THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-24-00

State of the Union

Themes and Proposals

December 13, 1999

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-24-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 13, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SEAN MALONEY

SUBJECT: State of the Union Proposals

Attached are 6 memos from NEC, DPC, CEQ and OSTP that outline possible initiatives to announce in your State of the Union address next month.

The first 2 memos (Tabs A-B) propose the key elements of your address: a theme of *Responsibility for the Future* and 8 signature initiatives built around the common idea of *Closing the Opportunity Gap*. The second group of memos (Tabs C-F) presents a detailed summary of all the proposals from NEC, DPC, CEQ and OSTP.

Both sets of memos set forth preliminary cost estimates of the proposed initiatives. OMB believes that approximately $5B of budget authority ($3B in outlays) will be available to fund new initiatives, an increase over last year.

Your advisers ask for your feedback on these proposals -- especially with respect to the smaller initiatives that OMB hopes to address during the FY01 agency appeals process this week. You are scheduled to meet with your economic team next week to discuss the larger initiatives.

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

'99 DEC 13 PM12:30

December 9, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GEORGE T. FRAMPTON, JR. GTF Jr.
ROGER BALLENTINE RB

SUBJECT: PROPOSED STATE OF THE UNION INITIATIVES

This memo outlines five potential State of the Union announcements for your consideration. Four of them – Clean Energy for the 21st Century, A Permanent Lands Legacy, Clean Waters Across America, and Building More Livable Communities – build on existing priorities. The fifth – Greening the Globe – would establish a major new priority.

CLEAN ENERGY FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

Action: You would announce your final, major climate change initiative, with both international and domestic components, including: 1) new efforts to promote clean energy technologies in developing countries; 2) a strategy for reducing greenhouse gas and other harmful emissions from U.S. coal-fired power plants; and 3) a challenge to the auto industry to significantly improve vehicle fuel economy.

Background: Over the past seven years, you and Vice President Gore have significantly elevated the issue of climate change on the domestic and international agendas and launched major initiatives to begin meeting this global challenge. The success of these efforts is evidenced, in part, by growing recognition by the American public and by corporate leaders that this issue is real and must be addressed. You have called for a new paradigm in meeting this challenge – that both developed and developing countries can limit their emissions while growing their economies.

The coming year represents the final opportunity for your Administration to build on these achievements and to put this new vision to the test. Diplomatically, we face two critical challenges: ensuring successful negotiations next November in the The Hague on the operational rules of the market-based mechanisms established by the Kyoto Protocol; and achieving more meaningful participation by developing countries. Domestically, we must begin laying the groundwork for achieving more significant emissions reductions, particularly in the two sectors with the greatest emissions: transportation and electricity generation.

These proposed initiatives would provide new incentives and mechanisms for reducing domestic mechanisms; demonstrate forcefully to the international community that the United States is fully committed to domestic emissions reduction; and assist developing countries in adopting growth paths that are both robust and clean.

Specific initiatives include:

Global Clean Energy in the 21st Century – You would propose new research, demonstration and export promotion measures to accelerate the development and deployment of clean energy technologies in developing countries.

This effort builds on the recommendations of the President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology. Electric power accounts for one third of global greenhouse gas emissions, with the fastest growth occurring in developing countries. By 2020, a projected $1.7 trillion will be invested in electric power capacity in developing countries. These measures would help demonstrate to developing countries that they can protect the environment while growing their economies, and would help encourage their participation in global climate change efforts.

This proposal has three elements: improved coordination of existing programs at DOE, USAID, TDA, EXIM, OPIC and Commerce; new funding for research and development, policy reform and capacity building, and trade promotion and finance; and continued efforts within the OECD, G8 and WTO to steer capital flows to clean energy development.

Investing in Clean Power at Home – You would propose major new legislation to reduce greenhouse gas and other harmful emissions from older coal-fired power plants, and a Clean Air Bond to help finance the conversion of these plants to cleaner, more efficient technologies.

More than two-thirds of U.S. power plants are more than 30 years old and, as such, are not subject to the same Clean Air Act requirements as new plants. These plants are a major source of pollutants that contribute to smog and acid rain. They also are far less efficient than modern plants, making them major emitters of greenhouse gases.

Utilities will soon face major investment decisions – whether to retire these plants or extend their lives. These decisions are driven by mounting pressure to reduce conventional pollutants (new Clean Air Act requirements as well as state litigation in New York and Connecticut) and new uncertainties associated with electricity restructuring (the need for new capacity and additional cost competition). With the right strategy, we can make carbon reduction a central element in these investment decisions, provide the regulatory certainty the utilities seek, and achieve the greatest environmental benefit for the least cost by allowing the regulated entities the flexibility to comply in the most economically efficient manner.

To those ends, you would propose major legislation to mandate reductions in conventional pollutants and – for the first time – greenhouse gas emissions. These reductions would be achieved by setting caps to be phased in over 15 years – while easing permitting requirements that might deter plant modernizations – and by allowing market-based emissions trading. In addition, you would propose incentives for early action by utilities, in the form of a special class of tax-exempt "private activity bonds" to finance qualified clean energy investments.

While these steps would significantly strengthen domestic emissions reduction efforts, there may be considerable political fallout, particularly in coal states.

Choosing Fuel Economy – You would invite the CEOs of the auto companies to the White House to explore ways they can voluntarily improve fuel economy, and pledge to move forward on CAFÉ standards if they do not agree to act on their own. You might also propose a labeling program, modeled on the very successful Energy Star program, to help consumers identify particularly energy efficient vehicles and to provide additional incentive to manufacturers to produce them.

Transportation accounts for roughly a third of U.S. greenhouse gas emissions and the average fuel economy of new vehicles has fallen to its lowest level since 1980. Technology exists to significantly improve fuel economy. In fact, in Europe, auto makers (including Ford/Europe, GM/Europe, and DaimlerChrysler) have voluntarily committed to a 25 percent improvement in fuel efficiency by 2008. In Japan, the government has mandated a 23 percent improvement in gasoline vehicles, and a 15 percent improvement in diesel vehicles, by 2010.

Yet, for the past three years, a rider on the Transportation budget bill has barred the Administration from even studying the possibility of raising fuel economy standards for light-duty trucks (including SUVs), which now represent half the new car market. Although this year environmentalists enlisted 40 senators for a resolution opposing the rider, there were insufficient votes to sustain a veto. When you signed the Transportation bill, you again criticized the rider and said: "We cannot continue to ignore this. For that reason, we will soon invite the leaders of the auto industry to the White House to try to find a way to address this issue…."

In issuing this invitation, you would challenge the auto makers to provide American consumers with a choice they deserve – vehicles that are safe, affordable, and significantly more fuel efficient. To be credible, this challenge must be accompanied by a clear statement that, if the auto makers do not make such a commitment, you will veto the rider and initiate a review of CAFÉ standards.

Cost: $204 million in FY2001 ($183 million for Global Clean Energy in the 21st Century and $21 million for the Clean Air Bond).

A PERMANENT LANDS LEGACY

Action: You would again call on Congress to approve $1 billion a year in permanent land conservation funding; announce new protections for selected federal lands; announce that you will conduct a Lands Legacy tour highlighting recent and new actions to protect natural treasures; and set a goal of expanding the national wildlife refuge system to 100 million acres by 2003, the system's 100th anniversary.

Background: Last January, you announced a Lands Legacy initiative with two principal goals: $1 billion in FY 2000 for federal, state, and local efforts to protect land and coastal resources; and permanent funding of at least $1 billion a year to continue these efforts in the new century. In the recent budget negotiations, you secured $652 million for these efforts in FY 2000, a 42 percent increase over FY 1999. This includes the full funding needed to acquire the Baca Ranch. However, despite considerable bipartisan support for some form of dedicated or permanent funding, our last-minute "cap-and-fence" proposal for a dedicated fund similar to the highway trust fund did not win over the Appropriations committees.

As part of a package of initiatives for the coming year, your FY 2001 budget would propose another significant increase for Lands Legacy and would incorporate a "cap-and-fence" mechanism to ensure dedicated funding in the years ahead.

Other initiatives include:

> *New Land Protections* – Details are not yet available, but there may be opportunities to extend new protections to selected federal lands by executive action. Such lands would have natural, historic, or cultural values of national significance. Depending on the sites and the process employed, you would announce protections effective immediately or declare your intent to take such action within a certain time period (30-90 days).
>
> *Lands Legacy Tour* – You would announce plans to visit some of the natural treasures the Administration has protected, and possibly sites where new protections will be announced. The tour – or the first in a series of trips – could be scheduled for the week leading up to Earth Day. Possibilities include opening Headwaters Forest to the public, completing acquisition of Baca Ranch, visiting a site along the Lewis and Clark trail, inspecting some of the places proposed for executive designation, dedicating an addition to Pelican Island National Wildlife Refuge in Florida (the nation's first refuge, established by Theodore Roosevelt), dedicating an addition to a Civil War battlefield, and announcing our draft roadless protection rule at a national forest.
>
> *Expanding Wildlife Refuges* – You would set a goal of expanding the wildlife refuge system to 100 million acres by 2003, the system's 100th anniversary. The refuge system, established by Theodore Roosevelt, is the world's oldest and largest network of lands dedicated to protecting wildlife, with 93 million acres in all 50 states. A goal of 100 million acres would be an important milepost for the Lands Legacy initiative.

Cost: $1.35 billion in FY 2001.

GREENING THE GLOBE

Action: You would announce a set of initiatives to promote forest conservation around the world, including: a new fund to promote conservation-based development in developing countries; increased funding for debt-for-nature swaps; and a challenge to other developed countries to join us in reforming trade and lending practices that promote forest destruction.

Background: Your Administration has made tremendous strides in improving management of America's national forests, culminating in your recent proposal to protect more than 40 million acres of roadless area. These accomplishments, coupled with the United States' record of leadership on global environmental issues, put us in a strong position to promote international action to protect forests elsewhere around the world.

Apart from clean air and water, protecting rain forests is perhaps the most popular environmental cause ever. Yet, despite widespread public attention, the state of the world's forests continues to worsen. Scientists believe that only a fifth of the Earth's original forest cover remains intact and healthy, and the United Nations estimates that 250 acres of tropical forest are logged every minute.

Efforts to initiate negotiations toward an international forest convention have been stalled by concerns over sovereignty and other issues. And while a portion of the multilateral Global Environment Facility established in 1992 in Rio is dedicated to forest conservation, Congress has withheld full funding of the U.S. share. Our best prospects for catalyzing international forest protection efforts are a significant increase for U.S.-sponsored conservation programs and a challenge to other developed countries to join us in reforming trade and finance practices that promote forest destruction. As you told environmentalists when you met with them last week in Seattle, such a program could be targeted to countries whose forests might be impacted by trade liberalization (e.g. Indonesia, Malaysia, Congo, Brazil and Peru).

This initiative includes:

> *Global Forest Fund* – You would propose $100 million in FY 2001 for programs at USAID that forge partnerships with conservation organizations and developing countries to promote conservation-based development. Funds would support training and technical assistance in areas such as conservation planning, watershed improvement and reforestation, and would be targeted to regions where deforestation poses the greatest threat of biodiversity loss. Partnership agreements would be structured in a way to leverage significant private funding for these efforts. (Members of the public could be offered an opportunity to contribute directly to this fund through a check-off box on federal tax returns.)
>
> *Debt-for-Nature* – You would propose $50 million in FY 2001 to implement the Tropical Forest Conservation Act, which authorizes the reduction of debt to the United States in exchange for forest protection efforts. You requested $50 million for this program in FY 2000 but Congress appropriated only $13 million.

Eliminating Forestry Subsidies – You would propose multilateral negotiations, perhaps in the new WTO Round, to phase out subsidies that promote overlogging. This complements our position at the WTO Ministerial, where USTR and CEQ declared our opposition to proposals on non-tariff measures that would undermine legitimate efforts to protect a country's forest resources.

Forestry Lending Standards – You would call on G7 countries to adopt standards that bar lending for projects that destroy primary forest or promote unsustainable forestry. The World Bank and OPIC already prohibit certain infrastructure and forestry projects in primary forests. At this year's G7 summit, we won language calling for environmental guidelines for export credit agencies by the 2001 summit. We would build on this by calling for explicit forest policies.

Cost: $150 million in FY 2001.

CLEAN WATERS ACROSS AMERICA

Action: You would propose doubling America's investment in clean water over the next 10 years with the goals of: ending beach closures, restoring the Great Lakes, shrinking the Gulf of Mexico "dead zone" and, ultimately, making all our rivers, lakes and coastal waters clean enough for fishing and swimming. You also would call on Congress to reauthorize a strengthened Clean Water Act.

Background: Despite tremendous headway in combating water pollution, 40 percent of America's surveyed waterways are still too polluted for fishing and swimming, and beaches are closed to swimmers more than 1000 times a year. Regionally, the "dead zone" in the Gulf of Mexico continues to grow larger, and toxic sediments pose a continuing pollution threat in the Great Lakes.

The five-year Clean Water Action Plan you launched early last year is providing new resources to control the largest remaining sources of water pollution: dirty runoff from farms and urban areas. In FY 1999 and FY 2000, you secured $3.4 billion to carry out the plan, much of it directed to helping communities and farmers reduce polluted runoff. We are recommending another increase for FY 2001.

However, achieving the goal of "fishable and swimmable" waters across the country will require new legislative authorities and significant new resources. A newly reauthorized Clean Water Act must close court-created loopholes in wetlands protections, restore citizens' rights to enforce clean water standards, and provide authority to regulate polluted runoff when states fail to act. And major new funding is needed to meet replace aging wastewater infrastructure nationwide and meet other water quality challenges.

In recent years, your budgets have proposed reductions for the Clean Water State Revolving Funds that finance wastewater improvement on the assumption that the funds were approaching full capitalization at an adequate level. But recent surveys of wastewater infrastructure needs undercut that assumption, and mayors, governors and construction trade unions are pressing for increased funding. This year, Congress appropriated $550 million more than you requested. Future increases could meet these wastewater needs while also providing resources to address polluted runoff and critical regional issues.

This initiative includes:

Fulfilling the Promise of the Clean Water Act – You would set a near-term goal of ending beach closures and a long-term goal of making all of America's waterways safe for fishing and swimming.

Doubling Our Investment in Clean Water – You would propose doubling funding for the state revolving funds to $3 billion a year for 10 years. Half the funding would be allocated under the current formula for wastewater system improvements. The other half would be targeted as follows:

- $500 million a year to help farming and ranching communities reduce polluted runoff;
- $500 million a year for wetlands restoration and pollution control in the Mississippi Valley to help eliminate the "dead zone" in the Gulf of Mexico.
- $500 million a year (transferred from the Hazardous Substances Trust Fund) to help states address contaminated sediments and other pollution threats in the Great Lakes.

Strengthening the Clean Water Act – You would call on Congress to strengthen and reauthorize the Clean Water Act to meet a new generation of clean water challenges.

Cost: $15 billion over 10 years.

BUILDING MORE LIVABLE COMMUNITIES

Action: You would announce major new elements in the Administration's Livable Communities initiative, including: 1) doubling the Administration's current proposal for state and local tax credits for open space, brownfields, and water quality, known as Better America Bonds; (2) making billions of dollars in transportation money more readily available for projects that reduce both congestion and pollution; and 3) revitalizing urban areas by providing greater assistance through HUD for brownfields redevelopment.

Background: Last year, the Administration launched a new initiative to help communities preserve open space, reduce traffic congestion, fight sprawl and take other steps to enhance livability and sustain prosperity. Our initiative has drawn considerable support at the state and local levels, and in last month's election voters across the country approved another round of "smart growth" ballot initiatives.

New efforts proposed for this year's budget include:

Better America Bonds – You would propose $1.4 billion over five years for Better America Bonds, twice the level proposed last year. This funding would support federal tax credits enabling state, local and tribal governments to issue bonds to preserve open space, clean up brownfields, and improve water quality. The funding proposed last year would have allowed $9.5 billion in bond authority over five years.

Expanding Transportation Choices – You would propose allowing communities greater flexibility in the use of federal transportation funds so more can be steered to mass transit and alternative transportation. The transportation trust fund will generate $3 billion more in FY 2001 than was projected when TEA-21 was enacted.

Next Generation of Brownfields Redevelopment – You would propose two new steps to encourage cleanup and redevelopment of vacant, abandoned, or underutilized urban properties: changes to the tax code to allow the currently underutilized brownfields tax credit to be applied to cleanup costs associated with asbestos and lead, which are not now eligible; and changes to HUD's $5 billion-a-year Community Development Block Grant program to make it easier to use grants to finance brownfields cleanup and redevelopment.

Cost: $1.4 billion over five years for Better America Bonds.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

'99 DEC 13 PM3:10

December 13, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NEAL LANE Neal

SUBJECT: State of the Union Theme/FY01 Budget Ideas

Science and technology, particularly research and education, should figure prominently in your State of the Union Address to underscore your vision for the 21st century. The emphasis should be on two overarching needs: 1) restoring balance to our science and technology research portfolio by focusing on university-based research in the physical, social, and life sciences and in engineering; and 2) providing funding for the breakthrough research that will serve America's goals for the new millennium: investments that secure the continued prosperity of our economy, improvements in health care and in standards of living, and better education and training for America's students and workers.

Increasing Balanced Investments in Long-Term Research and Development

You have been consistent and eloquent about your commitment to investing in America's future even in times of constrained resources. In every year of your Administration, you have increased the S&T budget. The 21st Century Research Fund, an unprecedented statement of the importance of broad support of S&T, has fared extremely well in Congress – showing an 8 percent increase in FY 2000.

When you make remarks on the eight years of record peacetime expansion in the U.S. economy, you should – as Alan Greenspan has – credit science and technology for much of the outstanding performance. Innovations in science and technology have caused a chain reaction in the economy that:

- has resulted in improved productivity, which yields increases in wages or increases in benefits without letting loose higher inflation;
- has led businesses to continue to invest in high-tech capital equipment, making our capital stock more productive and profitable; and
- has provided U.S. businesses with payoffs from technology's efficiencies and from greater education in school and on the job that U.S. workers have acquired to keep pace with the new technology.

I also hope you will remark on the progress toward a goal you and the Vice President established in 1994: total national (public and private) R&D investment of 3 percent of GDP. By current projections, total annual R&D expenditures in the United States will be $247 billion in 1999 – an 8.8 percent increase over the $227 billion estimated for 1998, and the third year in which R&D spending outpaced the growth in the economy as a whole. R&D as a share of GDP will reach 2.79 percent in 1999. This 1999 forecast of R&D as a share of GDP is the highest since 1967's 2.80 percent, and in 2000 the U.S. R&D/GDP ratio could exceed the all-time high ratio of 2.87 percent in 1964.

As you noted in your economic speech of December 3, however, we need to make greater progress next year in funding a balanced research portfolio. NIH and biomedical research received over two-thirds of the FY 2000 increase in the 21st Century Research Fund. Non-defense research outside of NIH increased only 2.4 percent in FY 2000. Since FY 1994, non-defense R&D outside of NIH has not kept pace with inflation, and is down 5 percent in real terms. The physical and social sciences, engineering, and non-biomedical life sciences have barely kept pace with inflation over the last several years. Their failure to thrive poses a risk to our leadership in such critical areas as information technology (where we have made a good start with IT^2), nanotechnology, and energy. It even undermines biotechnology and medical research, which depend on advances in chemistry, biology, physics, mathematics, and several fields of engineering.

Theme: Innovation for Continued Prosperity

I propose a $1.5 billion initiative (above passback) in Science and Technology for the 21st Century for the FY 2001 budget. Such an increase would allow your Administration to achieve four important objectives: 1) increase university-based research (outside of NIH, government support for university-based research is only $8-9 billion); 2) correct the growing disparity between the scientific disciplines and restore the all-important balance between biomedical research and the physical, social, and non-biomedical life sciences and engineering; 3) sustain the U.S. position as the world leader in all fields of science and technology; and 4)increase support for research and development that support your priorities, including:

- Information technology – Further spur the transformation of the way we obtain services ranging from entertainment and commerce to education and health care; quicken the pace of discoveries across the scientific disciplines.
- Nanotechnology – Find ways to manipulate matter at the atomic and molecular level to make novel and useful devices and materials. Nanotechnology could have a future impact on our economy and our society that is as significant as the development of the transistor and the Internet.
- Education research – Find out what *really* works in teaching math and science to kids and apply that knowledge to the task of making sure all Americans are given a chance to participate in science. As the PCAST noted, "less than 0.1 percent of our nation's expenditures for elementary and secondary education . . . were invested to determine which educational techniques actually work, and to find ways to improve them."
- Biomedical research -- Win the war on cancer and declare war on asthma, mental illness, and heart disease; provide vaccines for the debilitating diseases of the developing world; produce an AIDS vaccine.
- Critical Infrastructure Protection and Weapons of Mass Destruction – Protect Americans from cyberthreats and from chemical and biological warfare; lower the anxiety level.
- Aviation safety – Increased avionics research can halt the trend toward weekly fatal airline accidents and reduce the aviation fatal accident rate by a factor of five within 10 years
- Climate and Energy – Create a clean energy future to reduce climate change and the health impacts of pollution, while growing the economy through energy technology exports; produce high-value chemicals, fuel, and power from new cash crops to boost farm income and add good jobs to rural economies.
- Environmental Research – Better understand the biology and ecology of life on earth and learn how to protect it while also meeting the needs of the American and world's people.

By addressing significant gaps in our knowledge base, these initiatives will support greater equity and prosperity in our nation. I have attached agency-by-agency estimates of possible allocations of the FY 2001 funds for your consideration (Tab A). The outyears should reflect sustained annual growth of at least 5 percent.

Doubling Option: Millennium Fund for University Research

If we seek an enduring legacy of your commitment to investing in science and technology, I believe that the Administration could gain bipartisan support for supplementing and sustaining the FY 2001 funding with a proposal to double university-based research in five years (beginning in FY 2002). By directing that these funds be used to strengthen the integration of research and education, the Administration can underscore the core principles of the Government-University Research Partnership. This Millennium Fund for University Research would require an additional investment of approximately $28 billion in the outyears (on top of the 5% increase recommended above). Such a fund would provide a practical alternative to Congressional proposals that authorize doubling all civilian research and development.

$1.5 Billion: Investment in 21st Century Initiative

21st Century Research Fund Accounts	FY1999	FY 2000 Final*	Change from FY 99 Amount	Change from FY 99 Percent	Passback	Proposed Addback		Initiatives
Total	**36,932**	**39,915**	2,983	8.1%	40,478	1,501		
					1.41%	5.17%		
NIH	15,612	**17,865**	2,253	14.4%	17,933	421	**	Biomedical Research/Vaccines
NSF	3,672	**3,897**	225	6.1%	3,912	420		IT; Nanotech; Envir Research
DOE	3,547	**3,673**	126	3.6%	4,050	100		IT; Nanotech; Climate/energy
NASA	4,996	**4,885**	-111	-2.2%	5,001	100		IT; Nanotech;
DOD	4,259	**4,580**	321	7.5%	4,072	300	***	IT; Nanotech; CIP/WMD
USDA	1,536	**1,575**	39	2.5%	1,581	75		Climate/energy; food safety
DOC	827	**831**	4	0.5%	801	50		IT; Nanotech
DOI (USGS)	798	**821**	23	2.9%	829	33		Climate/energy
EPA	671	**663**	-8	-1.2%	759			Climate/energy
VA	316	**320**	4	1.3%	334	2		Biomedical research
Ed	210	**235**	25	11.9%	427			Education research
DOT	488	**570**	82	16.8%	779			Aviation Safety

numbers are in millions of dollars

*numbers reflect .38 percent cut

** NIH numbers represent an increase equal to the CPI (2.4%) plus $60 M for Vaccine Initiative.
If NIH were to increase to the BRDPI (3.6%) an additional $154 M to the proposed addback would be needed .

*** DOD numbers assume passback at FY 00 requested levels.

PASSBACK = $563 M above FY 00 Enacted Levels
ADDBACK = $1,500 M above FY 00 Enacted Levels

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE
MARKING INITIALS: MO DATE: 11/10/21
2019-0990-S