to President Bush when they met recently?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't know. They had a private