

The Washington Post

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September 10, 1999

Ms. Kiki Moore
Press Secretary
Gore 2000
PO Box 18237
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Ms. Moore:

In late October, The Washington Post will be publishing a special Issue Forum on the topic of global climate change, and we are inviting all of the major presidential candidates to submit a brief (100 words or less) statement on the issue.

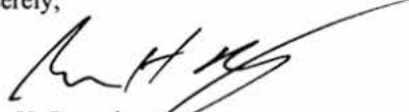
The 4-8 page Issue Forum will be produced by the Washington Post's Advertising Department and will include articles by public officials, researchers, business and environmental leaders, and others providing a variety of perspectives on the topic. Publication of the section will coincide with the Fifth Session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Climate Change Convention, to be held in Bonn from October 25th - November 5th.

Specifically, we are interested in your candidate's views on 1998's Kyoto Protocol committing the United States and other industrialized nations to binding targets for reducing greenhouse gas emissions. As you know, the Clinton Administration signed the treaty in November 1998, but still faces considerable opposition in the Senate.

Please send your candidate's statement to Bill Woodwell, the editor of the Issue Forum, by Friday, October 8th (see contact information below). Any statements over 100 words will be edited down. If you choose not to submit a statement, we will note in the Issue Forum that your candidate was contacted but declined to participate.

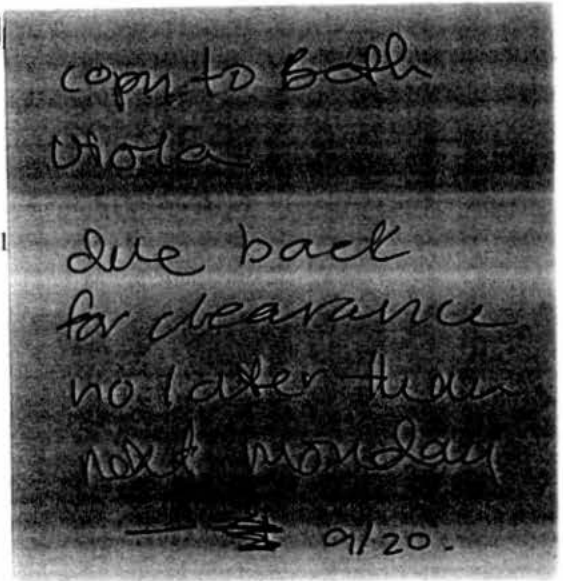
Thank you in advance for your cooperation. For your information, I am enclosing a copy of last year's Issue Forum on the same topic.

Sincerely,



Marc H. Rosenberg

Contact Information: Please send your statements to William H. Woodwell, Jr., by mail, fax or e-mail. Mailing address: 1292 Jadwyn Road., Maurertown, VA 22644. Fax: 540-459-5416. Email: woodwell@shentel.net. And please feel free to call him if you have any questions. He can be reached at 703-273-1099.



Global Climate Change

Debating The U.S. At

We Have Time to "Think Bigger"

By Robert N. Burt
 Chairman and CEO of FMC Corporation
 and Chairman of The Business
 Roundtable's Environment Task Force

A responsible business organization cannot and should not just say no to the potential of global climate change. At The Business Roundtable, we believe that sustained, long-term, global efforts may be appropriate to address the potential impacts of increases in greenhouse gases that may contribute to climate change. We have studied it, convened leading scientists to teach us what is and isn't known about it, and we are examining ways in which the private sector can respond to it as quickly and as economically as possible.

At a Business Roundtable conference just last month, an array of leading scientists said that greenhouse gases are accumulating in the atmosphere and that temperatures are rising. But they also said significant uncertainty remains about the magni-

tude of these changes and the impacts they will have in different regions of the world.

It is clear there will be considerable time before we understand whether the range of potential impacts will be severe or trivial. And while we agree with the Clinton administration that early action should be taken as an insurance policy, we feel strongly the Kyoto Protocol demands too high a premium for no environmental return.

The Kyoto Treaty: A "Gap Analysis"

To accept that action on global climate may be warranted is not reason enough to accept the Kyoto solution. We have examined the Kyoto Protocol, and, in a 44-page analysis entitled "The Kyoto Protocol: A Gap Analysis," we concluded that its call on developed nations to sharply curtail their carbon dioxide emissions is the wrong solution. We think we have a better approach. But first, our objections.

The Kyoto Protocol would require the United States to reduce its emissions of greenhouse gases to 7 percent below 1990 levels by 2008-2012 — an unprecedented 41-percent cut from projected levels of emissions. To place the magnitude of the U.S. commitment into perspective, it is the equivalent of

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U.S. Must

By Daniel A. Lashof
 Senior Scientist,
 Natural Resources Defense

We can no longer ignore the threat of global warming. At the historic conference in Kyoto, Japan, last December, the United States addressed the global problem has accumulated



"The Era of Business as Usual is Over"

By Michael Zammit Cutajar
 Executive Secretary of the U. N.
 Framework Convention on
 Climate Change

Thanks to nuclear energy

Climate Change

The Fourth Session of the
Conference of the Parties
U. N. Framework Convention on
Climate Change
Buenos Aires, Argentina
November 2 — 13, 1998

ing The U.S. Approach

U.S. Must Act Now to Reduce Emissions

By Daniel A. Lashof
Senior Scientist,
Natural Resources Defense Council

We can no longer ignore the threat of global warming. Since the historic conference in Kyoto, Japan, last December, new evidence reconfirming the urgency of addressing the global warming problem has accumulated. Record

global temperatures — combined with extreme weather indicative of trends forecast by climate scientists (such as the June wildfires in Florida and the July heat wave in Texas) — have made this seemingly remote issue an immediate concern for most Americans. Now it is time to translate political commitments into real action.

The threat of global warming can only be reduced through concrete measures to cut emissions of greenhouse gas pollution. The Kyoto Protocol provides an international context for action by setting emission targets for industrialized countries and a framework for international trading of emission allowances.

While negotiations over the detailed rules governing the mechanisms in the Protocol will continue for several years, the United States must take immediate steps to adopt more aggressive measures to cut emissions. Regardless of the final rules for implementing the Protocol, the true test of the treaty's success

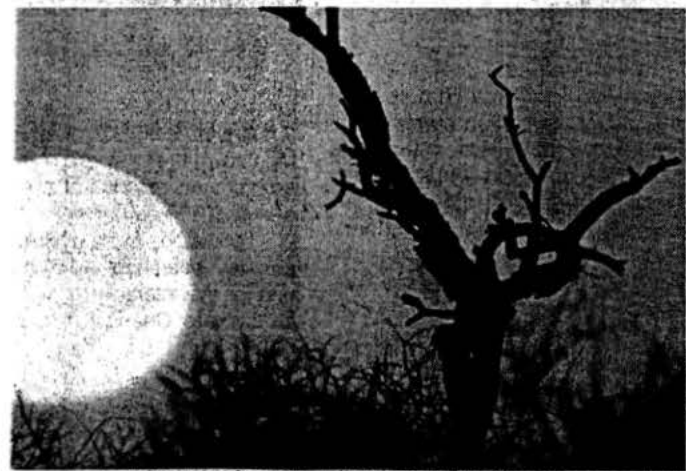
will be the extent to which changes in government policy and private investments reduce actual emissions of greenhouse pollution into the atmosphere.

A strong U.S. commitment to domestic action will accelerate progress in negotiating rules for emissions trading and the other "flexibility mechanisms" of the Protocol, as well as engaging developing countries in the effort. Concern that the United States is planning to rely on emissions trading as a substitute for significant domestic action has motivated calls for a ceiling on the use of the flexibility mechanisms. Furthermore, suspicion exists regarding the intent of U.S. demands for "meaningful" developing country participation. Under Secretary of State Stuart Eizenstat, who is heading the U.S. delegation to Buenos Aires, would do well to reassure other governments of our commitment by announcing new initiatives to reduce emissions at home.

Kyoto Protocol would require the United States to reduce its emissions of greenhouse gases to 7 percent below 1990 levels by 2008-2012 — an unprecedented 41-percent cut projected levels of emissions to place the magnitude of the commitment into perspective. It is the equivalent of

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ks to nuclear energy, the air is cleaner.

Thousands of government officials and other participants are assembling in Buenos Aires, Argentina, from November 2-13 to advance international efforts to limit emissions of carbon dioxide and other heat-trapping greenhouse gases that are causing global warming. Known formally as the fourth session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP4), this two-week meeting will start elaborating the mechanisms for meeting the emission-reduction targets agreed to in Kyoto, Japan, in December 1997. The conference also will explore practical steps for promoting the transfer of climate-friendly technologies to developing countries.

Last year's Kyoto Protocol is the most far-reaching agreement on environment and sustainable development ever adopted. By agreeing to legally binding targets for their greenhouse gas emissions, industrialized countries gave a signal that the era of business-as-usual is over. Under the Protocol, these countries are to reduce their collective emissions of six greenhouse gases by at least 5 percent by the period 2008-2012 (compared to 1990 levels) and demonstrate progress toward this goal by the year 2005. Compared to emission levels that would be expected by 2010 without the Protocol — that is, under a scenario with no climate change policies — the 5-percent target represents a 20-percent overall cut. Individual countries have accepted different shares of this cut.

Developing Country Involvement

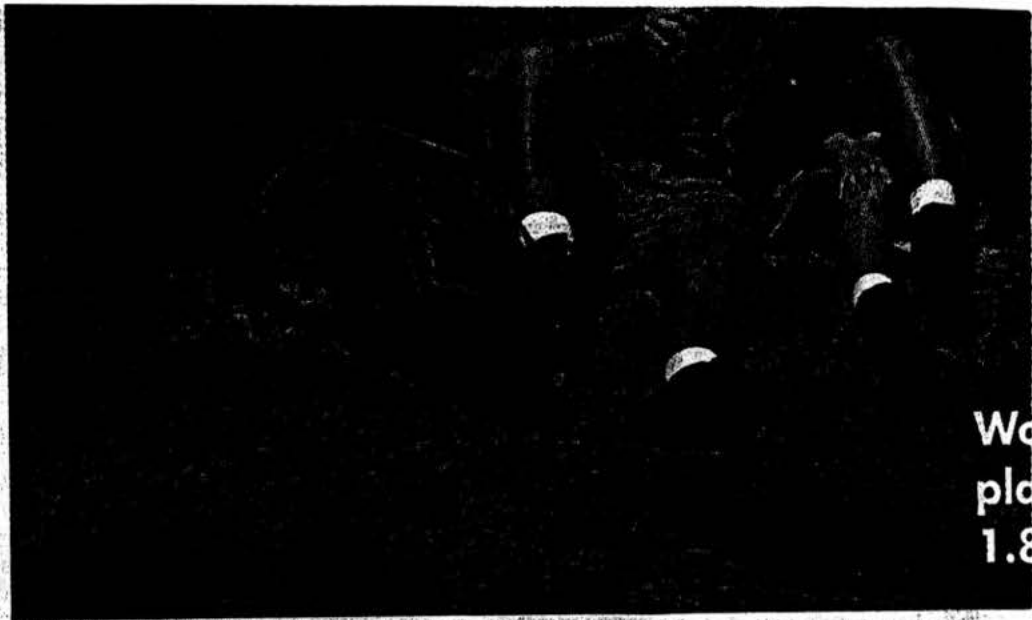
Although developing countries are not subject to emission limits under the Protocol, they are expected to take measures to limit the growth of their emissions. Many developing coun-

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ABOUT THIS SECTION

This issue forum was produced by the Advertising Department of The Washington Post and did not involve the News or Editorial Departments. The content was developed by freelance Washington-area writer and editorial consultant William H. Woodwell, Jr.

For more information about these sections, please contact Marc Rosenberg, manager of public policy advertising. The Washington Post 1150 15th Street NW, Washington, DC 20071 (202) 334-7634



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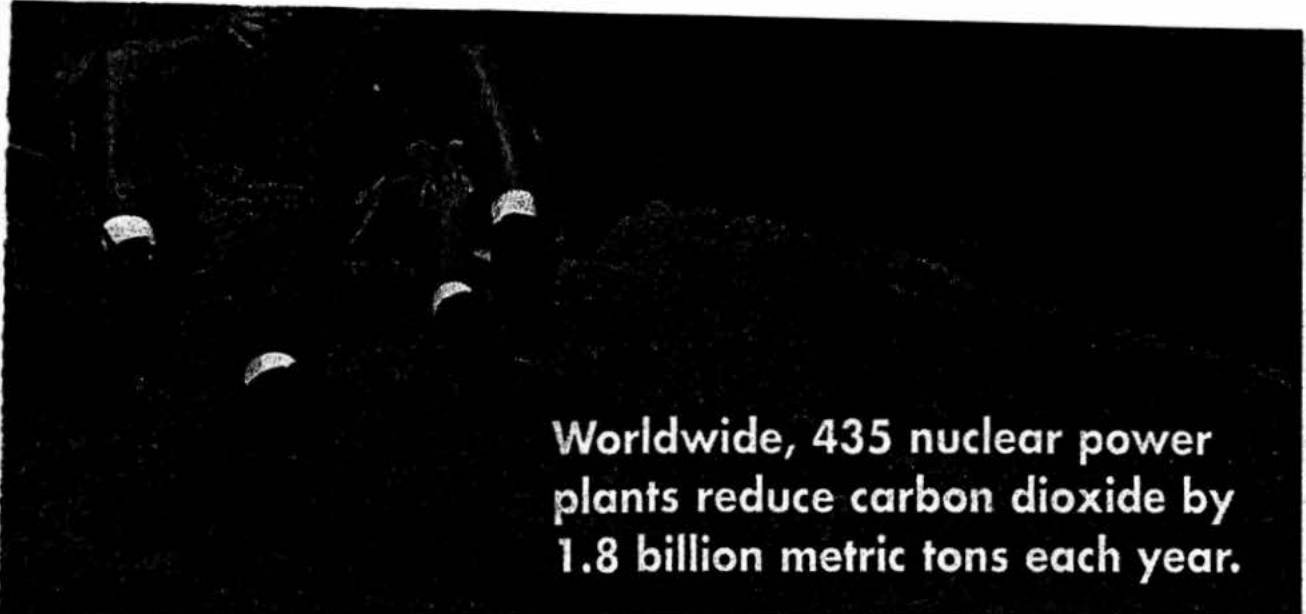
Nuclear
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NUCLEAR ENERGY INSTITUTE

1776 I Street, NW Suite 400 Washington, DC 20006-3708 202-7



Worldwide, 435 nuclear power plants reduce carbon dioxide by 1.8 billion metric tons each year.

As the world's attention turns to global climate change, it's comforting to realize that America already enjoys a zero-emission source of electricity: nuclear energy.

Today, 105 nuclear power plants provide electricity for 200 million Americans. These plants don't burn anything to generate electricity, so they don't pollute the air. In fact, nuclear power plants have accounted for 90 percent of U.S. electric utility greenhouse gas reductions since 1973.

Nuclear energy is a safe, proven technology that can help meet America's energy needs while improving our air quality.



**Thank
you.**

NUCLEAR. THE CLEAN AIR ENERGY.

Send - to
Laura Quinn
Keep Copy of letter
in Washington
Post File.
V.L.

STITUTE

ite 400 Washington, DC 20006-3708 202-739-8000 www.nei.org

The Science of Global Climate

The Risks of a Warmer World



By D. James Baker
Administrator, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration

Whether natural or human-induced, changes in the Earth's climate can affect temperature and precipitation patterns worldwide. Long-term climate change such as global greenhouse warming could have major impacts on human health, the environment, the economy and society. It could affect everything from energy use and transportation to water resource management and agriculture to international trade and development.

With the stakes so high, it is imperative that our decisions reflect the best available scientific information. The climate system is driven by the sun and includes the atmosphere, the oceans, the clouds, ice and other factors, all of which are extremely complex. It is the complexity of this system that makes it so difficult to forecast and, hence, makes any forecasts subject to controversy.

What is clear is that people and our global climate system are inherently tied. Human lifestyles can change the climate, and climate changes can impact human lifestyles. The Earth's atmosphere creates a natural greenhouse effect that keeps our world about 60° F warmer than it would otherwise be — and makes life as we know it possible. Our best scientific

evidence shows that as we continue to add carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases to the atmosphere, we will change the heat balance of the Earth and alter the Earth's climate.

What We Know

Over the past century, greenhouse gases from such human activities as the burning of oil, coal and natural gas have increased steadily; fossil fuel combustion now accounts for about 85 percent of U.S. greenhouse gas emissions. At the same time, agriculture, changing land-use patterns and deforestation are playing a significant role in altering the atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases. Since 1860, the atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide has increased by 30 percent. Overall emissions of greenhouse gases have been growing at about 1 percent each year.

Since greenhouse gases remain in the atmosphere for decades to centuries, today's emissions will affect the Earth's climate well into the next century. If the world continues with "business as usual" and the upward trend in greenhouse gas emissions is sustained, we are likely to see higher atmospheric carbon dioxide concentrations than have occurred in more than 50 million years. This buildup of carbon dioxide is likely to result in a faster rate of climate change than we have experienced in the past 10,000 years. And the faster the rate of climate change, the less time there is for our ecological and socioeconomic systems to adapt.

The best scientific assessment of climate change estimates that the globally averaged temperature will increase about 2° to 6° F by the year 2100. The related rise in sea level will be about 6 to 37 inches. Last month, NOAA reported that August 1998 continued an unprecedented string of record-breaking temperatures. It was the eighth month in a row to set a new average high temperature worldwide.

Potentially Devastating Effects

Why should just a few degrees of warming be cause for concern? The answer is that a relatively small change in mean global temperature can lead to a large change in extreme events. This year's El Niño has given us a window on the kind of world we might see as climate changes — increased rainfall, flooding and droughts. Much of the United States and other mid- to high-latitude regions could be faced with more frequent occurrences of these events. Increased duration and frequency of heat waves would heighten mortality rates, and the potential for transmitting serious infectious diseases would be increased.

With 50 percent of the U.S. population and 50 to 70 percent of the global population currently living in coastal areas, future sea level rises, alterations in storm patterns and higher storm surges could have devastating effects. Even with current global populations, a 20-inch rise in the sea level without adaptive measures would

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Early Warning Signs Abound

By Adam Markham

Director of the World Wildlife Fund's
Climate Change Campaign

Ask anyone who lives in Texas or the southeastern states and they'll tell you it has been a long, hot summer — the hottest, in fact, since records have been kept. While the weather extremes associated with El Niño had much to do with this, scientists agree that global warming greatly magnified the effects.

The early warning signs of what, if left untreated, is a progressive and potentially life-threatening ailment are everywhere in the natural world.

Well-documented fact that the world's glaciers are melting. This is not the

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Global Climate Change

Our World

Potentially Devastating Effects

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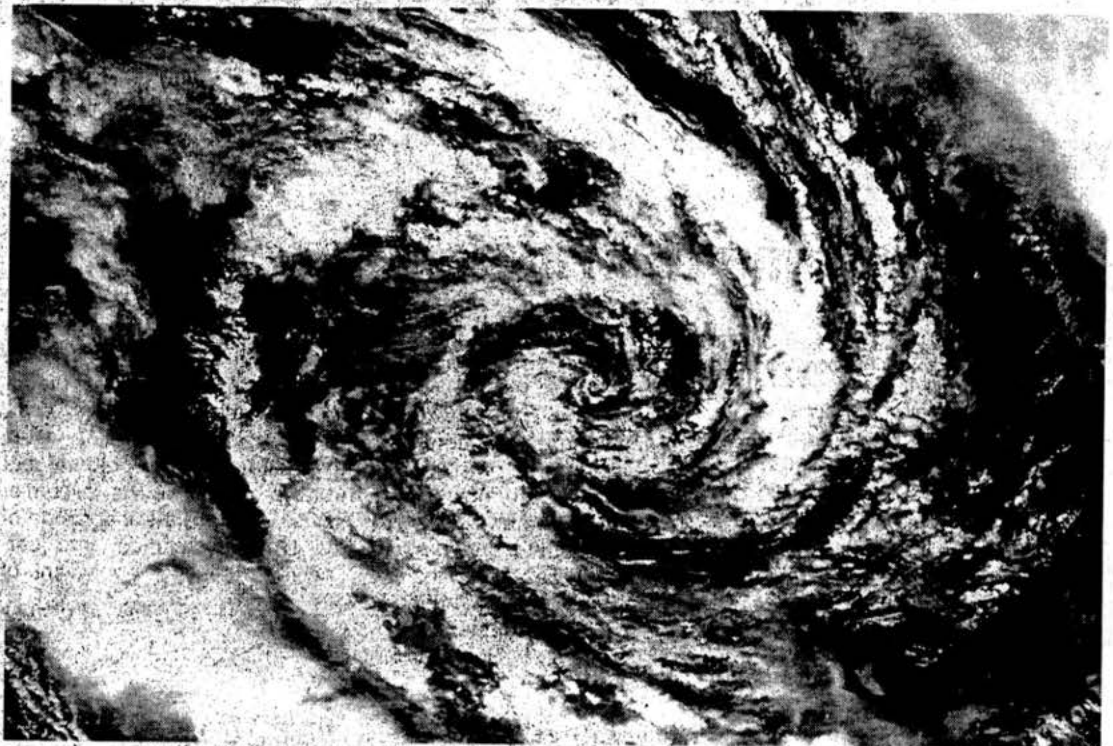
With 50 percent of the U.S. population and 50 to 70 percent of the global population currently living in coastal areas, future sea level rises, alterations in storm patterns and higher storm surges could have devastating effects. Even with current global populations, a 20-inch rise in the sea level without adaptive measures would

directly threaten 92 million people. Making matters worse, Americans are moving to coastal areas at a rate of 3,600 each day.

Thousands of the world's leading climate researchers in 150 countries, through the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), have

concluded that climate change is real and that we are seeing a discernible human influence. If we are to reduce the impact on future generations, perhaps even on our own, we cannot continue with business as usual. We must heed the science, continue to build and fine-

tune our knowledge, and gain meaningful participation in the Kyoto Protocol. Most importantly, we must realize that when it comes to the environment, everyone is a stakeholder. It is a challenge we cannot afford to ignore. ■



Early Warning Signs Abound

By Adam Markham

Director of the World Wildlife Fund's Climate Change Campaign

Ask anyone who lives in Texas or the southeastern states and they'll tell you it has been a long, hot summer — the hottest, in fact, since records have been kept. While the weather extremes associated with El Niño had much to do with this, scientists agree that global warming greatly magnified the effects.

The early warning signs of what, if left untreated, is a progressive and potentially life-threatening ailment are everywhere in the natural world.

It's a well-documented fact that the world's glaciers are melting. This is not the

slow, inch-by-inch creeping backwards that has been occurring since the end of the last Ice Age, but a rapid retreat that is accelerating as global temperatures warm.

The European Alps have lost half their ice mass since 1850 and scientists predict that, in another 30 years, the glaciers in Montana's Glacier National Park will have all but disappeared.

Around the world, global warming is forcing shifts in the distribution of plant and animal species and is inducing profound changes in the behavior patterns of wildlife. Evidence is mounting, for example, that spring in the Northern Hemisphere is arriving a week or more earlier than it used to; birds are migrating sooner and trees are breaking into leaf ahead of schedule.

Seabirds such as Adelle penguins in Antarctica and black gullems in Alaska are declining because of sea ice melting near both poles.

Coral reefs, the incubators of marine life, are being destroyed by the heating

caused by warming waters. Serious damage has already been documented to reefs in the Florida Keys, the Galapagos Islands and Australia's Great Barrier Reef.

In Washington state, the alpine flower meadows that attract many visitors every year to Olympic and Mount Rainier national parks face a new invasion: tree seedlings spread by warming weather.

Further north, in Alaska, the recent warming is being blamed for an unprecedented outbreak of the pest insect, spruce budworm, across some 50 million acres of forests.

All creatures great and small, from butterflies to Beluga whales, are being impacted by global warming. Of course, some humans may shrug and see no connection their well being and the fate of butterflies. But they are the canary in the coal mine and the shifts in migratory patterns of birds and insects are a warning that we are testing the limits of nature's ability to endure our actions.

Debating The U.S. Approach

- We Have Time to "Think Bigger"

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having to eliminate all current emissions of greenhouse gases from either the U.S. transportation sector, the utilities sector or the industrial sector.

Meeting such an extraordinary reduction target would require painful choices. The Energy Information Administration recently reported that compliance with the Kyoto agreement will cause sharp increases in domestic energy prices, including up to a 53-percent jump in costs at the gasoline pump.

Our in-depth analysis of the Kyoto Protocol, completed earlier this year, found the agreement incomplete from an economic and an environmental standpoint. Its vague emissions trading scheme must be defined, and compliance and enforcement measures spelled out. But its primary flaw is the lack of participation from developing countries, a highly contentious issue that remains outstanding as parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change meet for high-level talks in Buenos Aires.

Developing Country Commitments Needed

Developing countries are rapidly becoming the world's leading emitters of greenhouse gases. Combined, they are projected to account for more than 50 percent of global emissions by 2015. China's emissions alone are scheduled to triple by that year, pushing that country ahead of the United States as the world's leading emitter. Moreover, continued growth in energy demand from developing countries will more than offset the emission reductions made by industrialized nations. In fact, even if all developed countries were able to honor their emission-reduction commitments, the level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere in 2010 is pro-

jected to be 8 percent higher than the 1990 baseline levels.

The United States should not be expected to shoulder the burden of reducing greenhouse gases without the participation of developing nations. Absent global emission limits, emitters in developed nations may not reduce their output of greenhouse gases. Instead, they may just move them. We could see a massive migration of energy-intensive production — including the chemicals, steel, petroleum refining, aluminum and mining industries — to developing countries.

An Alternative Course

Science tells us there is a long horizon to address the potential threat of climate change. We have time to think big — bigger than the arbitrary goals and timing of the Protocol — and to look for creative solutions that will strengthen rather than weaken the global economy.

The Business Roundtable is now examining the current status and future promise of technology across the transportation, utility and commercial sectors, and the timeframe needed to achieve significant reductions in greenhouse gases. This information, which we plan to make available next year, must be integrated into policy proposals now under consideration to reduce emissions.

While The Business Roundtable must oppose the Kyoto Protocol in its current form, we are committed to remaining an active participant in this critical debate, and to preserving and protecting the environment. We believe that economic prosperity is a prerequisite for environmental protection, and we pledge to continue working with the U.S. government and other parties to insure that future generations will enjoy a healthy environment and an ever-increasing standard of living. ■

U.S. Must Act No

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U.S. Commitment Lacking

Mr. Eizenstat will have to overcome the deep-founded skepticism based on the Administration's performance to date. Our greenhouse gas emissions have increased with no discernible limit. The Administration has failed to address major sectors contributing most to global warming: power plants and automobiles.

Currently, electric power plants produce 30 percent of U.S. greenhouse gas emissions as a substantial share of the pollutants that cause dangerous levels of smog and soot, and mercury in our lakes and estuaries. Much of the mercury comes from older, coal-fired plants. Many pollution-control requirements have been introduced into the electricity-generating plants to level the playing field for new plants to adequate and equivalent standards.

The Administration needs to take action for restructuring the electricity in-

"The Era of Business as Usual is Over"

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tries already have achieved significant reductions in emission growth in pursuit of national development objectives such as energy efficiency.

Aggregate emissions from developing countries will surpass those from developed countries in a few decades, although it will be a century or so until the accumulated warming effect due to these two sources of emissions are balanced. Moreover, differences in emissions per head between the two groups of countries are vast. Nevertheless, the hosting of the current conference by a developing coun-

try symbolizes the fact that climate change is indeed a global issue requiring an equitable global solution. A question that will be debated around COP4 is whether developing countries with significant emissions should now start to negotiate limitation commitments or whether this should be addressed later, after the developed countries have demonstrated progress towards their Kyoto targets.

Pressing Issues

But the most pressing issues on the Buenos Aires agenda involve the need to flesh out the Protocol's three "mechanisms" that are intended to help developed countries reduce the costs of reaching their emission targets by achieving some of these reductions in other nations. The three mechanisms are:

- "Emissions trading" that will permit developed countries that hold emissions

below their agreed target to sell their unused emissions allowance to others.

- A "Clean Development Mechanism" (CDM) that will provide incentives for investment in projects that promote "clean" technology transfer and sustainable development in developing countries.

- A "Joint Implementation" program that will encourage investments in clean development projects in Eastern and Central Europe.

The operational details of these schemes must still be worked out. In Buenos Aires, governments will be striving to make as much progress as possible on these details. A key outcome of the meeting must be agreement on politically firm deadlines for completing work on the fine print of the Kyoto Protocol over the next few years.

The intense interest in these offshore mechanisms is due largely to concerns in

industries and nations that are concerned about the impact of climate change on their economies and the environment.

Making it quick and easy to sign other parties

U.S. Must Act Now to Reduce Emissions

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Congress to enact legislation that delivers on the President's commitment to use this opportunity to make a "significant down payment" on needed greenhouse gas reductions. Consumers can help by purchasing energy-efficient products and "green power" alternatives as they become available.

Automobiles, for their part, are the second most important source of U.S. greenhouse gas emissions and the largest contributor to smog. But U.S. fuel efficiency standards haven't been updated since 1985. As a result, it appears that new vehicles introduced by automobile manufacturers — the flood of weakly regulated sport utility vehicles in particular — are less efficient than the vehicles they are replacing.

Getting the automobile industry to agree to stronger efficiency standards is not an impossible task. The European Union recently negotiated an agreement with European auto makers to achieve a 25-percent reduction in greenhouse gas emissions per mile for new passenger vehicles by 2008. This would bring the fuel economy level for the EU countries up to about 40 miles per gallon. If these standards can be reached in Europe, then we can reach them here. And consumers can play an important part by purchasing cleaner and more fuel-efficient vehicles.

The sooner we begin to address the Kyoto challenge, the easier it will be. Instead of addressing these issues head on, however, Congress continues to follow the lead of Exxon and the coal industry in denying the reality of the problem and, in some cases, in obstructing even the most modest initiatives proposed by the Clinton administration.

Fortunately, during the recent budget debate Congress was forced to modify the most egregious attempts to chill positive action by the Administration, even agreeing to substantial increases in funding for its Climate Technology Initiative and the Global Environment Facility's efforts to promote environmental projects in developing countries. Perhaps this is the first sign that our political leaders are getting the message that the public overwhelmingly supports U.S. action to reduce greenhouse gas pollution. ■

U.S. Commitment Lacking

Mr. Eizenstat will have to overcome some well founded skepticism based on the United States' performance to date. Our greenhouse gas emissions continue to increase with no discernible change in trend. The Administration has failed to address adequately the two major sectors contributing most to this growth: power plants and automobiles.

Currently, electric power plants are responsible for 30 percent of U.S. greenhouse gas emissions, as well as a substantial share of the pollutants that cause dangerous levels of smog and soot in our air and acidity and mercury in our lakes and estuaries. Most of this pollution comes from older, coal-fired plants that are exempt from many pollution-control requirements. As competition is being introduced into the electricity industry, it is essential to level the playing field by subjecting all power plants to adequate and equivalent environmental standards.

The Administration needs to strengthen its proposal for restructuring the electricity industry while challenging

below their agreed target to sell their unused emissions allowance to others.

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The intense interest in these offshore mechanisms is due largely to concerns in

industrialized countries about the economic and political costs of domestic action to reduce emissions. Such fears should not be exaggerated. Policymakers will have to do their research as they confront the conflict between the short-term, defensive concerns of certain economic sectors and the broader economic and environmental interests of society at large. While there will be winners and losers in the marketplace, significant economic, technological and social benefits can be achieved by reducing emissions.

Making Kyoto Work

It is up to governments to follow up quickly on the Kyoto agreement by adopting national fiscal and policy frameworks that discourage emissions through price signals, energy-efficiency standards and other measures. The constructive participation of business in this effort is vital.

Some of the first firms to respond positively to the climate change challenge have been insurers, an industry that is clearly vulnerable to climate change impacts. Also responding favorably have been clean energy producers, a group that sees clear market opportunities in the future.

But many other business sectors have a stake in becoming actively engaged. Forward-looking corporations should respond quickly to the new incentives by investing in climate-friendly products and services. This is particularly true for firms active in motor vehicle transport and energy services. Indeed, since the meeting in Kyoto, a number of major multinationals from these and other sectors have started to announce their own corporate emission-reduction targets. These are encouraging signs as we set out to keep climate change within safe limits. ■

Al Gore Global War



Big Talk.

Li

Gore on Global Warming



Little Action.

Al Gore the environmentalist says all the right things.

But Al Gore the politician doesn't seem to be listening.

Mr. Vice President, you once wrote a landmark book on the environment called *Earth in the Balance*.

You said: "I have become very impatient with my own tendency to put a finger to the political winds and proceed cautiously."

We are impatient, too.

When George Bush attended the Earth Summit in 1992, you harshly criticized his failure to tackle global warming.

You said: "This is not about a photo opportunity. It is about leadership, it is about courage, and the President is exhibiting neither."

Now we're reading *your* lips.

After six years in office—and on the eve of another international meeting on global warming—you and President Clinton have promised a great deal, but delivered very little.

In fact, U.S. global warming pollution has grown five times faster during your Administration than it did under Presidents Reagan and Bush. The five hottest years since the Middle Ages have all occurred in the 1990s, and this September was the hottest September since modern record-keeping began.

Start Cutting America's Air Po

ALABAMA

Alabama Environmental Council

ARIZONA

Southwest Center for Biological Diversity

CALIFORNIA

California League of Conservation Voters

Endangered Habitats League

International Society for the Preservation of the Tropical Rainforest

Pacific Coast Federation of Fisherman's Association, Inc.

Pacific Technology Associates

River Travel Center

Youth for Environmental Sanity

COLORADO

Coloradans for Clean Air

CONNECTICUT

CONNIRG

DELAWARE

Save Wetlands and Bays

FLORIDA

Florida Consumer Action Network

Florida Defenders of the Environment

Florida League of Conservation Voters

Florida PIRG

Legal Environmental Assistance Foundation

The Environmental Coalition

Volusia-Flagler Environmental

Action Committee, Inc.

GEORGIA

Campaign for a Prosperous Georgia

Interfaith Council for the Protection of Animals and Nature

IDAHO

Idaho Conservation League

ILLINOIS

Citizen Action Illinois

Illinois PIRG

Metro Seniors In Action

Nuclear Energy Information Service

Mississippi Alliance for the Environment

South Suburban Citizens Opposed to Polluting the Environment

INDIANA

Citizens Action Coalition of Indiana

Hoosier Environmental Council

IOWA

Board of Church and Society, Iowa Annual

Conference of The United Methodist Church

Iowa Renewable Energy Association

KANSAS

Kansas Natural Resources Council

LOUISIANA

Alliance Against Waste & Action to

Restore the Environment

Alliance for Affordable Energy

Baton Rouge Catholic Worker

Baton Rouge Community Breakfast Organization

Bienville House Center for Peace and Justice

Calcasieu League for Environmental Action Now

Citizens United for Responsible Business

Coalition to Improve Transportation

Concerned Citizens for Iberville Parish

Concerned Citizens of Norco

Informed Choices

Louisiana Communities United

Louisiana Democracy Project, Inc.

Louisiana Environmental Action Network

Mossville Environmental Action Now

Mothers of Mossville

Poor People for Fair & Equal Access to Justice

Slidell Working Against Major Pollution

St. Joseph the Worker Cooperative

Student Environmental Action Coalition

MAINE

Maine Public Health Association

MARYLAND

SUN DAY Campaign

MASSACHUSETTS

EarthAction

Energy Federation Incorporated

Environmental League of Massachusetts

MICHIGAN

American Lung Association of Michigan

Citizens for Alternatives to Chemical

Contamination

East Michigan Environmental Action Council

Ecology Center of Ann Arbor

Kalamazoo Environmental Council

Michigan Clean Water Action

Michigan Ecumenical Consultation on

Christianity and Ecology

Michigan Environmental Council

PIRGIM

West Michigan Environmental Action Council

National Environmental Trust

1200 18th Street NW, Suite 500, Washington, DC 20036, www.envirotrust.com

20/20 Vision • American Oceans Campaign
Clean Water Action • Free the Planet
Friends of the Earth • Greenpeace
Ozone Action • Rainforest Action Network
U.S. Public Interest Research Group

MINNESOTA

Minnesota Center for Environmental Advocacy

Minnesotans for an Energy Efficient Economy

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Jesus People Against Pollution

MISSOURI

Missouri Coalition for the Environment

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American Lung Association of the Northern

Rockies

MontPIRG

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Citizen Alert

Nevadans for Sensible Safeguards

Progressive Leadership Alliance of Nevada

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Southern Nevada National Organization

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Washoe County Climate Change Coalition

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New Hampshire Citizen's Alliance

NEW JERSEY

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New Jersey Conservation Fund

NEW MEXICO

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New Mexico Environmental Law Center

New World Energy Systems

NEW YORK

Association for Energy Affordability

Environmental Advocates

Environmental Justice Alliance

Great Lakes United

Hudson Communities Coalition

Hudson River Sloop Clearwater

**Call the White House using the
Global Warming Hotline toll-free and
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1-888-38-STAND-UP

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The Global Warming Hotline will remain active from 10/29/98 to 11/6/98

 **WORKING ASSETS**

said: "This is not about a photo
unity. It is about leadership, it is about
3, and the President is exhibiting neither."
/ we're reading *your* lips.

r six years in office—and on the eye
her international meeting on global
ig—you and President Clinton have
ed a great deal, but delivered very little.
ict, U.S. global warming pollution has
ive times faster during your
stration than it did under Presidents
and Bush. The five hottest years since
ldle Ages have all occurred in the 1990s,
s September was the hottest September
odern record-keeping began.

We urge you to change course now to fulfill
the original promise of this Administration.

Push for an end to \$10 billion a year in
subsidies to big oil companies. Fight to plug
loopholes that exempt the dirtiest power plants
from the Clean Air Act. Strengthen efficiency
standards for automobiles and appliances.
Refuse to accept anti-environmental riders
from Congress.

Signing the global warming treaty, as your
Administration has promised, is only a start.

The time has come to say, as you yourself
once said: "We must take bold and unequivocal
action."

If not you, then who?

America's Air Pollution Now.

National Environmental Trust

1100 17th Street NW, Suite 500, Washington, DC 20036, www.envirotrust.com

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Center for Environmental Advocacy
and Energy Efficient Economy

Against Pollution

Center for the Environment

Association of the Northern

Visible Safeguards
Partnership Alliance of Nevada
Global Warming Coalition
National Organization

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Long Island Alliance for Peaceful Alternatives
Mothers and Others
NYPIRG
Riverkeeper, Inc.
Sovereign Dineh Nation
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Westchester People's Action Coalition
Yonkers Environmental Coalition

NORTH CAROLINA
Conservation Council of North Carolina

NORTH DAKOTA
Dakota Resource Council
North Dakota Clean Water Action

OHIO
ECO: Environmental Community Organization
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Ohio Citizen Action
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OREGON
Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon's Interfaith
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Pennsylvania Council of Churches
PennPIRG
Public Interest Law Center of Philadelphia
Sustainable Society Action Project, Inc.

RHODE ISLAND
Environmental Council of Rhode Island

SOUTH CAROLINA
Catawba Riverkeeper
Charleston Natural History Society
East Cooper Clean Water-Council
South Carolina Coastal Conservation League

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Cumberland Counties for Peace & Justice
Foundation for Global Sustainability
Tennessee Solar Energy Association
Tennessee Valley Energy Reform Coalition
United Church of Christ—Network for
Environmental & Economic Responsibility

TEXAS
Houston Area Bicyclist Alliance
Texas Fund for Energy and
Environmental Education

UTAH
United Church of Christ Wellness, Health,
and Lifestyle Education Center

VERMONT
Washington Electric Cooperative, Inc.

VIRGINIA
Campaign Virginia
Chesapeake Valley Concerned Citizens
Concerned Citizens of Amelia Co.
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WASHINGTON
Abundant Life Seed Foundation
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Energy Outreach Center
Kettle Range Conservation Group
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WEST VIRGINIA
West Virginia Environmental Council

WISCONSIN
Citizens for a Better Environment
Midwest Renewable Energy Association
Northern Thunder
Wisconsin Wetlands Association
Wisconsin's Environmental Decade

WYOMING
Biodiversity Associates
Wyoming Outdoor Council

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 WORKING ASSETS

Looking Ahead: Our Energy F

Kyoto Emissions Goal Requires Contribution From All Technologies

By David W. South

Vice President, Technology and Markets Group
Energy Resources International, Inc.

In December 1997, the United States signed a nonbinding agreement to reduce greenhouse gas emissions — primarily carbon dioxide — 7 percent below 1990 levels by the year 2012. The target agreed to in the Kyoto Protocol will be difficult to reach because there is no "silver bullet" that can transform the carbon-intensive U.S. economy within the next decade. It will take a portfolio of technologies, together with the "flexible mechanisms" included in the Kyoto Protocol, to help get us there.

Currently, carbon emissions in the United States exceed the Kyoto target by 18 percent, or 220 million metric tons per year. If current trends continue, the U.S. Department of Energy estimates that carbon emissions in 2012 will be 44 percent above the target level.

Where do these emissions come from? The electric power industry is responsible for approximately one-third of man-made carbon emissions emitted annually in the United States. These emissions are produced when fossil fuels — coal, oil and natural gas — are converted to electricity. Approximately two-thirds (67 percent) of U.S. electricity currently is generated by fossil fuels — predominantly coal. The remaining one-third is provided by non-carbon-emitting sources — nuclear power, hydroelectric and other renewable energy technologies. Nuclear and hydropower generate almost all of this carbon-free electricity.

Improving Coal Efficiency

Given the large share of U.S. electricity generation that is coal-based, achieving the emission reductions required under the Kyoto Protocol will be an enormous challenge. Since carbon is the fundamental energy element in fossil fuels, it cannot be removed like other pollutants such as sulfur or nitrogen.

However, we can improve the efficiency by which the carbon in fossil fuels is converted to electricity. And, each increase in efficiency results in a corresponding reduction in carbon emissions, since more electricity is generated for each unit of carbon released. If all coal-fired power plants in the United States were converted to the most efficient coal-based technology currently available, future carbon emissions would be reduced by 30 percent.

Converting coal-fired power plants to natural gas, which has a lower carbon content, is another

option. However, in order to meet electric demand and comply with the 2012 carbon emissions target, we would need to increase the natural gas share of U.S. generation from 9 percent at present to over 50 percent in the near term and over 90 percent beyond 2012. Such an increased level of natural gas consumption is not likely to occur because other, more cost-effective alternatives would emerge.

The Role of Non-Carbon Technologies

If achieving the needed reductions in carbon emissions is not challenging enough, achieving them within the timeframe spelled out in the Kyoto Protocol makes the task even more daunting. With more than 1,200 coal-fueled electric generating units in the United States, it would take considerably longer than 10 years to replace these units or to convert them to lower-carbon technologies.

Improved conversion efficiencies and lower-carbon fuels thus are not sufficient by themselves to meet the targets prescribed in the Kyoto Protocol. A broader portfolio of technology options is essential on both the demand and supply sides — including increased use of higher-efficiency equipment and appliances by consumers and industry, and greater reliance on non-carbon emitting energy sources.

The current role of non-carbon technologies in electricity generation must not be overlooked. Today, electricity generated by nuclear and hydroelectric power in the United States keeps more than 220 million metric tons of carbon out of the atmosphere. These avoided emissions are equivalent to the tonnage by which the United States currently exceeds the Kyoto target.

Before the year 2012, operating licenses for 40,000 megawatts of nuclear and 25,000 megawatts of hydroelectric capacity will be considered for renewal. If this carbon-free capacity is not maintained, the gap between the Kyoto target and the United States' actual emissions would be 50 percent bigger than the gap projected under current trends.

While there is no "silver bullet," to help us meet the Kyoto emission targets, technology options abound to lower U.S. carbon emissions and reduce demand for electricity. But, adopting these technologies will take time and will require economic incentives and capital investment. With the challenges ahead, no technology option can be overlooked, nor can any technology that currently avoids carbon emissions be dismissed. ■

Sustainable A World

By Mohamed T. El-Ash
CEO and Chairman,
Global Environment Facility

Amid continuing global financial crisis, this October 1997 went largely unnoticed of *Earth's Wealth Lost*. The 30-percent figure accumulated damage environment due to rapid growth and the accompanying exploitation of natural resources and fossil fuels. Should countries follow the world's lead and continue course, these trends continue but accelerated decades.

Evolving new paths to meet basic human needs and build truly sustainable economies entails risks the contentious arena of climate change we have models for success. European nations, Japan, and United States agreed to reduce their emissions layer-damaging chemicals. Large developing countries to participate. Three years so-called Montreal Fund amended to create a fund to reimburse developing countries for the added cost out these chemicals. In time, China, India and others have ratified the Protocol assistance from the fund made significant progress eliminating ozone-threatening chemicals.

Most developing countries consider alleviating poverty and improving the living standards of their number-one priority. Consequently, they ascribe responsibility for reducing greenhouse gases to the developed world. That said, there is increasing attention everywhere that energy development is a key path.

Climate-friendly transition

Our Energy Future

As Technologies

order to meet electric h the 2012 carbon emis- sion target, the world will need to increase the generation from 9 percent in the near term and 2012. Such an increased assumption is not likely to be cost-effective alterna-

Carbon Technologies
 needed reductions in carbon emissions are spelled out in the Kyoto Protocol, which is even more daunting. Coal-fired electric generation in the United States, it would take 30 years to replace these with lower-carbon technolo-

gies. Efficiency and lower-carbon technologies are not sufficient by themselves as prescribed in the Kyoto Protocol. A mix of technology options on both demand and supply sides, such as the use of higher-efficiency appliances by consumers and incentives on non-carbon emit-

ting technologies must not be overlooked. The United States keeps more than 100 million tons of carbon out of the atmosphere through avoided emissions are equivalent to which the United States Kyoto target.

By 2012, operating licenses for 12,000 nuclear and 25,000 megawatts of electric capacity will be on line. This carbon-free capacity is between the Kyoto target and actual emissions would be the gap projected under

the "silver bullet," to help meet emission targets, technology transfer to U.S. carbon emissions or electricity. But, adopting new technologies will take time and will require significant capital investment. With no technology option can any technology that curbs emissions be dismissed. ■

Sustainable Energy Development: A Worldwide Priority

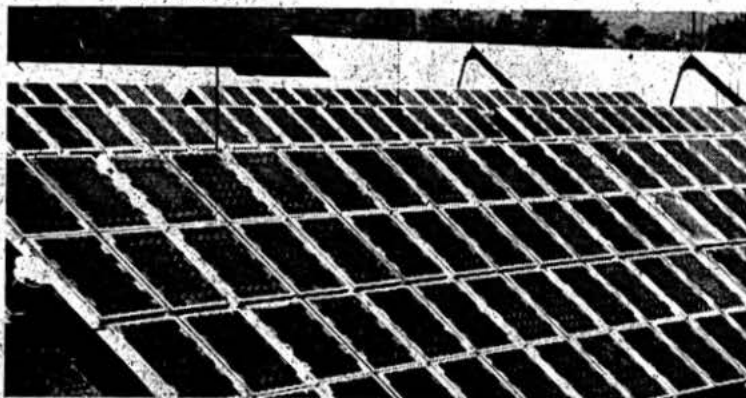
By Mohamed T. El-Ashry
 CEO and Chairman,
 Global Environment Facility

Amid continuing concern over global financial markets, this October 1998 headline went largely unnoticed: *30 Percent of Earth's Wealth Lost Since 1970*. The 30-percent figure measured accumulated damage to the global environment due to rapid economic growth and the accompanying over-exploitation of natural resources and fossil fuels. Should developing countries follow the developed world's lead and continue along this course, these trends will not only continue but accelerate in coming decades.

Evolving new development paths to meet basic human needs and build truly prosperous economies entails risks, but even in the contentious arena of global climate change we have important models for success. When European nations, Japan and the United States agreed in 1987 to reduce their emissions of ozone layer-damaging chemicals, most large developing countries declined to participate. Three years later, the so-called Montreal Protocol was amended to create a multilateral fund to reimburse developing countries for the added costs of phasing out these chemicals. Since that time, China, India and other nations have ratified the Protocol. And, with assistance from the fund, they have made significant progress toward eliminating ozone-threatening chemicals.

Most developing countries consider alleviating poverty and improving the living standards of their people their number-one challenge. Consequently, they assign primary responsibility for reducing greenhouse gases to the developed world. That said, there is increased recognition everywhere that sustainable energy development is the appropriate path.

Climate-friendly transportation,



power plants, buildings and industrial facilities can make an important contribution to reducing pollution both locally and regionally. Moreover, by taking advantage of these opportunities, developing and developed countries alike can hold down many of the traditional costs of growth. The Montreal Protocol allowed an extra ten years for developing countries to reach emission-reduction targets. However, with access to the necessary alternative technologies and assistance in building local capacity to manage the transition, many countries moved much more quickly.

GEF: Promoting Conservation, Alternative Energy Sources

A similar path is available to assist developing countries in the transition to alternative energy sources through the Global Environment Facility (GEF). As the financial mechanism for the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change, GEF has allocated more than \$753 million and generated cofinancing of \$4.34 billion more for nearly 200 energy conservation, efficiency and alternative energy projects in 49 nations. While most GEF donors are developed nations, recipient countries in the developing world are the number-one cofinanciers of GEF projects.

In a short time and with limited

funds, GEF has increased worldwide output of photovoltaic energy alone by a factor of five:

- In Indonesia, \$24 million in GEF funding is making possible the largest solar home project in the world — 200,000 units.
- A \$26 million GEF grant has helped increase wind and photovoltaic capacity in India from 30 to more than 700 megawatts over the past five years.
- In Brazil, GEF has invested \$40 million to pioneer the commercialization of electricity-generating technology that uses wood chips from plantation forests for fuel.
- GEF also is working with the International Finance Corporation to create new sources of low-interest financing for renewable energy entrepreneurs to meet the needs of the 2 billion people worldwide who still are without access to electricity.

The fault lines at the 1997 Conference of the Parties in Kyoto often were along a North-South axis, but it's clear that the benefits of new technologies and approaches will be widely shared throughout the world. In Buenos Aires, all parties need to do more than debate definitions and assume previously held postures. As fellow shareholders, we must work together and make the right decisions and investments now; otherwise our shares in earth's bounty will in time become worthless. ■

For more information about global climate change and some of the organizations represented in this special advertising section, see the following Internet sites:

On The Web

Business Roundtable:
www.brtable.org

Center for Sustainable Development in the Americas:
www.csdanet.org

The Committee to Preserve American Security and Sovereignty (COMPASS):
www.climate treaty.com

Global Environment Facility:
www.gefweb.org

National Environmental Trust:
www.etc.org

National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration:
www.noaa.gov

Natural Resources Defense Council:
www.nrdc.org

Nuclear Energy Institute:
www.nei.org

Pew Center on Global Climate Change:
www.pewclimate.org

Sen. Chuck Hagel:
www.senate.gov/~hagel

Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman: www.senate.gov/~lieberman

United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change:
www.unfccc.de

U.S. State Department, Bureau of Oceans and International and Scientific Affairs:
www.state.gov/www/global/oes

World Wildlife Fund:
www.worldwildlife.org

The editor of this issue forum is William H. Woodwell, Jr.
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The Washington Post's coverage of the U.N. conference in Buenos Aires and all other events is available online at washingtonpost.com.

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Defining

By Eileen Claussen
Executive Director, Pew Center
Global Climate Change

As the world focuses this week's meeting in Buenos Aires, it is tantamount to set a global agenda that will spur action and help achieve the aim of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in reducing atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases that will prevent serious human interference with the climate system.

This global agenda is based on concerted action on three fronts, in the view of the Pew Center on Global Climate Change. We need to

1. Take Action Now
The core beliefs of the Center is that we have enough scientific evidence and the environmental impacts of climate change to take action to address the consequences. The challenge for our generation is to sustain a growing economy. To meet this challenge, concrete steps to reduce greenhouse gas emissions sooner we begin, the more likely we will be to succeed in the overall goal of stabilizing greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere. What is needed is a framework that encourages companies

At Issue: I

"Many developed countries, in coal and oil, are putting out thousands of tons of carbon emissions with 950 million people."

These are just the beginning of the industrialized countries' responsibilities in curbing emissions that are warming the atmosphere. It is assumed a leader

Christiana Figueres

Defining an Agenda for Global Action

By Eileen Claussen
Executive Director, Pew Center on
Global Climate Change

As the world focuses on this week's meeting in Buenos Aires, it is important to set a global agenda that will spur action and help us meet the aim of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC): stabilizing atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases at levels that will prevent dangerous human interference with the climate system.

This global agenda should be based on concerted action on three fronts, in the view of the Pew Center on Global Climate Change. We need to:

1 Take Action Now. One of the core beliefs of the Pew Center is that we accept the views of most scientists that enough is known about the science and the environmental impacts of climate change for us to take action to address its consequences. The challenge for our generation is to do this while sustaining a growing world economy. To meet this challenge, the nations of the world must take concrete steps to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. The sooner we begin, the more likely we will be to succeed in meeting the overall goal of stabilizing greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere. What is needed is a framework that will encourage companies to act

sooner rather than later.

In the United States, we believe that the appropriate framework is an early action crediting program that will reward companies for actions they take to reduce emissions before the Kyoto Protocol starts providing international credit for emission reductions in 2008. This framework must be delineated by law, be clear and predictable, reward real and verifiable reductions, and be principally but not exclusively based on actions taken here at home.

2 Develop Market Mechanisms. There is a growing body of evidence that market-based incentives can prompt individuals and companies to take action to protect the environment. These market mechanisms also have been proven successful in spurring technological innovation. As part of the Kyoto Protocol, countries have agreed to use several of these mechanisms in implementing greenhouse gas reductions — from emissions trading to the "clean development" framework that allows industrialized countries to get credit for financing emission-avoiding projects in developing nations.

What is needed, however, is to go beyond the language of the Kyoto Protocol and to design the rules and operating procedures that will turn its words into reality. Our goal must be to insure that climate-friendly actions make economic sense

for companies, and to make sure companies are confident that their actions will be accounted for.

3 Create a Fair Global Framework. What constitutes a fair response to climate change is the major question underlying many unresolved issues in the global debate on this topic. The "fairness question" drives the levels of commitment of industrialized countries and is a deciding factor in the discussion of developing country participation, the structure of market-based mechanisms, and the nature and magnitude of different countries' financial commitments to the goals of the Protocol.

We believe that three criteria should be considered in differentiating country obligations. They are: a country's responsibility for emissions that can cause climate change; a country's standard of living (or the ability to pay for efforts to reduce emissions); and a country's opportunity to reduce emissions. Based on these criteria, we can divide countries into three groups: those that must act now; those that should act now, but differently; and those that could act now if it were feasible.

Resolving these three issues is critical to the success of the Kyoto agreement, and it is our hope that they are the focus of the conversations in Buenos Aires and in the international negotiations to come. ■

At Issue: Developing Country Commitments

"Many developing countries already are reducing their greenhouse gas emissions on a voluntary basis, despite the fact that they have no legal obligation to do so. Reductions in coal and oil subsidies in China between 1990 and 1995 have kept 155 million tons of carbon out of the atmosphere. Mexico's energy-efficient lighting program avoids 32,000 tons of carbon emissions annually. And India is the world's fourth leading user of wind power, with 950 megawatts installed in 1997.

These are just a few concrete examples of the wide array of climate-mitigating activities that are being undertaken in developing countries for sound economic reasons. Once industrialized countries have shown near-term compliance with the Kyoto Protocol, developing countries could build on these policies and measures to assume increasing responsibilities in curbing worldwide emissions. But because the responsibility for producing the emissions that have contributed to current concentrations of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere is squarely on the shoulders of industrialized countries, these countries must assume a leadership role in curbing emissions."

Christiana Figueres, Executive Director, Center for Sustainable Development in the Americas

The Politics of Global Climate Change

View from the White House: Momentum Building for "Balanced Approach"

By Todd Stern
White House Climate Change Coordinator

This past year the world has made important progress in mobilizing to confront the threat of global warming, one of the great environmental challenges of the next century. Now, as the 160 nations that negotiated last year's landmark Kyoto Protocol gather in Buenos Aires for the next round of talks, it is fitting to take stock of how far we have come and how far we still have to go.

The United States is heading into Buenos Aires with significant momentum thanks to President Clinton's success in securing over \$1 billion for his climate change technology initiative for fiscal year 1999, a 25-percent increase. This funding will support research and development in energy efficiency and renewable energy — investments that will reduce greenhouse gas emissions, create jobs, and save money for consumers and business. The Administration also succeeded in defeating a series of anti-environmental "riders," including a gag order that sought to bar us even from educating the public about climate change.

The Private Sector Responds

Still more encouraging are the constructive developments in the private sector, where a growing number of businesses are publicly recognizing the threat of climate change and the need for precautionary action. For example:

- The 18 members of the Pew Center for Global Climate Change's Business Environmental Leadership Council have explicitly called for prompt action to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

- Recently, British Petroleum, Shell, United Technologies and IBM have announced specific numerical commitments for reducing their emissions.

- And just last week, General Motors, Monsanto, BP and the World Resources Institute jointly declared that there are real business opportunities for corporate leaders who act early to reduce the risk of climate change.

The private sector's growing receptivity on the issue has been reflected as

Development Mechanism" under which industrialized companies can undertake clean energy projects in the developing world and share the resulting emission credits with the host countries. These provisions will help the world reduce emissions at the lowest cost, ensuring

by developing countries, and we will resist efforts by some to limit a country's right to engage in emissions trading or make investments in developing countries under the Clean Development Mechanism. Such limitations would accomplish only one result — making the

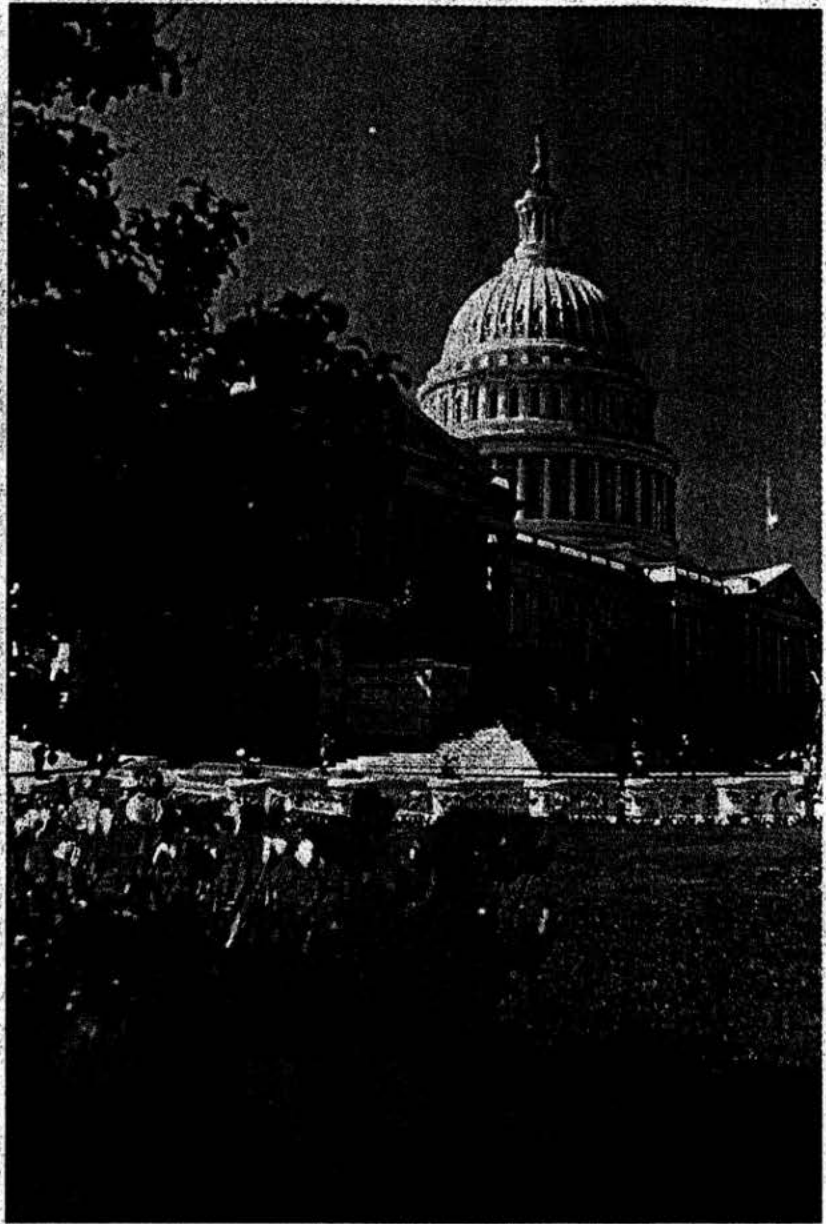


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al Climate Change

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COUNTERPOINTS

Administration's Actions Fall Short of Rhetoric

By Philip E. Clapp
President
National Environmental Trust

Over the last six years, President Clinton and Vice President Gore have talked a great deal about the dangers of global warming. One of these days they're going to actually have to do something.

Clinton and Gore campaigned against President Bush by castigating his weak, voluntary measures to reduce global warming pollution. But since gaining office half a dozen years ago, they have done even less than Bush proposed. Although the United States pledged, in 1992, to cut global warming emissions, we're on track to be 13 percent over the original goal by 2000.

Examples of how the White House has failed to back up its rhetoric abound:

- Both President Clinton and Vice President Gore repeatedly have promised to restructure the electric industry in a way that "delivers a significant down payment in reducing greenhouse gas emissions," as Clinton has said. But their proposals included no serious effort to reduce emissions.

- The White House trumpets the recent \$1 billion appropriated by Congress for research on energy efficiency and renewable energy technologies. But the Administration can't even put a figure on how much of a dent this might make in global warming pollution — it may be too small to be meaningful. Meanwhile, energy efficiency standards approved by Congress long ago have been bottled up in the Administration for years.

- After negotiating the Kyoto global warming treaty, the U.S. quickly became the only nation to qualify its commitment with a vague and misleading call for "meaningful participation" by the developing countries.

- Going into the current round of negotiations in Buenos Aires, the Administration seems intent on using the Kyoto treaty's flexibility mechanisms to achieve more than 80 percent of the United States' emission reductions overseas. While a pollution trading plan has worked well for acid rain and should be a part of the Kyoto Protocol, we cannot continue to refuse responsibility for our own pollution.

The Clinton Administration still hasn't signed the Kyoto Protocol. Expect an orchestrated fanfare when it does. Also expect a continued lack of progress. The United States, with its wealth, its technology, and its lion's share of the contribution to global warming pollution, should be leading the rest of the world toward solutions. We're not. ■

U.S. Negotiated a Flawed Agreement

By Richard Burt
Former Assistant Secretary of State and U.S. Ambassador to Germany; and co-founder of COMPASS, The Committee to Preserve American Security and Sovereignty

The Clinton Administration's new Kyoto treaty on global warming may rank as the most important foreign policy initiative undertaken by the United States since the end of the

specific states it has created a dangerous diplomatic precedent for future arms control and trade negotiations.

- **Inadequate Verification.** With the Kyoto accord, which could reduce U.S. energy consumption by more than 30 percent by 2010, verification is essentially an afterthought. To commit to such goals without really knowing whether and how they will be monitored — both here and, more importantly, abroad — is a major blunder.

- **International Intrusion.** Without any clear and precise implementation and enforcement plans, the Kyoto agree-

which by developing countries, and we will resist efforts by some to limit a country's right to engage in emissions trading or make investments in developing countries under the Clean Development Mechanism. Such limitations would

The private sector's growing receptivity on the issue has been reflected as well in the Administration's own consultations with U.S. industry about how, with government support, companies can take effective, voluntary action to reduce emissions.

The Kyoto Protocol: "A Historic Step"

On the international front, last December's Kyoto Protocol was the seminal event of the year. By agreeing to cut their greenhouse gas emissions, the world's leading economies took a historic step forward in addressing global warming. Thanks largely to the efforts of the United States, the Protocol takes a flexible, market-based approach that will allow emissions to be reduced in ways that make the most sense, both environmentally and economically.

This flexible approach includes emissions trading and the new "Clean

provisions that ensure emissions at the lowest cost, ensuring that we get the biggest environmental bang for the buck. The Protocol also contains provisions that protect our national security, ensuring that our Kyoto targets will in no way constrain the activities of our military forces.

Beyond Buenos Aires

Despite significant progress, we still have a long way to go. Diplomatically, important work remains on the flexibility measures, the way to treat carbon-absorbing "sinks" (such as forests), developing country participation, and compliance. What we need in Buenos Aires is not a great leap forward, but steady, solid progress that can begin to turn the Kyoto Protocol into reality.

The United States delegation will work to advance our positions in all these areas. Among other things, we will continue to press for meaningful participation

accomplish only one result: reducing or greenhouse gases more expensive for everyone.

As we look past Buenos Aires to the year ahead, the Administration will be working on new domestic efforts to spur development and broader use of clean energy technologies and will continue engaging with private industry to achieve better energy efficiency and reduce greenhouse gas emissions. We also will strongly support efforts to ensure that U.S. companies earn credit for early actions to reduce their emissions.

The threat of climate change has been decades in the making and it will take many years to solve. But with our best science and technology, smart, market-based solutions and, most of all, firm political will, we can get the job done. President Clinton's balanced approach to the challenge of global warming will allow us to maintain a growing economy and protect the environment. ■

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In Congress

A Call for Early Action

By Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman
(D-CT)

Evidence of global warming is continuing to mount, and it forces us to confront what kind of world we want to leave to our children. It is a question that will be answered next at the Buenos Aires meeting. It will also be answered by how smart and conscientious we Americans are willing to be here at home on our own.

During the recently concluded Congress, President Clinton proposed a balanced program that would arrest greenhouse gas emissions over five years through tax credits for energy-efficient purchases and renewable energy investments, and through new research and development programs targeted towards buildings, industry, transportation and electricity. The good news is that the budget for next year provides for more than \$1 billion some of these research investments.

The bad news is that too much time and effort was spent in the 105th Congress in battles with those who would stop all climate change investments. One



Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman

would have gone so far as to ban the agency from even educating the public about the Kyoto Protocol. Our debates in Congress must be more informed and sensible than that.

On October 10, 1998, I was proud to join with Republican Senators John Chafee of Rhode Island and Connie Mack of Florida to introduce what we hope will be a climate change log-jam breaker in the next Congress. The Credit for Early

terms we may adopt, to companies that act now to reduce their emissions of greenhouse gases. This is a voluntary, market-based approach that will bring about a win-win situation for both American businesses and the environment.

The Credit for Early Action Act would provide the certainty necessary to encourage companies to reduce emissions now. Its principles were developed with environmental and industrial perspectives, and were designed to take advantage of an often-too-little appreciated fact: many companies want to reduce emissions. They don't want to wait until legislation requires them to make these reductions. Early action will help businesses save money by allowing their costs to be spread out over more years and by ensuring credit in any future compliance schedule for their investments today.

The debate about climate change is too often vested in false choices between scientific findings, common sense, economic growth and environmental protection. The Credit for Early Action Act offers a model to demonstrate that these are not

Kyoto Protocol "Dead on Arr"

By Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-NE)

The debate that has emerged over the U.N. Global Climate Treaty is not a debate about who is for or against a cleaner environment. The debate is over whether or not this specific treaty is in the interests of the United States and whether this is the best approach. We're all for a cleaner environment, but environmental action must be predicated on sound science, a balanced perspective and common sense. This treaty on all counts.

The discussions in Buenos Aires will prove to be nothing more than whistling past a grave because in its current form the Kyoto Protocol is dead on arrival in the United States Senate.

The Byrd-Hagel Resolution adopted by the Senate last year with a 95-0 vote was explicit on what was needed in this treaty in order to gain the support of the Senate. First, it directed the President to sign any treaty that placed no binding obligations on the United States to limit or reduce greenhouse gas emissions "unless the protocol or agreement also dates new specific schedule commitments to limit or reduce

mechanism. Such limitations would accomplish only one result — making the reduction of greenhouse gases more expensive for everyone.

As we look past Buenos Aires to the future ahead, the Administration will be relying on new domestic efforts to spur development and broader use of clean energy technologies and will continue working with private industry to achieve better energy efficiency and reduce greenhouse gas emissions. We also will strongly support efforts to ensure that U.S. companies earn credit for early actions to reduce their emissions.

The threat of climate change has been decades in the making and it will take many years to solve. But with our best science and technology, smart, market-based solutions and, most of all, firm political will, we can get the job done. President Clinton's balanced approach to the challenge of global warming will allow us to maintain a growing economy and protect the environment. ■

the United States since the end of the Cold War. With so much at stake, it is strange that the Administration — in almost cavalier fashion — appears to have abandoned the hard-won lessons of a generation of tough negotiations with the former Soviet Union. The result is a seriously flawed agreement that is almost certain to bedevil the United States for years to come, even if never ratified.

From a foreign policy perspective, the agreement reflects four fundamental shortcomings:

- **Preemptive concessions.** The Administration's capitulations are especially notable in the area of greenhouse gas emission reductions and the exclusion of such major economies as China, India, Indonesia and Mexico from the agreement. The exclusion of these key emerging markets is not only bad economics and bad environmental policy, but in creating exceptions for

the United States since the end of the Cold War. With so much at stake, it is strange that the Administration — in almost cavalier fashion — appears to have abandoned the hard-won lessons of a generation of tough negotiations with the former Soviet Union. The result is a seriously flawed agreement that is almost certain to bedevil the United States for years to come, even if never ratified.

- **Diplomatic Cynicism.** Politically, some analysts have begun to argue that we need not worry too much about Kyoto, that it is a "feel good" accord designed mainly for its public relations value at home and abroad. But if the Kyoto accord is nothing more than a cynical exercise to win the support of the environmental lobby, the Administration looks manipulative and runs the risk of jeopardizing more serious diplomatic enterprises, such as NATO expansion and fast-track trade authority. ■

n Congress

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The discussions in Buenos Aires will prove to be nothing more than whistling past a graveyard, because in its current form the Kyoto Protocol is dead on arrival in the United States Senate.

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Developing Country Parties within the same compliance period."

The Kyoto Protocol, however, does not include a single developing nation. One hundred and thirty four developing nations (including China, India, South Korea, Mexico and Brazil), many of whom compete fiercely with the United States for trade opportunities, are completely exempt from any obligations to reduce man-made green-

house gas emissions. The Byrd-Hagel Resolution spoke directly to the impact this treaty would have on the American people, asserting that the President should not sign any treaty that "would result in serious harm to the economy of the United States." A recent study by the U.S. Department of Energy, however, stated that average energy costs would be 17 to 83 percent higher in 2010 if the United States had to reach the emission targets in the Kyoto Protocol. The annual implementation costs between 2008 and 2012 are estimated to range from \$77 billion to \$338 billion.

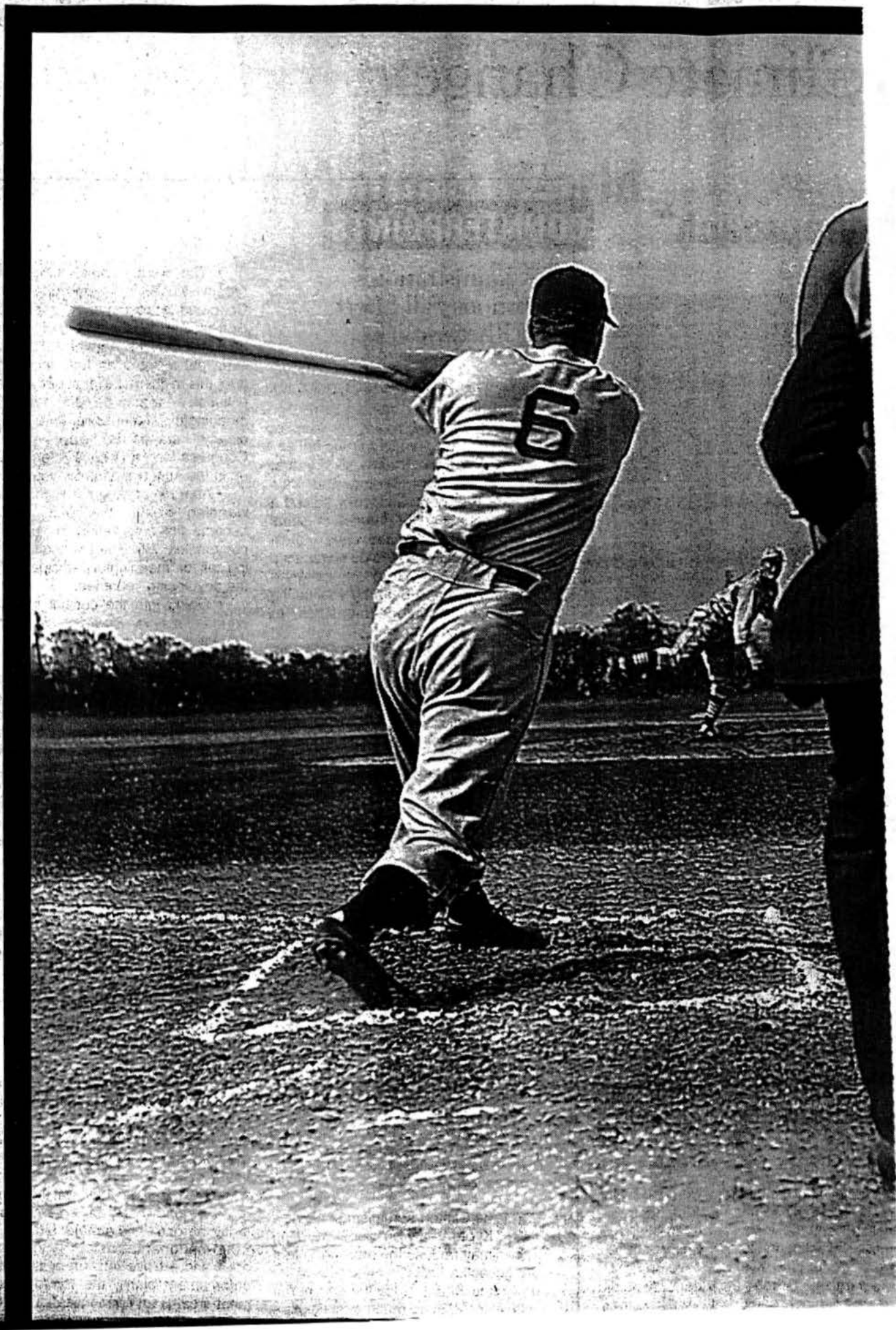
And for what? Even if the Kyoto Protocol were to be implemented, it fails on its primary objective: the global reduction of greenhouse gas emissions. The agreement excludes the very developing nations that will be responsible for more than 60 percent of the world's greenhouse gas emissions early in the next century.

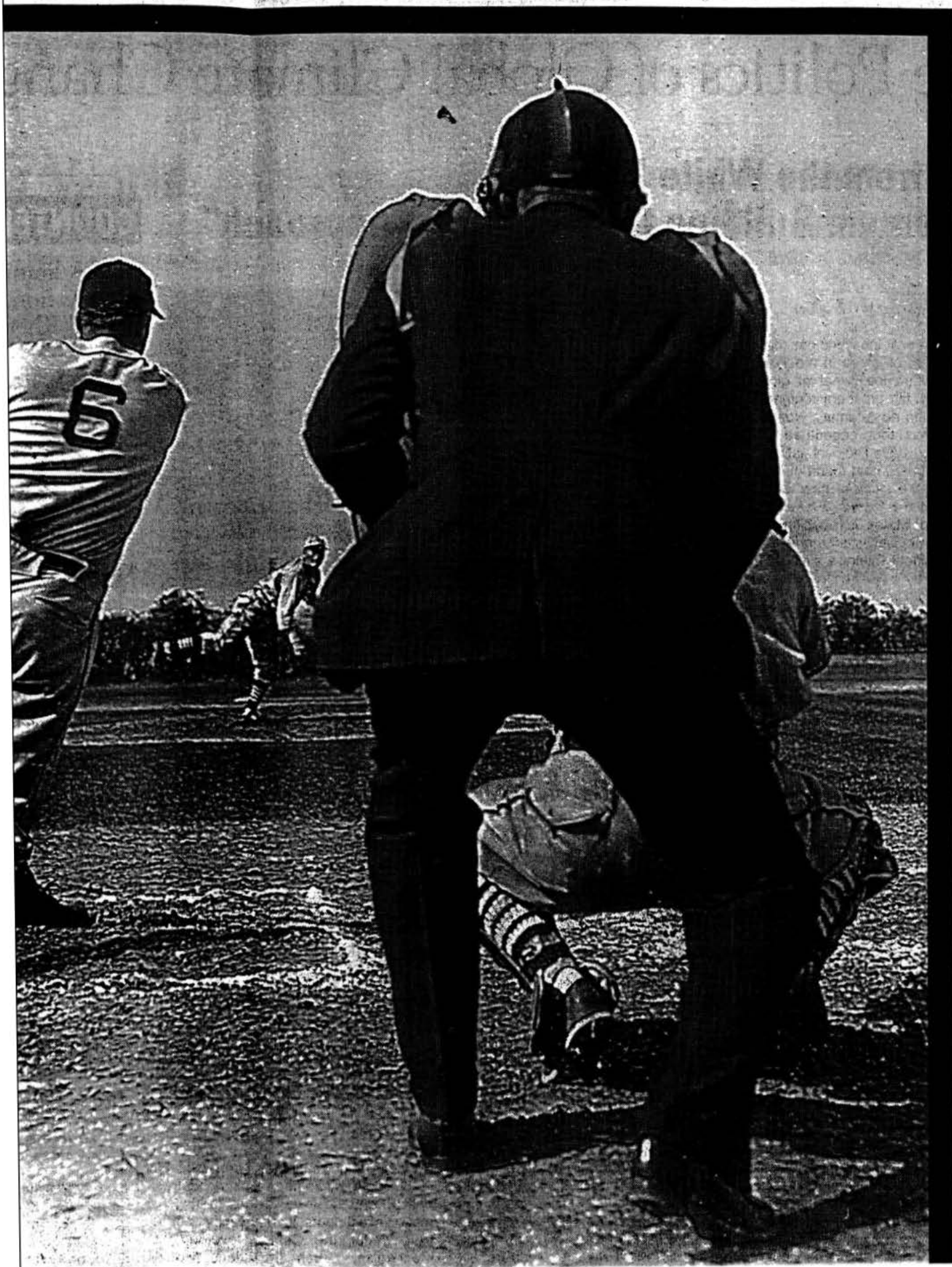
The U.N. Global Climate Treaty is complete folly. It cannot achieve its goals. It has no hope of being ratified by the U.S. Senate. Those who care about this issue will be better served if the Kyoto Protocol is abandoned in Buenos Aires and

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It's Time to Step Up To the Plate on Climate Change

To reduce emissions and the consequences of global climate change, every country needs to play ball. But just as athletes play different positions depending on their strengths, countries should work to the best of their abilities in addressing the climate change issue. The countries that must lead the way are those that emit the largest volume of greenhouse gases; enjoy the highest standard of living; or have the most significant opportunities to reduce their emissions.

All countries should improve standards and address climate change on an international competitive advantage of emissions opportunities worldwide. And with everyone on the same playing field, doing their share, the game can be won.

For a copy of the Pew Center on Global Climate Change's report, **Equity and Global Climate Change**, call in the U.S. 703-516-4146 or visit our web site at WWW.PEWCLIMATE.ORG

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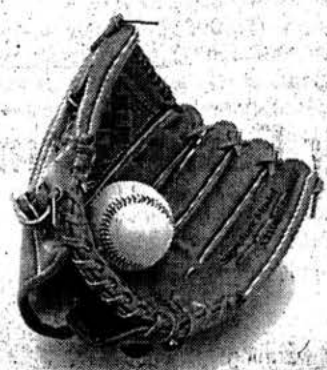
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All countries should be able to maintain or improve standards of living as they work to address climate change, particularly if the international community takes advantage of emission reduction opportunities where they exist. And with everyone on the playing field, doing their fair share, the game can begin.



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