

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2001-1865-F; 2001-1978-F

FOIA Number:
2001-1978-F

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Counsels Office, White House
Series: Holmstead, Jeffrey, Files
Subseries: Environmental Subject Files

OA/ID Number: 45126
Folder ID Number: 45126-013

Folder Title:
Environment - Clinton/Gore

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	12	8	1	1

GORE FACTS

BUSH
QUAYLE
92

Working Document
October 2, 1992

Research Office

Gore on Biotechnology

Al Gore expresses grave reservations as to the utility of biotechnology and fears the worst from this emerging technology. He demonstrates little respect for intellectual property law, and advocates policies that would substantially hamper the competitiveness of American industries.

Biotechnology

In ten years, biotechnology has been transformed from an abstract scientific idea into a sound industry promising great returns for American competitiveness. Biotechnology means the use of living organisms to make commercial products. Biotechnology can be used in areas from cancer research to waste management. This science offers great promise in contributing to a cleaner environment, improved diagnosis and treatment of diseases, more vigorous food crops, and alternatives to petroleum as a source of energy.¹

- Gore is skeptical about the ecological soundness and desirability of biotechnology. He recognizes a "few instances [where] this could be beneficial.... But more often the results are more ominous."²
- Gore questions biotechnology. "We might decide to extend our dominion of nature into the human gene pool, not just to cure terrible diseases, but to take from God and nature the selection of genetic variety and robustness that gives our species its resilience and aligns us with natural rhythms in the web of life."³
- Gore's book, *Earth in the Balance*, attacks biotechnology: "When we intervene in the process of evolution by directing the selection of those genetic characteristics that will be passed on from one generation to the next, the choices are usually based on the maximum yield and current market value of the varieties in question...."⁴
- Gore implies that using biotechnology is like making a deal with the Devil: "We have chosen to escape the Malthusian dilemma by making a set of dangerous bargains with the future worthy of the theatrical legend that haunted the birth of the scientific revolution: Doctor Faustus."⁵
- Gore claims that a failure "in developing biotechnology policy stem from a total lack of leadership in the Administration for the past twelve years, and from our policies on information and technology development."⁶
- Gore's attitude toward regulation of biotechnology reflects a lack of faith in private industry. He suggests that efforts to develop biotechnological advances are almost immoral. "The strategies that

some companies are now pursuing reflect an assumption that we are clever enough to direct the evolutionary path of important plants and achieve large short term benefits without paying a steep long-term price."⁷

- The Wall Street Journal labels Gore's environmental policies "disastrous" for industries like biotechnology. They state: "For the U.S. to cede power to an international entity of this sort would surely hamper U.S. economic progress." Furthermore, they accuse him of wishing "to export capital instead of capitalism."⁸
- Gore fears that "genetic technology is advancing so rapidly that it may surpass the ability of our existing institutions to control it." In reaction to this fear, he feels "the government, particularly Congress, must play an increasingly active role to ensure widespread participation in the decision-making process,... Otherwise the momentum of the biotechnology industry may decide these issues for us."⁹
- Gore implies that the Biotechnology industry is corrupting universities and setting their research agendas with their support for university research programs.¹⁰ Additionally, Gore is critical of the U.S. Department of Agriculture's support for research into herbicide-resistant plants and the Forest Service's support for herbicide resistance in forestry.¹¹
- Gore does not like sudden technology changes. He shows his concern about potential misuses of biotechnology by comparing it to nuclear war. "If we had taken more time to comprehend the implications of nuclear technology when it was created, we might have developed a keener appreciation for those choices before us. We might have even found a way to avoid the dilemma we have created."¹²
- Gore predicts the end of the family farm. He believes that biotechnology will lead to huge agri-business and the death of the family farm's ability to compete. Biotechnology's "biggest threat is overproduction. The Gene Revolution will do for animal products what the Green revolution did for crop yields. Much to the farmer's chagrin, it will have the same effect on food prices as well."¹³

Gore Endorses Jeremy Rifkin's Radical Anti-Biotechnology Ideas

"Jeremy Rifkin has given us a framework for critical consideration of future technological advances. Algeny is an insightful critique of the changing way in which mankind views nature.... This important book raises the questions that must be addressed as we achieve an ever-greater ability to control nature and as we move rapidly toward the ultimate technology: human genetic engineering."¹⁴

Congressman Albert Gore, Jr.

- Gore has endorsed the radical thoughts of Jeremy Rifkin. Rifkin asserts that the decision to split genes will be much more

dangerous than the decision to split atoms. Algeny is a doomsday prophecy warning against the "Pandora's Box" of biotechnology. He suggests that Darwinism is outdated as an evolutionary theory in light of the scientific advances of biotechnology.

- Algeny states, among other things, that: "Biotechnology has a beginning but no end. Cell by cell, tissue by tissue, organ by organ, we give up our bodies as we give up our political power, a piece at a time.... In the decades to come, we humans will barter ourselves away, a piece at a time, in exchange for some measure of temporary well-being.... Thanks to bioengineering, we will finally have been extricated from the great burden of human history, the unremittent need to anticipate and secure our own future."¹⁵
- Rifkin's belief that the start of genetic engineering is a one-way trip to human extinction. "Security will no longer be our concern, because we will no longer control any measure of our own destiny. Our future will be determined at conception."¹⁶
- Rifkin thinks biotechnologists are trying to live their fantasies of Star Trek. "The age of biotechnology incorporates its own unique vision of immortality. The ultimate organizational goal of the biotechnological revolution is best expressed in a popular television series seen by millions of people throughout the world."¹⁷
- Rifkin feels that biotechnology will take over as the controlling factor in human society. "Today our biotechnical arts merely imitate nature. Tomorrow, they will subsume it."¹⁸
- Rifkin's group, Foundation on Economic Trends, has been very active in the attempts at outlawing the right to conduct biotechnology experiments.¹⁹

Flip-Flopping Views on Intellectual Property of Biotechnology

There are two Al Gores emerging. One Gore who pays strong lip service to the needs for greater patent protection for U.S. businesses; the other Gore wants to give away as much useful technology as possible to save the world from ecological disaster.

Pro-Intellectual Property

In attempts to deflate arguments that he is anti-business, Gore will point to certain positions that purport to provide for greater intellectual property protection.

- Gore may claim to be pro-intellectual property rights because he has paid lip service to the need to protect existing intellectual property rights in his Global Marshall Plan. In this plan Gore does claim that there needs to be "better protection for patents and copyrights" and "significant improvements in the current

patchwork of laws, especially in those countries that now effectively fail to safeguard the rights of inventors and developers of new technology."²⁰

- Gore calls for different types of oversight to judge appropriateness and environmental utility, but also states: "We need a way to sort out the regulatory mess, so that the world's largest biotech community will not have to spend all its time fighting the world's largest judicial system."²¹
- Similarly, Gore says the "last thing we need is some sort of heavy-handed regulatory structure that would hinder the development of biotechnology. The government should help guide biotech, but must not control it. We must be careful not to burden the biotech industry with an uncertain climate."²²
- Al Gore calls for a Strategic Environment Initiative that would identify and spread new technologies to developing countries. This plan would also have the United States "create a corps of environmentally educated planners and technicians in order to make the ground fertile for sowing environmentally attractive technologies and practices."²³

Anti-Intellectual Property

But, Gore would hinder private business by imposing large amounts of regulation on intellectual property protections. He believes that new factors such as ecological "appropriateness" should to be considered.

- Gore envisions a global bureaucratic agency superstructure that pays "close attention to all of the costs and benefits - both monetary and ecologically" of new technologies.²⁴ All new technologies would be left to the mercy of this new regulatory body.
- Gore sounds almost Marxist in his criticism of capitalism and call for redistribution of wealth. "Developments such as the new U.S. laws providing patent protection and private ownership of new crop varieties, along with protectionism by the European Common Market, Japan and others, have fueled cynicism in the developing world and led to new efforts to move toward more equitable economic relationships."²⁵
- As part of his Environmental Marshall Plan, Gore wants a bureaucracy to decide which technologies are "appropriate." This standard would be based solely on some subjective "ecological soundness." Additionally, exports that could lead to environmental decay would be prohibited (similar to exports that lead to nuclear weapons capabilities).²⁶
- Despite an apparent recognition for the need for strong intellectual property rights, his support of the biotechnology industry is very suspicious. Much of his book, *Earth in the Balance*, blames scientific progress for the problems he sees in the

environment today. Gore views new technology as the cause of, not the cure for, modern problems. He writes: "Unless we come to a better understanding of both the potential and the danger of technology, the addition of more technological power simply ensures further degradation of the environment."²⁷

- Gore's self-labelled wrenching plan calls for "wealthy nations to allocate money for transferring environmentally helpful technologies to the Third World.... To work, however, any such effort will also require wealthy nations to make a transition themselves that will be in some ways more wrenching than that of the Third World, simply because powerful established patterns will be disrupted."²⁸
- Gore wants intellectual property to be used less as a shield to defend the property rights of biotechnology. Instead, Gore says that, "It is time to use the law to provide safeguards against illegal and unethical uses of biotechnology, and to encourage uses of biotechnology that enhance the economic viability of local communities and interests."²⁹
- Gore is "concerned about the profits enjoyed as a result of government-sanctioned monopolies in the so-called orphan drug market and as a result of patent term extension. There are plenty of other opportunities to address policies that alienate the public from supporting biotechnology if we will only seize them."³⁰
- Later Gore says that we must "develop a consensus about its appropriate applications. We will always assume that somehow science will work everything out for us and everything will come out all right in the end. But that will not happen by itself -- not if we let the march of technology overwhelm us. We must make an effort to choose the good effects and reject the bad."³¹
- Gore wholeheartedly endorsed the green internationalist agenda at the Rio Earth Summit. He would have signed the very redistributive anti-business environmental protocols that would have seriously weakened U.S. patent protection.³²

- 1 "What is Biotechnology?", page iv.
- 2 *Earth in the Balance*, 1992, page 140.
- 3 *Earth in the Balance*, p. 240.
- 4 *Earth in the Balance*, p. 129.
- 5 *Ibid.* at p. 127.
- 6 5 *Harvard Journal of Law and Technology*, 19, 26.
- 7 *Earth in the Balance*, 1992, page 141.
- 8 *The Wall Street Journal*, July 17, 1992.
- 9 *The Challenge of Biotechnology*, Vol. 3 *Yale Law & Policy Review*, Spring 1985, p. 339.
- 10 5 *Harv. J. Law and Tec* 19, 27
- 11 *Earth in the Balance*, page 140.

- 12 Volume 20, University of Michigan Journal of Legal Reform, pp.965, 967.
- 13 Ibid at p. 969.
- 14 Back cover of book entitled *Algeny*, written by Jeremy Rifkin, 1983.
- 15 *Algeny*, by Jeremy Rifkin, pages 237-238.
- 16 Ibid. at p. 238.
- 17 Ibid at p. 223.
- 18 Ibid at p.244.
- 19 Foundation on Economic Trends v. Heckler, 587 F. Supp. 753 (D.D.C. 1984), modified, 756 F.2d 143 (D.C. Cir. 1985).
- 20 *Earth in the Balance*, 1992, page 321.
- 21 Volume 20, University of Michigan Journal of Legal reform, 1987, 965, 974.
- 22 Ibid at p. 975
- 23 Foreword: The Case for a Strategic Environment Initiative- A Comprehensive Plan to Confront the World's Environmental Threats, Southern Illinois Law Journal , Volume 14, Winter 1990.
- 24 *The Wall Street Journal*, July 17, 1992.
- 25 *Earth in The Balance*, page 138-139.
- 26 *Earth in the Balance*, 1992, Page 320.
- 27 *Earth in the Balance*, page 318.
- 28 *Earth in the Balance*, pages 300-301.
- 29 5 Harvard Journal of Law & Technology 19,28
- 30 Ibid at p.29.
- 31 Volume 20, University of Michigan Journal of Legal Reform, 1987, p. 976.
- 32 *The Wall Street Journal*, July 17, 1992.

BACKGROUND

Issues Office



October 20, 1992

CLINTON ON CAFE

Last night Bill Clinton tried to say that he only supported raising CAFE standards as just a "goal" and would not seek to put it in legislation.

What Clinton did not say is that both he and Al Gore have consistently favored radical increases in the CAFE standards:

- o In his own Platform, Putting People First, Clinton said: "Here's what a Clinton-Gore Administration will do: ... Accelerate our progress toward more fuel-efficient cars, and raise the CAFE standards for automakers to 40 miles per gallon by the year 2000, and 45 miles per gallon by 2015." (page 98)
- o A recent Clinton/Gore National Energy Policy position paper stated: "I support an increase in corporate average fuel economy standards from the current 27.5 miles per gallon . . . The 45 mile per gallon standard should be a goal of automakers and incorporated into national legislation. But mandating higher efficiency standards is not enough."
- o Gore, on the floor of the Senate, announcing his co-sponsorship of legislation to increase CAFE standards to about 40 miles per gallon by 2001: "I rise today as an original co-sponsor of Senator Bryan's CAFE bill, S. 1224. I am proud to join my colleague in this effort . . ." (June 22, 1989).

What Clinton also won't tell the American people is that the Clinton-Gore ticket is hostile towards America's auto industry:

- o Clinton: "The conclusion I reach is that we have to downscale the number of people we use to make cars." (Rolling Stone, 9/17/92)
- o Gore: "We know that the cumulative impact [of millions of automobiles] on the global environment is posing a mortal threat to the security of every nation that is more deadly than that of any military enemy we are ever again likely to confront." (Earth in the Balance, 325)
- o Gore: "[I]t ought to be possible to establish a coordinated global program to accomplish the strategic goal of completely eliminating the internal combustion engine over, say, a twenty-five-year period."

BRIEFING PAPER

Issues Office



July 21, 1992

THE CLINTON-GORE CAFE PROPOSALS: LOSS OF JOBS, LOSS OF LIVES

CLINTON: "In my administration, we'll...seek to raise the average goal for automakers to 40 mpg by the year 2000, 45 mpg by the year 2020."

GORE: "I rise today as an original cosponsor of Senator Bryan's CAFE bill, S. 1224. I am proud to join my colleague in this effort ..." (June 22, 1989). On September 25, 1990, Gore voted in favor of S. 1224. Gore also supported S. 279, the latest reincarnation of Bryan's CAFE bill. Both bills would have increased the CAFE (corporate average fuel economy) standard for automobile fleets by 40% by the year 2001 (to about 40 mpg).

Summary

- o Drastic increases in CAFE standards as proposed by Senator Gore and Clinton would mandate massive shifts to smaller and lighter cars, regardless of consumer preference.
- o This Clinton-Gore proposal on CAFE would cost thousands of lives in traffic collisions, put between 150,000 and 300,000 jobs at risk, and would unnecessarily penalize the U.S. auto industry -- an industry just now starting to recover.
- o According to former NHTSA Administrator Jerry Curry, raising CAFE would "decrease safety, harm U.S. competitiveness, put U.S. workers out of jobs and curtail consumer choice in the car marketplace."

CAFE Kills

- o Proponents of increased fuel efficiency through higher CAFE standards often overlook something more important: human life. The easiest way (and, beyond a certain point, the only way) to increase efficiency is to reduce vehicle weight. But smaller and lighter cars provide less protection in auto accidents, leading to substantially more auto-related deaths.

CAFE -- page 2

- o The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) estimates that weight reductions needed to meet a 40 mpg standard could result in up to 1,900 additional deaths and 17,000 serious injuries each year.
- o In addition to the NHTSA study, private studies (including one by Robert Crandall of the Brookings Institution) project even more fatalities. Crandall's study estimates that the Bryan Bill's 40 mpg standard would increase fatalities 30 to 60 percent over a car's lifetime. According to Crandall, the substantial weight and steel-content reductions that would be needed to achieve a fleet-wide fuel economy average of 40 mpg could raise the CAFE death toll to between 1,000 and 8,600 deaths per model year fleet.
- o Studies cited by the National Research Council have found the smallest and lightest cars are about twice as dangerous as the largest cars.

Higher CAFE Would Cost US Jobs

- o The Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Association believes that the 'unreasonable (and unfeasible) increase in the CAFE standard as proposed by Clinton and Gore would put at risk between 150,000 and 300,000 jobs.
- o Domestic assembly plants currently producing family- and mid-size cars, light trucks, and vans that would be affected by higher CAFE standards have a combined labor force of 142,000 employees. These plants are located in 18 states and include GM's 4,500-employee Spring Hill plant in Senator Gore's home state. Suppliers reliant upon these plants for business account for many thousands more that would be put at risk.
- o By making new cars more expensive, CAFE standards reduce the demand for new cars at a cost of tens of thousands of jobs. Studies indicate that a 10 percent increase in the price of large cars decreases their demand by 30 percent.

Higher CAFE Would Damage the US Auto Industry

- o Much of the CAFE debate has centered on engineering feasibility, on what mileage targets the automakers could achieve. But consumers, who are the ultimate decision makers, do not base vehicle purchase decisions on engineering feasibility or on fuel efficiency alone. To require U.S. auto companies to virtually ignore consumer preference would damage sales and hurt the U.S. industry's position vis a vis its foreign competitors.

CAFE -- page 3

- o Domestic automakers and the UAW believe that even the current CAFE program discriminates against American "full line" manufacturers, while Asian competitors (as manufacturers of predominately smaller vehicles) can more easily meet higher requirements.
- o Higher CAFE standards would prompt more American auto manufacturers to shift their large car production overseas, costing many American auto workers their jobs and harming the U.S. manufacturing base.
- o Due to the separate classification of domestic and foreign fleets, CAFE also provides an incentive for foreign auto manufacturers with American assembly plants to purchase parts from abroad in order to have their U.S.-produced cars classified as foreign. In fact, even one U.S. automaker (Ford) has increased its purchases of foreign parts for some of its bigger cars in order to have them classified as foreign for CAFE purposes. Congress had required automakers to calculate CAFE standards separately for their domestic and foreign-made fleets in hopes that automakers would produce small cars and create jobs in the U.S. This seems to have backfired.
- o The impact of higher CAFE standards would especially hurt the steel industry since reducing the steel content of cars is the easiest way to increase fuel economy. Many other supplier industries, such as rubber, glass, and aluminum, would also be affected adversely.

CAFE Provides Little or No Environmental Benefit

- o CAFE does not significantly reduce fuel consumption. As fuel efficiency rises, driving becomes cheaper, prompting increased leisure driving and discouraging car pooling.
- o Smaller, more expensive new cars will cause people to delay new car purchases and keep their older, less efficient and more polluting cars longer.
- o One-size-fits-all Regulation: One of the proposed methods to raise CAFE is to increase fleet requirements by a certain percentage on a company by company basis.
 - Firms that have the highest averages now would be penalized. Many of them have already used existing technology to improve their mileage.

CAFE -- page 4

- o Carbon Tax: The Congressional Research Service report on CAFE concludes that gas prices may need to be artificially elevated by steps such as a carbon tax for CAFE to work as Clinton-Gore intend.
- Imposition of a carbon tax would stifle American enterprise. Previous estimates of the effects of a carbon tax or equivalent policy are that it would cost 600,000 jobs by the year 2000, according to a report prepared by the CONSAD Research Corporation.
- Hardest hit industries would include coal, metal, mining, and oil and gas extraction. Other vulnerable industries would include transportation services and manufacturing industries such as chemical and paper products, according to the same report.
- o Carbon dioxide emissions from U.S. passenger cars account for only 2.8% of worldwide carbon dioxide, which in turn makes up only half of the greenhouse gases. Removing all cars from the United States would reduce projected global warming by less than 0.03 degrees Centigrade, according to the National Center for Policy Analysis.

Better Ways to Promote Fuel Efficiency

- o A better way to promote fuel efficiency without endangering American jobs and lives is to use market-based incentives, such as those proposed by the President in the new Clean Air Act of 1990, to encourage responsible environmental actions. For instance, the President's "Cash-for-Clunkers" plan incorporates a tradable credit system to reduce the same amount of emissions as old-style regulation while saving industry significant compliance costs.
- Companies receive credits towards their emissions requirements for removing gas guzzlers from the road, getting the most polluting cars out of circulation.
- o A study by DRI/McGraw Hill last year found that an auto scrap program would be more effective than higher CAFE standards in reducing carbon monoxide and hydrocarbon emissions over the next five years. That is why the President's Cash-for-Clunkers Program and other market-based clean air initiatives make more sense: they encourage destruction of inefficient, polluting models and the purchase of more modern, less-polluting ones. This means both a cleaner environment and more work for Americans.

CAFE -- page 5

- o President Bush has directed Federal agencies to maximize their purchases of alternative fuels vehicles. Over 3,000 such vehicles have already been purchased and put into use.
- o There are other, better ways to make U.S. transportation more fuel-efficient, without the highway deaths and economic dislocations that would result from higher mandated CAFE standards. Many of these are outlined in the President's National Energy Strategy, including increasing funding for mass transit, increasing subsidies that automakers receive for producing vehicles that run on natural gas, ethanol, and methanol and investing up to \$150 million over the next four years, in partnership with the automobile industry, research into electric vehicles. The Administration will also accelerate R&D in high-speed rail systems and energy-efficient aircraft engines.
- o One of the most effective methods to reduce vehicle emissions is to simply tune-up the engines of automobiles already on the road.

#

Model Year 1992 Car And Light Truck Assembly Plants

City, State - Company (Number of Employees)
Models Produced

Spring Mt., TN - General Motors (4,560)
Savannah

Newark, DE - Chrysler (3,517)

Chrysler & Auburn, Dodge Spitz, Plymouth Acclaim
Harrison, DE - General Motors (3,150)
Chrysler Corsica, Dakota

Waukegan, IL - Ford (2,404)

Ford Taurus, Mercury Sable
Deerfield, CA - General Motors (2,395)
Oldsmobile Cutlass Supreme

Itasca, IL - Chrysler (2,315)

Chrysler New Yorker Sedan, New Yorker
Imperial, Fish Avenue, Dodge Dynasty
Chicago, IL - Ford (2,302)

Ford Taurus, Mercury Sable

Warren, MI - General Motors (2,280)

Chrysler CM Pickup, GMC CK Sierra Pickup
Benton City, KS - General Motors (2,015)
Pontiac Grand Prix

Boston, MA - General Motors (1,925)

Chrysler Corsica

Louisville, KY - Ford (1,440)

Ford Ranger, Explorer, Mazda Miata
Sterling, VA - General Motors (2,195)

Chrysler S 10 Pickup, S 10 Blazer,
GMC Sierra Pickup, S 15 Jimmy
Lithonia, GA - General Motors (1,085)

Chrysler Aspire, GMC Safari
Durham, NC - Ford (1,769)

Ford Mustang

Detroit, MI - General Motors (3,200)

Commercial Classic, Recreational Classic;
Specialty Vehicle Classes

Detroit, MI - General Motors (2,770)

Calicut, Florida, Serba, Atlanta
Tulsa, OK - General Motors (2,885)

Flint, MI - General Motors (3,020)

Buch TeSabe, Oldsmobile 88 Royale
Auburn, MI - General Motors (5,715)

Calicut, Delaware, Oldsmobile 88 Royale
Auburn, MI - General Motors (6,840)

Black Skyline, Oldsmobile Alero, Pontiac
Grand Am

onice (E-Mail), MI - General Motors (5,970)

EastWest (Combustion)

Chrysler CM Pickup, GMC Sierra CK Pickup
onice (West), MI - General Motors (5,000)

Chrysler S 10 Pickup, S 10 Blazer, GMC
Sierra Pickup, Plymouth Pickup, S 15 Jimmy
Auburn, MI - Chrysler (2,152)

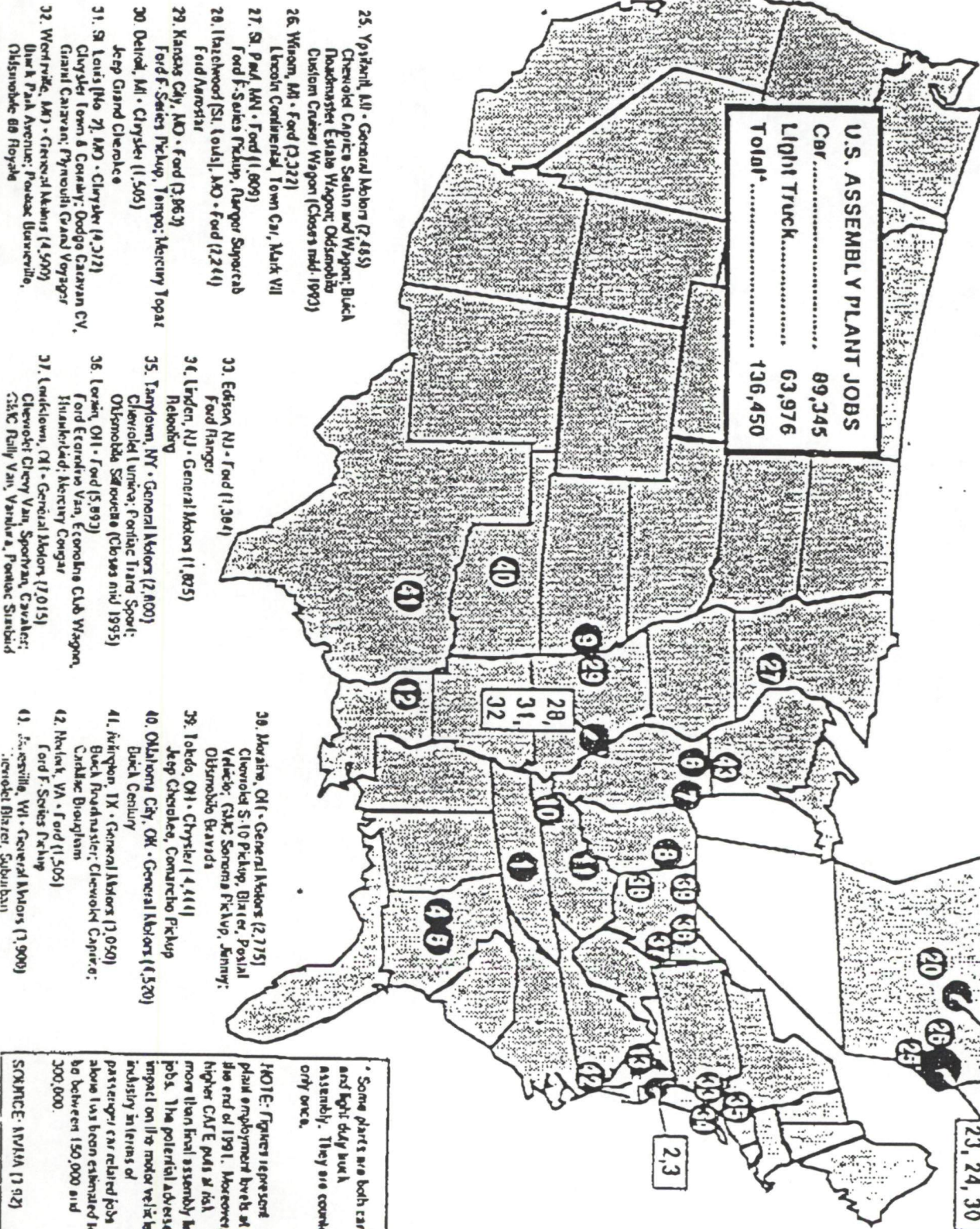
onice (E-Mail), MI - Ford (1,445)

onice (E-Mail), MI - Ford (1,445)

JOBS AT RISK

DOMESTIC CAR AND LIGHT TRUCK ASSEMBLY PLANTS ENDANGERED
BY PROPOSALS TO SIMPLY RAISE FUEL ECONOMY STANDARDS
(CAFE), INCLUDING THE BIPARTISAN DILL (S.279)

U.S. ASSEMBLY PLANT JOBS	
Car	89,345
Light Truck	63,976
Total	136,450



* Some plants are both car and light duty truck assembly. They are counted only once.

NOTE: Figures represent plant employment levels at the end of 1991. Moreover, higher CAFE puts at risk more than final assembly jobs. The potential adverse impact on the motor vehicle industry in terms of passenger car related jobs alone has been estimated to be between 150,000 and 300,000.

CAFE MYTHS & FACTS

EMPLOYMENT IMPACT

MYTH

Large increases in Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards for cars and light trucks would not affect employment in the motor vehicle and related industries.

FACT

Large CAFE increases would force automakers to downsize vehicles and scale back or eliminate production of selected models of full- and mid-size cars, vans, sport utility vehicles and pick-up trucks. As a result, the model mix of vehicles available to consumers would shift radically. In 1990, small cars constituted 29 percent of the new car fleet, mid-size cars made up 52 percent and large cars 19 percent. If proposed CAFE standards requiring a 40 percent improvement by 2001 were enacted into law, known technologies would provide only a minor share of that required increase. The market shift required would be radical because it is estimated that the small car share of the new car fleet would have to triple to 82 percent, the mid-size segment would have to be trimmed to 13 percent and larger models would be limited to only 5 percent of the new car fleet. Market shifts of such magnitudes will have a substantial adverse employment impact for the following reasons:

- Restricted availability of domestically produced family-size cars and light trucks will cause many consumers to keep their older, less fuel-efficient cars longer, resulting in lost sales. Such sales declines cause shutdowns at assembly and supplier plants, the closing of car and light truck dealerships and employee layoffs throughout the entire industry.
- Limitations on the production of larger cars, light trucks, and vans would result in elimination of jobs — and even plant closings — at many of the facilities that now produce those vehicles. Assembly plants currently producing family- and mid-size cars, light trucks and vans — threatened by unreasonable increases in CAFE — have a combined labor force of 142,000 employees in 13 states. In addition, countless jobs would also be at risk at numerous supplier firms dependent on those assembly plants for business. The jobs displaced by CAFE would not be offset by increased production of small cars because overall sales would be lower and smaller/lighter cars require less labor to build than larger models.
- U.S. jobs are concentrated in the production of domestic manufacturer-produced family-size cars and trucks, while foreign firms have dominant positions in the small car and truck segments. Dramatic shifts in the mix of cars would hit domestic full-line manufacturers particularly hard. Many of their most competitive products are mid- and full-size cars and trucks, which have fuel economy ratings that fall significantly below standards included in congressional proposals.

THE POINT

One in every seven jobs in the United States is tied to the motor vehicle industry or related industries. Efforts to conserve fuel must be balanced against their impact on American workers. Proposed increases in CAFE will result in thousands of layoffs, leading to further declines in the U.S. tax base and increased demand for unemployment benefits.

CLINTON-GORE FACTS



Working Document
October 20, 1992

Research Office

Clinton/Gore on CAFE Standards and Conservation

*"I never said -- and I defy you to find where I said -- I gave an extensive environmental speech in April, and I said that we ought to have a goal of raising the fuel efficiency standards to 40 miles a gallon. I think that should be a goal. I have never said we should write it into law if there is evidence that that goal cannot be achieved.... That doesn't mean we have to write it into the law."*¹

Bill Clinton

*"The 45 mpg standard should be a goal of auto makers and incorporated into national legislation."*²

Bill Clinton

Again Bill Clinton dodges from the truth of his statements and his record in Arkansas. Clinton's choice of Al Gore as a running mate further suggests that Clinton will continue to advance make radical, unworkable proposals in this area.

Clinton's Unbearable CAFE Standards

Clinton's proposals to raise CAFE standards would be devastating to US interests -- jobs, the economy, and highway safety.

- **1979:** Clinton has advocated greater CAFE standards for many years. In a 1979 speech, Clinton said: "We continue to exert enormous efforts to get more oil at higher prices, while making far less a commitment to doubling, tripling, or quadrupling automobile mileage or to know the technology to effect these changes on a large scale is available."³
- **January/February 1992:** Clinton supports "an increase in Corporate Average Fuel Economy standards from the current 27.5 mpg. No single energy measure appears to present such a significant opportunity for savings, national security, balance of trade, and the environment. The 45 mpg standard should be a goal of auto makers and incorporated into national legislation."⁴
- **April 1992:** This dramatic increase in CAFE standards has also been repeated in Clinton speeches: "We'll accelerate our process toward fuel-efficient cars and seek to raise average goal for auto makers to 40 miles per gallon by the year 2000, and 45 miles per gallon by the year 2020."⁵
- **August 1992:** However, illustrating his habit of pandering, Slick Willie downplayed his plan before an audience in Detroit. Clinton said that "we should remain very flexible about imposing standards on the overall fleet as opposed to different sized vehicles.... But I have never said that I didn't think there were more than one way to approach it. I thought the goal was a good goal."⁶

- **September 1992:** Soon after the Detroit pandering, the Clinton campaign released a statement on CAFE: "Accelerate our progress toward more fuel-efficient cars and raise the CAFE standards for automakers to 40 miles per gallon by the year 2000 and 45 miles per gallon by 2015."⁷ (emphasis in original)

Gore's Unbearable CAFE Standards

Gore has long been the radical bellwether for restrictive CAFE standards that would cripple the American auto industry.

- Gore boasts that he was an original co-sponsor of a CAFE bill in the Senate and continues to support legislation mandating higher fuel economy standards.⁸
- Gore's book, *Earth in the Balance*, is often a criticism of the automobile. Gore claims that one of the goals of his controversial Strategic Environment Initiative is "completely eliminating the internal combustion engine over say, a twenty-five year period."⁹
- Gore has stated: "The government must establish higher mileage requirements for all cars and trucks sold in the United States."¹⁰
- Additionally, he boasts: "I support new laws to mandate the improvements in automobile mileage, but much more is needed."¹¹

The Results of Clinton/Gore CAFE Standards

- The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) estimates that weight reductions in automobiles needed to meet a 40 mile per gallon standard could result in up to 1,900 additional deaths and 17,000 serious injuries each year.¹²
- Additionally, as many as 300,000 jobs would be put at risk because of the Clinton/Gore proposals.¹³

Conservation

- With regard to oil conservation, Clinton says he'll "push for revenue-neutral incentives that reward conservation and make polluters and energy wasters pay more." He cites California's proposal for giving purchasers of fuel-efficient cars rebates for by special fees on those who buy gas guzzlers.¹⁴
- Clinton additionally supports mandatory conservation requirements for the government to reduce fossil-fuel dependence.¹⁵
- Gore seems to suggest that conservation will be achieved through higher taxes on virgin materials and with carbon taxes.¹⁶ "There is an economic rule of thumb: whatever we tax, we tend to get less of ..."¹⁷

The Failed Policies of Arkansas

- The same policies Clinton wants for America have failed in Arkansas. Clinton's statements on CAFE standards and energy efficiency are ironic given his state's poor performance in energy conservation. Arkansas ranks 50th in miles per gallon gas consumed. This suggests that there are many gas-guzzlers on the road in Governor Clinton's state. Additionally, Arkansas ranks 45th in urban areas mass transit reflecting a lack of Clinton initiatives to encourage conservation. Arkansas ranked 46th in the composite of 38 indicators to determine energy and automobile efficiency.¹⁸
- In 1980 Common Cause gave Arkansas an "unsatisfactory" rating on its energy conservation efforts.¹⁹

- 1 Third Presidential Debate, October 19, 1992.
- 2 Bill Clinton For President Committee Release, Spring, 1992.
- 3 Speech at Georgetown University, printed in Arkansas Gazette, June 3, 1979
- 4 Bill Clinton For President Committee Release, Spring, 1992.
- 5 Clinton Speech at Drexel University, April 22, 1992.
- 6 Clinton Speech in Detroit, August 27, 1992.
- 7 Putting People First: How We Can All Change America
- 8 The Detroit News, July 16, 1992.
- 9 Earth in the Balance, page 326.
- 10 Earth in the Balance, page 350.
- 11 Earth in the Balance, p. 325.
- 12 National Highway Traffic Safety Administration study on safety records of smaller cars.
- 13 Motor Vehicles Manufacturers Association of the United States, Inc. issue paper on CAFE.
- 14 Clinton Speech, Drexel University, April 22, 1992.
- 15 The Village Voice, April 28, 1992.
- 16 Earth in the Balance, Virgin materials p. 349, carbon tax p. 159.
- 17 Earth in the Balance, p. 348.
- 18 1991-1992 Green Index, Institute for Southern Studies
- 19 Common Cause Energy Survey, June 29, 1980.

** 1018L PAGE.004 **

Attachment IV
Page 3 of 3

National Energy Policy

Excerpts from recent speeches by Governor Bill Clinton

I support an increase in corporate average fuel economy standards from the current 27.5 mpg. No single energy measure appears to present such a significant opportunity for savings, national security, balance of trade, and environment. The 45 mpg standard should be a goal of automakers and incorporated into national legislation.

But mandating higher efficiency standards is not enough. We need a national energy conservation strategy that will make use of revenue-neutral market incentives to reward consumers who conserve and make polluters and energy-wasters pay.

I support federal tax incentives for renewable resources. Tax incentives would merely level the playing field. Traditional energy sources reap many benefits from a tax structure slanted in their favor. Tax incentives would allow renewable energy to compete fairly.

We also need a new energy policy to lower the trade deficit, increase productivity, and improve the environment. We must rely less on imported oil, and more on cheap and abundant natural gas, and on research and development into renewable energy resources. We must achieve European standards of energy efficiency in factories and office buildings. That will free up billions of dollars to invest in the American economy.



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

October 15, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

From: David M. McIntosh *DMM*
DBR David B. Rivkin, Jr.

Re: Projected Job Losses Associated with Increasing the CAFE Standard to 40 mpg

In the last two days, the media has expressed incredulity about the fact that increasing the CAFE standard to 40 mpg would lead to the loss of 300,000 jobs. This is not surprising, since the media seldom realizes just how much regulations cost in terms of jobs and stifle economic growth. If anything, 300,000 is a low estimate.

For example, the Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Association projects job losses associated with the CAFE standard of 40 mpg to range from 200,000 to 315,000 by the year 2000. These losses are attributable to several distinct reasons:

- o Cars will become more expensive and therefore, people will buy fewer of them. Because the cost of new fuel technology is not expected to be recovered in fuel savings over the life of the vehicle, the introduction of the 40 mpg CAFE standard will increase the cost of new vehicles, reducing demand for new cars and lowering car sales.
- o Advantage to foreign competitors. Foreign car manufacturers have been able to amass considerable CAFE credits, as a result of selling over the years large numbers of small cars. They would be able to better adjust to the impact of the 40 mpg CAFE standard than the U.S. domestic manufacturers. This is likely to result in an increased U.S. market penetration by foreign auto makers.
- o Smaller American Auto Work-force. Because the production of smaller cars requires fewer workers, the introduction of the 40 mpg CAFE standard would lead to job losses, even if the level of new car sales did not decline.

Significantly, the 300,000 job loss number describes only the primary anticipated impacts of the 40 mpg CAFE standard. Economists often utilize the job multiplier, ranging from 1 to 2, to project the secondary job losses. Thus, a loss of 300,000 jobs in the automotive industry is likely to trigger an additional loss of 300,000 to 600,000 jobs in other industries.

Less Safety on Our Freeways. Moreover, according to the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, the introduction of the 40 mpg CAFE standard would produce additional 900 to 1700 deaths and 9000 to 17,000 injuries each year. During the recent debate over the Bryan CAFE bill, which would have resulted in the same 40 mpg CAFE standard advocated by Al Gore, a number of newspapers (including Detroit News) described these safety consequences as "shedding blood for oil."

cc: Bill Kristol
Al Hubbard

THE VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

APRIL 23, 1991

COMPETITIVENESS COUNCIL ISSUES FACT
SHEET ON SENATOR BRYAN'S CAFE BILL

Vice President Quayle, as chairman of the President's Council on Competitiveness, released a Fact Sheet today criticizing Senator Bryan's Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) bill.

"It is difficult to imagine what the Bryan bill was designed to remedy," the Vice President said in releasing the Competitiveness Council Fact Sheet. "What S. 279 will give us is more of what we need less of -- highway fatalities and serious injuries -- and less of what we need more of -- fuel savings and competitiveness."

The Fact Sheet points out that studies of passenger car crashes by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) conclude that the 1970's and early 1980's downsizing of cars results in increases of about 2,000 deaths and 20,000 serious injuries each year. NHTSA estimates that weight reductions needed to meet S. 279 could result in additional 900 to 1700 deaths to 9,000 to 17,000 injuries each year. The Fact Sheet includes expected state-by-state increases in highway fatalities each year if S. 279 were enacted.

Furthermore, the National Energy Strategy proposed by the President and the Clean Air Act will generate greater fuel savings and a cleaner environment than the Bryan bill. Finally, S. 279 will weaken U.S. competitiveness in markets in which we currently dominate and consequently threaten jobs in those sectors of the economy.

If S. 279 were presented for the President's signature, his Senior Advisers, including Transportation Secretary Skinner and Energy Secretary Watkins, have recommended that he veto S. 279.

For more information please contact Bill Burrow at (202) 456-6222.

#



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

COUNCIL ON COMPETITIVENESS FACT SHEET ON:
CORPORATE AVERAGE FUEL ECONOMY (CAFE)
(April 22, 1991)

"My goal is to make travel safer, more efficient, and less expensive for the American consumer."

-- George Bush

"It is difficult to imagine what the Bryan bill was designed to remedy. What S. 279 will give us is more of what we want less of -- highway fatalities and serious injuries -- and less of what we want more of -- fuel savings and competitiveness."

-- Dan Quayle

The Bryan Bill (S. 279) -- A Deadly Exercise in Futility

The Bryan Bill would mandate unrealistic and costly increases in Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards that harm U.S. competitiveness. It would: decrease highway safety, impose high costs on car buyers, fail to address the transportation sector's near total reliance on oil, and harm U.S. competitiveness. If it were presented for the President's signature, his Senior Advisers, including Transportation Secretary Skinner and Energy Secretary Watkins, would recommend that he veto S. 279.

S. 279 Would Decrease Highway Safety.

- o Increasing CAFE standards to levels beyond those currently attainable through improved technology means that cars must be downsized substantially.
- o Downsizing Causes Traffic Deaths. Studies of passenger car crashes by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) conclude that the 1970s and early 1980s downsizing of cars results in increases of about 2,000 deaths and 20,000 serious injuries each year.
- o Other Studies Confirm a Negative Relationship Between Vehicle Size and Safety. During the past 12 years, studies by the Office of Technology Assessment of the United States Congress, the National Safety Council, the Brookings Institution, the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety, and General Motors Research Laboratories all agreed that reductions in size and weight pose a safety threat.

- o S. 279 Would Cause Additional Traffic Fatalities. Preliminary NHTSA estimates indicate that the weight reductions needed to meet S. 279's requirements could result in an additional 900 to 1,700 deaths and 9,000 to 17,000 serious injuries each year.
- o All States could expect to see increased passenger highway fatalities each year if S. 279 were enacted. For example:

Arizona	13 - 25	deaths
California	91 - 171	deaths
Florida	57 - 108	deaths
Kentucky	17 - 33	deaths
Louisiana	15 - 29	deaths
Massachusetts	14 - 26	deaths
Michigan	38 - 72	deaths
Mississippi	16 - 30	deaths
Missouri	22 - 41	deaths
Montana	2 - 4	deaths
Nebraska	6 - 11	deaths
New York	44 - 82	deaths
Nevada	6 - 11	deaths
Pennsylvania	43 - 80	deaths

S. 279 Would Displace Less Oil at a Higher Cost Than Initiatives in the Clean Air Act and the National Energy Strategy.

- o S. 279 is estimated to save about 1 million barrels per day in 2010. The alternative fuels provisions of the Clean Air Act and the National Energy Strategy combined are estimated to save 2.2 million barrels per day by 2010.
- o It would cost more than \$90 per barrel of oil (in today's dollars) for the marginal increase required by the second phase of the Bryan bill. This does not compare favorably with the cost of other actions the Administration is taking that reduce oil consumption through the Clean Air Act and the National Energy Strategy.
- o For example, under Administration Clean Air Act estimates of the cost of reformulated gasoline, which is primarily intended to reduce emissions of hydrocarbons, carbon monoxide, and nitrogen oxides, the cost of oil displaced ranges between \$29.40 and \$54.40 per barrel.
- o Other Clean Air Act initiatives, such as the allowance trading program for sulfur dioxide emissions, will displace petroleum at low cost while contributing to environmental quality.

- o Vehicle and infrastructure costs for the alternative fuels programs in the National Energy Strategy analysis are estimated to cost about \$12 (present value) per barrel of oil displaced through 2020. (This assumes alternative fuels are cost competitive with gasoline. If alternative fuels are not cost competitive, and therefore used less widely, oil displacement would be lower, and cost per barrel of oil displaced would be higher.)
- o Even a program that compelled the use of alternative fuels having a significant cost disadvantage would displace petroleum far more cheaply than S. 279. For example, if the alternative fuel equivalent of gasoline engendered a \$.50 per gallon cost penalty, a pessimistic projection, a methanol use mandate would displace oil at a cost of \$33 per barrel (fixed cost of \$12 per barrel plus fuel penalty cost of \$21 per barrel).
- o National Energy Strategy proposals outside the transportation sector, such as the removal of regulatory barriers to the approval of new natural gas pipelines, will displace petroleum at a very low cost.

S. 279 Takes Away American Families' Choice of Safer Family Vehicles.

- o S. 279 greatly restricts individual or family choices. Parents who choose a minivan or station wagon for safety reasons or to accommodate the space needed for children are penalized by CAFE.
- o Most family minivans and station wagons are substantially heavier (over 450 lbs) than the average vehicle. To meet higher CAFE standards, these vehicles will be made smaller or priced so they are unaffordable for many families. S. 279 could well eliminate the large station wagon entirely.

S. 279 Would Harm U.S. Competitiveness.

- o S. 279 would most likely hurt the market sectors in which the U.S. predominates - inexpensive large vehicles. Currently, U.S. companies account for about 90 percent of mid- and full-size cars and 97 percent of standard-size light trucks.
- o U.S. auto manufacturing job losses could be substantial, depending upon the extent to which U.S. sales are affected.

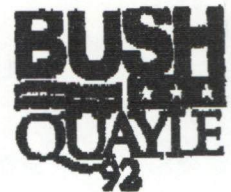
**EXPECTED INCREASES IN ANNUAL HIGHWAY FATALITIES
DUE TO THE BRYAN BILL (S. 279)¹**

<u>STATE</u>	<u>ADDITIONAL DEATHS PER YEAR</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>ADDITIONAL DEATHS PER YEAR</u>
Alabama	23 - 43	Nebraska	6 - 11
Alaska	1 - 3	Nevada	6 - 11
Arizona	13 - 25	New Hampshire	4 - 8
Arkansas	12 - 22	New Jersey	18 - 34
California	91 - 171	New Mexico	8 - 14
Colorado	10 - 18	New York	44 - 82
Connecticut	8 - 15	North Carolina	32 - 60
Delaware	3 - 5	North Dakota	1 - 3
Florida	57 - 108	Ohio	40 - 75
Georgia	32 - 61	Oklahoma	12 - 23
Hawaii	3 - 5	Oregon	12 - 22
Idaho	4 - 8	Pennsylvania	43 - 80
Illinois	38 - 72	Rhode Island	2 - 4
Indiana	22 - 42	South Carolina	20 - 39
Iowa	11 - 20	South Dakota	3 - 6
Kansas	9 - 17	Tennessee	23 - 44
Kentucky	17 - 33	Texas	56 - 106
Louisiana	15 - 29	Utah	6 - 11
Maine	4 - 8	Vermont	3 - 5
Maryland	15 - 27	Virginia	21 - 40
Massachusetts	14 - 26	Washington	15 - 29
Michigan	38 - 72	West Virginia	11 - 20
Minnesota	13 - 25	Wisconsin	19 - 36
Mississippi	16 - 30	Wyoming	2 - 3
Missouri	22 - 41	Washington, DC	<u>1 - 2</u>
Montana	2 - 4		
		TOTAL	900 - 1700

¹Excludes effects on light trucks and minivans, which could be substantial, but have not been estimated.

BACKGROUND

Presidential Debates 1992



Issues Office

October 19, 1992

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE RECORD:

*- Bill Clinton Still Isn't Telling the Truth About His Own Record,
or About President Bush's (even after three debates ...) -*

TAX FAIRNESS

Tonight Clinton charged that under President's Reagan and Bush, the income of middle class Americans went down while their tax burden went up.

FACT:

The rich will pay a larger share of Federal taxes in 1992 than in 1980. The share of taxes paid by the top 1% of earners will increase by at least 22% for 1992. The top 5% will see their tax share go up by 16%.

- o Another way to measure the middle class income tax burden is to calculate the share of all Federal taxes paid by middle income families. In 1977, middle income families (the middle 60%) paid 42% of all Federal taxes. Under President Bush, middle income families pay about 39% of all Federal taxes.
- o A 1991 Citizens for Tax Justice report demonstrates the increasing regressivity of the Clinton era. The tax burden for the poorest 20 percent of Arkansas families has increased 12.8 percent since 1985, while for the top one percent it only increased 8.8 percent. Additionally, for the middle 20 percent of Arkansas families, the tax burden increased by 14.8 percent.
- o As the Arkansas Gazette observed: "In the Clinton era, the state tax system has become more and more regressive -- stacked against the ordinary taxpayer and consumer, stacked for the rich and the special interests." The Pine Bluff Commercial concluded: "If Congress followed the example Bill Clinton has set as Governor of Arkansas, it would pass a program that hit the middle class hardest."
- o Bill Clinton is not being straight with the American people about who he would have to tax. His tax plan would force him to raise taxes on the middle class. To cover phony revenue in his economic plan, and to meet his own tax revenue goal of \$150 billion, Clinton will have

2

to start his tax increase on individuals with taxable incomes of \$16,600 a year.

Cutting the Deficit

Tonight Bill Clinton said he would cut the deficit in half.

What Clinton won't tell the American people is that:

- o Clinton has promised to spend at least \$219 billion more over four years plus another \$200 billion on play-or-pay health insurance. Clinton's deficit will be at least \$200 billion higher than he claims.
- o Clinton has proposed virtually no specific spending cuts except for the elimination of one federal program and a dangerously-deep slashing of defense.
 - One hundred of the most eminent economists in the Nation have concluded that the Clinton plan will mean bigger deficits.
- o As Governor of Arkansas, Clinton has virtually doubled state spending, and to get around his state's Balanced Budget law, has doubled the State's debt.

Reducing the Deficit

Tonight Clinton again promised that he would increase growth while cutting the deficit.

What Clinton won't tell the American people is:

- o By his own numbers, Clinton would add one trillion dollars to the national debt over the next four years. But, even this estimate significantly understates the cost of Clinton's spending programs and overstates his claimed budgetary savings. Clinton fails to include in his spending estimates massive new spending promises that he repeats almost daily -- \$197 billion for more government-controlled health care and \$65 billion for "middle income" tax cuts.
- o Clinton "cooks the books" in his budget plan, relying on outrageously optimistic growth assumptions with which no serious economist agrees. Most of Clinton's phony deficit reduction comes from this dishonest device.
- o Clinton has proposed virtually no specific cuts in non-Social Security entitlement spending -- the truest measure of any serious effort at deficit reduction.

3

Honey Spending Cuts

- o Clinton claims to cut spending by \$140 billion, but the numbers do not add up. Of the alleged \$140 billion in spending cuts, \$57.5 billion (or 40%) are administrative gimmicks and unspecified measures, and \$61.3 billion (or 42%) are additional and irresponsible cuts in America's national security programs. In short, at most 18% of the cuts proposed by Clinton could even remotely be termed "real."
- o Of the \$140 billion in spending cuts, Clinton would only terminate one federal program -- the honey bee program -- which Senator Gore has voted for on four occasions. This stands in sharp contrast to the President who proposed in his FY93 Budget to eliminate 246 federal programs, saving an estimated \$5 billion.

Tax Increases

Tonight Clinton charged that the President has vetoed urban enterprise zones and investment tax credits because they would make the "wealthiest Americans pay more."

- FACT: This March President Bush vetoed a \$100 billion tax increase that would have hit hundreds of thousands of small businesses and their employees -- not just the wealthiest Americans as Clinton's demagoguery suggests.
- o Clinton endorsed this tax hike, just as he proposed and enacted the largest tax increase in Arkansas history last year, and this year proposed what would be the largest tax hike in American history.
 - o The same bill included a repeal of the luxury tax on boats and airplanes. This tax had been imposed by the Democratic leadership to "soak the rich" but it did little more than cost about 20,000 middle-income Americans their jobs.

Spending

Tonight Clinton charged that spending under President Bush has been the highest in 20 years.

Clinton is lying. What he won't tell the American people is that:

- o Under President Bush, domestic spending has increased by 10.8% a year. This spending increase ranks behind the records set by Jimmy Carter (+16.7% per year), Gerald Ford (+27.7% per year), and Richard Nixon (+15.8% per year).

4

- o President Bush has tried to cut spending by \$58.5 billion more than the amount Congress has appropriated -- even according to the Congressional Budget Office. Had Congress approved these cuts the deficit would now be smaller, not larger as Clinton falsely claims.

Arkansas' tax burden

Clinton again claimed tonight that Arkansas has the second lowest tax burden of any state.

What Clinton won't tell the American people is:

- o To arrive at this bogus statistic, Clinton is counting per capita state and local tax revenue, a figure automatically low due to Arkansas' persistent poverty.
- o Furthermore, Bill Clinton is only responsible for state taxes, not local taxes. The state tax burden as a percentage of personal income -- the only meaningful state tax burden measure -- was 25th in the nation in 1990, (Bureau of the Census). And these figures do not include the largest tax increase in Arkansas history -- one proposed and signed into law by Clinton in 1991.

Working Harder

Clinton again charged that Americans are working harder and earning less.

FACT: Americans are working less hours per week than they were 10 years ago. From 1982 to 1992, average weekly hours worked by private, non-agricultural employees actually declined. (Economic Report of the President, Table B-42)

-- Total hourly compensation for all business employees (adjusted for inflation) grew 3¢ under Reagan-Bush -- after having fallen 1.3¢ under Carter. Hourly compensation has also increased in the last year. (Bureau of Labor Statistics)

- o Wages in Arkansas, like income, remained comparatively flat under Clinton:

-- In 1980, average hourly earnings in Arkansas manufacturing were only 78.5¢ of the national average. Ten years later, after eight years of Clinton's vaunted job creation, manufacturing wages were unchanged.

-- In 1989, Arkansas' average hourly earnings for production workers in manufacturing ranked next to last in the

5

nation -- and down from a 47th place ranking in 1980, i.e. before Clinton. (1991 Statistical Abstract of the United States, Table 1304).

Arkansas Job Facts

Clinton claims "Arkansas now leads the nation in job growth."

- o Six states had higher job growth than Arkansas from August 1991 to August 1992.
- o From 1980-1989 Arkansas ranked 26th for job growth (State and Metropolitan Area Data Book, 1991)
- o Arkansas ranked 37/51 for its unemployment rate in 1980 -- at the height of the Carter recession. It ranked 49/51 in 1989 at the height of the Reagan-Bush recovery. (State and Metropolitan Area Data Book, 1991)

Tonight Clinton said Arkansas ranked fourth in the Nation in manufacturing job growth.

What Clinton won't tell the American people about his own record in Arkansas is:

- o In 1990, Arkansas's average hourly manufacturing earnings ranked 15th of 16 Southern states, ahead only of Mississippi. Arkansas manufacturing earnings for durable goods ranked dead last -- almost 30 cents an hour behind Mississippi.
- o In 1980, the second year of Clinton's first term as governor, Arkansas's average hourly manufacturing earnings were only 78.5 percent of the national average. Ten years later, that figure was completely unchanged ("Average Hourly Earnings in Arkansas Manufacturing," Regional Economic Analysis, University of Arkansas, May 1991).

Tonight Clinton claimed that Arkansas was 4th in the Nation in income growth.

What Clinton won't tell the American people about his own record in Arkansas is:

- o Personal income grew less under Bill Clinton than it did under any other Arkansas governor in the past 25 years. (Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce)
- o A large percentage of last year's income growth in Arkansas (which is where Clinton gets his "4th best ranking") came from pay raises Clinton gave to state government employees.

5

- o Personal income: During the Clinton Decade, Arkansas' personal income growth rate was 11 percent lower than the national average. And, despite Clinton's being in office for eight years during the 1980s, Arkansas' personal income growth rate was 48% lower than its growth in the 1970s, (1991 State and Metropolitan Data Book).
- o Disposable Personal Income: During the Clinton Decade, Arkansas' disposable personal income growth rate was 14 percent lower than the national average. And, despite Clinton's being in office for eight years during the 1980s, Arkansas' disposable personal income growth rate was 61% lower than its growth rate in the 1970s, (1991 State and Metropolitan Data Book).
- o If Clinton had run the United States the way he has run Arkansas, the average family would live on \$21,046 per year. Under President Bush they live on \$28,525. (Washington Times, 7/26/92)
 - Per capita personal income would be \$9,931. Under President Bush it is \$13,546. (Bureau of the Census, Summary Tape File 3A)

Arkansas Poverty

Tonight Clinton claimed that Arkansas ranked 4th in the Nation in poverty reduction.

- o Arkansas did rank 4th best in poverty reduction over the last year, but it ranked 23rd out of 51 for poverty reduction from 1979-1989. (State and Metropolitan Area Data Book)
- o Before Clinton, however, Arkansas did even better, ranking fourth for an entire decade (as opposed to Clinton's one year)
 - from 1969 to 1979.

Tackling the Economy

- o In February 1991, the Clinton-appointed director of the state of Arkansas Department of Finance and Administration issued a report concluding that the economy would improve: "we expect an economic recovery at the national level to begin in the second half of this year." (2/11/91)

7

NAFTA

Tonight Clinton implied that the President's NAFTA did not ensure adequate environmental and worker retraining standards.

What Clinton won't tell the American people is:

- o Under the President's Worker Adjustment Initiative, at least \$335 million a year would be reserved to help retrain workers affected by NAFTA. In the unlikely event that more funding is needed, the Secretary of Labor could provide up to \$670 million each year for NAFTA-related worker retraining.
- o The U.S. and Mexico have already developed a comprehensive U.S.-Mexico Border Plan to address environmental concerns. Mexico has allocated \$460 million over three years to implement the Border Plan. In turn, President Bush has requested \$241 million for Border Plan implementation in FY 1993 alone. However, Democrats in Congress have slashed the President's request by almost \$100 million. Clinton said nothing to urge Democrats to restore these funds.

American Productivity

Tonight Clinton flip-flopped on his assessment of American workers' productivity. Tonight Clinton said, American workers have increased their productivity.

- o Previously Clinton has said: "[E]very one of us would agree that America's productivity has been going downhill for well over a decade." (ABC News Debate, 3/5/92)

Family Leave

Tonight, Clinton again criticized the President for vetoing the family leave bill.

FACT: Despite twelve years of Clinton, Arkansas has no family and medical leave act.

- o The President's contention that government family leave mandates contribute to unemployment is bolstered by the fact that more than half of the 72 countries Clinton cites had higher unemployment than the U.S.
- o Many of America's leading competitors that have mandated leave -- including Germany, England, France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, and Canada -- have higher unemployment than the U.S.

8

Legal Reform

Tonight Clinton claimed that "in twelve years as Governor, I've taken on every special interest group."

Clinton conveniently forgot his kowtowing to trial lawyers -- as the trial lawyers themselves have testified.

- o Trial lawyers give rave reviews to Clinton's record of opposing tort reforms. As the former head of the American Trial Lawyers Association wrote to fellow lawyers (in soliciting contributions for Clinton): "I happen to know that Bill Clinton is against tort reform of any kind." (Letter by Robert Habush, quoted in Wall Street Journal, 4/10/92)

Or consider the opinion of someone who knows, and appreciates, Clinton best, the President of the Arkansas Trial Lawyers Association: "I can never remember an occasion when he failed to do the right thing where we trial lawyers were concerned." (Letter by David H. Williams, 7/10/92)

- o Trial lawyers are Clinton's top source of contributions: Trial lawyers are working hard to raise money for Clinton, confident that under Clinton tort reforms like the President's will not be enacted.

-- Writing to fellow lawyers on Clinton's behalf, the head of the Arkansas Trial Lawyers Association said, "So, can I recommend that your folks put their money behind Bill Clinton for President? Not just yes, but hell yes ... So dig down deep and give to Bill Clinton." (Letter by David H. Williams, 7/10/92)

Appointing Women

- o Clinton has appointed few women to high office in Arkansas. Only 17 percent of Clinton's cabinet is made up of women, well below the national average of 23.3 percent. Clinton ranks 32nd out of the 43 governors for appointing women to cabinet positions (National Women's Political Caucus, 1992 report).

Higher CAFE Standards

Tonight Bill Clinton said he merely supported raising auto efficiency standards as a goal.

What Clinton won't tell you is that both he and Al Gore have consistently favored radical increases in auto efficiency standards:

- o In his own Environment position paper, Clinton said: "[A Clinton/Gore Administration will] accelerate our progress

9

toward more fuel-efficient cars, and raise the CAFE standards for automakers to 40-45 miles per gallon."

- o A recent Clinton/Gore National Energy Policy position paper stated: "I support an increase in corporate average fuel economy standards from the current 27.5 miles per gallon ... The 45 mile per gallon standard should be a goal of automakers and incorporated into national legislation. But mandating higher efficiency standards is not enough."
- o Gore, on the floor of the Senate, announcing his co-sponsorship of legislation to increase CAFE standards to about 40 miles per gallon by 2001: "I rise today as an original cosponsor of Senator Bryan's CAFE bill, S.1224. I am proud to join my colleague in this effort ..." (June 22, 1989)

What Clinton also won't tell the American people is that the Clinton-Gore ticket is overtly hostile towards America's auto industry:

- o Clinton: "The conclusion I reach is that we have to downscale the number of people we use to make cars." (Rolling Stone, 9/17/92)
- o Gore: "We know that the cumulative impact [of millions of automobiles] on the global environment is posing a mortal threat to the security of every nation that is more deadly than that of any military enemy we are ever again likely to confront." (Earth in the Balance, 325)

Congressional Spending

Tonight Clinton charged that President Bush wanted to spend more than Congress.

FACT: President Bush has tried to cut spending by \$55.5 billion more than the amount Congress has appropriated -- according to even the Congressional Budget Office. Had Congress approved these cuts the deficit would now be smaller, not larger as Clinton falsely claims.

- o To make his claim, Clinton has misled the American people, excluding \$79.1 billion in mandatory and entitlement spending cuts proposed by the President.
- o As Governor of Arkansas, Clinton has virtually doubled state spending, and to get around his state's Balanced Budget law, has doubled the State's debt.
- o Clinton has promised to spend at least \$219 billion more over four years plus another \$200 billion on play-or-pay

BQ '92 STAFF SECR.

ID:202-336-7328

OCT 20 '92

12:15 No.0009 P.10

10/19/92 22:33

BUSH QUAYLE

10

health insurance Clinton's deficit will be at least \$200 billion higher than he claims.

Taxing the Middle Class

Tonight Clinton said: "Read my plan. My plan says we want to raise taxes on only those making over \$200,000."

- o Clinton should read his plan. His plan says that he would "raise taxes on the top 2 percent." According to the Internal Revenue Service, the top 2 percent of American taxpayers actually starts with individuals earning \$64,800 in taxable income.
- If Clinton only raises taxes on those earning \$200,000 or more, he will fall tens of billions of dollars short of his own revenue estimates.
- o If Clinton only raises taxes on those earning over \$200,000, he will raise just \$45 billion, over \$35 billion short short of his own revenue goal. Clinton still hasn't answered the question, WHERE WILL HE GET THE MONEY?

Gun Control

Tonight Clinton accused the President of "buckling under to the NRA."

BUT, witness this Clinton pander to the very same NRA:

- o "Based on my lengthy conversations between my staff and yours [the Arkansas NRA], I was under the impression that NRA opposed preemption of local firearms laws by state acts. I am now advised that NRA favors state preemption and, therefore, my answer to [the question] should read 'yes.'" (Clinton letter dated 10/11/92 quoted in American Hunter, 10/92)
- o At the same time, Clinton wrote, "I am against any legislation or regulation on gun control that goes beyond current law, and am in support of the NRA position on gun control. I am opposed to any additional requirements for registration of handguns or rifles beyond current law."

#

The Worst Lying About the Economy in the Past 50 Years

By ALAN REYNOLDS

Bill Clinton has been chided for his slippery lack of truthfulness when it comes to the draft. But a much more pervasive and dangerous disregard for the truth is on display almost every time he opens his mouth to talk about the economy.

Let's take the debates. In the first debate, Mr. Clinton said we are suffering "the first decline in industrial production, ever." What? The country has never before had a recession? There is nothing wrong with making a mistake in the heat of debate. But we might have expected some impolite person, somewhere, to ask the governor what on earth he meant to say. Instead, the anchor on one network noted that Mr. Clinton had displayed his "mas-tery of facts."

Industrial production has risen by 2.1% since May 1991, and manufacturing alone (excluding mining and utilities) by 2.8%. Meanwhile, industrial production over the past year has fallen by 2.5% in Germany and by 7.6% in Japan.

Over the past year, the U.S. economy has grown faster than the economies of Japan, Germany, Canada or Britain (the first two of those last four, presumably, being Mr. Clinton's models). U.S. exports have doubled in real terms in only six years, and now exceed \$620 billion a year. What does Mr. Clinton have to say about this? He worries that we can't compete, and proposes emulating foreign basket cases — "an American version of what works in other countries." We don't really need an American version of Europe's 10% unemployment, or Japan's stock market collapse.

Were it not for defense cuts, the U.S. would have reported an economic growth rate of 2.3% over the past five quarters, rather than 1.6%. Yet Mr. Clinton proposes

to cut defense deeper and faster. How will that help?

Then there is this matter of wages. In the first debate, Mr. Clinton said U.S. wages have slipped to 13th in the world. Really? Who are those dozen richer countries anyway? All these figures show is that high German interest rates pushed European exchange rates up. That did indeed make European wages look high when converted to dollars, but it also makes European prices look even higher. The real purchasing power of foreign wages is a great deal lower than implied by converting them into dollars.

Mr. Clinton said on Monday night that "most people are working harder for less money than they were earning 10 years ago, and they're paying higher taxes." Is that true? A good way to find out is to add capital gains, government transfers and health benefits to the median income of full-time workers, then subtract federal income and Social Security taxes. Nineteen eighty-two was a recession trough, so let's start with President Carter's last year, 1980. Then adjust for inflation using the current consumer price index, improved in 1983. The result? Real, after-tax median income for full-time workers rose from to \$27,593 in 1989 from \$24,950 in 1980, before slipping back to \$26,679 in 1991. Half of all full-time workers in 1991 were still 7% ahead of where they were in 1980, after taxes, and many in the bottom half also had gains. Income and wealth rose further in 1992.

Much of the relative income weakness in the past few years was in capital gains — particularly among the middle class, where the capital gains tax rate rose most sharply. For those in the middle three-fifths of the income distribution,

average capital gains had been around \$3,500 a year from 1983 to 1986, but immediately sank to \$1,200 from 1987 to 1991, after the higher rates went into effect. Federal and state governments lost, too — they saw lower revenues. Mr. Bush wants to fix that inhumane and destructive 1986 policy mistake; Mr. Clinton opposes change.

In the debates, Mr. Clinton and Al Gore alternate between asserting that the economy is in the worst shape "in 50 years" and saying it's in the worst shape "since the Great Depression." Those are not the same thing. While these candidates may be too young to remember that Herbert Hoover was not the president in 1942, they are not too young to remember the stagflationary mess of 1973-75, or 1980-82. In the first of those contractions, real GDP fell by 4.3% and unemployment reached 9%. In the second, real GDP fell by 2.8% and unemployment hit 10.8%. Inflation and interest rates were well above 10% both times.

In the 1990-91 recession, real output fell by 2.2%, unemployment peaked at 7.8%, and inflation and interest rates have been quite low.

When it came to the vice presidential debate, the TV truth squads jumped on Dan Quayle, claiming it a lie that Mr. Clinton proposes \$150 billion in new taxes, since he supposedly intends to return \$106 billion to favored corporations and the "middle class." The argument here is that if the Internal Revenue Service can squeeze a few thousand more from Dr. Smith each year, but also share some of the loot with those who vote correctly, then Dr. Smith really has nothing to complain about. Mr. Clinton even promised that the wealthy will get some back in the form of investment tax credits to corporations that buy machines to replace workers.

Some campaign contributors will get rich off that, to be sure, but not those industrious two-earner families whose marginal tax rate is to jump by 16%.

Actually, the vice president's claim that Mr. Clinton plans to raise taxes by \$150 billion really does deserve to be criticized, since there's no way Mr. Clinton can raise even a third of that sum from rich folks and foreign companies. But that means he has no idea how to finance all his pork-barrel "infrastructure" schemes; nor can he afford those undefined "middle class tax cuts." Mr. Clinton has already switched from vague promises of tax relief to the middle class to promising he won't raise their taxes: "Read my plan." Instead, he can simply redefine "middle class" downward, in ways that catch more fish.

In the rush to "change," everything seems to be a "crisis." To define a health-care crisis, Mr. Gore claimed that "40 million" Americans "who work full-time" do not have health insurance. The latest Monthly Labor Review shows that 83% of all full-time workers have employer-financed medical care coverage. The remaining 17% don't even add up to 15 million. But the 17% figure is also misleading. Millions of full-time workers are self-employed individuals (often affluent), so it makes no sense even to ask if they have an "employer-financed" medical plan.

The Clinton-Gore team has been running TV ads ridiculing the president for saying he's not sure we're in a recession. Yet the U.S. economy is now in the sixth consecutive quarter of positive growth. This is quite definitely not a recession by anybody's definition — much less the worst one since 1942 or the only time industrial production ever fell. That little fact, like so many, doesn't seem to stop Mr. Clinton.

Mr. Reynolds is director of economic research at the Hudson Institute in Indianapolis.

PLANNING A NEW BIOTECHNOLOGY POLICY

Senator Al Gore*

From the printing press to the atomic bomb, humankind reveals a penchant to pioneer first and plan later. It is a simple truth that technology develops faster and further than policy. Cars and supercomputers are everyday examples of technologies that have grown beyond the high-ways and by-ways built to support them.

Pioneers and planners are, by nature, opposites. Pioneers must rebel and revolt against society to renew it. Planners try to relate the novel to the normal to provide continuity and growth.

Biotechnology is the latest example of this phenomenon. Watson and Crick, like Henry Ford, the Wright brothers, and Cray, will be remembered for pioneering a new and powerful technology. Who will be remembered for planning biotechnology policy?

In a recent article in *Scientific American* on high-speed fiber-optic computer networks, I noted how challenging it is for our civilization to make sensible use of that potent technology.¹ Surely the same can be said about biotechnology. The genetic code is the organic arm of the information revolution in which organisms transmit information chemically rather than digitally. In a sense, biotechnology can be described as the art of identifying and relocating genetic information to suit our purposes. Our mastery of that art increases the need for a coherent policy that defines just what our purposes are and should be.

The debate over biotechnology policy is at heart a debate over information policy. At one level the debate covers how to provide intellectual property protection to the tools of biotechnology and the valuable information they produce, such as gene sequences and chromosome maps. At a different and less comfortable level, the debate shifts to questions of how best to distribute information, to empower others to use it, and to prevent its misuse and loss of privacy.

Aided by the new tools of the computer age, biotechnology is developing faster than any previous technology and, in the process, creating a wider gap between practice and policy. Our growing ability to transform genetic information into new products and organisms intended to enhance agriculture, fight pollution, or alter hereditary diseases makes biotechnology a powerful, and threatening tool.

* United States Senator, D-Tennessee.

1. Al Gore, *Infrastructure for the Global Village*, SCI. AM., Sept. 1991, at 108.

There is a very fine line between information and impact in biotechnology. Accordingly, the early debates about biotechnology addressed whether humankind should use this new tool at all, and if so, under what restrictions. There was a fear that using the new technology could lead to irreversible and dangerous impacts on society and the environment. The debates led to an historic example of self-restraint when the scientific community put policy and pioneering on equal grounds in the Asilomar Conference of 1975 and devised a way to develop the technology slowly under certain principles of safety and caution.²

But, after answering the question, "Should we do this?" the scientific community turned back to the question, "What can we do?," and pursued it with a new intensity. The result was a cascade of technological achievements that transformed Nobel Prize-winning discoveries into exercises high school students could learn in minutes. The stream of discoveries and knowledge soon pushed into the background questions about the why and wherefore of the new technology.

The evolution of the federal guidelines for recombinant DNA research administered by the Recombinant DNA Advisory Committee ("the RAC guidelines")³ demonstrates the gradual rise to prominence of technology over policy development. The RAC guidelines were intended to monitor biotechnology research until more was known about the safety of the organisms produced through genetic engineering. But, over the years, the RAC guidelines were relaxed to allow scientists to take the next step, even when there was little, if any, systematic evaluation of the safety of the last step. Now the RAC Committee has virtually relaxed itself out of a job; recently there were suggestions to disband the Subcommittee on Human Gene Therapy because the full RAC Committee had so little to do and the two reviews were redundant.⁴

The speed of current developments in biotechnology contrasts sharply with the lethargy of the policy debate. The network for sharing technology information is well-established. The characterization of the AIDS virus occurred at a rate that would be incomprehensible to scientists of only twenty years ago. The mapping of the human genome is no longer a challenge of concept, but of patience and efficiency.

What is needed to balance our technological prowess is a renewed engagement in the debate over biotechnology policy—not just the ethics of genetic engineering, but the entire relationship between biotechnology

2. The International Conference on Recombinant DNA Molecules, held at the Asilomar Conference Center, Pacific Grove California, February 24–27, 1975.

3. 41 Fed. Reg. 27,902 (1976).

4. D. Gershon, *Cracks in the RAC*, NATURE, Oct. 1991, at 591.

and our future. While there has been much attention to the details of federal regulation of various biotechnology products—as there should be—we cannot lose sight of the larger policy questions that will determine whether our ability to manipulate the basic processes of life will benefit the world community.

To use an analogy, I remember that on the eve of the first hydrogen bomb explosion on Bikini atoll, some scientists raise the concern that the explosion might trigger a chain reaction in the oceans of the world and lead to an unimaginable ecological armageddon. Their bizarre speculation was, of course, rightly dismissed as absurd by those who had a clear understanding of why the laws of physics made it so. But even as such questions were treated with contempt, the deeper and more relevant questions were not really discussed at all—questions such as: Do we really want to spend the next forty years in a dangerous race to develop even more efficient ways to eliminate humankind from the face of the earth and divert many trillions of dollars to the task?

Similarly, while the debate on biotechnology sometimes has been sidetracked into questions about hypothetical disasters that strike those who understand the technology as absurd, the deeper questions have not received sufficient attention: How is this new capacity likely to change the relationship of humankind and nature? How do we ensure that the assumption of an ability to manage the future course of evolution is accompanied by enough wisdom to avoid catastrophic mistakes?

What has set the direction of biotechnology over the last ten years? If there were plans for an orderly development of this new field, they have been convincingly overtaken by events. These events have occurred in sterile laboratories and closed board rooms, in closeted courtroom chambers and politically-charged meetings at the White House. Occasionally, watershed events have occurred at town meetings and public fora, but usually the train of events has passed the public by.

The decade's events in science, law, business, government, and the court of public opinion demonstrate how technological progress can quickly outpace policy formulation.

Following the Asilomar Conference in 1975, Genentech became the first firm established to exploit recombinant DNA technology. Soon thereafter, the *Chakrabarty* decision⁵ established the patentability—and, hence, the marketability—of genetically-engineered living organisms. Wall Street responded by running up the price of Genentech's stock from thirty-five to eighty-nine dollars in twenty minutes during the

5. *Diamond v. Chakrabarty*, 447 U.S. 503 (1980).

company's initial stock offering.⁶ As I said at the time, this was the selling of the tree of knowledge to Wall Street. A host of new companies were soon formed and began to set records in gathering venture capital and investments;⁷ all this fueled by the newly established value of genetic information as manipulated through genetic engineering.

For its part, the government was debating how to review and regulate biotechnology products proposed for release into the environment or use in medicine. The Investigations Subcommittee I chaired in the House of Representatives concluded in 1983 that the absence of good risk assessment practices and methods undermined the government's ability to characterize the safety of these new products.⁸ At the same time, the Subcommittee recommended that the government coordinate its approach to biotechnology to facilitate product review and development. The Administration soon rejected the idea of a superagency for biotechnology in favor of an interagency committee where the agencies could share information and plans.⁹

The era of the public's trust in the scientific community's self-restraint came to a close with news of the now-infamous ice-minus rooftop experiments, in which a company conducted unauthorized experiments with an engineered bacterium on trees on its roof.¹⁰ The injury to the industry far exceeded any possible injury to the environment. Not only was good risk assessment missing, but so were candor, judgment, and perception.

In the mid-1980s the Human Genome Project captured the imagination of the science community and began driving technology development, and to its credit, the debate over ethics. In the legal arena, the question of animal patents arose soon after the decision to allow patents for microbes. Farmers, ministers, and patent lawyers tangled in meet-

6. See OFFICE OF TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT, BIOTECHNOLOGY IN A GLOBAL ECONOMY 4 (1991) [hereinafter OTA BIOTECHNOLOGY REPORT].

7. *Id.* CETUS Corp. set the record for funds raised in an initial public offering in 1981 when it raised 115 million dollars.

8. *The Environmental Implications of Genetic Engineering: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Investigations and Oversight and the Subcommittee on Science, Research and Technology of the House Comm. on Science and Technology*, 98th Cong., 1st Sess. 36 (1983); STAFF OF SUBCOMM. ON INVESTIGATIONS AND OVERSIGHT OF THE HOUSE COMM. ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, 99TH CONG., 2D SESS., REPORT ON THE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPLICATIONS OF GENETIC ENGINEERING (Comm. Print 1984).

9. See 49 Fed. Reg. 50,856 (1984).

10. See REPORT OF THE SUBCOMM. ON INVESTIGATIONS AND OVERSIGHT OF THE HOUSE COMM. ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, 99TH CONG., 2D SESS., ISSUES IN THE FEDERAL REGULATION OF BIOTECHNOLOGY: FROM RESEARCH TO RELEASE, Serial X, at 29-36 (Dec. 1986) (discussion of ice-minus experiment) [hereinafter ISSUES REPORT].

ings around the country debating the economics, ethics, and constitutionality of patenting cows and sheep.¹¹

Commercially, the stock market crash of 1987 halted the investment boom for biotech. The surviving companies began fighting with each other over patent rights and with the government for commercial advance here and abroad.¹²

After years of anticipation, the Administration finally created the Biotechnology Science Coordinating Committee ("the BSCC") and the Coordinated Framework for Regulation of Biotechnology ("the Framework").¹³ The Framework was based on the momentous decision that no new laws were needed to regulate biotechnology, only selected new regulations. The public's unease began to grow in response to the closed nature of the BSCC's decision-making process and the product selection of the private sector. The development of bovine growth hormone represented a kind of thinking aimed at profits, not progress. Critics pointed out that the hormone threatened both the family farm and the viability of the government milk program.

By the end of the decade a new round of events transformed the industry anew. The first trials of human gene therapy were underway—praised as miracles by some and condemned as raising the specter of eugenics by others. Meanwhile, bioremediation was used in the Valdez oil spill and genetically-engineered tomatoes began moving toward the marketplace.¹⁴

The industry was spared another shock when the California Supreme Court held that a patient had no property rights in a patent based on cells taken from his diseased spleen.¹⁵ This decision put the pot of gold back at the end of the biotechnology rainbow by protecting the research community's right to profit from the isolation and identification of human biological materials.

In 1990, biotechnology stocks and stock funds were the only winners

11. See HOUSE JUDICIARY COMM., THE PATENT COMPETITIVENESS AND TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION ACT OF 1990, H.R. 5598, H.R. REP. NO. 960, 101st Cong., 2d Sess. pt. 1 (1990) (discussion of the Transgenic Animal Protection Act of 1990).

12. See OTA BIOTECHNOLOGY REPORT, *supra* note 6, at 220 (listing of recent litigation). See also Baringa, *Biotechnology Nightmare: Does Cetus Own PCR?*, 251 SCIENCE 739-40 (1991); Schaefer, *Cetus Retains Patent Rights*, NATURE, Mar. 7, 1991, at 6; *More Problems than Products*, NATURE, Jan. 3, 1991, at 5.

13. 51 Fed. Reg. 23,302 (1986).

14. On August 12, 1991, CALGENE submitted a request for an advisory opinion from the Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration ("the FDA") with respect to the status of FLAVR SAVR (tm) tomatoes as food subject to the same regulations as other tomato varieties. CALGENE engineered the tomatoes to inhibit production of the enzyme associated with cell breakdown, thereby delaying overripening.

15. *Moore v. Regents of the Univ. of California*, 51 Cal.3d 120 (1990).

in an otherwise bad year for Wall Street.¹⁶ Investment during a five-month period in 1991 set new records.¹⁷ Another trend emerged as Genentech, the pioneer company, was bought by the Swiss company Hoffman-LaRoche and Gen-Probe merged with the Japanese company Chugai Pharmaceutical.¹⁸

Politically, there was little coordination in the Coordinated Framework. Interagency strife prevented any progress in developing regulations for organisms targeted for the environment.¹⁹ The Food and Drug Administration ("FDA") spent so much time hindering the Environmental Protection Agency's ("EPA's") attempts at regulation that it was caught flatfooted by the flood of pharmaceutical products submitted for approval: The backlog of products awaiting approval threatened to bust the new boom.²⁰

By the end of the 1980s the regulatory debate had come full circle as Vice President Dan Quayle's Council on Competitiveness reviewed for the umpteenth time the same questions (What is a deliberate release? Which engineered organisms should be reviewed prior to release and by whom?) that had been posed and examined nearly every year of the decade by different science review panels at different federal agencies.

The political interference in the agencies' regulatory processes for biotechnology led several states and occasionally a county to implement their own regulations for biotechnology.²¹ This illustrated another principle that applies to regulating new and strange technologies such as biotechnology: If you don't do it, you know somebody else will. Without a unified federal regulatory system, biotechnology companies now faced fifty or more regulatory systems that threatened company success and international competitiveness.

This litany of events provides a background from which several themes emerge.

Product selection and patent protection, not planning, or the public's interests, have been the driving forces behind biotechnology policy in the 1980s. In the environmental and agricultural areas, the decisions to develop ice-minus, herbicide resistant plants, and bovine growth hormone created intense public opposition to biotechnology and lent

16. Jerry Edgerton & Prashanta Mishra, *The Good, the Bad and the Mediocre*, MONEY, Feb. 1991, at 118.

17. See OTA BIOTECHNOLOGY REPORT, *supra* note 6, at 4.

18. *Id.*

19. See *Proposal to End Regulatory Turf Fights, Amend TSCA Is Drafted by Committee Staff* Chem. Reg. Rep. (BNA) 84-85 (April 27, 1990).

20. See generally ERNST & YOUNG, BIOTECH '92: PROMISE TO REALITY (1991).

21. See INDUSTRIAL BIOTECHNOLOGY ASSOCIATION, MID-YEAR SURVEY OF STATE GOVERNMENT LEGISLATION ON BIOTECHNOLOGY (May 31, 1991).

credibility to those who argued that biotechnology would make things worse before it made things better. These early product choices indicate that little thought was given to which initial products would increase confidence in biotechnology.

In the pharmaceutical area, the record investments in new companies increased the pressure to focus on lucrative products and to adopt aggressive legal strategies to make patent claims increasingly broad in scope while challenging the broad claims of others. As each case was decided, the losers flooded Congress with private relief bills masquerading as "patent reform." This threatened the stability of the patent system and kept the investment community anxious about the future of their holdings. The demand for special treatment of biotechnology products at the patent office and in Congress contrasted sharply with the arguments that no new regulations were needed for biotechnology food and environmental products because the technology was as old as that for making beer and yogurt.

The economic tides of biotechnology companies and the currents of political infighting within the Administration have drowned out the discussion of the ethics of biotechnology and its use. Of all the government funded projects, only the Human Genome Project dedicates a percentage of its budget (three percent) to studies of the ethics associated with the program. In the private sector, companies argue that social and economic factors should have no relevance to decision-making or regulatory reviews: In other words, they say, "Let the marketplace decide."

The Institutional Biosafety Committees set up to review genetic engineering at public and private institutions have a disappointing record. Controversial experiments have been conducted without notice to the relevant committees²² and a Government Accounting Office study of these committees found that they were ill-equipped and unwilling to review biotechnology products intended for release into the environment.²³

While the march of pharmaceutical products to the marketplace is slowed by the FDA's inability to handle the reviews expeditiously, agricultural and environmental problems headed for the marketplace now face problems stemming from the Administration's political reluctance to regulate the field. Political interference in agency decision-making effectively prevented the 1986 Coordinated Framework from laying a clear path from the lab to the marketplace. That interference now

22. See ISSUES REPORT, *supra* note 10, at 37-38 (discussion of experiments with OMNIVAC, a pseudorabies virus).

23. GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE, BIOTECHNOLOGY: ROLE OF INSTITUTIONAL BIOSAFETY COMMITTEES, Report RCED-88-64BR, Dec. 14, 1987.

threatens to create a regulatory vacuum opposed by both environmentalists and business, albeit for different reasons.

The courtroom has provided the best testing ground for resolving the conflict between technology and policy. From early court reviews of biotechnology experiments and releases to reviews of patent disputes, the legal community has had to balance the hopes and fears surrounding biotechnology within, and occasionally without, existing law.

Early legal decision have focussed on the debate over technology and the right to exercise it experimentally.²⁴ Future legal debates will be over the policies to implement the technology. Possible future topics for resolution include the issues of genetic screening in the workplace, DNA fingerprinting, the privacy of personal genetic information, insurability of people with known genetic proclivities for certain frailties and diseases, and ownership of genomic information in agriculture.

Given the interrelatedness of events in the legal, economic, and scientific realms, why has there been so little effort to develop a network where the different players could formulate a unified policy to promote the best uses of biotechnology? Why has there been so little engagement in the effort to develop a consensus approach to introducing biotechnology products into society in place of the current adversarial approach that pits biotechnology companies against the interests of local communities?

These failures in developing biotechnology policy stem from a total lack of leadership in the Administration for the past twelve years, and from our policies on information and technology development. Both government and the biotechnology industry have failed to provide and distribute the information necessary to empower to public to participate adequately in the debate over biotechnology policy. Instead of reaching out to the public in a systematic way (in the mode, for instance, of the Agricultural Research Extension Service) to provide a steady stream of information coupled with opportunities to discuss the information and affect policy, the Administration has consistently tightened the circle of people and interest groups that have access to current information and policy proposals. This process has bred a distrust of biotechnology policy that exacerbates the fear of this new technology itself.

In Congress, each proposal designed to bring regulatory order to biotechnology has met vigorous opposition from the industry and the

Administration.²⁵ Without a crisis to focus attention on biotechnology, it is difficult to argue for making regulatory reform in this area a priority, especially when compared to the needs to reform other major environmental laws such as Superfund and the Clean Air Act.

In their rush to develop this new technology, biotechnology companies soon learned that the public will involve itself eventually in decisions affecting their communities with or without an invitation to do so. While some companies have been proactive in providing information and public fora to discuss planned activities, the public still perceives that its involvement comes well after the important steps of product selection and investment. Meetings held to persuade the public to accept products such as bovine growth hormone are qualitatively different from meetings to discuss what kinds of biotechnology products could help local communities and economies.

All of these events that favor technology development over policy development have now come to haunt the place where the biotechnology revolution began—the university community. A decline in government support coupled with increased private investment in university research activities threatens the traditional role of the university as an independent and objective source of information and research.

Bilateral agreements that include stock options and other financial awards for researchers are raising new policy questions relating to the role of the educational institution. Many are concerned about the role of corporations in setting the research agendas at universities and in narrowing the traditionally wide exchange of information within the university and between the university and society.²⁶

The university-industry partnership raises questions of the university's liability for biotechnology products gone astray. It invites examination of whether public institutions are now subsidizing private ventures whose products are too expensive for the general public to use or which threaten the economic viability of local groups, especially small businesses and small farms.

We need a better debate over biotechnology to begin. For the last decade, every article on biotechnology began with a recitation of blessings and curses that could be expected as a result of genetic engineering.

25. In the 101st Congress, there were bills to regulate the patenting of animals, H.R. 3119, H.R. 4970, and S. 2111; to regulate the use of transgenic animals, H.R. 4971; and to regulate the use of novel organisms in the environment, S. 2909 and H.R. 5232.

26. SUBCOMM. ON HUMAN RESOURCES AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS OF THE COMM. ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS, ARE SCIENTIFIC MISCONDUCT AND CONFLICTS OF INTEREST HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH?, H.R. REP. NO. 688, 101st Cong., 2d Sess. (1990).

24. See, e.g., *Foundation on Economic Trends v. Heckler*, 587 F. Supp. 753 (D.D.C. 1984), modified, 756 F.2d 143 (D.C. Cir. 1985).

There was an aura that we were discussing something that would happen in the future.

Now, after a decade of experience, we must address the issues that biotechnology is affecting and will continue to affect. We must paint a coherent picture of how to apply biotechnology to our national and global needs. We should reclaim a public purpose for biotechnology and enlist the help of industry to achieve it.²⁷ We should use other tools at our disposal, such as distance learning and the new national high-speed computer network, the National Research and Educational Network,²⁸ to solve problems cooperatively in a "global village" setting rather than within the context of warring interest groups.

There is a tendency to use the law too often as a shield to defend a technology rather than as a sword to promote its beneficial uses. In the early stages of biotechnology, there has been a focus on using the law to defend intellectual property rights, to defend controversial experiments, and to defeat community resistance to specific products. It is time to use the law to guarantee the availability of information domestically and internationally, to provide safeguards against illegal and unethical uses of biotechnology, and to encourage uses of biotechnology that enhance the economic viability of local communities and interests.

As this powerful technology leaves our shores for the developing world, it becomes vitally important that a thoughtful policy accompany it. The viability of the international food and agricultural systems requires careful use of genetic engineering.

There are fears in tropical countries that large seed and agricultural companies will use biotechnology to corner the market on valuable germplasm resources in the developing world, leading to a new form of technological colonialism. There is concern that biodiversity will be threatened as engineers breed for uniformity to provide predictability and profits in short-term agricultural projects. Cultural conflicts over the ethics of owning and manipulating life forms will spill over into economic and legal relationships that involve biotechnology.

I have long argued that the problem with biotechnology may be that it succeeds too well.²⁹ For example, successful application of biotechnology to agriculture could lead to overproduction of key crops that

27. See, e.g., Star Schools Program Assistance Act, 20 U.S.C. § 4081 (West Supp. 1991) (promoting the use of interactive video and audio communications to link colleges, universities, and secondary schools).

28. See The High-Performance Computing and National Research and Educational Network Act of 1991, S. 272, 101st Cong., 1st Sess. (1991).

29. Al Gore, *Federal Biotechnology Policy: The Perils of Progress and the Risks of Uncertainty*, 20 MICH. J.L. REFORM 965-79 (1987).

drives up the cost of government subsidies worldwide.³⁰ Expensive products could drive small farmers out of business in favor of corporate farms. Plants engineered to resist chemicals rather than adverse conditions and insects could lead to continued and increased dependence on chemical farming methods that threaten the health of our topsoil and our water supply.

We must invigorate the policy debate to ensure that biotechnology does not just address technological problems in a socio-economic vacuum, but provides redress for hunger and disease universally and democratically. It is not enough to create more wealth; we must create a greater capacity for more to share its benefits.

The current issues before the Congress focus piecemeal on the problems related to capital formation,³¹ patent protection,³² drug pricing,³³ and research funding. These relate almost exclusively to the economics of biotechnology, not its ethics or future direction. Once again we are building more and faster cars without the highways to carry them. We cannot continue to rush forward with this new tool without considering what is at the end of the road.

I recently co-sponsored with Senator Pat Leahy of Vermont a bill to redirect federal research funds away from creation of herbicide resistant plants and toward sustainable agricultural practices.³⁴ In addition, I have been and continue to be concerned about the profits enjoyed as a result of government-sanctioned monopolies in the so-called orphan drug market and as a result of patent term extension. There are plenty of other opportunities to address policies that alienate the public from supporting biotechnology if we will only seize them.

The new engagement I speak of can help bridge the gap between science and democracy. It is not easy to overcome scientists' mistrust of the public's allegedly "uninformed" passions and prejudices; nor is it easy to dispel the public's mistrust of an allegedly "elite" scientific community dictating the future from within their labs. We must first develop the means and the habit of communicating with each other; then we can

30. Of course, these subsidies should be eliminated mutually by all countries, but that appears unlikely.

31. See The Enterprise Capital Formation Act of 1991, S. 1932, 102d Cong., 1st Sess. (1991).

32. See The Biotechnology Patent Protection Act of 1991, H.R. 1417, 102d Cong., 1st Sess. (1991).

33. See The Orphan Drug Act Amendment, H.R. 4638, 101st Cong., 2d Sess. (1990) and S. 2576, 101st Cong., 2d Sess. (1990); H.R. REP. NO. 635, 101st Cong., 1st Sess. (1990).

34. See The Herbicide Resistant Plant Act of 1991, S. 1916, 102d Cong., 1st Sess. (1991).

develop the process to make technology an equal partner with this new technology.

The *Harvard Journal of Law & Technology* provides one avenue where policy makers and technologists can learn from each other. The current volume is an example of how to use cross-discipline approaches to forge a better future for a new technology. I hope our society can continue to learn how to communicate across the barriers that divide us—barriers we ourselves established for long-obsolete reasons—so that we can build a better common future.

Gore on Deforestation

In April 1990, Gore voted for the Packwood Amendment which restricts exports of unprocessed timber from state-owned or administered land. The Amendment passed 81-17.¹ However, in October of the same year Gore voted to table an amendment that called for agency consultation to consider the Spotted Owl. The amendment was tabled by a vote of 62-34.²

In November 1991, Gore sponsored Senate Resolution 237, which asked to bring an end to illegal logging practices in the Philippines. It was referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on November 26, 1991.

Throughout his career in Congress, Gore has voted for designating certain areas as national forests in the following states: Alaska, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Oregon. However, in March 1992, Gore voted against S. 1606 the Montana National Forest Management Act. The bill designated certain lands in Montana as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System.³ The bill was opposed because some Senators believed the ambiguous judicial clause in the bill would keep logging and timber disputes out of the courts. Gore said setting such a "dangerous precedent" in the logging portion of the legislation would have global ramifications. He insisted the bill would compromise the nation's leadership role in the international community, now negotiating to slow down deforestation worldwide.⁴ The bill passed 75-22.

In April 1992, Gore announced his sponsorship of Senate Resolution 280 which asks the Malaysian government to reduce by at least two-thirds the rate of timber cutting in Sarawak. It also calls for Japan to investigate the activities of certain Japanese companies in Sarawak, which he says promote the destruction of the rainforest there. "At risk are some of the oldest and richest forest ecosystems - being cut down so fast that if current rates are maintained, the entire region will be deforested within eight years."⁵ The resolution was referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on May 20, 1992.

After Bush promised an extra \$150 million to conserve the world's forests, Gore called the proposal "a smokescreen" to obscure Bush's retrograde environmental policies. "This is the same president who killed an international agreement on forests ... and ignored the Endangered Species Act" to allow clear-cutting on national forest lands.⁶

Gore also blamed not only Bush but former President Reagan for allowing clear-cutting of timber in the national forests. Gore said the American people "have figured out that, on the environment, George Bush is as phony as a three-dollar bill."⁷

In his book, *Earth in the Balance*, Gore speaks of deforestation: "The most dangerous form of deforestation is the destruction of the rain forests, especially the tropical rain forests clustered around the equator."⁸ Gore goes on to discuss the clear-cutting in the U.S: "In national forests throughout the country, logging roads are being built in order to facilitate the more rapid logging, even clear-cutting, of public lands under contracts that require the sale of the trees at rates far below market prices. This

enormous taxpayer subsidy for the deforestation of public land contributes to both the budget deficit and an ecological tragedy."⁹

In Gore's Global Marshall Plan for the environment, he proposes a national tree planting initiative. "Millions of trees must be planted, but new forestry techniques must also be developed to improve timber harvesting methods. Though clear-cutting -- the practice of cutting large tracts of forest to the ground -- is alleged to be the most cost-efficient for the companies doing the harvesting, it often badly degrades the land and so imposes devastating long-term costs. In contrast, selective tree harvesting techniques ... could improve harvesting practices in many areas of the world."¹⁰

In August 1992, Gore spoke on the loss of timber jobs in spotted owl territory: "There were tens of thousands of jobs lost in the logging industry in Oregon before the controversy even began because of log exports to the ravenous demand in Asia and because of mechanization in the logging industry. The choice is not between the spotted owl and jobs. It's a choice involving the techniques for managing the parks, cutting rates, protection of old growth forests and jobs now versus jobs later."¹¹

On August 6, 1992, Gore was not present when the Senate voted on amendments regarding the spotted owl and timber sales. All three amendments were tabled.¹²

¹Legislate, Senate Vote No. 2059, April 24, 1990

²Legislate, Senate Vote No. 2303, October 23, 1990

³Legislate, Senate Vote No. 2055, March 26, 1992

⁴States News Service, March 26, 1992

⁵Inter Press Service, April 2, 1992

⁶AP, June 1, 1992

⁷AP, July 14, 1992

⁸Earth in the Balance, Pg. 117

⁹Earth in the Balance, Pg. 121

¹⁰Earth in the Balance, Pg. 324

¹¹Greenwire, August 13, 1992

¹²Legislate, Senate Vote No. 2176, August 6, 1992

Gore on Clean Air

Gore sponsored S. 201, the World Environmental Policy Act of 1989. The bill called for the establishment of a Council on World Environmental Policy, statutory provision for the phasing out of CFCs, and emphasized the need to control methane emissions. The bill did not pass and was reintroduced in 1991.¹

The Clean Air Act of 1990 was passed in the Senate on April 3. The Act provided for attainment and maintenance of the national ambient air quality standards, the control of toxic air pollutants, the prevention of acid deposition, and other improvements in the quality of the nation's air. The Senate considered several amendments to the Act including:

- The Gore-Lautenberg amendment which prevents companies from buying property surrounding their plants to evade clean air standards. The amendment passed by voice vote.²
- Gore amendment No. 1334, which modifies federal procurement practices to ensure that chemicals known to harm human health or the environment are not used as substitutes for chemicals that destroy the ozone layer. The amendment passed 80-16.³
- Gore voted yes to table Symms Amendment No. 1327, which established restriction on the importation of products if the production, manufacture or transportation of such products resulted in emission of hazardous air pollutants. The amendment passed 81-16.⁴
- Gorton Amendment No. 1321 which called for the imposition of fees on imports manufactured from processes that do not meet pollution standards of the Act was rejected 52-47. Gore voted for the Amendment.⁵

Gore said of the legislation: "In most of its provisions, the legislation before us challenges this nation and all of us as policymakers to face our responsibilities to the citizens of this country, and to our children, to ensure that the air they breathe is safe and that the forests and streams will be protected from the destruction wreaked by acid rain and ground-level ozone The Clean Air Act is a vehicle for us to take essential steps forward."⁶ The bill was signed by the President on November 15, 1990.

Gore criticized the Bush administration for not acting quickly to speed the phase-out of chlorofluorocarbons and other ozone-depleting chemicals in November 1991. "While George Bush is celebrating the first anniversary of the 1990 Clean Air Act amendments, he is standing in violation of them." Gore criticized the Bush administration for making CFC phase-out its only response to global warming when

¹*Voting Green*, pg. 46

²*BNA*, April 2, 1990

³Legislative, Senate Vote No. 2033, March 8, 1990

⁴Legislative, Senate Vote No. 2032, March 8, 1990

⁵Legislative, Senate Vote No. 2040, March 22, 1990

⁶*Congressional Record*, March 7, 1990

most of the other countries are making commitments to stabilize carbon dioxide emission by 2000.⁷

In Gore's book, *Earth in the Balance*, he said of the Clean Air Act: "The president does deserve credit for helping Congress to enact a compromise version of the Clean Air Act to reduce air pollution And even in that bill, the president insisted that all mention of global warming be taken out. Moreover, the administration fought to the end against amendments I wanted to include -- provisions dealing with carbon dioxide and other global warming gases and provisions for eliminating more quickly the chemicals destroying the ozone layer."⁸ In his Global Marshall Plan Gore proposes an accelerated phase-out of all ozone-destroying chemicals.⁹

In February 1992, the Senate passed Gore's amendment to the energy bill that would speed up the phase-out and tighten controls over ozone-depleting chemicals, by a vote of 96-0. Gore said the amendment forces the Bush administration to follow language in the Clean Air Act: "Plain and simple, the Administration is violating the law We face a real and urgent threat and the Administration says 'We'll get around to it.' This amendment says they ought to get around to it now."¹⁰

In July 1992, Gore said that when the "ozone hole over Kennebunkport" got worse, his quest to sensitize the Bush administration to global environmental issues would get easier.¹¹

Although Gore places considerable emphasis on the ozone layer and global warming, it was noted in a *Washington Post* editorial: "Gore knows that his former mentor at Harvard, Roger Revelle, who died last year, concluded: 'The scientific base for greenhouse warming is too uncertain to justify drastic action at this time. There is little risk in delaying policy responses.'"¹²

In *Voting Green* by Jeremy Rifkin, Gore is listed as the Greenest member of the Senate with a score of 115 out of 115 possible points. Members were scored by how many Green-oriented bills they sponsored or co-sponsored.¹³

Gore sponsored the following bills regarding Clean Air in the 101st and 102nd Congress:

101st Congress

Sponsored:

- S. 201 World Environment Policy Act of 1989.
- S. 364 Employment Incentive Act of 1989.
- S. 870 Consumer Ozone Protection Act of 1989.
- S. 871 Ozone Layer Conservation Act of 1989.
- S. 872 Upper-Ozone Chemicals Act of 1989.
- S. 2666 Ozone Protection Funding Act of 1990.
- S. Res. 316 Resolution Concerning the Interparliamentary Conference on the Global Environment.
- S.J.R. 387 Resolution Calling on the Government of Malaysia to Preserve the Rainforests and Tribal Culture of Sarawak.

⁷BNA *International Environment Daily*, November 19, 1991

⁸*Earth in the Balance*, pg. 174

⁹*Earth in the Balance*, pg. 351

¹⁰*Greenwire*, February 7, 1992

¹¹*Houston Chronicle*, July 11, 1992

¹²*Washington Post*, September 3, 1992

¹³*Voting Green*, pg. 344

Co-Sponsored:

- S. 169 Global Change Research Act of 1990.
- S. 603 Global Warming Response Act of 1989.
- S. 1610 Global Climate Change Prevention Act of 1989.
- S. 1611 International Climate Change Prevention Act of 1989.
- S.J.R. 88 National Global Warming Policy Act.

102nd Congress:**Sponsored:**

- S. 201 World Environment Policy Act of 1991.
- S. 1159 Tropical Forest Consumer Information and Protection Act of 1991.
- S. 2668 Global Climate Protection Act.
- S. Res. 95 Resolution Concerning the Production of Ozone Destroying Substances.
- S. Res. 217 Resolution Concerning the Scheduled Phaseout of Ozone-Destroying Substances.
- S. Res. 237 Resolution Regarding Illegal Logging Practices in the Philippines.
- S. Res. 280 Resolution Concerning the Tropical Rain Forest of Malaysia.
- S.J.R. 101 Resolution Concerning the Findings of the Commission of Inquiry Into Aspects of the Forest Industry on Papua New Guinea.
- S.J.R. 181 Resolution Concerning International Negotiations Toward a World Forest Convention and a Framework Convention on Climate Change.

Co-Sponsored:

- S. 2921 Forest Service Decisionmaking and Appeals Reform Act.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As you addressed the leaders of many nations assembled at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, you declared: "As important as the road to Rio has been, what is more important is the road from Rio." We welcome your commitment to the UNCEDs accomplishments, and we look forward to working with you to ensure their implementation.

With the UNCED now behind us, we believe that it is necessary for the United States to build on the feeling of global cooperation which has grown as a result of the conference and to take the initiative in leading the world community in conserving and restoring the global environment. The July Group of Seven (G-7) Economic Summit in Munich is a significant opportunity for the world community to move forward on the progress begun in Rio.

While the depth and breadth of environmental problems facing the world today is daunting, certain topics are especially pressing and deserving of the immediate attention of the G-7. The issues of climate change, the institutional follow-up to Rio, population growth, energy production and use in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, conservation of forests and preservation of biodiversity, ocean resources, trade policy, the role of and need for reform in the Bretten Woods Institutions, and economic policy all involve serious environmental concerns which the G-7 should address.

Climate Change

We welcome your commitment, announced by EPA Administrator Bill Reilly in Rio, to transmit the Climate Change Convention to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification as soon as possible. We urge you to encourage our G-7 partners similarly to move rapidly in ratifying the Convention.

We also welcome your call for the preparation, by January 1, 1993, of action plans to implement the specific commitments in the Convention. We support accelerated development of measures by the G-7 to meet the treaty's provisions. At the same time, however, we feel strongly that there should be an effective, verifiable and publicly accessible domestic process for developing, reviewing and commenting on the plans and implementing treaty commitments to limit carbon

dioxide and other greenhouse gas emissions. We look forward to working with you in designing and implementing an effective process and in producing a strong and effective climate change action plan.

Finally, as part of a prompt start to the Climate Convention, we also believe that the G-7 should commit to a continuing process of follow-up in the period before entry into force and after the meeting this fall of the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee. The follow up should be designed, at least in part, to accelerate the negotiation of a protocol to the convention that will better ensure that meaningful reductions in greenhouse gas emissions are achieved in the near future.

The Sustainable Development Commission

The institutional recommendations of Agenda 21 are particularly important in ensuring that the broad objectives of the Rio Earth Summit are actually met. Specifically, the proposed creation of the sustainable development commission should provide an important vehicle for ensuring follow-up to Rio. We feel strongly that the G-7 should endorse the creation of the commission by the United Nations General Assembly this fall and work to ensure that it is endowed with the substantive powers necessary effectively to monitor the performance of international institutions, including the Bretton Woods institutions, and of national governments, in meeting UNCED goals. These powers should also include appropriate high level representation reflecting the full balance of environmental and economic policies while providing opportunity for public access and input into the process. Finally, we believe that the G-7 countries should commit to the establishment of domestic mechanisms that will evaluate national performance in the follow-up to UNCED. We look forward to working with you to develop such a mechanism to coordinate US efforts, and hope that you will take the lead in urging our G-7 partners to undertake similar measures within their own governments.

Population

In view of the 1994 Conference on Population and Development, the UNCED did not comprehensively address the population issue. However, it was widely noted at the UNCED that the issue of population must be integrated into environment and development goals. We urge you to encourage the G-7 nations to significantly increase commitments to voluntary international family planning assistance programs, and corresponding efforts to improve the status of women, improve maternal and child health programs and provide universal educational opportunity. Specifically, we hope that you and your negotiators will encourage the G-7 to support and heighten attention to the preparations for the 1994 Conference.

Eastern Europe and the States of the Former Soviet Union

As you know, many Eastern European nations are facing severe environmental problems as a result of years of neglecting the environment and mismanaging economic systems. Most pressing is the condition of an extensive and antiquated network of nuclear power plants -- many with design features similar to the Chernobyl reactor. The UNCED recommended the development of an international nuclear reactor safety convention and the Munich Summit could lay the foundation to follow-up on that recommendation. However, immediate steps must be taken to protect human health and the environment. Measures that could be taken include the retrofitting of plants and training of personnel as well as the decommissioning of plants and addressing energy needs through other means, such as energy conservation and increased energy efficiency. Along these lines, we urge you to press for concerted efforts aggressively to improve the efficiency of energy use. Finally, the G-7 should recognize the tremendous opportunity to reduce methane emissions -- a potent greenhouse gas -- from the old and leaky network of natural gas pipelines in Eastern Europe. There is an enormous potential to stem emissions by working with other nations to reduce seepage from these pipelines. We urge you to take the lead in this effort.

Forests

→ We applaud your efforts to launch a global forestry initiative. In particular, we look forward to supporting your pledge to increase U.S. international forestry programs to \$270 million per year and to work with other nations in doubling their spending on forest conservation programs -- with the goal of a global total of \$2.7 billion annually. It is imperative, however, that any new financial resources be utilized in the most productive fashion. Therefore, any future forestry aid must be built on the experience of past projects and initiatives -- such as the Tropical Forestry Action Plan -- which have failed to address the root causes of deforestation. We must ensure that funds are more wisely spent. Additional forest assistance should be coupled with reform of policies and incentives in both developed and developing countries that lead to deforestation, while special attention is paid to problems of land tenure and the needs of local communities in developing countries.

Finally, we recognize that, for the initiative to be successful, we must ensure that our own forest management practices are based on sound ecological principles. The Forest Service's recent proposal to phaseout clear-cutting on national forests is a positive step forward. We must build on that first step in improving management practices by strengthening the proposal particularly with respect to mature, old-growth forests, while also reinforcing the necessary integration of

sound economic and environmental policy by eliminating wasteful spending of taxpayer monies on below-cost timber sales.

Biodiversity

We would strongly urge that the United States pursue every opportunity to join the Biodiversity Convention process and eventually sign and ratify the treaty. We believe that, in the long run, US interests will better be served if we remain engaged in this process.

We also believe that it is imperative that the G-7 support the identification and protection of critical ecosystems and assist developing countries in their management and conservation. Toward that end, we welcome your proposal to convene a meeting of experts in the fall as the first step in an international collaborative effort. Because of the many and diverse considerations that must be brought to bear in designing effective strategies to protect biodiversity, we would urge that a broad range of disciplines, including the social and cultural disciplines, be represented at that meeting.

Oceans

Agenda 21 specifically calls for an international conference on land-based sources of marine pollution. The G-7 should strongly endorse the conference and establish a definite, substantive agenda to reduce land-based sources of marine pollution, including a possible global legal instrument. We also urge you to work with the other G-7 leaders in addressing the problem of radioactive contamination of the oceans, including contamination from leaking land-based sources.

Trade

The interrelationship between trade, development and environment was prominently recognized throughout the UNCED process and at the Earth Summit. Integrating these complex issues will be a major challenge for all nations on the road from Rio.

In keeping with the 1989 Paris Summit declaration to further the OECD work on "integrating environment and economic decision-making", we urge the G-7 to press the OECD, through the Joint Experts Meeting On Trade and the Environment, to develop guiding principles on trade and the environment at the earliest possible date. In addition, the US should lead the G-7 in encouraging the work of the recently convened GATT working Group on Environmental Measures and International Trade. Trade and the environment must be made mutually

supportive. Toward that end, we support efforts successfully to conclude the Uruguay Round of trade talks and we urge you to encourage your G-7 partners to begin working now to organize a round of GATT talks devoted exclusively to reconciling the global trading system with environmental concerns.

The Multilateral Development Banks

One result of UNCED has been the emergence of the World Bank as a major vehicle for the investment of environmental funds in the developing world. Additionally, the Global Environment Facility has received a great deal of attention as a mechanism to implement the climate and biodiversity treaties and portions of Agenda 21. While we are encouraged by new Bank policy statements on the environment in general and on the energy and fuel sectors in particular, the Bank's record in these areas has, to date, been questionable. We encourage you and the other G-7 leaders to press the multilateral development banks to improve project quality and increase public accessibility to bank project information as well as public participation in bank project decisions.

Economic Policy

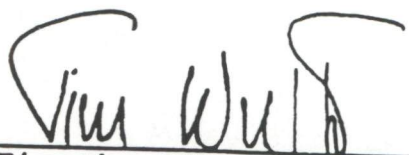
One important lesson that has emerged from the UNCED process is that sound environmental policies are also beneficial to the economy. However, reforms are required in industrialized as well as developing nations to achieve the goal of sustainable development. In this regard, the G-7 should undertake efforts to ensure that markets give the right signals and that the price of goods and services accurately reflect their environmental costs. In addition to undertaking domestic efforts toward this end, we would urge the G-7 to support and accelerate efforts to secure similar reforms in the United Nations System of National Accounts.

While moving forward on the agreements reached at Rio, we believe that it is also important for the G-7 leaders to continue to pursue worthy commitments made in prior Summit declarations. Previous declarations have emphasized several environmental concerns, including the need to implement full cost pricing of energy, improve energy efficiency, and combat desertification. The Munich Summit presents an opportunity for the G-7 to examine progress in all of these areas and to commit to undertaking further efforts to address these concerns.

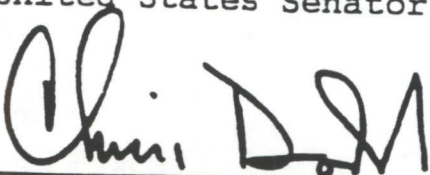
The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development has offered our world an opportunity to begin addressing the problems of the global environment and better to address pressing human needs. The United States' leadership is vital for the effective implementation of the agreements reached at Rio. We urge you to work

with the leaders of the other G-7 to achieve substantive progress in the areas detailed above.

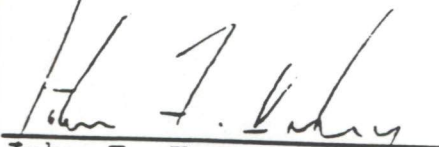
Sincerely,



Timothy Wirth
United States Senator



Christopher Dodd
United States Senator



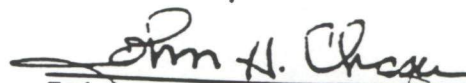
John F. Kerry
United States Senator



Barbara Mikulski
United States Senator



Albert Gore, Jr.
United States Senator



John H. Chafee
United States Senator



Joseph Lieberman
United States Senator



Daniel Akaka
United States Senator

Yileen Sacramento

456-7929

CAMPAIGN SPEECHES BY DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE
GOVERNOR BILL CLINTON
AND SENATOR TOM HARKIN (D-IA)
INDIANOLA, IOWA

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1992

.STX

SEN. HARKIN: Your going to get him.

You're going to have Bill in just a couple of minutes and you're going to have him in January for at least eight more years too.

(Applause).

Harry Truman once said something that applies to us here today. Truman said, "No man should be allowed to be president who doesn't understand hogs."

(Laughter).

And you know, that's the real problem. For the past four years we've had a president who thinks that barrows and quilts is the name of a Kennebunkport law firm.

(Laughter).

Ah, don't get me started.

(Laughter).

The closest George Bush ever got to a farm was the ham and quiche brunch served with some fine French wine at the Greenwich Country Club.

And you all know how Dan Quayle, how Dan Quayle sings Old MacDonald. He sings it, "Old MacDonald had a farm, E-I-E-I-O -- E.

(Laughter).

But after watching rural America fall behind the past four years, George Bush now wants you to believe he's got a plan for America. But do you notice something? Watch the newsreels, watch the evening news, watch the newspapers. Everywhere he goes, even

his fellow Republicans won't stand behind his plan although they guarantee they support him.

It kinds of reminds me of the slogan of that old Waterloo
our product but we do guarantee it."

(Laughter).

.ETX

CLINTON/INDIANOLA-09/27/92
.STX

PAGE #2

Today we celebrate a historic milestone. Forty-four years ago, almost to the date, on September 18th, 1948, Harry Truman came to Dexter, Iowa -- about 40 miles from here where we stand today. He spoke to farmers and rural families. On that day, Truman reminded the crowd of what happened to farmers under the Republicans in the 1920s, a time when 223,000 farmers lost their farms. He talked about the Republican days when agriculture, labor and small business played second fiddle while big business called the tune.

He called them gluttons of privilege. Sound familiar?

Then he said those gluttons of privilege are now putting up fabulous sums of money to elect a Republican administration. And then he asked the farmers a simple, straightforward question, "How many times do you got to get hit on the head before you figure out who's hitting you on the head?"

(Applause).

So I'll pick up from that and I'll say that if you've got a bad headache from watching corn prices drop 45 cents a bushel and soybean prices dropping about 80 cents an issue since June, if you've got a headache from figuring out all that paperwork and red tape, if you've got a headache because you're worrying about health care costs or college costs for your kids --

(Applause).

-- I've got to tell you something. The answer to your headache is not two extra strength Excedrin. If you want to get rid of your headache get rid of George Bush and elect Bill Clinton to the White House.

(Applause).

President Clinton will not forget rural America because that's where he's from. He grew up in the small town of Hope, Arkansas. It's like most Iowa towns. As Bill says, it's a town where they know about it when you're born and they care about it when you die.

As Governor of Arkansas, Bill Clinton has fought for better prices for his farmers and a better deal for rural America.

I've gotten to know Bill pretty well the past 12 months and I'll tell you this. He shares our values and he understands our concerns.

He didn't read about rural America in the books, he's lived it. And he'll appoint people that reflect our values.

He'll appoint trade negotiators who are on our side. He'll appoint a secretary of health who will fight for health care for rural American and he'll --

.ETX

CLINTON/INDIANOLA-09/27/92
.STX

PAGE #3

(Applause).

-- and he'll appoint a Secretary of Agriculture who will stick up for the family farmer instead of sticking it to him.

(Applause).

Bill Clinton has a plan for rural America based on fair market prices, access to affordable credit, development of new value added products, using more ethanol throughout America --

(Applause).

-- and making sure our exports markets are open.

That's the kind of a president he's going to be and he's here to tell you about it today.

Ladies and gentlemen, it give me a great pleasure to introduce to you a great friend, an individual with a keen mind and a good heart. A true friend of farmers and those of us who live in rural America.

Let's give a great Iowa welcome to the next President of the United States, Bill Clinton.

(Applause).

GOV. CLINTON: Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you very, very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, I'm glad to be back in Iowa again. When I say things like, "George Bush squeal like a pig under a gate," people know what I'm talking about here.

(Applause).

When I say I'm happier than a hog in slop nobody thinks I'm being crude.

(Laughter).

And when I tell you I'm going to give your country back, I hope you can believe me.

You know, I always love coming to Iowa. I always have. I'm proud to be here with the kind of people that you put up and the kind of people you're going to elect. I'm going to have to ask you please, please elect Elaine Baxter and Jeanne Lloyd-Jones. We need them in Congress and we've got a lot of work to do.

.ETX

CLINTON/INDIANOLA-09/27/92
.STX

PAGE #4

(Applause).

You know, I kind of like Jeanne's speeches. If I were Grassley I'd be careful what bills I introduced from now on.

(Laughter).

You want to know the saddest thing about -- I'm going to give her her next line for that speech. She said Charles Grassley introduced four different times a bill to declare a day to remind us about osteoporosis. And he did it in four different years.

You know what the really sad thing is? George Bush vetoed a bill this year to do something about osteoporosis and that's the difference -- they talk about it but they never do anything about it. You name it. Whatever it is.

(Applause).

They're out there making these arguments this year that we just ought to vote for him because what he says sounds right reminds me about that sign on the old country road, "George Jones, Veterinarian, Taxidermist -- either way you get your dog back."

(Laughter).

They really don't know the difference but we do.

(Applause).

I tell you what -- I love these signs out here. There's a sign out there that says, "Real men eat broccoli."

(Laughter).

"Hillary's a babe." I like that one.

(Laughter).

"I'm not tire and I'm not lazy, I'm just Bushed."

(Laughter).

"Family values equals family leave."

(Applause).

"Pork producers for Clinton."

(Applause). -- -

There's a lot of good signs out here. You know, a woman stopped me on the way up here. She said, "I have not voted in 20

CLINTON/INDIANOLA-09/27/92
.STX

PAGE #5

years but I don't like what's happening to my country and I'm going to vote for you and Al Gore this time. My first vote in 20 years."

(Applause).

I want to thank all the veteran's leaders who are here who met me up there -- look at them standing there -- who are going to vote for us and our ticket this year.

(Applause).

I want so say a special word about this ERA because, you know, Pat Robertson wrote a letter about this. You know Pat Robertson, he also wrote the Republican Platform in which -- and old Pat, you know -- Pat Robertson and Pat Buchanan and Jerry Falwell basically wrote the Republican Platform. Spent the first two nights up there in Houston running against my wife.

(Laughter).

I wanted to send Bush a letter and suggest that he just go on an file for First Lady if that's what he thought the election was about.

(Laughter).

But I can tell you one thing -- if he thinks he can win an argument with her you've got another thing coming. I've been trying to 20 years.

(Applause).

Anyway, old Pat Robertson sent a letter around, you know, after he -- about the time he was writing the Republican Platform and said that everybody for that ERA was trying to break up families, destroy children and practice witchcraft. And that's about the way they think. They've gotten away with calling names so long they've forgotten what it's like to have to contest over real issues.

And I want to talk to you today about some real issues in rural America and the rest of America.

Before I do, I've got to say one thing though. You know, Tom Harkin was too delicate to mention it but I think this is where he declared for president a year ago. And he liked to beat my brains out a time or two in that race.

But you know something? I want to read you something that your Senator said. I like to make fun of it, you know. Tom gets up here and tells these stories. By the time you hear him talk you're convinced he was born in a log cabin he build himself.

.ETX

CLINTON/INDIANOLA-09/27/92
.STX

PAGE #6

(Laughter).

But anyway, I want to read this to you. Now, this is -- no joke, listen to this.

After the New Hampshire primary Tom Harkin said, and I quote, "Success or failure in politics or life isn't tested by whether you stumble a little on your way to your goal. Everyone does. The test is, do you get up? The test is, how do you get up?"

Well my friends, when this primary process was over and I had somehow managed to survive the thing that I admired the most, I think, was the way Tom Harkin got up.

(Applause).

He got up fighting for agriculture and jobs and health care and research in new areas of high technology to solve problems and ~~create high wage jobs just like he fought to pass the Americans With Disabilities Act.~~

(Applause).

More than any other participant in the primary process, as soon as he was no longer in it he remembered his pledge to do what he could to get George Bush out of the White House and he campaigned for me all across this country. He said over and over and over again, "I got into this race to change the country, not just to win an election."

(Applause).

And as we come down to the last 37 days of what has been a long and hard-fought campaign I feel better knowing that I'm going to have Tom Harkin fighting with me all the way to the White House and beyond November to change this country and make it a better place.

(Applause).

Make no mistake about it -- this election is about whether we as a nation are really going to start fighting again or really going

to have the courage to change again. It's about whether we'll do less talk about our problems and make more progress toward solving them.

~~generations before us have always done, and make tomorrow better than today.~~

Last night in Washington, DC, I attended a dinner for the Congressional Black Caucus and I went over to shake hands with Magic Johnson; a man I admire very much --

.ETX

CLINTON/INDIANOLA-09/27/92
.STX

PAGE #7

(Applause).

-- who said he resigned from the Presidential AIDS Commission because the President had dropped the ball.

My fellow Americans, I may not make every decision right, I'll sure make some mistakes. But if you elect me on November 3rd, I will not drop the ball.

(Applause).

Mr. Bush and Mr. Quayle have given us a program that promises no change, a program that is a rehash of the same failed trickle down economic of the last 12 years. It's even hard to know whether they mean that or not because in Time Magazine just a few days ago, a top administration official was quoted as saying, "It doesn't much matter what's in our plan because we don't plan to follow through on it anyway."

We are tired of four years of cynical manipulation at election time of our feelings, of rhetoric that divides us and diverts our attentions. The time has come to fight for real change for you and for all of the people of this country.

One of the things that I have learned as I've gone across this great land of ours, which now has 150 different racial and ethnic groups in it; as I've taken my bus trips to the red clay of south Georgia where I met a 77-year-old woman who's going to vote for the first time in here life for our ticket; or through inner city areas in Cleveland, Ohio and East St. Louis or way up to the Pacific Northwest I have learned that we are all still pretty much the same.

We're a lot more like one another than we think we are. Almost all of us get up every day and go to work and do our best. We want our parents to be cared for in their old age, we want our children to have a brighter future. We don't want anybody to give us anything but we want partners to help lift us up, to give us a chance to make the most of our own lives. I hear it everywhere I go.

(Applause).

And you know, this country has been around for more than 200 years because every time we had to make fundamental change somehow do it. But we did.

When we became one nation from 13 colonies -- that's something we take for granted now but if you go back and read history, our written Constitution and the fact that we came together is a miracle.

.ETX

CLINTON/INDIANOLA-09/27/92
.STX

PAGE #8

When we stayed together during the Civil War and Abraham Lincoln gave his life for the union we take it for granted now. But he was elected with only 39 percent of the vote.

When we came out of the depression and World War Two, we take it for granted now but we forget that when Roosevelt was elected president one in four Americans were out of work. And in my little state, more than half the people were below the poverty line.

We forget that when Winston Churchill fought alone in World War Two, Britain didn't even win a battle for two years.

We take for granted all these things that have happened in our country's history. But they weren't foreordained. They happened because the American people, every time the chips were down, had the courage to change. And that is what we're being called upon to do again today in this election.

(Applause).

We did not become the greatest country in human history because we listened to people that told us that things could get worse. We listened to people who told us that things could be better.

I'm telling you -- my running mate, Al Gore -- by the way --

(Applause).

Next time you hear Bush say this election is about trust, say, "Well, you and Clinton have only made one decision in common and his was Al Gore. I think he did a better job."

(Applause).

But anyway, the other day Al and I were on the stump together and Gore gave a little line that I thought was good so I'm going to repeat it now. He said, "You know, here we are in America where jobs are down and the deficit is up, where incomes are down and poverty is up, where productivity is down and all of our problems

are up." And he said, "You know, everything in America that ought to be up is down and everything that ought to be down is up. They've got it upside down and we're going to turn it right-side up."

(Applause).

You know, he want on to say that in these Republican rallies, when they chant out drearily, "Four more years," it sounds more like a threat than a promise.

(Laughter).

CLINTON/INDIANOLA-09/27/92

PAGE #9

.STX

I have to tell you, you know, that Bush has spent a lot of time telling everybody I come from a small rural state. I rest my case.

(Laughter).

I went to Maine and Vermont and New Hampshire yesterday and I'm in Iowa today and I'm on my way to South Dakota. I think there's a lot to be said for small rural states and the values we have and the things we do.

(Applause).

We know that farmers and ranchers and small business people in little communities have done a lot to build this country, to feed America and the world. And unlike Mr. Bush, we want your sacrifices, you values and your commitments to be acknowledged by your government, not just at election time but every day.

~~The President, you know, has discovered rural America now just~~
in the last few weeks. He didn't understand how we needed to sell pork to Russia but he was sure glad to throw a little pork right here before the election.

(Applause).

I came here to tell you that, in my administration, farm families will be able to make a profit again selling pork and beef and corn and soybeans here and around the world.

(Applause).

And for all of his last minute moves, Mr. Bush can't deny what we all know. Most Americans -- on the farm and in the factory and in businesses -- are working harder today for less money than they were making 10 years ago. That is a fact that he cannot deny.

(Applause).

I got into this race for president because I wanted to see our country get moving again. I think it's time for a change away from trickle down economics. Not the change he accuses us of.

We're not the tax and spend crowd. It's time for a new direction: to invest in our country again, in our jobs, in our incomes, in our farms, and in our future. It's time to educate and train our people and to do that instead of just talking about it.

It's time to prove that we can promote the environment and promote the economy, if we know what we're doing.

(Applause).

CLINTON/INDIANOLA-09/27/92
.STX

PAGE #10

It's time to face the deficit by cutting inessential spending, reducing defense where we can, and asking the wealthiest Americans to pay their fair share because their taxes have gone down while the middle class peoples' taxes have gone up.

(Applause).

And it's time to say that we want the promise of America to be felt everywhere in America. Not just in the places that are doing well but in the rural areas and in the inner cities too. Everywhere in American where people are willing to work hard and play by the rules, they ought to have a chance to find their just reward.

(Applause).

My old state, like yours, was nearly devastated during the Reagan-Bush years of trickle down. It started on the farms and it spread to the small towns and it spread to our cities. Our farmers, and bankers, and small business people had to sit down and make some tough decisions.

We weren't getting any help from the national government and we knew it. But we decided to do what we could together. So I cleared away the hurdles to direct access in my office and I went to work to change our farm foreclosure laws in the '80s to increase farm loans, to start a new program for first-time farmers because the average farmer is nearly 60 years old today, to try to restart small business and little factories in rural areas and to put new investment into places that have been long forgotten -- investments in roads, in bridges, in water, in wastewater, in sewer systems and community development. Investments in recreational opportunities, even in our tiny towns and commitments to bring health care services back to people in rural areas, in our schools and in public health networks.

I tried to respond to the problems that the people were having when their incomes were dropping like a rock and there was no national response for a decade.

Our folks were tough and smart just like you are. They didn't ask for anything in the way of a hand out but they did want a hand up. And I did my best to give it to them In Arkansas.

(Applause).

Our farm income has rebounded more than the national average.
Jobs are up in rural areas. Mr. Bush won't tell you this when he

~~and do it than debate me doing it. And I reckon that's why I can't~~
find him.

(Applause).

.ETX

CLINTON/INDIANOLA-09/27/92
.STX

PAGE #11

But our state ranked first in the country last year in job growth. We had more private sector jobs created in Arkansas since George Bush became president than the entire country.

In fact, there's been a reduction in private sector employment in America. The only increase we've had in employment is in the government that he claims to hate so much. We've maintained the second lowest tax burden in the country and we started to move forward again.

It wasn't a miracle. It was just progress through hard work and harder shifts, through a caring heart and a clear head on the part of a lot of people. And that is what I want you to embrace today.

Mr. Bush will not change with the times but I will. I want to put government back on the side of ordinary people. Whether they work on farms, or ranches, or in businesses, or factories.

I believe that together we can build something to be proud of. I'm a builder not a wrecker. But I am sick and tired of the Washington blame game and the finger pointing and the paralysis. I think it's time we got off our duffs and went to work to bring this country back and make something of it again.

(Applause).

And I'll tell you something else.

(Applause).

We ought to start with a commitment to rural America where people have proved, year in and year out, that they will work for everything they get. I think we can do better than corn and soybean prices going down. I think we can do better than declining farm incomes and better than a farm bill that has been mismanaged by people who never wanted to see it work.

(Applause).

I think we can cut the mountain of red tape and regulation and paper work and overemphasis on more and more credit that is at the

heart of the farm policies of the Bush Administration.

You know these guys say they hate big government. The Heritage Foundation -- a conservative foundation -- says that Bush than in any president for twenty years. Give me a chance to cut it for the farmers of America and I will.

(Applause). . .

I believe we can make the 1990 farm bill work if we had somebody who cared enough to manage it properly and understood what

.ETX

CLINTON/INDIANOLA-09/27/92
.STX

PAGE #12

it's provisions were supposed to do and understood how it was supposed to promote decent supply management and reasonable incomes and a vigorous opportunity to export. But you're not going to get it out this administration.

He's had his chance to put the government on his side and he didn't. Give me a chance and I will.

(Applause).

You just look. Mr. Bush drones on and on about how he's an outward looking president and he believes in free markets and he believes in exports. But look at his record on agricultural issues. He promised to expand farm exports but when opportunities come, he just sort of hems and haws about them.

Look at this. We had a chance to sell 30,000 metric tons of pork to Russia but George Bush sat on the deal for eight months waiting to turn it into politics. We had a chance to sell massive amounts of grain to Russia -- grain from Iowa, rice from Arkansas. But he would have had to extend credits -- that's what they're there for. He sat on it and diddled around with it and finally other countries got the sale and our farmers got the shaft.

I think we can do better and I will.

(Applause).

He also seems to think that trade is a one-way street. Last year alone, trade barriers cost our oil seed producers \$2 billion. Now, there's nothing wrong with the law. The law today gives George Bush the weapons he needs to level the playing field but he always puts them in mothballs.

In Georgia I was told the sad tale of how the administration would not protect the American consumers from peanuts that were tainted.

In Michigan we find over and over again how George Bush's Commerce Department reversed a decision of established law that lead to the destruction of the American market, or a major part of it

for multi-purpose vehicles.

We have a law. I am for expanded trade, folks. I believe in more sales. And if we're going to sell more we've got to buy more. ~~to have their products sold around the world too, on terms that are~~
to have their products sold around the world too, on terms that are fair to everybody.

(Applause).

The European Community on the flimsiest of excuse is keeping our pork out. No amount of pork barrel the President spreads around

CLINTON/INDIANOLA-09/27/92
.STX

PAGE #13

in the last 50 days of this election can remove from him the responsibility to challenge the Europeans on that issue, to challenge the Japanese on the \$10 billion worth of trade barriers that still exist, to say we want more trade and we'll buy more from you but give us a fair shot. Give us a fair break. We're working hard and we expect to be treated in a way that really represents fair trade as well as free trade.

(Applause).

Look at the Export Enhancement Program. A few days ago the President goes up to South Dakota to tell the wheat farmers that in all of his majesty he's going to let them take advantage of the Export Enhancement Program.

Now keep in mind that Congress authorized that program a long time ago. And keep in mind Mr. Bush let the best time to use the Export Enhancement Program pass, right? You know that, don't you?

~~He didn't use the program when it was best for the markets and~~
best for the farmers. He held it back and let the farmers suffer and let the markets go until it was best for him to keep his job -- right here before the election.

(Applause).

I won't give you election year farm politics. I'll give you a farm policy that will be there year in and year out, day in and day out -- what's best for you, not what's best for me.

(Applause).

You know, the other day there leaked out a memo from the Bush campaign from Clayton Yortar (sp), who used to be the Secretary of Agriculture, who was head of the Republican Committee. And the memo said, "I just can't believe all those farmers aren't grateful for all that money we gave them."

That's what the letter said. It said, "I just can't believe it."

I'll tell you why. Because farmers are smart. They understand markets and production cycles. They understand calendars

and months and they know when you're opening the door for them as opposed to opening the door for you.

~~And that deal in South Dakota was the President using a~~
~~door for his own reelection, not for the welfare of the farmers of~~
this country and you know it and so do the other farmers in America.

(Applause).

.ETX

CLINTON/INDIANOLA-09/27/92
.STX

PAGE #14

There is no policy in this country to add to the value of farm products and we have to do better. We have to do more to add to the value of our farm products and sell value added farm products around the world and use more here at home.

I believe that, so far, George Bush has made the wrong choice on ethanol and let me tell you why.

Instead of standing for energy security and higher corn prices and more jobs for states like ours he stood for more oil companies and for more methanol, most of which is produced in the Middle East.

* I believe we can find a way to deal with the environmental objections which have been raised to ethanol usage. After all, there are states like Colorado, which are already using significant amounts of ethanol in their fuel. And if you'll give me a chance to serve I'll bring the EPA and the Agriculture Department and all the people together. We will do the research we need to hammer out the ~~difficulties here. We'll resolve it and we'll use ethanol as a part~~ of our nation's energy security future.

(Applause).

* We'll do the same with biotechnology. Look at the things we can do with farm products -- biodegradable plastics, soybean-based inks, industrial oils, lubricants, biofuels. We can drive up incomes and profits for decades to come in states like yours and mine and create businesses that will stay in smaller communities if we have a little vision and we have the kind of research and development and technology-spreading we need. That's what a national government ought to be doing. That's what our competitors are doing. Give Bill Clinton and Al Gore a chance and we'll do it too.

(Applause).

There's something else I want to say that goes beyond the farm issue.

I've tried to offer this country an overall plan to change America -- a plan that's been endorsed by eight Nobel Prize winning economists, a plan that was endorsed by the heads of 21 facto-

growing, high-tech companies in California, two-thirds of the executives were Republicans. It won the endorsement of 400 business leaders in Chicago last week, over a third of them were Republicans. It won the endorsement of Admiral William Crowe who was the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. ~~It won the endorsement of Admiral William Crowe who was the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.~~ who wants his country to face the problems before it.

(Applause).

We have to use this election to say we're going to depart from trickle down economics, to go back to invest and educate and face our problems.

.ETX

CLINTON/INDIANOLA-09/27/92
.STX

PAGE #15

I just want to say two other things about two other issues that are very important to me.

One is health care.

(Applause).

We will never get control of our government deficit, restore health to our manufacturing sector, stability to our small business sector or security to our farmers until we finally join the ranks of every other advanced country in the world to control health care costs and provide basic health care to all of our people.

(Applause).

A find doctor in this state -- Dr. Steve Gleason -- has worked with many other physicians and health care providers here to help me develop a national health care strategy. I announced it last week before the Merck Drug Company up in New Jersey, one of the most profitable companies in America but they've kept drug prices in line with inflation for three years now and everybody else ought to do the same thing.

(Applause).

My plan preserves your right to pick you doctor, to use your hospital. It preserves the private medical system. But it controls health care costs for all Americans, not just those who get Medicare and Medicaid but for all Americans. And it says we are going to have a basic package of health care that everybody gets. No more two-tiered health systems. And it cleans up tens of billions of dollars in unnecessary money we're now wasting on insurance and administration and government regulation and puts that into covering the people who don't have health insurance.

(Applause).

It sets up a framework within which we can give our elderly people a chance to have a long-term care plan that doesn't require them to spend themselves into poverty and to go into a nursing home. They can stay in their homes.

Extended Page 5.1
They can get something more and different from that at an earlier point.

(Applause).

And it will save hundreds of billions of dollars for the public and the private sectors between now and the end of the decade.

I'm telling you, if you brought health care costs in line with inflation it would save more money for new jobs and new investment than the investment tax credit or the capital gains tax or anything

.ETX

CLINTON/INDIANOLA-09/27/92
.STX

PAGE #16

you could do to the tax code. Bringing health costs in line with inflation will not only make it possible for people to secure their own lives, it will revitalize the economy.

And let me say one thing to the farmers in the audience. Under our plan we're going to let the farmers and the small business people of this country have access to buy into big pools of health insurance so they can get the same cost opportunities that people who work for big companies get today.

(Applause).

The last thing I want to say to you is that no president can promise you any economic opportunity that you are not prepared to seize. Iowa knows, as well as any state in the country, the surpassing importance of education. It is time we had an education president who's worthy of that title.

(Applause).

I want to acknowledge the presence in the crowd today, before I close, of the President of the National Education Association, Keith Geiger from Michigan. Raise your hand there.

(Applause).

I offer the American people a plan for lifetime learning. Teach everybody with a job to read in the next five years, give every adult a chance to get a high school education.

(Applause).

Every young person who doesn't go to a four year college -- give him two years of further apprenticeship training so they can get good jobs, not dead-end jobs.

Open the doors of college education to all Americans.

(Applause).

(Inaudible). Think of this -- I want the American people to have access to a national trust fund, out of which any person can borrow the money to finance a college education. And they'll pay it back either as a small percentage of their income at tax time so

Or even better, by working for a couple of years before or after they go to college at work we need done -- being teachers, police officers, nurses, working in rural health programs, working in housing programs, working with the elderly, working with people with disabilities, working with children. We can solve the problems of America and educate a whole generation of Americans. And I say it's time we did it.

.ETX

CLINTON/INDIANOLA-09/27/92
.STX

PAGE #17

(Applause).

My fellow Americans, I need your support in Iowa in the next thirty days. I need for you to call your friends and neighbors in other states and say vote for Bill Clinton. Give us a chance to change the country.

When Harry Truman made that trip here that Tom Harkin talked about he said something that I want to say to you. This is my charge to you as I close and listen to Harry Truman's words: "You have another chance. I'm not asking you to vote for me. I'm asking you to vote for yourselves, to exercise your God-given right to control this country."

When Harry Truman made that speech he carried Iowa, Iowa carried him to the White House and he kept his promise to use the government to help all the people.

With your help, another son of the heartland will return to the White House in January, with your help, your prayers and your efforts. It's our country, folks. Take it back. We're better than this. We can do better than this. And we will in November and in January, with your help.

(Applause).

Thank you and God bless you all.

END

says the album's production and distribution constitute "an irresponsible corporate act." He thinks the album should be pulled from stores.

Underscoring his concern, Mr. Quayle met yesterday in Houston with the daughter of a state trooper who was fatally shot by a man who said he had been listening to "2pacalypse Now" and its lyrics about "droppin' the cop."

Interscope Records is a subsidiary of Time Warner and is run by Frederick W. Field. A week ago Mr. Field was the host of a glittering Hollywood fund-raiser for Gov. Bill Clinton.

But Mr. Quayle insists he is not trying to make a political nexus between the cop-killer rap and Mr. Clinton. Rather, he says, record executives should think twice before backing productions like "2pacalypse Now."

"There is absolutely no reason for a record like this to be published by a responsible corporation," he asserted in Houston.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 23, 1992]

QUAYLE SEEKS WITHDRAWAL OF RAP ALBUM

(By Richard Tapscott)

HOUSTON Sept. 22.—Vice President Quayle, expanding his attack against the entertainment industry, today called on a recording company to withdraw a rap music album that has been linked to the shooting death of a Texas state trooper.

Attorneys for the 19-year old man accused in the trooper's April death said he was influenced by listening to a tape of rapper Tupac Amaru Shakur's "2pacalypse Now" album.

After meeting here today with Kimberly Davidson, the 20-year-old daughter of slain trooper Bill Davidson, Quayle said Shakur's album should be pulled from the shelves.

The vice president addressed this remarks to Time Warner Inc. and a subsidiary, Interscope Records. "I'm going to continue to speak out on issues like this, and I hope there'll be common sense and responsibility exercised from corporate America," Quayle said.

Aides traveling with Quayle made certain that reporters were aware that the president of Interscope Records is Hollywood executive Frederick W. "Ted" Field, whose Hollywood mansion was the site of last week's million-dollar fund raiser for Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton.

But Quayle said he was not implying any connection. "I am pointing out the facts," he said.

[In Austin, Tex., attorney James George, who represents Time Warner, told the Associated Press that Quayle "is misinformed about the facts of this case, from the content of the tape to what happened."]

Earlier this year, Quayle criticized Time Warner over rapper Ice-T's "Cop Killer" song. The rapper withdrew the song after it was assailed by law enforcement groups and Quayle.

The vice president also seemed to revel today in his battle with "Murphy Brown," which took numerous shots at him in its season premiere Monday night. The program was watched by 44 million Americans, CBS said.

"They spent an hour of television time to answer one sentence in a [May] speech," Quayle said. "That shows we've struck a responsive chord."

[Omitted from the Congressional Record of Tuesday, September 22, 1992]

YOUNG MEN SERVING THEIR COUNTRY

(Mr. DORNAN of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask the last speaker and all my colleagues to consider our Nation's entire history. Most 23-year-olds in the U.S. military are men, mature men. And I am going to do a 1-hour special order on that tomorrow night to discuss the pathetic attempt of Gov. Bill Clinton to avoid his past history as a calculating draft dodger by claiming he was "only a 23-year-old boy," when he dodged the draft. Those are his exact words to Ted Koppel on "Nightline" last February that he was, "only a 23-year-old boy." How obnoxious, yet how revealing.

When I was 23 my Sallie and I had two children and one on the way. And, as an Air Force lieutenant, I was flying F-100 supersonic fighters as a flight leader at George Air Force Base. I repeat, I was 23 and I was not "a boy."

Let me tell a story about two men who studied at Yale University. One graduated as a teacher at age 21 and served as a captain on Gen. George Washington's staff—one of our new Nation's intelligence officers. On September 22, 1776, 216 years ago today, that captain, Nathan Hale, was executed by the British. He was denied a Bible and hung after proclaiming his now famous last words which every school child memorizes with pride. In good schools that is.

I just found out over the weekend that Clinton never earned his Rhodes masters degree at Oxford University because he never even registered at Oxford his second year, let alone attended class when he went back to England as a Rhodes candidate in September 1969. That was after he cleverly deceived the commandant of the Army ROTC at the University of Arkansas in order to buy time for his fourth evasion of the military draft. It seems all he did at Oxford in the fall and winter of 1969 was organize demonstrations against his country in a foreign land, and the words "in a foreign land" have special impact. And now we find out he squeezed in a trip to Moscow. His roommate, who it appears did the same thing, committed suicide 2 years later, and the third roommate, or rather student whose dorm floor was where Willy threw his sleeping bag, was Strobe Talbot. That's the Time magazine editor who made Gorbachev man of the decade—not of the year but the whole decade of the eighties. Gorby did not even appear on the world scene until March 11, 1985. Naturally, liberal Strobe Talbot ignored the contributions of Pope John Paul II, Lech Walesa, and President Ronald Reagan toward the demise of Soviet communism. I guess Talbot

learned that blind approach to history in the sixties, maybe from a Marxist professor or two at Oxford.

My colleagues, the contrast between William J. Clinton, the Yale law school graduate, and hero-martyr Nathan Hale, the Yale graduate teacher, is stunning. And there are thousands, thousands of Nathan Hales types serving in Vietnam from 1961 to 1975, maybe including the four men—and they were men, probably age 19 or 20 or 21—who served in place of the draft-dodger Clinton.

Nathan Hale said, "My only regret is that I have but one life to give for my country." Boy Clinton's unspoken motto at age 23 in 1969 was, "My only regret is that I have only one country to run from, to a foreign land, to screw around creating ugly demonstrations against my nation."

Mr. Speaker, in another arena of distorting the truth, I affair Flowers, Governor Willy says his wife sat in the kitchen of the Governor's mansion and monitored all of his phone calls with the aspiring singer that he later put on the Arkansas payroll making more money than the Lieutenant Governor. How's that again? His wife Hillary monitored his mistress' conduct?

Hardly, my colleagues, hardly. I submit here for the historical record excerpts of taped conversations between Clinton and Flowers. Judge for yourself. Was this woman, as Willy describes over and over, just "a friendly acquaintance?"

And after you decide that, ask yourself if Bill Clinton—who has attacked the character of George Bush, a genuine war hero—will raise taxes on working, middle-income Americans. Ask yourself if Clinton will work to keep America's defenses strong and sound.

This man, who cannot truthfully confront his draft-dodging past, cannot be counted on to protect our pocket-books or our defenses. And by the way, his 1969 or 1970 trip to Moscow with other pro-Hanoi peaceniks was controlled in every aspect, large and small, by the hated KGB. Read on.

[Extracts of telephone conversations between Gov. Bill Clinton and Ms. Gennifer Flowers between September and December 1991, as released by The Star at a New York press conference in January 1992]

Note: Portions of these tapes contain sexually explicit language to which you might not wish to expose members of your family.

FLOWERS. Well, it's like the girl in the [Sen. Charles] Robb deal, from what I read she said, she needed to come out because she was being threatened and so forth—but, I don't know. She may well have had a thing with him. But—the fact that she goes on to do Playboy.

CLINTON. Kind of undermines her credibility, doesn't it?

FLOWERS. Sure does.

CLINTON. He said she didn't add.

FLOWERS. Well now, come on. (laughs) C'mon, Bill.

CLINTON. When I saw her—I kind of doubted he'd turn her down and he didn't.

FLOWERS. I bet he didn't.

CLINTON. I bet he didn't, either. She's very pretty.

FLOWERS. She is pretty. You know, his wife's not nearly that pretty (laughs).

Well, anyway, like I said, I didn't want to worry you with all this, I just wanted you to know.

CLINTON. I need to know every time—cause it enables me to run the traffic, see what else is going on.

FLOWERS. Well, it's like I told you, if I leave a message, it's important. I won't call you unless something like this has gone on. So get back to me, because like I said I'm not good at this and may need advice.

CLINTON. You can always call me here.

FLOWERS. Where's here?

CLINTON. At the mansion.

FLOWERS. Well, I did call there.

CLINTON. They gave me the number (yawn).

FLOWERS. Well, same to you.

FLOWERS. Are you there? Sorry about that. Mother was—wanted me to get her a glass of water. See that was another thing. See my parents are here and I'll tell you what, the last thing I needed was to.

CLINTON. Have that happen.

FLOWERS. Have that happen cause my mother would not very concerned and worried and so far you know.

CLINTON. [garbled] If they ever hit you with it just say 'no' and go on, there's nothing they can do.

FLOWERS. Well I will, but I mean I—you know—she's my mother and you know how mothers can be.

CLINTON. They don't want to hear it at all.

FLOWERS. Well, she would just get all in a tizzy about—about it and uh, so I thought Good God, that's all I need. Cause they're, uh, they're gonna be here, well they're leaving Wednesday morning and they were at the club tonight and they'll be here tomorrow night, which, you know, parents do. And I thought, 'Oh, please Jesus, don't let those people be out there.'

CLINTON. I'm just sorry that you ever had to put up with that [next word is garbled].

FLOWERS. Well, you know, to be real honest with you, I'm not completely surprised. I didn't think it would start this quickly. But I think, Bill, you're being naive if you think that these other shows like 'Current Affair' and, oh, what are some of the others, uh—

CLINTON. Well, I thought they—

FLOWERS. 'Hard Copy.'

CLINTON. I thought they'd look into it. But, you know, I just think a crazy person like Larry Nichols is not enough to get a story on the television with names in it.

FLOWERS. Right. Well, he better not get on there and start naming names.

CLINTON. Well, that's what I mean. You know, if all the people who are named deny it. That's all, I mean, I expect them to come look into it and interview you and everything, uh, but I just think that if everybody's on record denying it you've got no problem.

FLOWERS. Well, I don't think—I don't think it—I don't—Well, why would they waste their money and time coming down here unless someone showed 'em some interest? See, they weren't here tonight and they're not going to be there.

CLINTON. No, no. See, that's it. I mean, they're gonna run this Larry Nichols thing down, they're gonna try to goad people up, you know, but if everybody kinda hangs tough, they're just not going to do anything. They can't.

FLOWERS. No. They can't.

CLINTON. They can't run a story like this unless somebody said, 'Yeah, I did it with him.'

CLINTON. I'll tell you what, it would be extremely valuable if they ever do run anybody by me, you know. If they ever get anybody to do this, just to have, like I told you before when I called you, is to have an on-file affi-

davit explaining that, you know, you were approached by a Republican and asked to do that.

FLOWERS. Mm hmm. Well—

CLINTON. [garbled] . . . the more I think about it, you should call him back [garbled] just don't know.

FLOWERS. Well, I think that—Well, are you going to run? [laughs] Can you tell me that?

CLINTON. I want to. I wonder if I'm going to be blown out of the water with this. I don't see how they can [garbled word] so far.

FLOWERS. I don't think they can—

"IF THEY DON'T HAVE PICTURES . . ."

CLINTON. If they don't, if they don't have pictures—

FLOWERS. Mh hmm.

CLINTON. Which they [garbled] anybody and no one says anything then they don't have anything and arguably if someone says something, they don't have much.

FLOWERS. If they could blow you out of the water they would have already blown you. I really believe that because I believe that there are various ones that have been trying hard lately. See, like that 'Inside Edition.' Uh, there've probably been other sources too. [Pause] So—I don't think so. I honestly don't. That's my gut feeling. I would tell you if I did. [pause] But—you may know more about—

CLINTON. How do you like holding [garbled word] future in [garbled word] hands? Do you like that?

FLOWERS. Yeah. [laughs] No. Well, if it's positive I do, you know. I mean cause I want you to—I would love to see you go—Oh, I'd love to see you be President. I think that would be wonderful. I think you'd make a damn good one. I don't like Bush. I think he's a sneaky bastard. [laughs] [garbled] He's two-faced. I'd just love to see somebody get in there for a change, really make a difference. But uh—it's like I told you before, whatever you need me to do, just let me know.

CLINTON. I will.

FLOWERS. Remember a long time ago when you called me and said that if you announced for, well, it was back the first time you were going to announce for, uh—

CLINTON. Governor?

"NOTHING TO THE RUMOR"

FLOWERS. No. President [laughs] [garbled] And you said [garbled] 'Gennifer, I just wanted you to know that there might be some reporters or something out there' and you said.

'Now, uh, you be sure to [garbled words] [both laugh] say there's nothing to the rumor,' and I said, O.K., I, well I shouldn't even say this to you, probably embarrass you. Do you remember what I said to you?

CLINTON. No. What'd you say?

FLOWERS. I said, 'Well, at the time you eat good (street term used for female genitalia).' [laughs]

CLINTON. What?

FLOWERS. I said I had to tell them that you ate good (feline term for female genitalia) and you said, 'Well you can tell them that if I don't run for President [laughs]. I've got to keep my voice down, my parents are in the other . . . [laughs] [garbled]

CLINTON. [garbled]

FLOWERS. And I thought, you know that's not real funny right now. But anyway I try to find the humor in things.

CLINTON. Don't I know it. [garbled]

FLOWERS. Well, I can guarantee you that's not something I've thought about [laughs], that's not the first thing on my mind when I think about those reporters being down there.

CLINTON. God.

FLOWERS. Oh, Lord.

CLINTON. [garbled]

FLOWERS. But, anyway, I think we're OK for now.

CLINTON. [garbled] We have to watch as we go along.

FLOWERS. Well you're uh, you know, from the feedback I'm getting around me about various things that are going on with what you're doing. I'm getting very positive feedback.

CLINTON. Yeah, there's no negative except this.

FLOWERS. This is the only thing.

CLINTON. And there's no negative to me running except this and even if I win—as a matter of fact it might be better for me to lose the primary, I might lose the nomination to Bob Kerrey because he's um—got all the Gary Hart/Hollywood money and because he's single, looks like a movie star, won the Medal of Honor, and since he's single, nobody cares if he's screwing. [laughs]

FLOWERS. What I hear—they think you're likely to get the nomination.

CLINTON. I'm feeling pretty good about it.

FLOWERS. Well, I think you should.

CLINTON. It's just awful; you know I go on for a day and then I hear this stuff and I hear this stuff and it just takes all the energy out.

FLOWERS. Well, see I hate it. That's why I hate it, to tell you.

CLINTON. No, I love that you've called.

[Dial tone] [Dialing sounds] [Ringing]

VOICE. Governor's mansion, Roger Creek, can I help you?

FLOWERS. Is Bill Clinton in please?

VOICE. M'am, he's with some people right now. May I ask who's calling?

FLOWERS. This is Gennifer Flowers. I'm returning his call.

VOICE. Gennifer Fowler?

FLOWERS. Flowers.

VOICE. O.K. Hang on just a second.

FLOWERS. All right.

[Long pause]

CLINTON. Hello?

FLOWERS. Bill?

CLINTON. Hey.

FLOWERS. It's Gennifer.

"HOW YA DOING?"

CLINTON. How ya doin'?

FLOWERS. Well, I'm fine, it hardly sounds like you.

CLINTON. Oh, I'm having terrible throat problems.

FLOWERS. [cough] You're making me want to clear my throat. Can you talk? Can you talk a second?

CLINTON. Yes.

FLOWERS. Uh, I'm sorry I had missed your call. I went up to see my mother for a few days.

CLINTON. That's what I figured. How's she doin'?

FLOWERS. Well, she's, she's doing O.K. physically. But let me tell you what all has been going on. Uh, the first thing that happened was Friday night a reporter and cameraman from A Current Affair met me in the parking lot at the Quapaw Towers, I was going in to sing. And I didn't say anything, I just went in the door and uh, he tried to come in one time and John Cain, who's the manager there (manager of the Flaming Arrow in Quapaw Tower—a club here Gennifer performed) uh, made him go—

CLINTON. Great.

FLOWERS. And I did not know he was from A Current Affair because I did not stop long enough to, to, I just went in the doorway, and, uh, but John said that's who it was.

CLINTON. What network is that on?

FLOWERS. I don't know. Uh, o.K., it's on Channel 11, whatever that is—CBS. I don't know the guy's name, uh, at any rate, I had booked some more jobs there in December, and, uh, John has asked me not to come

back. He says he really doesn't want—'Cause see, that's the third—the Dallas Morning News also called there for me. And then Inside Edition had called there and uh—

CLINTON. They didn't hassle you there?

FLOWERS. No they didn't. But Current Affairs had not called beforehand, either for someone to call them back. They just showed up. And anyway, then Wednesday there, there was a grievance filed in my office when I got the job a girl by a girl who felt like she should have gotten it. A black girl named Charlotte Perry. And they called me as a witnesses. So I go in and uh, nothing big came of it, it's just that they were questioning me about how I found out about the job and I said well, that personnel said there was a possibility there would be a position and then uh, and they told me it would be advertised in the newspaper, it was, and then I pursued it from there.

CLINTON. Good for you.

FLOWERS. Well, it caught me off guard cause, I—I at first I just didn't know, I just didn't expect that, for some reason. I thought about a lot of things, about my qualifications, and all that business, but I didn't think about that.

CLINTON. Yeah.

FLOWERS. Okay, and then the next thing that happens and the reason I went to my mother's is that my mother gets a phone call. This has all happened to me last week. I'm going to tell you, I am a nervous wreck.

CLINTON. Your mother got a call?

FLOWERS. My mother gets a call from a man who won't identify himself and tells her, 'Boy, you ought to really be proud of your daughter.' And goes on and on, and of course my mother now, you know is not one—she's not gonna take this from this guy and says, 'Now look.' You know she's telling him, 'don't call'—and he says, and he says to her, 'Well, I think she'd be better off dead.' And hangs up the phone. Are you there?

CLINTON. A long distance call, do you think?

FLOWERS. My mother said it sounded like, now here's the thing, Bill, my mother's name is [deleted]. It's not Flowers.

CLINTON. So someone had to go—

FLOWERS. Somebody, yeah, somebody had to know to ask for that name—

CLINTON. Republican harassment trying to break you and me.

FLOWERS. Oh, listen, I'm not going to break, but I'll tell you what I've about decided is that I really would like to leave here.

CLINTON. Just leave town?

FLOWERS. Yeah. My mother is in . . . one of the reasons I have stayed here as long as I have—

CLINTON. Oh, wow.

FLOWERS. We had a little bit of a scare recently cause she had a spot on an x-ray and she went and had it checked again and it wasn't cancer, Bill, what I'm afraid of, is that if somebody in the press finds out that I'm working for the state—

CLINTON. Yeah.

FLOWERS. And I just—I don't know, I'm of course, I, I'll have to tell you, I'm about to cry because my nerves at this point after this week—and I'm a pretty strong little lady, but I have been through a lot—

CLINTON. But the people at the place were from *A Current Affair*?

FLOWERS. That's what John [Cain] said—I just headed for that door—I said, 'Leave me alone, this is absurd.' He started sticking that thing and I know—I mean that's a private club and I didn't think they would follow me—but here's the thing. I have to have these singing jobs to survive. I'm only making \$17,500 on this job, Bill.

CLINTON. You mean this guy won't hire you any more?

FLOWERS. I don't blame him. He's getting telephone calls from these people—The last time he said, 'Gennifer, I don't want any problems.'

CLINTON. So, what did you tell him? Did you tell him there's nothing to it?

FLOWERS. I did—I said, 'John, I have nothing to do with this. It is not true, I was hoping it would not come to this—I'm glad to hear this, I just hope they just go away.' I didn't have a chance to tell you about the *Dallas Morning News*.

CLINTON. No, but I figured they'd just try and run it down.

FLOWERS. That guy's name was George Kempell and that was the night before the day you announced—Anyway, I would really like to leave Little Rock.

CLINTON. How can I help?

FLOWERS. I don't know anybody anywhere to speak of—I have mixed emotions about it because I consider this my home—

CLINTON. Not only that—I mean this is just crazy—there's not going to be any stories—no one has said anything.

FLOWERS. The only thing that concerns me at this point is the state job.

CLINTON. Yeah, I've never thought about that, but as long as you say you've just been looking for one, you'd check on it—if they ever ask if you talked to me about it you can just say no.

FLOWERS. I would but here's the thing I have to consider, too. I have to go in to work every day there and if these people start talking to the press—

CLINTON. Have they been nice to you there?

FLOWERS. Yeah, they have been, but I just want you to know what's going on. I'll be glad to hang in there.

CLINTON. Has the grievance committee ruled yet?

FLOWERS. No, not that I know of—I forget the guy's name—Don Barnes [chairman of the Board of Review who overruled the grievance committee's findings] was there.

CLINTON. Is he happy with you?

FLOWERS. Oh, sure, I'm good at what I do, Bill, but when this guy was trying to beat up on me a little—I found that curious, how I found out about the job, but maybe at this point I'm paranoid.

CLINTON. You don't want me to get this guy to reconsider?

FLOWERS. What guy?

CLINTON. The guy at the Flaming Arrow—it wouldn't be through me, but I have a lot of friends there.

FLOWERS. No, I'd rather just leave that alone for now—but if things might stay quiet.

CLINTON. He might change his mind and I'd rather it be his idea.

FLOWERS. Hello?

CLINTON. Gennifer?

FLOWERS. Yes.

CLINTON. It's Bill Clinton.

FLOWERS. Hi Bill.

CLINTON. Hey I tried to call ya. I can't believe I got ya.

FLOWERS. Well whendya try to call me?

CLINTON. Last night. Late.

FLOWERS. Well I was here.

CLINTON. Did you take your phone off the hook?

FLOWERS. Well, I did. Well, I've been getting these hang-up calls—

CLINTON. Oh.

FLOWERS. And at one point I took my phone I well, I didn't take it off the hook, I just uh—

CLINTON. Turned it off?

FLOWERS. Yeah.

CLINTON. Oh that's what it was. I called. I started calling soon as I got home last night and I called for a couple of hours.

FLOWERS. Well, sorry I missed you.

CLINTON. [garbled] I was afraid I screwed up the number or something, and I kept calling.

FLOWERS. Well are you—you got a cold?

CLINTON. Yeah. Oh it's just my—every year about this time I—my sinuses go bananas.

FLOWERS. Yeah, me too.

CLINTON. And I've been in this stupid airplane too much, but I'm o.k.

FLOWERS. Well, good. Good. The reason I was calling was to tell you that, uh, well, a couple things. Uh, this last Wednesday, someone got into my apartment.

CLINTON. Hold on a minute.

FLOWERS. O.K.

[long pause]

CLINTON. O.K. I got it.

FLOWERS. Are you in Little Rock?

CLINTON. No.

FLOWERS. No.

CLINTON. I am going to be there tonight late. I'm in, uh, Washington now and—

FLOWERS. Well—

CLINTON. I'm going to Dallas, and then I'm coming to Little Rock.

FLOWERS. Uh, well—

CLINTON. So somebody broke in your apartment?

FLOWERS. Well, yeah, well, There wasn't any sign of a break-in, uh, but the drawers and things. There wasn't anything missing that I can tell but somebody had—

"GONE THROUGH YOUR STUFF"

CLINTON. Somebody had gone through all your stuff?

FLOWERS. And gone through my stuff.

CLINTON. You think they were—but they didn't steal anything?

FLOWERS. No. No, my jewelry—I had jewelry here and everything, it was still here.

CLINTON. You think they were trying to look for something on us?

FLOWERS. I think so. Well, I mean—why, why else? Umam—

CLINTON. You weren't missing any, any kind of papers or anything?

FLOWERS. Well, like what kind of papers?

CLINTON. Well I mean did—any kind of personal records or checkbooks or anything like that? Phone records?

FLOWERS. Do I have any?

CLINTON. Yeah.

FLOWERS. Unh unh. I mean, why would I?

CLINTON. I don't know I just—

FLOWERS. You, you usually call me, for that matter. And besides, who would know?

CLINTON. Isn't that amazing?

FLOWERS. Even if I had it on my phone record. Oh, well, I guess they might be able to say 'Oh, well, you were in Washington on this date and maybe at that number and connect that but—

CLINTON. Well—

FLOWERS. See, you've always called me. So that's not a—

CLINTON. I wouldn't care if they—you know, I, I—They may have my phone records on this computer here, but I don't think it—That doesn't prove anything.

FLOWERS. Well, that—that's true. But I just want to tell you about that.

CLINTON. Wow.

FLOWERS. Let me tell you something positive.

CLINTON. What?

FLOWERS. Uh, I heard, uh—I've heard a couple of people say, one had been to San Antonio, the other had been to Los Angeles, and they both said that they were, uh, that all they heard out there was 'Clinton, Clinton, Clinton,' so—

CLINTON. Really?

FLOWERS. Yeah. So I thought that was exciting.

CLINTON. We've worked so hard.

FLOWERS. I know you have, but I—That may not be a lot, but I mean, that's a—I think that's a good indication.

CLINTON. Well, no. Most people think, you know, that, except for Cuomo, I'm doing the best right now and uh—We're leading in the polls in Florida—without Cuomo in there, but Cuomo's at 87 percent name recognition, and I have 54 percent so, I mean, I'm at a terrible disadvantage in name recognition still, but we're coming up, and, so I, we're moving pretty well. I'm really pleased about it.

FLOWERS. Well, I don't particularly care for Cuomo's uh, demeanor.

CLINTON. Boy, he is so aggressive.

FLOWERS. Well, he seems like he could get real mean [laughs].

CLINTON. [garbled] Acts like Mafiosos

FLOWERS. Yeah—I wouldn't be surprised if he didn't have some mafioso major connections.

CLINTON. Well he acts like one [laughs].

FLOWERS. Well, he comes off that way to me on television.

CLINTON. Well tell me how you're doing. What's the deal with the singing?

FLOWERS. They tried to contact me after Connie's [Hammy-rock groupie who said Clinton once tried to seduce her] business—which was a minor joke around here.

CLINTON. Good thing they have four witnesses.

FLOWERS. Well, I'm going to tell you something, Bill, nobody believes that sleazebag. I'm a liberated woman. I believe a woman should do what she wants to do—but that girl is just a sleazebag.

CLINTON. The only time I met her and have really seen her, I told the people who were with me that she was really a sick person.

FLOWERS. There was another call from Inside Edition, a news reporter here, Mark somebody—

CLINTON. Oswald?

FLOWERS. Could be—there was one other—I can't remember, I have, I have these written down, but he caught me off guard.

CLINTON. That is so weird, that break in, but I wouldn't put it past the m... the Republicans are really sort of frightened of this whole deal—they've made no secret that they think I'm the only guy who can beat Bush and—

FLOWERS. He's not doing real well in the popularity ballgame.

CLINTON. Well, he's out of it, Gennifer—he's a nice enough guy—but basically he doesn't have a clue what's going on, what ordinary people's lives are like, he has no idea how awful it is for them.

FLOWERS. Let me tell you a couple of things real quick. I talked to [deleted ***]. I have a little company with a guy name *** and *** called ***.

CLINTON. Beautiful ***? The one I allegedly had an affair with? The only time I ever saw her was at the inaugural *** she was so good looking, I wished it was true [laughs].

FLOWERS. She's very talented, too.

CLINTON. Is she?

FLOWERS. She's the [title deleted].

CLINTON. What's that?

FLOWERS. That's the [name of company] that idiot *** is at, and when I met with *** we had done a little sample for the campaign he gave me the number for *** and coordinate with his schedule the other thing is you and I need to talk about me getting out of here. I'm getting uncomfortable being in Little Rock. I don't like my place being gone through. I have a state job. I just think I need to leave here.

CLINTON. What happened to the grievance?

FLOWERS. Nothing. Oh, uh, well it hasn't come back up.

CLINTON. So you haven't lost it?

FLOWERS. I'm not going to lose it.

CLINTON. I don't see how you can lose it. Dawn Creary told me it was a straight deal.

FLOWERS. I disciplined her and she yelled at me *** and I suspended her and she's yelling race discrimination. *** but that's not even been brought up again.

CLINTON. Listen, I'll tell you what I'll do. Are you going to be—What are you doing tonight?

FLOWERS. What is tonight?

CLINTON. I don't know [laughs].

FLOWERS. If it's Thursday, I've got Tai Kwan Do from 7 to 9 but I'll be here after that.

CLINTON. Are you doing that? Good for you. Is it keeping you in shape?

FLOWERS. Yes, I guess I need it—it's toned my little butt up, so good—I love it.

CLINTON. Why don't you just call me tonight after 11. I'll try to get [State Trooper] Carl Kirkland on the phone—call me at the mansion—I'll be home.

FLOWERS. Alright, darling, well you hang in there. I don't mean to worry you. I just—

CLINTON. [garbled] I just want to know these things and if I can help you, you let me know [garbled].

FLOWERS. Well, when you can help me is if I decide I want to get the heck out of here.

CLINTON. All you need to do is let me know.

FLOWERS. Because I don't know I don't know where to turn. I really don't. I mean my contacts have just sort of fizzled in Nashville. It's been a long time and, I don't know I don't know anybody.

CLINTON. [garbled words]—I'll help you.

FLOWERS. O.K. Well, I'll be back in touch, and, uh, you will let me know if you know anything I need to know about.

CLINTON. I will.

FLOWERS. O.K? [laugh].

CLINTON. Goodbye, baby.

FLOWERS. Talk to you later. Bye.

VACATION OF SPECIAL ORDERS

Mr. EWING. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to vacate the 60-minute special order today granted to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. EWING], myself, and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HASTERT].

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mrs. COLLINS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. DANNEMEYER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. DANNEMEYER addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. GEJDENSON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. GEJDENSON addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. INHOFE] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. INHOFE addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. STARK] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. STARK addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. THOMAS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. THOMAS of Wyoming addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mrs. LOWEY] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mrs. LOWEY of New York addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

□ 1750

UNNECESSARY GOVERNMENT REGULATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PARKER). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. EWING] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. EWING. Mr. Speaker, I requested recently for the Republican Policy Committee to hold a hearing in my district. We held this hearing on September 14, in Bloomington, IL. The hearing involved regulation and regulatory policy of this Government.

Why did I seek this hearing? I sought this hearing because through my travels in my district I am constantly reminded by my constituents of what they consider to be excessive, burdensome, expensive, foolish, and unproductive regulations.

Some regulation, of course, is necessary. But the key is how do we control it and contain it within reasonable means without overkilling, without causing our businesses to lose their competitive edge, and without costing us jobs.

I would like to introduce into the RECORD excerpts of testimony received, and I will read to Members a few of those excerpts.

Tom Coady, who is with Hicks Oils and Hicks Gas said, "Congress has made it almost impossible to do business in the United States. Government is putting business out of business."

Dave Kuhl of Busey Bank said:

Truth in savings is going to be a massive regulatory solution to an unknown problem.

Gore on Deforestation

In April 1990, Gore voted for the Packwood Amendment which restricts exports of unprocessed timber from state-owned or administered land. The Amendment passed 81-17.¹ However, in October of the same year Gore voted to table an amendment that called for agency consultation to consider the **Spotted Owl**. The amendment was tabled by a vote of 62-34.²

In November 1991, Gore sponsored Senate Resolution 237, which asked to bring an end to illegal logging practices in the Philippines. It was referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on November 26, 1991.

Throughout his career in Congress, Gore has voted for designating certain areas as national forests in the following states: Alaska, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Oregon. However, in March 1992, Gore voted against S. 1606 the **Montana National Forest Management Act**. The bill designated certain lands in Montana as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System.³ The bill was opposed because some Senators believed the ambiguous judicial clause in the bill would keep logging and timber disputes out of the courts. Gore said setting such a "dangerous precedent" in the logging portion of the legislation would have global ramifications. He insisted the bill would compromise the nation's leadership role in the international community, now negotiating to slow down deforestation worldwide.⁴ The bill passed 75-22.

In April 1992, Gore announced his sponsorship of Senate Resolution 280 which asks the Malaysian government to reduce by at least two-thirds the rate of timber cutting in Sarawak. It also calls for Japan to investigate the activities of certain Japanese companies in Sarawak, which he says promote the destruction of the rainforest there. "At risk are some of the oldest and richest forest ecosystems - being cut down so fast that if current rates are maintained, the entire region will be deforested within eight years."⁵ The resolution was referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on May 20, 1992.

After Bush promised an extra \$150 million to conserve the world's forests, Gore called the proposal "a smokescreen" to obscure Bush's retrograde environmental policies. "This is the same president who killed an international agreement on forests ... and ignored the Endangered Species Act" to allow clear-cutting on national forest lands.⁶

Gore also blamed not only Bush but former President Reagan for allowing clear-cutting of timber in the national forests. Gore said the American people "have figured out that, on the environment, George Bush is as phony as a three-dollar bill."⁷

In his book, *Earth in the Balance*, Gore speaks of deforestation: "The most dangerous form of deforestation is the destruction of the rain forests, especially the tropical rain forests clustered around the equator."⁸ Gore goes on to discuss the clear-cutting in the U.S: "In national forests throughout the country, logging roads are being built in order to facilitate the more rapid logging, even clear-cutting, of public lands under contracts that require the sale of the trees at rates far below market prices. This

enormous taxpayer subsidy for the deforestation of public land contributes to both the budget deficit and an ecological tragedy."⁹

In Gore's Global Marshall Plan for the environment, he proposes a national tree planting initiative. "Millions of trees must be planted, but new forestry techniques must also be developed to improve timber harvesting methods. Though clear-cutting -- the practice of cutting large tracts of forest to the ground -- is alleged to be the most cost-efficient for the companies doing the harvesting, it often badly degrades the land and so imposes devastating long-term costs. In contrast, selective tree harvesting techniques ... could improve harvesting practices in many areas of the world."¹⁰

In August 1992, Gore spoke on the loss of timber jobs in spotted owl territory: "There were tens of thousands of jobs lost in the logging industry in Oregon before the controversy even began because of log exports to the ravenous demand in Asia and because of mechanization in the logging industry. The choice is not between the spotted owl and jobs. It's a choice involving the techniques for managing the parks, cutting rates, protection of old growth forests and jobs now versus jobs later."¹¹

On August 6, 1992, Gore was not present when the Senate voted on amendments regarding the spotted owl and timber sales. All three amendments were tabled.¹²

¹Legislate, Senate Vote No. 2059, April 24, 1990

²Legislate, Senate Vote No. 2303, October 23, 1990

³Legislate, Senate Vote No. 2055, March 26, 1992

⁴*States News Service*, March 26, 1992

⁵*Inter Press Service*, April 2, 1992

⁶AP, June 1, 1992

⁷AP, July 14, 1992

⁸*Earth in the Balance*, Pg. 117

⁹*Earth in the Balance*, Pg. 121

¹⁰*Earth in the Balance*, Pg. 324

¹¹*Greenwire*, August 13, 1992

¹²Legislate, Senate Vote No. 2176, August 6, 1992

Gore on Clean Air

Gore sponsored S. 201, the World Environmental Policy Act of 1989. The bill called for the establishment of a Council on World Environmental Policy, statutory provision for the phasing out of CFCs, and emphasized the need to control methane emissions. The bill did not pass and was reintroduced in 1991.¹

The Clean Air Act of 1990 was passed in the Senate on April 3. The Act provided for attainment and maintenance of the national ambient air quality standards, the control of toxic air pollutants, the prevention of acid deposition, and other improvements in the quality of the nation's air. The Senate considered several amendments to the Act including:

- The Gore-Lautenberg amendment which prevents companies from buying property surrounding their plants to evade clean air standards. The amendment passed by voice vote.²
- Gore amendment No. 1334, which modifies federal procurement practices to ensure that chemicals known to harm human health or the environment are not used as substitutes for chemicals that destroy the ozone layer. The amendment passed 80-16.³
- Gore voted yes to table Symms Amendment No. 1327, which established restriction on the importation of products if the production, manufacture or transportation of such products resulted in emission of hazardous air pollutants. The amendment passed 81-16.⁴
- Gorton Amendment No. 1321 which called for the imposition of fees on imports manufactured from processes that do not meet pollution standards of the Act was rejected 52-47. Gore voted for the Amendment.⁵

Gore said of the legislation: "In most of its provisions, the legislation before us challenges this nation and all of us as policymakers to face our responsibilities to the citizens of this country, and to our children, to ensure that the air they breathe is safe and that the forests and streams will be protected from the destruction wreaked by acid rain and ground-level ozone The Clean Air Act is a vehicle for us to take essential steps forward."⁶ The bill was signed by the President on November 15, 1990.

Gore criticized the Bush administration for not acting quickly to speed the phase-out of chlorofluorocarbons and other ozone-depleting chemicals in November 1991. "While George Bush is celebrating the first anniversary of the 1990 Clean Air Act amendments, he is standing in violation of them." Gore criticized the Bush administration for making CFC phase-out its only response to global warming when

¹*Voting Green*, pg. 46

²*BNA*, April 2, 1990

³*Legislate*, Senate Vote No. 2033, March 8, 1990

⁴*Legislate*, Senate Vote No. 2032, March 8, 1990

⁵*Legislate*, Senate Vote No. 2040, March 22, 1990

⁶*Congressional Record*, March 7, 1990

most of the other countries are making commitments to stabilize carbon dioxide emission by 2000.⁷

In Gore's book, *Earth in the Balance*, he said of the Clean Air Act: "The president does deserve credit for helping Congress to enact a compromise version of the Clean Air Act to reduce air pollution And even in that bill, the president insisted that all mention of global warming be taken out. Moreover, the administration fought to the end against amendments I wanted to include -- provisions dealing with carbon dioxide and other global warming gases and provisions for eliminating more quickly the chemicals destroying the ozone layer."⁸ In his Global Marshall Plan Gore proposes an accelerated phase-out of all ozone-destroying chemicals.⁹

In February 1992, the Senate passed Gore's amendment to the energy bill that would speed up the phase-out and tighten controls over ozone-depleting chemicals, by a vote of 96-0. Gore said the amendment forces the Bush administration to follow language in the Clean Air Act: "Plain and simple, the Administration is violating the law We face a real and urgent threat and the Administration says 'We'll get around to it.' This amendment says they ought to get around to it now."¹⁰

In July 1992, Gore said that when the "ozone hole over Kennebunkport" got worse, his quest to sensitize the Bush administration to global environmental issues would get easier.¹¹

Although Gore places considerable emphasis on the ozone layer and global warming, it was noted in a *Washington Post* editorial: "Gore knows that his former mentor at Harvard, Roger Revelle, who died last year, concluded: 'The scientific base for greenhouse warming is too uncertain to justify drastic action at this time. There is little risk in delaying policy responses.'"¹²

In *Voting Green* by Jeremy Rifkin, Gore is listed as the Greenest member of the Senate with a score of 115 out of 115 possible points. Members were scored by how many Green-oriented bills they sponsored or co-sponsored.¹³

Gore sponsored the following bills regarding Clean Air in the 101st and 102nd Congress:

101st Congress

Sponsored:

- S. 201 World Environment Policy Act of 1989.
- S. 364 Employment Incentive Act of 1989.
- S. 870 Consumer Ozone Protection Act of 1989.
- S. 871 Ozone Layer Conservation Act of 1989.
- S. 872 Upper-Ozone Chemicals Act of 1989.
- S. 2666 Ozone Protection Funding Act of 1990.
- S. Res. 316 Resolution Concerning the Interparliamentary Conference on the Global Environment.
- S.J.R. 387 Resolution Calling on the Government of Malaysia to Preserve the Rainforests and Tribal Culture of Sarawak.

⁷BNA International Environment Daily, November 19, 1991

⁸Earth in the Balance, pg. 174

⁹Earth in the Balance, pg. 351

¹⁰Greenwire, February 7, 1992

¹¹Houston Chronicle, July 11, 1992

¹²Washington Post, September 3, 1992

¹³Voting Green, pg. 344

Co-Sponsored:

- S. 169 Global Change Research Act of 1990.
- S. 603 Global Warming Response Act of 1989.
- S. 1610 Global Climate Change Prevention Act of 1989.
- S. 1611 International Climate Change Prevention Act of 1989.
- S.J.R. 88 National Global Warming Policy Act.

102nd Congress:**Sponsored:**

- S. 201 World Environment Policy Act of 1991.
- S. 1159 Tropical Forest Consumer Information and Protection Act of 1991.
- S. 2668 Global Climate Protection Act.
- S. Res. 95 Resolution Concerning the Production of Ozone Destroying Substances.
- S. Res. 217 Resolution Concerning the Scheduled Phaseout of Ozone-Destroying Substances.
- S. Res. 237 Resolution Regarding Illegal Logging Practices in the Philippines.
- S. Res. 280 Resolution Concerning the Tropical Rain Forest of Malaysia.
- S.J.R. 101 Resolution Concerning the Findings of the Commission of Inquiry Into Aspects of the Forest Industry on Papua New Guinea.
- S.J.R. 181 Resolution Concerning International Negotiations Toward a World Forest Convention and a Framework Convention on Climate Change.

Co-Sponsored:

- S. 2921 Forest Service Decisionmaking and Appeals Reform Act.

Clinton
Clinton

3

Curncy N I

BBN 17:55 Clinton's Energy Policy Hinges on Natural Gas, Official Says

Washington, July 28 (Bloomberg) -- If Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton makes it to the White House, the cornerstone of his energy policy will be natural gas, said Gary Mauro, Clinton's Texas campaign chairman.

"The linchpin in Bill Clinton's national energy plan, the element that holds it all together, is increased use of natural gas," Mauro said today at the Natural Gas Roundtable.

Mauro also holds elected office as the Texas Land Commissioner. In that capacity, Mauro oversees the 18,000 oil and gas wells on public lands in Texas.

The revenues from the wells are devoted to public education. Texas is the nation's largest natural-gas producer, contributing about a quarter of U.S. output.

Mauro said the nation lacks a national energy policy. "Since I was elected in 1982, I've watched our domestic energy industry begin a decline toward extinction," Mauro said.

Mauro said Clinton's energy policy stresses conservation, maximum use of domestic natural gas, and development of renewable sources such as wind and solar energy.

Mauro said Clinton, a Democrat, chose natural gas as the focus

Bloomberg--all rights protected. London:71-256-9010 New York:212-318-2000 Princeton:609-497-3500 Singapore:226-3000
Sydney:2-241-1133 Tokyo:3-3578-1625 Washington DC:202-393-1024 M035-151-1-0 28-Jul-92 18:12:34

of his policy because of its versatility, clean-burning properties, and relatively low cost. On an energy-equivalent basis, natural gas costs about \$10 a barrel compared to more than \$22 a barrel for top-grade crude oils.

To promote demand, the governor will accelerate the certification of natural-gas pipelines, Mauro said. Clinton will also convert the federal vehicle fleet to natural gas and will encourage state and local governments to do the same.

"Natural-gas vehicles will become the leading edge of the new American transportation revolution," Mauro said. Gasoline burned by motorists accounts for 43% of the nation's daily oil fix of 16.6 million barrels a day, according to the U.S. Energy Department.

Clinton's policy will encourage new and existing utilities to burn natural gas to meet federal clean-air requirements. Owners of commercial and residential buildings will also be encouraged to convert heating and air-conditioning units to natural gas.

In the renewable fuels area, Clinton would set up a civilian research agency and convert some defense labs to renewable energy projects. Renewable fuels would also be given tax incentives.

(For more news on natural gas: NI GAS, NI LNG; on the environment: NI ENV; on the oil & energy industries: NI PET, NI OIL, BBN4; on Texas: Muni N TX.)

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY HEADQUARTERS
OFFICE OF SOLID WASTE & EMERGENCY RESPONSE
FAX # FTS-260-3527
COMMERCIAL FAX # 202-260-3527

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

*ENVIRONMENTAL
CLINTON/92*

Please Type or Print in Black Ink Only

TO: Jeff Holmstead

FAX Number: 456-7929

Phone Number: 456-2896

Region/Lab/Company:

FROM: Bowdy Train

Phone: 260-4610

DATE: 8-12-92 # of Pages (include cover sheet): 10

COMMENTS:



Environmental News

FOR RELEASE: WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

EPA FINALIZES STANDARDS TO ENCOURAGE USED OIL RECYCLING

Robin Woods 202-260-4377

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency today took steps to promote used oil recycling by setting the first comprehensive federal standards for safe handling of recycled used oil. These management standards, along with existing controls, make it unnecessary to regulate recycled used oil as a hazardous waste.

Today's action establishes management requirements for those who handle used oil, ensuring that the used oil is safely stored and transported to recyclers.

The new standards are expected to increase the number of used oil collection centers at service stations and other local businesses and communities for individuals who change their own automotive oil, while providing sound environmental protection.

In addition, the agency today banned road oiling for dust suppression, although states may petition the agency for exceptions.

Nearly 1.4 billion gallons of used oil are produced annually from all sources. Of this, 775 million gallons are collected by commercial recyclers for reprocessing into new oil or are burned for energy, and about 150 million gallons are recycled on site by generators.

EPA Administrator William K. Reilly said, "Today, only 10 percent of the 190 million gallons of used oil produced each year by individuals who change their own automotive oil is dropped off at collection centers for recycling. The rest, about 170 million gallons, is usually placed in municipal landfills, or dumped on land or into sewer systems. This amount is 16 times the Exxon Valdez spill.

"Today's standards," Reilly said, "are designed to encourage used oil recycling. They will make it easier to provide and maintain local collection centers while safeguarding human health and the environment."



Today's decision not to regulate recycled used oil as a hazardous waste will relieve local used oil collection centers, including service stations, from many of the regulatory, liability and financial burdens associated with hazardous waste controls. Fear of hazardous waste liability has kept many service stations from accepting used oil over the past few years.

The new management standards for recycled used oil will apply to an estimated 700,000 used oil generators and handlers nationwide, including service stations, other automotive facilities and local used oil collection centers. Generators have only three requirements: maintain the tanks and containers in good condition and label them "used oil;" clean up any spills or leaks from used oil; and allow only transporters with an EPA identification number to collect and ship used oil for recycling. When service stations comply with the management standards, they are not liable for cleanup costs or damages from subsequent off-site spills, provided they accept used oil from individuals who change their own automotive oil and they send the used oil to be recycled.

Used oil that is to be recycled by reprocessing into a new product does not have to be tested for hazardous contaminants. Used oil that is to be recycled by burning for energy recovery must be tested first for lead, chromium, cadmium, benzene and other constituents to determine that it does not exceed EPA's safety standards for these contaminants.

For regulatory purposes under the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, EPA distinguishes between used oil destined for recycling, subject to today's management standards, and used oil destined for disposal. Used oil destined for disposal, if contaminated, can trigger the full set of hazardous waste controls.

Under the new rules, nearly 400 affected used oil transporters and collectors must have an EPA ID number and follow certain maintenance, labeling and storage requirements, including limiting used oil storage to 35 days at transfer facilities.

Nearly 1000 facilities burning off-spec used oil for energy recovery, first regulated by EPA in 1985, now must comply with requirements similar to the transporter/collector storage requirements.

R-162

(more)

EPA's most stringent used oil management storage and closure requirements now apply to nearly 300 processors and re-refiners, who frequently handle large quantities of used oil. Environmental data suggest that damage from mismanagement of used oil has been found at some of these facilities. Processors and re-refiners must have an EPA ID number, provide secondary storage containment, analyze the oil, and track used oil and used oil products on and off the facilities.

EPA estimates that costs of complying with the new management standards at less than one cent per gallon of recycled used oil. Overall, the standards are expected to cost industry \$7.5 million a year.

Today's management standards are the culmination of a multi-year undertaking that included consideration of a number of different approaches and several lawsuits over the regulation of used oil. The current standards were proposed in September 1991 and are being finalized after almost a year of intensive work by EPA to craft standards that will encourage safe recycling.

In general, states have one to two years to fully adopt the standards although EPA expects most states to adopt them very quickly.

Over the next few months, EPA and its 10 regional offices will begin an education and training program to reach affected businesses.

For additional information, affected businesses can call EPA's Small Business Hotline at 800-368-5888, or 703-557-1938 in the Washington, D. C. area. The Small Business Hotline is open weekdays from 8:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., EDT. Or, they can call EPA's waste hotline at 800-424-9346, or 703-920-9810 in the Washington, D.C. area. The waste hotline is open weekdays from 8:30 a.m. to 7:30 p.m., EDT.

R-162

###



Environmental Fact Sheet

Management Standards Issued To Control Potential Risks from Recycled Used Oil—No Hazardous Waste Listing

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has issued management standards for recycled used oil that protect human health and the environment while promoting recovery of this valuable commodity. These management standards avoid unnecessary regulatory and financial burdens on the used oil recycling industry—particularly service station dealers.

Action

EPA has issued management standards for recycled used oil that provide strong safeguards against any potential types of mishandling that may occur. The management standards address potentially unsafe practices associated with improper storage of used oil, road oiling, and contamination of used oil from hazardous waste. By controlling these practices with management standards, listing recycled used oil as a hazardous waste is unnecessary.

The management standards cover all segments of the used oil recycling system, and are codified in a new Part 279 of Title 40 of the *Code of Federal Regulations* (CFR). While generators are the largest segment of this industry, the most stringent standards apply to used oil processors and re-refiners because they handle the largest quantities of used oil. The standards are not expected to cause major economic impacts, but are designed to correct and control certain practices. They prohibit storage in unlined surface impoundments and road oiling (except in states authorized to manage their own hazardous waste programs).

Requirements for Service Stations and Other Generators

A generator is any business which produces used oil through commercial or industrial operations, or that collects it from these operations or private households. Besides vehicle repair shops and service stations, some of the more common examples of used oil

generators are military motorpools; taxi, bus, and delivery companies; and shipyards. People who change their own oil (do-it-yourselfers) are not covered, nor are farmers who generate an average of 25 gallons or less of used oil per month in a calendar year. Approximately 700,000 facilities qualify as generators.

Generators simply must:

- Keep storage tanks and containers in good condition;
- Label storage tanks, "used oil";
- Clean up any used-oil spills or leaks to the environment; and
- Use a transporter with an EPA identification (ID) number when shipping used oil off-site.

Service station dealers that comply with these requirements, that send used oil for recycling, and that accept used oil from do-it-yourselfers are not liable for emergency response costs or damages resulting from threatened or actual releases of used oil from subsequent handling of the oil. EPA believes relief from this particular regulatory burden will encourage more service station dealers to collect used oil, thereby increasing used oil recycling by the consumer sector.

Requirements for Processors and Re-refiners

Used oil processors and re-refiners handle and store large quantities of used oil for a wide variety of purposes. Consequently, data suggest that damage from mismanagement of used oil at these facilities is not uncommon, and that stronger controls are necessary. Approximately 300 facilities must comply with these management standards.

Requirements for these facilities include:

- Obtaining an EPA ID number and notifying the Agency of any activities concerning used oil;
- Maintaining storage tanks and containers in good condition, and labeling them "used oil";
- Processing and storing used oil in areas with oil-impervious flooring and secondary containment structures (such as berms, ditches, or retaining walls);
- Clean up any used oil spills or leaks to the environment;
- Preparing a plan and a schedule for testing used oil for halogen content;
- Tracking incoming used oil and out-going recycled used oil products;
- Maintaining certain records and biennial reporting;
- Managing used oil processing and re-refining residues safely; and
- Ensuring that the facility is properly closed when recycling operations cease.

Requirements for Transporters, Collectors, and Burners of Off-Specification Used Oil

A used oil transporter or collector is any person who transports used oil to another site for recycling. Transfer facilities that are holding

areas, such as loading docks and parking and storage areas, must comply with the transporter requirements when used oil shipments are held for more than 24 hours in route to their final destination. Generators who transport less than 55 gallons of their own used oil are exempt from the transporter requirements.

Approximately 400 transporters and collectors also must obtain an EPA ID number and notify the Agency of any activities concerning used oil; maintain storage tanks and containers in good condition, and label them "used oil"; process and store used oil in areas with oil-impervious flooring and secondary containment structures (such as berms or ditches); clean up any used oil spills or leaks to the environment; and track incoming used oil and out-going used oil. In addition, transporters and collectors must:

- Limit storage at transfer facilities to 35 days and
- Test waste in storage tanks that are no longer in service for hazardous characteristics, and, if wastes are hazardous, close them according to existing hazardous waste management requirements.

Used oil burners must comply with the same storage requirements as transporters. Less than 1,000 facilities burn off-specification used oil. Standards for these burners are recodified from 40 CFR Part 266 to 40 CFR Part 279. The Agency plans additional study on used oil burned as fuel.

Requirements for Used Oil Marketers

Marketers of used oil were regulated in 1985. These standards are recodified from 40 CFR Part 266, Subpart E to 40 CFR Part 279. There are no major changes to existing requirements.

Conclusion

In May 1992, EPA determined that listing used oil destined for disposal as a hazardous waste was unnecessary. Combined with that rule, this action fulfills EPA's statutory mandate under the Used Oil Recycling Act of 1980. These management standards—working in tandem with existing laws and regulations—effectively control potential risks while promoting used oil recycling.

Contact

For additional information or to order a copy of the *Federal Register* notice, contact the RCRA Hotline, Monday-Friday, 8:30 a.m. to 7:30 p.m. EST. The national, toll-free number is (800) 424-9346; TDD (800) 553-7672 (hearing impaired); in Washington, D.C., the number is (703) 920-9810, TDD (703) 486-3323.

Copies of documents applicable to this rule may be obtained by writing: RCRA Information Center (RIC), U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Office of Solid Waste (OS-305), 401 M Street SW, Washington, D.C. 20460.

A4 TUESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1992

WASHINGTON EDITION / LOS ANGELES TIMES

Gore Challenges President's Claims of Fighting Pollution

■ **Environment:** Visiting California, the Democrat labels as 'hypocritical' Bush's efforts at crackdown on offenders.

By DAVE LESHER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

NEWARK, Calif.—Campaigning to be the environmental vice president, Al Gore used his visit to nature-conscious California Monday to launch a broadside at the White House for being hypocritical in claiming that it has cracked down on polluters.

The Democratic nominee for vice president traveled to an oil-recycling company in the Bay Area that President Bush praised in a visit in June for its environmentally sensitive work. But Gore said Evergreen Oil Co. is actually being put out of business by the Bush Administration's failure to encourage recycling of waste oil.

"I'd like to say to you, President Bush—with all due respect—you should have been embarrassed to come here," Gore said, sternly pointing his finger at a bank of national television cameras. "... George Bush and [Vice President] Dan Quayle

trying to use oil re-refining as a photo opportunity is like Bonnie and Clyde going back to the scene of the crime and asking for a free toaster."

Gore also responded to the President's recent efforts to portray himself as the only candidate who can be trusted to run the country.

"The American people trusted George Bush when he said he was the environmental President," Gore said. "When George Bush came to Evergreen, he was the hypocritical President."

Monday was the first time since he joined the Democratic ticket that Gore made a major issue out of White House performance on the environment. It is an issue at the core of Gore's political character; he is a Senate leader on the environment and the author of a book about global warming called "Earth in the Balance."

Gore said Bush and Quayle "are personally responsible" for the Administration's

failure to obey the 1980 Used Oil Recycling Act, which required the adoption of regulations to prohibit the unhealthy disposal of used oil.

Evergreen is part of a trade association of oil-recycling companies that has sued the federal government for not complying with the act.

Without the regulations, Gore said companies like Evergreen that recycle used oil into machinery lubricants are at a competitive disadvantage because their process is more costly than burning.

Evergreen is forced to recycle its oil because California is one of the nine states in the country that prohibits the burning of leaded fuels.

"They are struggling to survive and are surviving only because of the state regulation that he killed at the federal level," Gore said.

Gore said 63% of the nation's used oil is burned. Federal health officials say it is the single largest source of airborne lead pollution, which can cause cancer and interfere with child development and intelligence.

Gore said another 35% of the nation's used oil is dumped into landfills that have produced 63 toxic sites on the federal Superfund list with an estimated cleanup cost of more than \$2 billion.

"The recycling process is actually a cheaper, more efficient way to refine lubricating oil," Gore said. "But because the Bush-Quayle Administration promotes the burning of the used oil, they not only create the single worst source of lead pollution in the air, they also hurt the competitiveness of the oil industry."

The race for the White House has become increasingly negative since Bush warned Democrats on Friday: "Let's see if they can take it."

Gore has not missed an opportunity on his recent tours for some nasty jabs at the President.

When a reporter told him Sunday that Bush had criticized Bill Clinton's health care plan, the senator quipped: "Did he speak in complete sentences?" And Monday, as he held a bucket of used oil, Gore joked: "Now this is what I call a Bush/Quayle cocktail."

Earlier, in a visit to Irvine, the Tennessee senator tried to fuel the dump-Bush movement and to attract support in tradi-

tionally Republican Orange County. Four newspapers, including the Orange County Register, have called on Bush to pull out of the race.

"I wanted to come to Orange County because I've been hearing some revolutionary messages coming from some unlikely sources," Gore said at a morning stop at an Irvine manufacturer of hospital equipment. He assured Bush supporters and former Ross Perot backers that they are welcome in the Democratic camp.

Gore was joined at McGaw Inc. in Irvine by U.S. Senate candidate Barbara Boxer. The company makes recyclable intravenous bags that are environmentally safe for disposal. Company officials said standard intravenous bags release toxic gas if disposed of by burning.

The senator used the company to illustrate his point that people do not have to choose between jobs and a clean environment. "We have been hearing a false message from Bush and Quayle, that there has to be a choice between jobs and the environment," Gore said. "Bush and Quayle ought to listen because Americans are saying, 'We want America to be a leader in cleaning the environment.'"

*→ This is wrong.
Industrial processes,
Gasoline combustion engines,
and MSW incinerators
each emit 10x as much
lead as burning used oil.
Making used oil
hazardous waste would
actually inhibit recycling
by making it less likely
collectors would accept it.*

THE NEW YORK TIMES TUESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1992 A13

The Environmental Debate

Gore, on Ecology Issues,
Calls Bush Hypocritical

By STEVEN A. HOLMES

Special to The New York Times

NEWARK, Calif., Aug. 3 — Giving full voice to an issue that has been muted in the early stages of the Presidential campaign, Senator Al Gore today sharply criticized President Bush's environmental record, saying he had been hypocritical on those issues.

In stops at a factory in Irvine, Calif., that makes environmentally safe intravenous bags for hospitals and at a plant here that recycles used motor oil, Mr. Gore sought to highlight his own credentials as an environmentalist.

Mr. Gore, the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee, used an appearance at the Evergreen Oil plant to underscore contrasts with Mr. Bush, who visited the same plant in June just after the United Nations Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. The Tennessee Senator said the company was struggling to survive primarily because the Bush Administration had failed to promulgate regulations that would encourage the recycling of oil.

Indeed, Evergreen is a member of the Hazardous Waste Treatment Council, an industry group that is suing the Environmental Protection Agency for its failure to draft regulations that company officials say would lead to more oil recycling. Currently, 90 percent of used motor oil is either burned, releasing pollutants like lead and cadmium into the air, or dumped in landfills, where it sometimes contaminates underground water.

'The Hypocritical President'

"The American people trusted George Bush when he said he was going to be the environmental President," Mr. Gore told a crowd of employees and their families. "When George Bush came to Evergreen, he was the hypocritical President."

Noting that the event was being televised on C-Span and therefore Mr. Bush could be watching, Mr. Gore said: "I'd like to say to you, President Bush, with all due respect, you should have been embarrassed to come here. You should fire your advance people."

Today's comments mark the first time Mr. Gore has made detailed criticism of the Administration's environmental record. His nomination was cheered by many environmentalists, who believed it would mean that matters like air and water pollution and global warming would receive more attention in the campaign. But until

today, Mr. Gore had mainly articulated the broad outlines of the party's message and attacked the Administration's handling of the economy.

Mr. Gore's reluctance to speak on the environment is a marked contrast to criticism in his book, "Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit," of politicians — including himself — for not boldly addressing ecological issues.

Going Out on a Limb

In the book's introduction he wrote that he had "become very impatient with my own tendency to put a finger to the political winds" when it came to environmental issues. He added, "For me, the environmental crisis is the critical case in point: now, every time I pause to consider whether I have gone too far out on a limb, I look at the new facts that continue to pour in from around the world and conclude that I have not gone nearly far enough."

Yet, as Mr. Gore steps up his comments on the environment, the Republicans have already begun to hit back, at times using his own book to try to portray him as an environmental extremist who cares more about plants and animals than people.

Last week, after Mr. Gore spoke at a Washington clinic on women's health issues, Republican campaign workers circulated several pages from Mr. Gore's book that dealt with the harvesting of Pacific yew trees, a species whose bark yields the chemical taxol, which has shown promise as a treatment for ovarian, lung and breast cancers.

Mr. Gore took no position on whether the trees should be harvested, but the message the Republicans intended to convey was that he cares more about trees than cancer victims.

Democrats acknowledge that Mr. Gore must proceed carefully, in the face of Republican charges that their environmental proposals will cost jobs. The task for Democrats, these officials say, is to sell environmental protection as a job-creating program.

"We've got to do a clear job of saying that the choice George Bush lays out there of the environment or jobs is an absolutely false one," said Senator Tim Wirth, a Colorado Democrat who was appointed last week as a co-chairman of the Clinton-Gore campaign and has been assigned to coordinating the campaign's environmental policy.

Mr. Gore's visits to both Evergreen Oil and McGaw Inc., in Irvine were intended to highlight the Democrats' message of creating jobs while saving the environment. McGaw manufactures an intravenous bag for hospitals that contains no polyvinyl chlorides and therefore can be recycled.

Larry Watts, a company vice president, said that McGaw had revenues last year of about \$300 million and that \$200 million of that came from recyclable intravenous bags.

In his speech to the company's employees, Mr. Gore said: "This demand in the marketplace for new, more environmentally efficient products is a worldwide demand. And if we are going to enjoy the kind of economic advantage in the 90's and in the next century that we want for our kids, we really should be leading this environmental revolution in all industries, the way you're leading it in your industry."

A8 TUESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1992 THE WASHINGTON POST

Gore Faults President On Jobs, Environment

By Guy Gugliotta
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEWARK, Calif., Aug. 3—Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (D-Tenn.) today ridiculed President Bush's environmental record and condemned as a "false choice" the administration's contention that environmental safety means lost jobs.

The Democratic vice presidential nominee made his remarks at a plant owned by Evergreen Inc. that processes highly toxic used motor oil for reuse. Bush visited the plant on a campaign trip in June, despite the fact that Evergreen has sued the Environmental Protection Agency for dragging its feet in implementing legislation that would make the firm more competitive in national markets.

In a badgering, sarcastic tone, punctuated at times by his own chuckles and guffaws of laughter, Gore recalled the visit and said he hoped his remarks would be shown live in Washington so he could speak directly to the president.

"Mr. President ... you should have been embarrassed to come here," Gore said. "You ought to fire your advance people. If you have to come to someplace that's suing you, you ought to think about the advice the Orange County Register is giving you." In an editorial Sunday the conservative Register called on Bush to abandon his bid for a second term.

The plant where Gore spoke is one of two in the United States that re-refines used motor oil back to virgin standards. Evergreen's final product is used to make industrial lubricants, automobile transmission oil and hydraulic fluid for brakes and steering columns.

Evergreen is helped by California state laws requiring the treatment of used oil as hazardous waste. Federal requirements have lagged behind those regulations, according to environmental organizations, because the EPA has failed to comply with a settlement agreement regarding treatment of the oil as a toxic substance. As a result, Evergreen is at a competitive disadvantage with firms that do not reprocess the oil.

Burning used motor oil, Gore said, is the biggest source of lead poisoning in the air. He charged that "George Bush personally killed the ... requirement" that the oil be treated as hazardous waste when he chaired a deregulatory task force under President Ronald Reagan. The policy has continued with Vice President Quayle as chairman of a similar body called the Council on Competitiveness.

"People trusted George Bush when he said he was going to be the 'environmental president,'" Gore told the crowd. "When he came here, he was the hypocritical president, not the environmental president."

Gore, whose Senate record and best-selling book "Earth in the Balance" mark him as one of Congress's leading environmental advocates, toured the Evergreen plant after a visit earlier in the day to McGaw Inc., an Irvine, Calif., firm that makes disposable IV bags that can also be recycled.

As state-of-the-art facilities, McGaw and Evergreen embody a major theme of Gore's—that good environmental policy is not a drawback to economic growth but an opportunity for future profits through new technology. "The rea-



SEN. ALBERT GORE JR.
... president creates a "false choice"

son you are now leading the world is you paid attention to the growing demand of the environment in the marketplace," Gore said in Irvine.

Gore's staff said the visits represented a first, deliberate campaign confrontation with the administration over the environment, an issue they regard as their candidate's strongest suit.

At the same time, the visits also sought to counter early administration criticism that Gore was, in the words of White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater, "an environmental extremist." Gore has constantly stressed that the trade-off between growth and environmental safety is a "false choice," because sound environmental policy can be good for business—as in the McGaw and Evergreen plants.

"We have been hearing a false message from Bush and Quayle that there has to be a choice between jobs and the environment," he told the McGaw workers. Because of the company's efforts, he added, "your jobs are expanding here and your profits for your stockholders are expanding."

REBUTTAL TO SEN. GORE'S STATEMENT

*Environment
Clinton Gore*

Myth: The White House has established a special panel, the Council on Competitiveness, to give polluters backdoor access to review regulations protecting the environment before they are put into effect.

Fact: The Council on Competitiveness was established to ensure the costs and benefits of regulations are weighed so that statutory requirements are met without inflicting **unnecessary and costly burdens on our already over-burdened economy**. Consumers and taxpayers deserve regulations that accomplish the same task with less cost.

Myth: Allan Hubbard is an owner of a chemical company putting pollution into the atmosphere and he is affected by the regulations he is reviewing. ... Yet, he is in charge of the hot wiring. He is the one who decides whether to take an EPA regulation that EPA will not give in on and shuffle it over to this Council that is made up of the people in the administration most hostile to environmental protection.

Fact 1: The company in question, "Worldwide Chemicals," is a small car-care products company. It is too small to be considered a "major source" under the Clean Air Act Amendments. It is so small, in fact, that the establishment is even exempt from filing a federal permit application under the CAAA.

Fact 2: The Vice President, and only the Vice President, decides which issues go before the Council on Competitiveness. While Sen. Gore may not like the make-up of the Council, it is a Cabinet-level body within the Administration. The Vice President chairs the Council. Its permanent members are Cabinet Secretaries from the Dept. of Treasury and Dept. of Commerce, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, the Attorney General of the United States, and the Chief of Staff to the President. In addition, any other senior-level official (e.g., EPA Administrator Reilly, HUD Sec. Kemp, Interior Sec. Lujan) who have an interest in an issue before the Council are welcome to attend.

Myth: "One of the issues that has been referred to his Council -- and the way it gets referred to his Council is the polluters call up and say, 'Hey, look at this, -- one is a matter involving the regulation of small polluters, a category in which, World Wide, his company, falls, this regulation in question would give a blanket 5 year exemption from the permits for companies that emit small amounts of pollution, like Mr. Hubbard's company."

Fact 1: Absolutely the ONLY way in which a regulatory matter comes before the Council is if there is a serious disagreement between two or more Executive branch departments or agencies.

Fact 2: Under the statute, EPA has the discretion to exempt non-major sources from the requirements of the Act. EPA is exercising this authority in two ways: they are exempting outright two source categories, and they are allowing (as opposed to requiring) the states to defer coverage of the non-major sources for up to five years. Since this deferral is at the discretion of the states, there is no way of determining whether Mr. Hubbard's company will benefit from even this narrow interpretation of the authority given to EPA in the statute to totally exempt small sources from the requirements of the Act.

Myth: "That exemption was approved by EPA. I think it violates the authority granted to EPA by Congress. I think they went too far there. But EPA gagged on what Mr. Hubbard is trying to make them do because EPA said, 'We are going to give you this exemption for 5 years, but then you, the polluter, have the burden of proof to extend that exemption.' Mr. Hubbard says, 'No, no, no, no, we want to hotwire that provision; we want that to stay in effect and give the polluter an indefinite exemption unless EPA bears the burden of proof to come in and affirmatively change it.'"

Fact: In the first instance, it appears that Sen. Gore disagrees with EPA's interpretation of the discretion allowed them by statute. (He sounds as if he is simply smarting over battles he lost last year in the legislative arena). As to his second charge, neither Mr. Hubbard nor his staff have ever engaged in any discussion as to shifting any "burden of proof" (although that may be a good idea).

Myth: A polluter with more than \$1 million in a company that is polluting the environment is put in charge of the regulations governing the pollution, is acting behind closed doors, refusing to answer questions from Congress or anyone else, refusing to abide by the safeguards established in the laws which delegate authority to the EPA.

Fact 1: The sole individual in the United States government who is in charge of the regulations governing the environment is EPA Administrator William K. Reilly. Administrator Reilly has the final say on any regulation promulgated by EPA and, in fact, it is his signature at the bottom of each rule.

Fact 2: All decisions made by the Council are made public through fact sheets and news releases. The decisions ultimately made concerning regulations are made public and all regulations are subject to legal challenge in our Courts. Any changes to the regulation between proposal and final must be supported by the public record.

Fact 3: The Council has sent many detailed responses to questions raised in Congressional letters. Council staff, Executive Director Al Hubbard, and Vice President Dan Quayle have met with Congressional leaders to personally answer questions about the Council and the Council process. The Council has responded in minute detail to press inquiries on their activities.

NOTE: The meaning of Sen. Gore's charge about refusing to abide by "safeguards" is unclear. Both the Vice President and Al Hubbard have frequently emphasized that it is Administrator Reilly who makes the final call on EPA regulations. At the same time, the Council has been charged with ensuring that the Administration's regulatory review process be followed.

Myth: "... this executive branch officer (Allan Hubbard) is violating the safeguards that we established here in the Congress and the administration is saying, we do not care, we are going to give him an exemption."

Fact: The attack on Al Hubbard is nothing less than a Clarence Thomas-style witch hunt. Even the press article cited by Sen. Gore states,

In a memo last May to Quayle disclosing his business interests, Hubbard pledged to avoid 'even the appearance of a conflict,' saying he would rescue [sic] himself 'from any particular matter that specifically involves' his holdings. Specifically, he promised to abstain from matters involving auto appearance.

There is no evidence that Hubbard has departed from that pledge.

Mr. Hubbard has requested White House Counsel and the Office of Government Ethics review his actions. Both entities have concluded that Mr. Hubbard's actions do not constitute a conflict of interest and that he has abided by all requirements.