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

PRESIDENT'S ENVIRONMENTAL AND CONSERVATION CHALLENGE AWARDS

The President has stated that "we can establish a new kind of environmentalism, one in which a sound ecology and a sound economy go hand in hand."

No one sector, group or individual can meet this challenge alone. Those leaders who find innovative ways to better manage our resources, stimulate innovation, improve education, and create partnerships merit Presidential recognition.

PURPOSE

To establish an annual Presidential award that will:

- **Institutionalize** the President's commitment to promote environmental quality and a conservation ethic;
- **Recognize** outstanding American citizens or programs;
- Provide an **incentive** for environmental accomplishment by promoting **competition**;
- Promote **partnerships** between groups who may have had adversarial rather than cooperative relationships in the past, and
- Establish a **data base** cataloguing **model programs** for **replication**.

PROGRAM

The overall program **OBJECTIVES** are to stimulate:

- the incorporation of environmental thinking into business decision-making;
- partnership building;
- innovation, and
- the development of an environmental and conservation ethic.

Award recipients will include businesses, non-profit groups, individual innovators, educators, communicators and local governments.

PROGRAM ORGANIZATION

I. Administration

CEQ is responsible for overall program management and will work with appropriate White House staff offices. Business and environmental organizations will lend staff support as needed.

II. Steering Committee

A diversified Steering Committee of 20 members will assist CEQ with overall program direction, promotion, and replication of the model programs.

III. Selection Process

- A. Technical Advisory Teams - screen nominations, recommend finalists
- B. Selection Panel
Fifteen luminaries from various sectors will judge the nominations. Five positions will rotate annually.
- C. Final Screening of Winners
The White House/CEQ, after consultation with appropriate departments, will make the final determination.

PROGRAM CHRONOLOGY

PHASE I - ENTRY into PRESIDENT'S ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGE PROGRAM

Organizations or individuals will submit nomination forms to CEQ. Those which meet entry level criteria will be entered into the Data Bank.

PHASE II - AWARDS

The President will present medals and awards at an annual White House ceremony. An Awards Symposium which highlights the winning programs will precede the ceremony.

PRESIDENT'S ENVIRONMENT and CONSERVATION CHALLENGE AWARDS

Tier I 1) PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL for EXCELLENCE

The most coveted prize and the most difficult to attain, this award will reflect strong commitment and excellence in more than one of the award categories listed in Tier II.

Medals Awarded: up to 3

Tier II 1) QUALITY ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT AWARDS

This award will mesh environmental criteria with that of the Baldrige quality award. Emphasis will be placed on the incorporation of environmental thinking into sound management decisions and practices.

2) PARTNERSHIP AWARDS

Emphasis will be placed on innovative and successful partnership and coalition building efforts.

3) INNOVATION AWARDS

Emphasis will be placed on innovative technology, programs, products, or processes that demonstrate unusual vision, creativity, or "environmental entrepreneurship".

4) EDUCATION and COMMUNICATIONS AWARDS

Emphasis will be placed on education and information programs that contribute to the development of a conservation and environmental ethic in the nation.

Awards Awarded: up to 5 in each category

Tier III PRESIDENTIAL CITATIONS

Presidential Citations will be given to program finalists who demonstrate notable or unique achievements, but who were not selected for Tier I or II awards. This group of winners will also participate in the Awards Symposium.

Certificates Awarded: up to 75

All of these groups (Tiers I, II, & III) will also receive Environmental Quality Flags and be entitled to fly them at their place of business as a visible symbol of their commitment to environmental stewardship. Many organizations may opt to have flag raising ceremonies to further involve and challenge their employees or members. Some events may merit Presidential participation.

TIMETABLE

MARCH 1991 -- Awards Program announced by the President

JUNE 1991 -- Nomination forms due

AUGUST 1991 -- Winners selected

OCTOBER 1991 -- Symposium and Awards Ceremony held at White House

CATEGORY	CEO/EXEC DIR	SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION	DIRECTOR/TRUSTEE	LOCATION

BUSINESS				

AGRIBUSINESS				
Kraft-General Foods	Michael Miles	Waste Management Labeling Environmental Mngmt.	Northwestern Univ. Kellogg School of Mngmt. Capital Holding Corp. Citizens Fidelity Corp. Lyric Opera Chicago	Chicago, IL
CONSUMER PRODUCTS				
Procter & Gamble	Edwin L. Artzt	Grocery Industry Committee on Solid Waste, Chaired the Market Development Committee	GTE Corp. Teradyne, Inc. Nat'l Foreign Trade Council Pres. Bush's Adv. Comm. on Trade Policy & Negotiations Emory Bus. Sch. Adv. Council Lauder Inst. for Mgmt. & Int'l Studies (Wharton Sch) Adv Bd - Huntsman Center for Global Compet. & Leadership (Wharton School)	Cincinnati, OH
COMMUNICATIONS				
Time Warner	N.J. Nicholas, Jr.	Diverse Communications	US Council on Int'l Business Advisory Comm. for Trade & Policy Negotiations Columbia U. Graduate Sch of Journalism, Advisory Board Xerox Corp. Bankers Trust New York Corp. Sarah Lawrence College - T	New York, NY

CATEGORY	CEO/EXEC DIR	SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION	DIRECTOR/TRUSTEE	LOCATION
ENERGY				
ELECTRIC UTILITY				
Southern California Edison	John E. Bryson	NRDC Founder Energy Efficiency Programs	World Resource Institute Calf. Envriental Trust Claremont U. Center & Graduate School Nat'l Assn of Regulatory Utility Commissioners Stanford U. Alumni Assn	Los Angeles, CA
NATURAL GAS				
Enron	Ken Lay	Cleaner Burning Fuel	Nat'l Energy Foundation Gas Research Inst. Interstate Nat'l Gas Assn. Am. US C of C - Nat Resources Com.	Houston, TX
PETROLEUM				
Chevron	Kenneth T. Derr	BRT's Environmental Task Force	Citicorp Amer. Petroleum Inst. Cornell U. - Trustee Environmental Awards Program	San Francisco, CA
ENGINEERING				
Bechtel	Riley P. Bechtel	Environmental Engineering	J.P. Morgan Int'l Advisory Council Business Council	San Francisco, CA

CATEGORY	CEO/EXEC DIR	SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION	DIRECTOR/TRUSTEE	LOCATION
ENVIRONMENTAL SERVICES				
Browning-Ferris Industries	William D. Ruckelshaus	Business Council for Sustainable Development	Princeton - Bd. of T Cummins Engine Monsanto Weyerhaeuser Conservation Foundation\ World Wildlife Fund Past US Rep. to UN World Commission on Environment & Development	Houston, TX
FINANCIAL				
Citicorp *Citibank *BLFC Securities Corp. *Dinners Club	John Reed	Policy Comm - BRT	Nat'l Merit Scholarship Corp Pres. Shedd Aquar.	New York, NY
HEALTH				
Merck	Dr. P. Roy Vagelos	Physician	U. of Pennsylvania - T Rockefeller U. - T MIT Columbia U. College of Physicians & Surgeons Prudential Ins. of Amer. TRW, Inc.	Rahway, NJ

CATEGORY	CEO/EXEC DIR	SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION	DIRECTOR/TRUSTEE	LOCATION
MANUFACTURING				
Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing	Allen F. Jacobson	1st Pollution Prev. Programs Conference Board, Vice-Ch.	Mobil Corp. Northern States Power Co. Valmont Ind. Potlatch Corp. US Chamber of Commerce Adv. Comm. for Trade Policy & Negotiations US-USSR Trade & Eco Council	St. Paul, MN
General Electric	Jack H. Welch, Jr.	Communications & Financial Aerospace Business Council, Ch.	Federal Reserve Bank of NY	New York, NY
CHEMICAL				
Dow	Frank P. Popoff	Chemical Manufacturers Assn. Vice-Ch.	American Express NCR Indiana U. - Sch of Bus Dean's Advisory Council U. of Michigan - Sch of Bus Visiting Comm. US Council for Int'l Bus US-USSR Trade & Eco Council	Midland, MI

CATEGORY	CEO/EXEC DIR	SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION	DIRECTOR/TRUSTEE	LOCATION
PAPER/FORESTRY International Paper	John A. Georges	American Paper Institute Chairman	NYSE Warner-Lambert Fed Reserve Bank of NY Tulane U. Pres' Council	Purchase, NY
RETAIL Wal-Mart	Sam Walton	Encourages Env. Sound Products from 7,000 Suppliers Consumer Education		Bentonville, AR
TRANSPORTATION Union Pacific	Drew Lewis	Business Roundtable Chairman	American Express AT&T Ford Motor Nat'l Eco Commission Comm. of Eco Development - T	Bethlehem, PA

CATEGORY	CEO/EXEC DIR	SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION	DIRECTOR/TRUSTEE	LOCATION
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Academia				

Stanford - Hoover Institute	Derek Bok	Stanford Harvard	Citizen's Democracy Corps. Nat'l Assn of Independent Colleges & Universities Int'l Peace Academy	Palo Alto, CA
University of Houston	Marguerite Ross Barnett	University of Houston	Monsanto Union Electric Education Testing Service SALLIE MAE	Houston, TX
ENVIRONMENTAL/CONSERVATION				

Environmental Defense Fund	Fred Krupp	Group of 10	Recycling Advisory Council - Chair Greenseal Inc. Resources for the Future Connecticut Fund for the Env. Environmental Media Assoc. Earth Communications Office Governor Cuomo's Environmental Advisory Board	New York, NY

CATEGORY	CEO/EXEC DIR	SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION	DIRECTOR/TRUSTEE	LOCATION
The Conservation Foundation/ World Wildlife Fund	Katherine Fuller (Russell Train)	International	Int'l Union for Conservation of Nature & Nat. Resources Global Tomorrow Coalition Northeast Utilities Board of Trustees	Washington, DC
Resources for the Future	Robert Fri	Economics	Transco Energy Corp. Env. & Energy Study Institute, Science Service, Inc. - T Atlantic Council - T Electric Power Research Intitute - Advisory Council	Washington, DC
Conservation Fund	Patrick Noonan	Land Trust	National Geographic Society Nat'l Center for Nonprofit Bds Amer Conservation Assn & Independent Sector Duke U. Sch of Forestry & Env. Studies - Bd of Advisors Farmland Trust	Arlington, VA

CATEGORY	CEO/EXEC DIR	SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION	DIRECTOR/TRUSTEE	LOCATION
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FOUNDATION

McArthur Foundation	Adele Simmons	Energy Foundation	First Chicago Corporation Marsh & McLennan Companies Union of Concerned Scientists and Synergos	
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LAW

Retired	Buck Bradley	Lawyer	Former General Counsel & Senior VP, Eli Lilly & Company	Indianapolis, IN
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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

Michael R. Deland
Chairman

(202) 395-5080

August 6, 1990

MEMORANDUM TO EDWARD ROGERS, JR.

FROM: Michael R. Deland

SUBJECT: Attached memorandum, "Bush Administration Environmental Initiatives and Accomplishments"

Enclosed please find the second edition of a memorandum prepared by CEQ entitled "The Bush Administration and the Environment: Initiatives and Accomplishments." The memorandum is drawn in part from materials submitted from throughout the Executive Branch and is being circulated to appropriate senior Executive Branch personnel. The first edition was released in May 1990.

This memorandum summarizes the major Administration actions which promise to have a beneficial result for environmental quality and conservation of natural resources. It was not prepared for release to the news media or the public, but it has been rigorously reviewed to ensure its factual integrity. I hope it will be helpful in preparing speeches, responding to inquiries and tracking issues.

This memorandum is kept up to date and distributed at least quarterly by my assistant, Dale Curtis, who can be reached on 395-5750. We are counting on you to inform us of any developments or suggestions to be included in the next version. We would need those comments by mid-October. Thank you!

Enclosure

Ed
a solid record that can
be better "packaged/marketed"
for political purposes —
M.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

Michael R. Deland
Chairman

(202) 395-5080

The Bush Administration and the Environment:

Summary of Initiatives and Accomplishments

July 1990

President George Bush, continuing a life-long record of concern for the environment, has demonstrated a commitment to environmental protection, conservation, and wise management of our natural resources. What follows is a summary of the Bush Administration's initiatives and accomplishments.

1. General leadership
2. Air pollution
3. Environmentally-sensitive budget policy
4. Pollution prevention and recycling
5. Food safety
6. Water projects and water pollution
7. Wetlands
8. Energy
9. Global climate change
10. Other international environmental initiatives
11. Alaskan oil spill
12. Oil spill prevention
13. Asbestos ban
14. Hazardous wastes and Superfund
15. Clean oceans and coastlines
16. Radon
17. Defense & the Environment Initiative
18. Endangered species & wildlife
19. Earth Day
20. Environmental education
21. Environmental law enforcement

1) **General leadership and themes:**

President Bush has demonstrated his commitment to global stewardship through his appointments, domestic and foreign policy initiatives, and support for strong environmental law enforcement.

In the President's view, environmental protection and economic growth are interdependent, not opposed. Environmental stewardship is crucial to sustaining strong economies, both domestically and internationally, while strong economies allow nations to fulfill the obligations of environmental stewardship for present and future generations. The U.S. continues to be a world leader in the development and implementation of sound, balanced environmental policy, particularly in using innovative tools that harness the force of free markets and private initiative in the service of environmental quality.

More federal departments are embarked on substantive environmental policy initiatives than ever before. The President, Cabinet and other federal officials have devoted dozens of speeches, news conferences, and events to environmental subjects, and Administration staffers have devoted thousands of hours to ambitious environmental quality initiatives.

The President has endorsed elevating EPA to Cabinet status.

2) **Air pollution:**

After a decade of policy gridlock, President Bush's administration crafted a comprehensive package of amendments to the U.S. Clean Air Act to reduce automobile tailpipe and other emissions that contribute to urban smog; require increased use of cleaner motor vehicle fuels; and control emissions of toxic air pollutants. The bill tackles acid rain through an innovative tradable emission permits program that will cut acid emissions roughly 50 percent below 1980 levels and cost far less than traditional "command-and-control" approaches.

Thanks in large measure to the President's personal commitment, a clean air bill passed the House and Senate and it appears likely this much-needed reform package will be enacted in 1990.

Among several other administrative actions on clean air, EPA issued rules that lower gasoline volatility (which contributes to smog) in summer months; and rules to reduce industrial emissions of the hazardous pollutant benzene by 90 percent. EPA proposed standards to require source separation by municipal waste handlers to reduce overall air emissions from municipal waste incinerators by 90 percent.

Also, the President decided air quality controls for oil and gas development offshore California should be substantially the same as those applied onshore.

The Administration has made major strides on global air pollution (see #9 and #10). Related actions on automobile fuel efficiency, energy efficiency and renewables, and clean coal technology are listed below (see #8).

3) **Environmentally-sensitive budget policy:**

The Administration's budget request for 1991 continued a trend begun with President Bush's first budget in 1990: substantial funding increases for most environmental programs, and greater sensitivity to the impact of federal actions on the environment. Notable areas include:

- Increases for EPA's operating budget, especially for enforcement (more than 500 new staff) and cleanup at Superfund and federal sites (see #14)

- A 65 percent increase in the Justice Department's environmental enforcement budget over the FY89 level (see #21)

- "America the Beautiful": a three-pronged effort to enhance federal resources by acquiring lands with high environmental or recreation value (up to \$1 billion over four years); restoring run-down natural resource and recreation areas ("Legacy '99")

- Establishing a long-term private-public reforestation program to plant and maintain one billion new trees annually for at least ten years

- concerning global climate change, sharply higher funding for: the "Mission to Planet Earth" space-based Earth observation system; solar and renewable energy, energy conservation; and basic research (up 43 percent in 1990, up 57 percent to over \$1 billion in 1991; see #9 for details)

- termination or mitigation of certain water projects; research, protection and enhancement of the nation's wetlands (see #6, #7)

- proposed demonstration projects to terminate wasteful "below-cost" timber sales at nine national forests and provide improved recreational facilities in those areas

- an increase of almost \$800 million, or 21 percent above 1990 levels, for Federal facility cleanups

- full funding for the Clean Coal Technology program

- an increase in the staff of the President's Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) from 10 to 34 positions by 1991

4) **Pollution prevention and recycling:**

The Administration seeks reforms to move beyond costly end-of-the-process cleanups and make pollution prevention a priority, integrated in all elements of environmental policy.

Within EPA, a Pollution Prevention Office was strengthened to work with industry and private groups to promote pollution prevention. Also, two percent of every EPA program's budget has been set aside to fund pollution prevention demonstration projects.

In 1990, 25 grants worth a total of \$7 million have been awarded to 23 states to boost development of pollution prevention projects. Fourteen grants were awarded in 1989, worth \$5 million.

EPA has launched a nationwide "early warning system" to prevent municipal sewage treatment plants from violating Clean Water Act standards.

The Administration adopted a goal of reducing municipal solid waste by 25 percent through a combination of source reduction and recycling measures. The Administration is also implementing federal procurement guidelines requiring government agencies and contractors to buy products made of recycled materials. The Recycling Advisory Council, a joint project of the National Recycling Coalition and EPA, is focusing on the development of markets for secondary materials.

5) **Food safety:**

The Administration proposed legislation to improve food safety by streamlining regulations to allow faster removal of dangerous substances from the market. EPA blocked all sales, distribution and use of "Alar" products labeled for use on food products, and stepped up its efforts against a wide range of other suspect pesticides. EPA blocked the sale of roughly 100 million apples that had been illegally treated with the fungicide "Botran."

6) **Water and wetlands:**

President Bush seeks termination of uneconomic and destructive projects such as the Garrison Diversion Unit in North Dakota. In line with this policy, EPA initiated an action which could block issuance of a permit for construction on the Two Forks Dam in Colorado. EPA also rejected the proposed Big River reservoir project in Rhode Island, based on unacceptable potential effects on wetlands, wildlife and recreation.

The Bureau of Reclamation has been given new direction and proposed doubled funding to pursue mitigation of adverse impacts of certain large water projects already constructed. Secretary Lujan ordered an Environmental Impact Study on operations at Glen Canyon Dam in Arizona.

Secretary Lujan announced a plan affecting the balance between water usage and environmental protection in the Central Valley of California, including preparation of an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS). Long-term water contracts are being renewed with the understanding that adjustments may be required when the EIS is completed.

EPA issued proposals to regulate 17 pesticides and 21 other contaminants in drinking water, almost doubling the number of pollutants subject to federally enforceable standards. The proposals also call for monitoring 110 currently unregulated contaminants.

As noted in #21, the Administration and the states brought action against 61 cities (including San Antonio, Detroit, El Paso and Phoenix) for failure to control industrial discharges of toxic and hazardous wastewater into their sewage treatment systems. As part of a coordinated strategy to protect Chesapeake Bay, the Administration charged 26 facilities in the watershed for violations of the Clean Water Act.

EPA reinvigorated a task force charged with developing a national ground-water protection strategy, and initiated a dialogue with a full range of interested parties.

For related actions on ocean pollution, see #15.

7) **Wetlands:**

The Administration supported legislation to purchase wetlands to implement the North American Waterfowl Management Plan, and added over 106,000 acres to Everglades National Park. Secretary Lujan proposed a plan to repair environmental damage at Kesterson Reservoir in California, for a net tripling of the wetlands acreage there.

Concerned by the rapid loss of American wetland habitats, the President directed an interagency task force to hold meetings and report on ways to implement his goal of "no net loss" of wetlands.

EPA and Army Corps of Engineers signed an agreement to clarify wetlands protection policy. The Bureau of Reclamation and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service signed an agreement to cooperate in expanding the wetlands breeding habitat for numerous species.

The President's FY91 budget seeks a 24 percent boost (to \$460 million) for research, protection and enhancement of wetlands, including acceleration of the national wetlands inventory and enhancement of the bay/estuary program. This follows a 32 percent increase in 1990.

Enhanced criminal enforcement against those who illegally fill wetlands is proving to be an effective deterrent, especially as real jail time is being served by violators under the sentencing guidelines.

8) **Energy:**

The Department of Energy is preparing a National Energy Strategy which emphasizes environmental and safety concerns, including responses to potential climate change, such as: energy conservation and efficiency; alternative and renewable energy sources; and nuclear power safety.

DOE announced eleven initiatives in energy efficiency and renewables, including: more efficient lighting for federal buildings; regulatory and legislative changes to stimulate efficiency improvements in the utility, commercial and construction sectors; and using the government-industry

technology transfer process to speed promising technologies into widespread use.

In June 1990, the President postponed for at least ten years offshore oil and gas lease sales in tracts comprising: 99 percent of the California coast; the coasts of Oregon and Washington state; the southwest coast of Florida; and the Georges Bank area off New England. Lease sales near Santa Barbara, CA may proceed after January 1, 1996, but only after further studies as recommended by the National Academy of Sciences.

In a reversal of previous policy, DOE is developing rules to centralize and strengthen significantly compliance with the environmental assessment process under the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA).

The Department of Transportation raised the corporate average fuel economy (CAFE) standard for autos to 27.5 mpg.

The President has requested all of the necessary funds to complete the \$2.5 billion Clean Coal Technology program.

To address waste cleanup at DOE facilities, funding was increased by \$500 million in FY90; an increase of \$600 million is sought for FY91. DOE released a five-year, site-by-site cleanup plan, and a five-year research and development plan to reduce outyear costs.

9) **Global climate change:**

The Bush Administration has demonstrated its willingness to confront the complex and important question of global climate change. The Secretary of State's first major address in January 1989 expressed the President's intention to take comprehensive action in this area. In February 1990, the President became the first and only head of state to address the U.N.-sponsored Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the leading global forum for climate change policy. The U.S. participates actively in the IPCC, has hosted two IPCC plenary sessions and two workshops, and chairs the IPCC Response Strategies Working Group.

Numerous Administration initiatives are underway which will have the effect of limiting greenhouse gas emissions. The Administration's clean air bill, National Energy Strategy, increased CAFE standard, reforestation campaign, and CFC phase-out (see below) will have the effect of reducing projected greenhouse gas emissions by 15-25 percent by the year 2000. The U.S. supports a comprehensive

approach to the issue which considers all sources and sinks of greenhouse gases, and which allows for the use of market-based, innovative, dynamic and cost-effective responses.

To prevent ozone layer depletion, the Bush administration negotiated with other countries a complete phase-out by 2000 of most uses of ozone-depleting substances, and set schedules for phasing out or reducing halons. The Administration supports financial and technical assistance to developing countries to make the transition to non-CFC technologies, in both multilateral and bilateral contexts, and with appropriate guidelines to target administration of the funds.

At Malta, the President proposed two major global conferences on the issue in 1990. The White House Conference on Global Change, held April 17-18, addressed scientific and economic uncertainties and ways to reduce them. The second conference would open negotiations toward a multilateral framework treaty once the IPCC has completed initial assessments of the scientific evidence, potential impacts, and policy options. At the Houston summit, the U.S. urged completion of framework negotiations by 1992.

As noted in #3 above, the FY91 budget request seeks more than \$1 billion for research into global climate change, up 57 percent from 1990 levels, which were themselves 43 percent over 1989. That research includes work on the "Mission to Planet Earth" orbiting observation system, Earth systems basic research, renewable and solar energy sources, and energy efficiency/conservation.

10) **Other international environmental initiatives:**

President Bush supported efforts to make the environment a major focus of the "G-7" summits of industrial nations. In Tokyo, the President held meetings with leaders of Japan and Brazil to discuss the problem of rapid rain forest depletion.

As part of a major package of trade and investment initiatives to Latin American nations, the Administration proposes to spur "debt-for-nature swaps," and direct interest payments on certain restructured loans into trust funds that would support long-term environmental programs in those nations.

The Administration helped develop and then signed the Basel Convention, which governs transboundary shipments of hazardous wastes in an environmentally sound manner. The

Administration is currently preparing legislative proposals to implement the Basel Convention.

In June 1989, the U.S. led the way by banning imports of African elephant ivory (see #17), an action which sparked other major nations to follow suit, and led to international action under the CITES regime to list the species as endangered. The President requested funds from Congress to assist African nations in the conservation of this species.

President Bush supported and signed legislation to prohibit U.S. support for foreign development loans unless environmental impacts are studied.

The U.S. signed a bilateral agreement with Mexico to help improve Mexico City air quality, and emphasized the environment in the 1989 U.S.-Mexico Bi-National Commission meeting.

The Administration persuaded Japan, Taiwan and Korea to enter into agreements to monitor driftnet fishing. This will allow the U.S. to monitor the incidental take of birds, seals, whales, dolphins and other marine mammals.

In 1990, for the first time, Peace Corps volunteers are being trained by EPA in water pollution prevention, waste disposal, reforestation and pesticide management.

During his 1989 trip to Eastern Europe, the President offered financial and technical aid, help in drafting environmental laws and regulations, and access to pollution control technology. More specifically, the Administration is helping to develop proposals to improve air and water quality in Krakow, Poland; and establish an East European environmental center in Budapest, Hungary, which is opening in September 1990.

Senior U.S. and Soviet officials have met to expand cooperation in environmental matters, including: plans for an international park in the Bering Sea wilderness; marine mammal and fisheries conservation; marine pollution; environmental law; wetlands; and post-Chernobyl radiation monitoring.

Legislation supported by the President to elevate EPA to Cabinet status would give the U.S. Environment Secretary commensurate status with his counterparts from other nations. The plan would also enhance the new Department's authority to offer technical assistance to foreign environmental programs. In early 1989, EPA's International Activities Office was elevated to the assistant administrator level.

The Administration supports adoption of international guidelines under which banned or severely restricted pesticides should not be exported without the prior informed consent of the importing country; and it acted to implement this approach for U.S. exports.

The U.S. is participating in the international effort to assess existing programs to preserve global biological diversity, and to recommend further steps which might be taken.

The Administration is actively involved in planning the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

A task force chaired by CEQ is examining Executive Order 12114, related to the environmental impacts of U.S. government activities abroad.

For actions related to global climate change, see #9.

11) **Alaskan oil spill:**

The President sent Vice President Quayle and Cabinet-level teams on several missions to assess the largest oil spill in U.S. history. The Department of Transportation is overseeing cleanup by Exxon, while EPA is coordinating an interagency task force on long-range restoration of Prince William Sound.

The Justice Department indicted the Exxon Corporation and Exxon Shipping on a total of 10 felony and misdemeanor counts arising from the Valdez spill.

12) **Oil spill prevention:**

To help prevent future events like the Exxon Valdez and other recent oil spills, in May 1989, President Bush sent Congress comprehensive legislation to strengthen oil pollution liability and compensation laws.

In a package of decisions related to offshore oil and gas development (see #8), the President also directed immediate steps be taken: to reduce the possibility of offshore oil spills, including redirecting tanker traffic away from sensitive areas near the Florida Keys and Everglades; and improve the ability of industry and government to respond to oil spills. The President proposed, and Paris Summit leaders of industrial nations

accepted, a call for increased international cooperation on oil spill prevention and cleanup.

The Interior Department began a \$6 million, 3-year joint project with the American Petroleum Institute to research and develop new cleanup technology.

13) **Asbestos ban:**

EPA announced a ban on almost all new uses of asbestos in the United States by 1997. Asbestos is a carcinogen linked to lung and chest cancer.

14) **Hazardous wastes and Superfund:**

The Administration fought Congressional attempts to cut the Superfund budget and in 1989, exceeded Congressionally-mandated targets for cleanup starts and site studies.

After an intensive management review, the Administration reoriented the "Superfund" hazardous waste site cleanup to an "enforcement first" program to get more responsible parties to undertake cleanups. EPA added 500 new enforcement staff to this program. In fiscal years 1989 and 1990, the enforcement program collected twice as much money in injunctive relief and cost recovery than in the entire previous history of the program (\$1 billion in 1989 alone); and filed more cleanup suits than in the first six years of the program.

The Administration commenced a similar management review of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA) for operating waste disposal sites, expected to set priorities and improve implementation of this complicated process.

As noted above (#10), the Administration signed the Basel Convention controlling waste exports and is preparing enabling legislation.

15) **Clean oceans and coastlines:**

EPA implemented the first step of the President's commitment to prevent medical wastes from washing up on beaches: a pilot medical waste tracking system to serve as a model for further action. The program involves the states of Connecticut, Louisiana, New Jersey, New York and Rhode Island, as well as the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico.

The Administration secured consent agreements with local jurisdictions to phaseout ocean dumping of sewage sludge between March 1991 and June 1992. The President proposed legislation to require criminal felony penalties for illegal ocean dumping, and the Attorney General created a "SWAT Team on Ocean Pollution" to coordinate enforcement and share information with state and local officials.

16) **Radon:**

EPA released data showing high levels of cancer-causing radon to be widespread in housing throughout the country, and undertook public education campaigns to urge Americans to test and safeguard their homes, schools and businesses.

17) **Defense & the Environment Initiative**

The Department of Defense established a five-point initiative intended to forge long-term partnerships in defense-environmental matters. A September 1990 conference will attempt to: finalize a long-term strategy and near-term DOD environmental action plan; activate an enhanced DOD environmental decision-making structure; and discuss how global strategic policy might encompass environmental challenges.

18) **Endangered species and wildlife:**

After an extensive public comment period, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service listed the northern spotted owl as a "threatened" species throughout its range in Washington, Oregon, California and British Columbia. In response, Secretaries Lujan and Yeutter announced a package of measures to revise federal agency practices to balance the owls' protection and forest management.

The President agreed to create a National Marine Sanctuary in California's wildlife-rich Monterey Bay, permanently banning oil and gas development there (see #8).

As noted in #10, in June 1989, the U.S. set a world precedent by banning imports of African elephant ivory, an action which sparked other major countries to follow suit, and which led to international action under the CITES regime to list the species as endangered. The President requested funds from Congress to assist African nations in the conservation of this species. The combined effect of these

actions is already positive: falling ivory prices and stabilized elephant populations.

The Department of Interior issued an emergency listing of the Desert Tortoise as an endangered species in Southern California, Utah and Nevada. DOI acquired additional habitat for endangered panthers in Florida.

The Administration's enhanced wetlands programs benefit countless wildlife species around the nation (see #7).

The Administration blocked a Congressional proposal to cap the outlay of funds under the Wallop-Breaux Trust Fund used for fisheries protection and development.

Senior U.S. and Soviet officials have met to discuss, among other things: plans for an international park in the Bering Sea wilderness; marine mammal and fisheries conservation; and wetlands.

In line with the Administration's tough environmental enforcement policy (see #21), the Justice Department convicted almost 250 violators for illegal activity under the wildlife laws.

19) **Earth Day**

The Council on Environmental Quality coordinated actions by all federal agencies to celebrate the 20th anniversary of Earth Day, including an exhibition on the Mall in Washington and various activities by major Federal agencies throughout the country. Some agencies used the opportunity to kick off special programs, including awards and recycling programs, that are ongoing.

20) **Environmental education**

In addition to continuing support for existing programs in several Federal agencies, the President proposed a program of cash awards of up to \$5,000 to elementary and secondary school teachers in the 50 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico who develop innovative, effective environmental education programs. In a White House ceremony, President Bush awarded the President's Environmental Youth Awards to youngsters participating in organized environmental activities. The President also endorsed comprehensive environmental education legislation.

21) Environmental law enforcement

Effective environmental enforcement is a cornerstone of the Bush administration's policy. The Administration's aggressive environmental program has:

- Levied record-high numbers of civil and administrative penalties for violations of EPA-administered statutes, with fines totaling \$35 million in FY89. Environmental indictments and convictions in FY89 were 70 percent higher than in FY88. In the last two fiscal years, the Administration filed as many Superfund cases as in the first six years of the program.
- Obtained the largest single settlement amount ever of a suit by the U.S. against one entity for violation of a federal environmental statute. Texas Eastern Transmission Corp. paid a \$15 million penalty and agreed to perform cleanup work estimated to cost \$400 million at 89 sites located in 14 states.
- Achieved a record high civil penalty for violations of the Clean Water Act, by negotiating a settlement with Shell Oil Co. for \$19.7 million in fines and damages for a 400,000 gallon oil spill near San Francisco.
- Indicted the Exxon Corporation and Exxon Shipping on a total of 10 felony and misdemeanor counts arising from the largest oil spill in U.S. history in Prince William Sound, Alaska.
- Recovered a fine of \$2.25 million against Ashland Oil for its negligent actions in allowing an oil tank to rupture on the Monongahela River.
- Brought civil lawsuits against 34 companies and individuals to halt violations concerning safe demolition and renovation of asbestos in buildings.
- Along with states, brought civil and administrative actions against 61 cities (including Detroit, El Paso, Phoenix and San Antonio) for violations of the Clean Water Act.
- Protected the Chesapeake Bay by charging 26 facilities in the watershed for violations of the Clean Water Act.
- Proposed fines of \$1.65 million on 42 companies that failed to report toxic chemical discharges as required by law.

- Initiated a new program to enforce compliance with the Montreal Protocol phasing-out the production and use of ozone-depleting substances.

August 6, 1990

"The Bush Administration and the Environment" is distributed on a quarterly basis to senior administration officials for use in preparing speeches, responding to inquiries, and tracking issues. It was not prepared for release to the news media or the public, but it has been rigorously reviewed to ensure its factual integrity.

If you wish, please provide the names and mailing addresses of no more than five additional deputies, assistants, etc. in your agency/office whom you feel should receive a copy of this and future editions of this memorandum.

PLEASE MAIL THESE NAMES AND ADDRESSES TO:

DALE CURTIS
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
722 JACKSON PLACE, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20503

THANK YOU!



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

to JHS
6/5/90

Michael R. Deland
Chairman

June 1, 1990

(202) 395-5080

MEMORANDUM TO: GOVERNOR JOHN SUNUNU
THROUGH: ED ROGERS
FROM: MICHAEL DELAND
SUBJECT: Environmental Strategy 1990-1992

Attached is a preliminary outline of the thematic underpinnings for an environmental strategy for the next several years. It is predicated upon solidifying the President's "natural resource" base and upon developing a market-based "pollution prevention" initiative.

The strategy recognizes that while the President has a highly commendable environmental record, it needs to be "packaged" or marketed so as to increase the chances for it getting the credit it deserves. Further, there are opportunities for leadership in the environmental field, which are entirely consistent with Administration philosophy, which could be easily initiated.

Should you concur with the philosophy and direction of this strategy, I would look forward to developing an action plan for your consideration.

Enclosure

ENVIRONMENTAL STRATEGY 1990-1992

WHAT'S THE URGENCY?

Time is short. There are 18 months until 1992 and the formal start of the campaign season. The Administration must take stock of its environmental agenda, make adjustments as needed, and begin to communicate that agenda aggressively. **We must shape the environmental debate, much as the campaign did in 1988.**

The problem? The message of George Bush's environmental leadership -- breaking a decade-long deadlock on clean air, increasing budgets for EPA and for key environmental programs at Interior, a billion dollar investment in global change research, banning ivory imports and restricting hazardous waste exports -- is not being heard. **The President has embraced environmental protection to a far greater degree than he is given credit for.**

A VIEW OF THE LANDSCAPE

George Bush is an enormously popular President. As of May 24, the President's overall job approval rating was 72%.

However, complacency is unwise -- the President's overall popularity does not extend to his environmental record. February's Time/CNN and Harris polls found that only 35% and 42%, respectively, of Americans gave the President a positive rating on the environment; recent Harris data indicates a significant drop from even this level. A CBS/New York Times poll showed only 24% recognizing the President for his progress on the environment, while 62% said he just talks about it. The numbers go on...

There are several conflicting views of the President's environmental record. One is the more cynical one reflected in the polls above -- the environment was just an election issue. A second, more charitable view is that he **does** care, but that party officials and close aides constrain his choices and thus prevent him from translating that view into protective policies.

These perspectives and the numbers behind them would not be disturbing if they applied to an issue of little concern to the electorate. But they do not. Environmental concerns rate high on the agenda of an increasing number of voters. A full 75% of voters think government should do more to protect the environment, and more than seventy percent (up from sixty-one percent in 1984) believe that protection of the environment should be given priority, even at the risk of curbing economic growth.

HOW DID WE GET HERE?

In 1988, George Bush for the first time put environmental protection on the Presidential campaign agenda. By essentially seizing the environment as an issue from the Democrats, he has raised the standards by which he, and likely all future Presidents, will be judged by the electorate.

In light of these raised expectations, many feel the President is not yet on a course to earn the title "environmental President." Voters overwhelmingly approve of the standard we have set but, in their minds, our actions have not yet met that standard -- **in spite of the President's demonstrated leadership.**

Elected officials across the country recognize the new reality. For example, Bob Martinez is working, apparently with some success, to improve his image with a series of TV ads and pro-environment positioning on tanker traffic in the Florida Keys. This reflects a recognition of the fact that broadly defined environmental issues -- population growth, water quality and pollution -- moved ahead of drugs and crime in recent Florida polls.

And in California, Pete Wilson is beginning to draw fire for his uncertain position on the sweeping environmental ballot initiative "Big Green".

Environmental concerns are not only a Democrat-versus-Republican issue. At the very time the environment is becoming more important in more regions of the country, a significant number of Republicans appear skittish about the party's ability or willingness to confront this issue. According to one recent poll, even traditionally conservative Arizona is facing conversion of GOP members to "cactus huggers". In another poll, only 25% of Republicans chose their own party as likely to do more for the environment -- while an equal number chose the Democrats.

Finally, while the Republican party increasingly appears to be of two minds on environmental issues, polling clearly shows strong support (as much as 60-70%) for pro-environmental policies among rank-and-file Republicans. It is critical that, having taken the environment issue away from the Democrats, it not now be allowed to divide the Republican party.

While admittedly difficult, a Republican Presidential candidate **could** draw new voters -- independents and Democrats -- with a perceived pro-environment record, while even a popular incumbent could **lose** votes, including a portion of his Republican base, with a poorly perceived record.

A COUPLE OF LESSONS

In the best of worlds, we can have our cake and eat it too. That is the President's message -- we can have jobs and economic growth and protect the environment.

The trouble is that the President's current message -- that we must "find a balance" -- is not working. It satisfies neither the conservation community nor the business community. Embracing the "environmentalist" mantle has earned the President the distrust of some business and conservative skeptics, yet the "split the difference" approach is, so far, seen as "waffling" by those sensitive to environmental concerns.

In the best of all political worlds, we can win the support of the conservation community without losing the support of business. How? By recognizing that while business may be unenthusiastic about a stronger environmental posture, what choice do they have? Where else can they go? Would the Democrats serve their interests better? Of course not.

On the other hand, polls tell us that some rank-and-file Republicans are willing to exercise the choice available to them, by defecting to the Democrats.

THE BUSH ENVIRONMENTAL AGENDA -- BUILDING ON OUR STRENGTHS

In light of this political landscape, a successful agenda for the President must:

- o consolidate support among those sectors of the electorate that have the potential to "swing", and
- o outline a new way of protecting the environment -- break the presumed link between environmental protection and "command and control" regulation.

These objectives can be achieved by:

- o putting forth a "conservation initiative" that puts into action the President's concern for the outdoors, and in doing so, plays directly to a natural base of support, and
- o demonstrating what we mean by "using market forces to protect the environment". We need to move beyond words in this area.

A Focus on Conservation and Natural Resources

George Bush loves the outdoors. A substantial portion of his strongest natural constituency loves the outdoors as well. Yet, the majority of the debate over environmental protection is over contentious -- and costly -- pollution issues.

A program of positive, upbeat initiatives that provide the President with opportunities to protect the outdoors -- not fight industry -- is a winner.

The focus on pollution abatement has meant that quieter issues have been ignored. The health and beauty of our Nation's natural heritage have been given short shrift. Our parks system is in distress, both from within, as the stress of hundreds of millions of visitors takes its inevitable toll, and from without, as encroachment continues and our understanding of the parks as more than mere "islands" grows. The recognition of wetlands and other critical ecosystems has grown concurrently with demands for conversion of those systems to other uses. Agencies of government, such as the Army Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation, search for new roles and new mandates, as an era of "development at all costs" gives way to an era of conservation and wise use.

A package of new actions, current initiatives, and public statements and appearances can provide the necessary focus. Interior's "America the Beautiful" program, which includes land acquisition, the President's tree planting initiatives, and Legacy '99, could serve as a basis for this effort.

Some New Elements Of A Comprehensive Program

- **"Regeneration Initiative"** -- a federal government-wide program of environmental improvement activities -- artificial reef building, wetlands restoration, fish and wildlife enhancements at existing dams, and the like. A positive, active approach.
- **National Prairie Protection Program** -- Use of existing federal lands, cooperative management agreements, Conservation Reserve and limited new acquisition to protect and restore native prairie ecosystems.
- **President's Commission on National Park Management** -- a comprehensive look at using the ecosystem approach, rather than piecemeal responses, to managing these national jewels, and the legitimate, yet sometimes conflicting recreation and preservation functions they serve.
- **"Save the Birds" Initiative** -- diplomatic efforts to provide protection for both summer (U.S.) and winter (Caribbean and

Central America) habitat of songbirds, which are in precipitous decline due to habitat losses.

Market Forces: Showing What We Mean

The most powerful element of the President's environmental message -- in both political and substantive terms -- is that we cannot continue to add new and more complex regulatory requirements to the staggering array developed over the past twenty years.

There are two problems with this message. First, as yet, it has not been put into action. With the important exception of the Clean Air Act, concrete examples of using market driven incentives are few, and the public knows it. (Even the Clean Air Act, with its important elements of emissions trading, is fundamentally a regulatory proposal.)

Second, since concrete examples are not widely available or known, there has been no strong constituency built around the idea. In addition, there is real skepticism that what is meant by the term is simply less regulation -- and less protection for the environment -- rather than a commitment to **increasing** protection, albeit with less contention and cost.

The President must seize the opportunity provided by a general recognition that old-style regulation has reached the limits of its effectiveness. He should acknowledge, in a direct and explicit fashion, that new ways of protecting the environment are needed -- ways that achieve and improve upon the benefits of "command and control" regulation, but do so with less disruption and cost. **The CEQ Presidential Advisory Committee, to be established by Executive Order, should be charged with recommending how to make our environmental protection efforts smarter, as well as more effective.**

It is also imperative that, in the short term, the Administration lead with several proposals, in addition to the Clean Air Act, that embody and demonstrate the central philosophy of using market signals to achieve public goals. These proposals must be largely budget neutral and place no drag on the economy.

"Pollution Prevention"

Reducing the amount of waste produced in American society is the quintessential win-win opportunity. Waste costs money to produce -- it is, after all, material that might otherwise be incorporated into saleable product -- and it costs money to dispose of -- whether it is hazardous waste or simple solid waste.

"Pollution prevention", if defined first by the Bush administration , rather than Congress, need **not** be a code word for a new regulatory regime.

There are hundreds of examples of large and small firms which are saving money -- through reduced raw material costs or reduced disposal and liability costs -- by reducing waste.

For example, for over a decade, 3M has had a "Pollution Prevention Pays" program, which indeed does pay. Chevron has a "Save Money and Reduce Toxics" (SMART) program, which has reduced their toxic discharges by 60% over three years, while also saving money. And the Robbins Company, a small metal plating firm, adopted internal process changes that saved \$100,000 in the first year alone, while eliminating their toxic discharge, and hence their need for an EPA permit.

These are examples that must be replicated here in this country and around the world. **The market will assist us, if we assist it.** Information dissemination, research, technology transfer, coordination of existing permitting and reporting requirements, and federal government leadership in the recycling area can form the backbone of an effective message.

Energy Efficiency

Another win-win situation. Cutting energy use allows for continued economic growth while allowing progress toward clean air, reduces the need to fight over frontier exploration in environmentally sensitive areas, saves people and firms money and can improve our balance of trade by reducing the energy needed to produce manufactured goods.

The problem is that too many Americans equate energy **conservation** with Jimmy Carter and "freezing in the dark." In the past, the message was "do with less -- sacrifice". In the Bush Administration, **efficiency** means being **smart** -- doing as much, indeed more, with less energy.

The federal government should do more to set the example -- by rewarding efficiency in programs that provide residential mortgages, by creating markets for fledgling technologies and by simply adopting efficient technologies in government buildings. In many cases, merely providing people with the information they need can make an enormous difference. There is a place for prescriptive approaches like labeling and standards, but the non-regulatory role is truly fundamental.

WHAT'S COMING AT US?
(The next 18 Month's Radar Screen)

Irrespective of what we wish the agenda to be, there are several items that we will have little choice but to deal with. They fall into three categories:

- o **litmus test issues** -- ones on which, regardless of their overall impact, the President will be closely watched and harshly judged, in many cases because he made specific commitments;
- o **major legislative reauthorizations**, in which we can influence the timing and content of debate, but not control completely; and
- o **initiatives**, items on which we have already made commitments and for which there are important constituencies.

A brief overview of the most important elements in these three categories follows.

Litmus Tests

- o **Spotted owls/old growth.** An obvious test case. We need to go beyond the jobs-versus-trees debate and focus on creative approaches -- comprehensive forest management approaches, economic transition and job protection strategies, etc.
- o **Wetlands.** Progress on the DPC Task Force, as well as other administrative and legislative fronts, must be visible and convincing.
- o **OCS Drilling.** A strategy that convinces the conservation community that efficiency and conservation have been aggressively pursued, while not closing off the possibility of additional drilling, could work.
- o **Global Change/International Leadership.** More visible efforts to identify and implement "double duty" policies -- those which are justified in their own right and which also reduce greenhouse gas emissions -- could earn greater understanding and support for our position.

Reauthorizations

Our success with the Clean Air Act debate must be replicated. Early on, the President seized the initiative and dealt from a position of strength. The following statutes (in addition to the Farm Bill and Coastal Zone Management Act) will be reauthorized before the 1992 elections or will be under significant debate for reauthorization soon after. The key is to

ensure that EPA and Interior act on our timetable, not Congress'. Target dates for each statute should be developed, with a schedule for position papers and draft legislative language based on these targets.

- o Resource Conservation and Recovery Act
- o Magnuson Fisheries Act
- o Clean Water Act
- o Federal Land Policy Management Act
- o Superfund/SARA
- o Toxic Substances Control Act
- o Surface Mining Control Act (possible)

Administration Initiatives

There are several projects on which we must maintain visibility and momentum over the coming period. These include:

- o DOE/DOD Facility Cleanup and Management
- o Oil Spill Planning/Response and Treaty Ratification
- o Tree Planting
- o Agriculture -- Safe and Productive for the Long Term
- o Clean Air Act Implementation

In all of these cases, there is a substantial body of work already done and clear plans for the future. This message must be continually reinforced.

WHAT SHOULD OUR STRATEGY BE?

Raised expectations of environmental progress will be used against the President, unless an aggressive strategy of communicating our successes, identifying any potential weaknesses in our current program, and shoring up those weaknesses is in place.

Point 1: Our strategy should aim both to win the confidence of voters concerned with health, safety and environmental quality and lock in the support of the constituency (Republicans and moderates concerned with environmental and conservation issues) that we are most in danger of losing.

Point 2: Our message should reflect the fact that the "split the difference" approach is not working.

Point 3: We can adopt such an agenda with little political fear that we will lose significant support from business and industry.

Communication Strategy

The President must increase his environmental visibility during the next 18 months. Achieving that goal will require that three key White House functions be full partners in achieving our goals. These are:

- (1) **public liaison** -- valuable or worried constituencies -- including those outside the Beltway and outside of the "Group of Ten" environmental leadership -- must be actively courted. Also, some rough edges notwithstanding, there remains a willingness on the part of many major environmental groups to work with the President, a fact -- and opportunity -- which should not be ignored.
- (2) **press** -- our message must be constant, consistent and complete. Up to date briefing materials on our accomplishments and proposals should be available to both White House and Cabinet press staff, and
- (3) **scheduling and events** -- most important of all, the President must be visibly and frequently involved in events that exemplify our message. Ribbon-cuttings at parks, wildlife refuges and the like, as well as private events, should be actively sought. The President -- not policies or programs -- is his own most valuable asset.

Congressional Strategy

We must identify and seize opportunities for influencing the tenor of Congressional debate on major legislation.

What is required is **action, not reaction**. Our success with the Clean Air Act is attributable to the preemptive strike doctrine -- get out with a proposal early. This strategy provides the President with opportunities to call on Congress to stop dragging its feet, to highlight the positive elements of **our** proposal, not respond to why **theirs** isn't any good, etc.

This approach should be aggressively applied to both upcoming reauthorizations **and** to administration initiatives such as pollution prevention, energy efficiency, and others described here. Cabinet agencies (and EPA) should be asked to bring forward their initial proposals **now** for White House review.

CONCLUSION

All of the major elements of a successful and effective environmental message are in place. Over the next few months, we must organize those elements around two major themes -- **natural resource protection** and **market based pollution prevention**. Using these themes and elements to our advantage requires that (1) we recognize and focus on issues of concern and visibility, (2) adopt an assertive posture in Congressional relations -- act rather than react, and (3) seek out opportunities for communicating our message, especially to constituencies that may be "on the fence".



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

Michael R. Deland
Chairman

May 18, 1990

(202) 395-5080

MEMORANDUM TO

Edward M. Rogers

FROM: Michael R. Deland

SUBJECT: Attached memorandum, "Bush Administration Environmental Initiatives and Accomplishments"

We have prepared the enclosed memorandum for your use, entitled "The Bush Administration and the Environment: Initiatives and Accomplishments." Please circulate it to all relevant personnel.

This memorandum summarizes all Administration actions which promise to have a beneficial result for environmental quality and conservation of natural resources. We hope it is helpful to you and your staff as you prepare speeches and respond to inquiries. It was not prepared for release to the news media, but it has been rigorously reviewed to ensure its factual integrity.

In the past year, several summaries or "scorecards" have been prepared by various EOP offices, Federal departments and agencies, and outside groups. These have been consulted and this summary incorporates many of those items.

We would welcome your comments, suggestions or additions. The memorandum will be kept up to date and distributed at least quarterly by my assistant, Dale Curtis, who can be reached on 395-5750.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

Michael R. Deland
Chairman

(202) 395-5080

The Bush Administration and the Environment:

Summary of Initiatives and Accomplishments

May 1990

President George Bush, continuing a life-long record of concern for the environment, has demonstrated a commitment to environmental protection, conservation, and wise management of our natural resources. What follows is a summary of the Administration's initiatives and accomplishments.

1. General leadership
2. Air pollution
3. Environmentally-sensitive budget policy
4. Pollution prevention and recycling
5. Asbestos ban
6. Water pollution, water projects and wetlands
7. Energy
8. Global climate change
9. International environmental initiatives
10. Alaskan oil spill
11. Future oil spill prevention
12. Food safety
13. Hazardous wastes and Superfund
14. Clean oceans and coastlines
15. Radon
16. Defense & the Environment Initiative
17. Endangered species
18. Earth Day
19. Environmental education
20. Enforcement
21. Deterring conflicts of interest

1) **General leadership:**

President Bush appointed William K. Reilly to be Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the first professional conservationist to hold the post.

The President named Michael R. Deland, former Administrator of EPA's Boston regional office, to be chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ). The President is committed to revitalizing CEQ's advisory role and requested funding to increase the staff of CEQ from 10 to 34 positions over two years.

The President supports elevating EPA from sub-Cabinet to full Cabinet status, and approved the elevation of EPA's International Activities Office to the assistant administrator level.

President Bush has directed all Cabinet officers to incorporate consideration of environmental impacts into all agency decisions. More departments are embarked on substantive environmental policy initiatives than ever before (see below). The President has devoted dozens of speeches, news conferences, and events to environmental themes, and the White House Domestic Policy staff has devoted thousands of hours to ambitious environmental quality initiatives.

2) **Air pollution:**

After a decade of policy gridlock, President Bush's Administration crafted amendments to the U.S. Clean Air Act to reduce the emissions that cause acid rain, urban smog and toxic air pollution. Thanks in large measure to the President's personal commitment, a bill recently passed the Senate and it appears likely this complex reform package will be enacted in 1990.

Among several other administrative actions on clean air, EPA issued rules that lower gasoline volatility (which contributes to smog) in summer months; and rules to reduce industrial emissions of the hazardous pollutant benzene by 90 percent. EPA proposed standards to require source separation by municipal waste handlers to effectively reduce overall air emissions from municipal waste incinerators by 90 percent.

The Administration has taken important strides forward on global air pollution issues (see #8 and #9).

Related actions on automobile fuel efficiency, energy efficiency and renewables, and clean coal technology are listed below.

3) **Environmentally-sensitive budget policy:**

The Administration's budget request for 1991 continued a trend begun with the President's first budget in 1990: substantial funding increases for most environmental programs, and greater sensitivity to the impact of federal actions on the environment. Notable areas include:

-- Increases for EPA's operating budget, especially for enforcement (more than 500 new staff) and cleanup at Superfund and federal sites (see #10)

-- **"America the Beautiful":** a three-pronged effort to acquire lands with high environmental or recreation value (up to \$1 billion over four years); restore threatened natural resource and recreation areas ("Legacy '99"); and a new program to expand and accelerate national reforestation to a rate of one billion trees annually

-- concerning global climate change, sharply higher funding for the "Mission to Planet Earth" space-based Earth observation system, solar and renewable energy, energy conservation (see #7), and basic research

-- research, protection and enhancement of the nation's wetlands; termination or mitigation of certain water projects (see #5)

-- proposed demonstration projects to terminate wasteful "below-cost" timber sales at nine national forests and provide improved recreational facilities in those areas

-- an increase of almost \$800 million, or 21 percent above 1990 levels, for Federal facility cleanups

-- full funding for the Clean Coal Technology program

4) **Pollution prevention and recycling:**

The Administration seeks reforms to move beyond costly end-of-the-process cleanups, toward an emphasis on pollution prevention.

Within EPA, two percent of every program's budget has been set aside to fund specific pollution prevention demonstration projects.

EPA has launched a nationwide "early warning system" to prevent municipal sewage treatment plants from violating Clean Water Act standards.

Legislation and administrative actions are under development to spur federal and private pollution prevention efforts. The legislation would set numerical goals and timetables, enhance data collection, improve municipal solid waste minimization and management, and create helpful new market incentives.

5) **Asbestos ban:**

EPA announced a ban on almost all uses of asbestos in the United States by 1997. Asbestos is a carcinogen linked to lung and chest cancer.

6) **Water pollution, water projects, and wetlands:**

EPA Administrator Reilly blocked issuance of a permit that would allow construction to begin on the Two Forks Dam in Colorado. President Bush seeks termination of uneconomic and destructive projects such as the Garrison Diversion Unit in North Dakota. EPA rejected the proposed Big River reservoir project in Rhode Island, based on unacceptable adverse effects on wetlands, wildlife and recreation.

EPA issued proposals to regulate 17 pesticides and 21 other contaminants in drinking water, almost doubling the number of pollutants subject to federally enforceable standards. The proposals also call for monitoring 110 currently unregulated contaminants.

The Bureau of Reclamation has been given new direction and proposed doubled funding to pursue mitigation of adverse impacts of certain large water projects already constructed.

Concerned by the rapid loss of American wetland habitats, the President directed an interagency task force to report by late 1990 on ways to implement a policy of "no net loss" of wetlands. EPA and Army Corps of Engineers signed an agreement to clarify wetlands protection policy; the Bureau of Reclamation and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service signed an agreement to cooperate in expanding the wetlands breeding habitat for numerous species.

The President's FY91 budget seeks a 24 percent boost (to \$460 million) for research, protection and enhancement of wetlands, including acceleration of the national wetlands inventory. This follows a 32 percent increase in 1990.

For related actions on ocean pollution, see #14.

7) **Energy:**

The Department of Energy is preparing a National Energy Plan which emphasizes, among other things: energy conservation and efficiency; alternative and renewable energy sources; and nuclear power safety.

DOE announced eleven initiatives in energy efficiency and renewables, including: more efficient lighting for federal buildings; regulatory and legislative changes to stimulate efficiency improvements in the utility, commercial and construction sectors; and using the government-industry technology transfer process to speed promising energy technologies into widespread use.

In a reversal of previous policy, DOE proposed rules to centralize and significantly strengthen compliance with the environmental assessment process under the National Environmental Policy Act.

The Department of Transportation raised the corporate average fuel economy (CAFE) standard for autos to 27.5 mpg.

The President postponed lease sales and oil and gas development in sensitive areas off the shores of California and Florida, and will make a final decision on these leases in 1990.

The President has requested all of the necessary funds to complete the \$2.5 billion Clean Coal Technology program.

To address waste cleanup at DOE facilities, funding was increased by \$500 million in FY90; an increase of \$600 million is sought for FY91. DOE released a five-year, site-by-site cleanup plan, and a five-year research and development plan to reduce outyear costs.

8) **Global climate change:**

The Bush Administration has demonstrated a willingness to confront the complex and important question of global climate change.

The Secretary of State's first major address in January 1989 expressed the President's intention to take comprehensive action in this area. In February 1990, the President became the first and only head of state to address the U.N.-sponsored Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the leading global forum for climate change policy.

The U.S. agreed in November 1989 to stabilize U.S. carbon dioxide emissions and study further reductions; the President proposed two major international conferences on the issue in 1990. The first conference, held April 17-18, addressed scientific and economic questions. The second conference would open negotiations toward a multilateral framework treaty once the IPCC has completed initial assessments of the scientific evidence, potential impacts, and policy options.

The President supports efforts to build upon the Montreal Protocol and phase-out all uses of chloro-fluorocarbons (CFC's) and halons by the turn of the century. The Administration supports financial and technical assistance to developing countries to make the transition to non-CFC technologies.

The FY91 budget request seeks \$1 billion for research into global climate change, up 57 percent from 1990. That research includes work on the "Mission to Planet Earth" orbiting observation system, renewable and solar energy sources, and energy efficiency/conservation.

The Administration's clean air bill, National Energy Strategy and increased CAFE standard also will have the effect of stabilizing/reducing "greenhouse gas" emissions.

9) **Other international environmental initiatives:**

The President banned imports of African elephant ivory (see #18).

During his 1989 trips abroad, the President pledged financial and technical aid to Poland and Hungary to control air and water pollution, draft environmental statutes, and establish an East European environmental center.

President Bush led efforts to make the environment a major focus of the "G-7" Summit in Paris. In Tokyo, the President held meetings with leaders of Japan and Brazil to discuss the problem of rapid rainforest depletion.

The Administration helped develop and then signed the Basel Convention, which governs transboundary shipments of hazardous wastes in an environmentally sound manner.

President Bush supported and signed a bill to prohibit U.S. support for foreign development loans unless environmental impacts are studied first.

The Administration persuaded Japan, Taiwan and Korea to enter into agreements to monitor driftnet fishing. This will allow the U.S. to monitor the incidental take of birds, seals, whales, dolphins and other marine mammals.

In 1990, for the first time, Peace Corps volunteers will be trained by EPA in water pollution prevention, waste disposal, reforestation and pesticide management.

The President's plan to elevate EPA to full Cabinet status will give the U.S. Environment Secretary commensurate status with his counterparts from other nations. The plan would also enhance "USDE" authority to offer technical assistance to foreign environmental programs. In early 1989, EPA's International Activities Office was elevated to the assistant administrator level.

10) **Alaskan oil spill:**

The President sent Vice President Quayle and a Cabinet-level team to assess the situation; the Department of Transportation is overseeing cleanup by Exxon, while EPA is coordinating an interagency task force on long-range restoration of Prince William Sound.

After negotiations broke down, the Justice Department issued a five-count criminal indictment against Exxon with potential penalties of up to \$600 million.

11) **Future oil spill prevention:**

The President proposed, and Paris Summit leaders accepted, a call for increased international efforts on oil spill prevention and cleanup. In May 1989, President Bush sent Congress comprehensive oil pollution liability and compensation legislation. The Interior Department began a \$6 million, 3-year joint project with the American Petroleum Institute to research and develop new cleanup technology.

12) **Food safety:**

The Administration proposed legislation to improve food safety by streamlining regulations to allow faster removal of dangerous substances from the market. EPA prohibited all sales, distribution and use of "Alar" products labeled for use on food products, and stepped up its efforts against other suspect pesticides. EPA blocked the sale of roughly 100 million apples that had been illegally treated with the fungicide "Botran."

13) **Hazardous wastes and Superfund:**

After an intensive management review, the Administration reoriented the "Superfund" hazardous waste dump cleanup to an "enforcement first" program to get more responsible parties to undertake cleanups. EPA added 500 new enforcement staff to this program.

The Administration fought Congressional attempts to cut the Superfund budget and in 1989, exceeded Congressionally-mandated targets for cleanup starts and site studies.

The Administration commenced a similar review of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA), expected to yield proposals for upcoming legislative reauthorization.

14) **Clean oceans and coastlines:**

EPA implemented the first step of the President's commitment to prevent medical wastes from washing up on beaches: a pilot medical waste tracking system to serve as a model for further action. The program involves the states of Connecticut, Louisiana, New Jersey, New York and Rhode Island, as well as the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico.

EPA negotiated agreements with local jurisdictions to stop ocean dumping of sewage sludge by late 1991, an initiative that also resulted in penalty actions against 61 cities in 1989. The President proposed legislation to require criminal felony penalties for illegal ocean dumping.

15) **Radon:**

EPA released data showing high levels of cancer-causing radon to be widespread in housing throughout the country, and undertook public education efforts to urge Americans to test and safeguard their homes, schools and businesses.

16) **Defense & the Environment Initiative**

The Department of Defense established a five-point initiative intended to forge long-term partnerships in defense-environmental matters well beyond mere compliance. An autumn 1990 conference will attempt to: finalize a near-term DOD environmental action plan; activate an enhanced DOD environmental decision-making structure; and discuss how global strategic policy might encompass environmental challenges.

17) **Endangered species:**

The President has rejected the suggestion of amendments to the federal Endangered Species Act.

The President banned imports of African elephant ivory products in an effort to save that endangered species; and he requested funding from Congress to assist African countries with management and protection of this species.

The Department of Interior issued an emergency listing of the Desert Tortoise as an endangered species in Southern California, Utah and Nevada. DOI acquired additional habitat for endangered panthers in Florida.

The Two Forks Dam and Big River decisions (see #6) protected thousands of acres of wildlife habitat. And the President reversed a proposal to cap the outlay of funds under the Wallop-Breaux Trust Fund used for fisheries protection and development.

18) **Earth Day**

The Council on Environmental Quality coordinated actions by all federal agencies to celebrate the 20th anniversary of Earth Day, including an exhibition on the Mall in Washington, and various activities by more than a dozen Federal agencies.

19) **Environmental education**

The President proposed a program of cash awards of up to \$5,000 to elementary and secondary school teachers in the 50 states, the District of Columbia and the territories who develop innovative, effective environmental education curricula.

20) **Enforcement**

EPA's aggressive enforcement program levied civil and administrative penalties totaling just under \$35 million in fiscal year 1989, including \$13.6 million from over 4,000 administrative actions, two record highs.

EPA referred 364 civil judicial cases of alleged environmental law violation to the Department of Justice for prosecution in FY89, just short of the 1988 record of 372. EPA referred 60 criminal cases to Justice in FY89.

Notable enforcement actions include:

--Proposed fines of \$1.65 million on 42 companies that failed to report toxic chemical discharges as required by law.

--Civil lawsuits against 34 companies and individuals to halt violations of rules protecting the public from unlawful asbestos demolition and renovation practices.

--Civil lawsuits against 61 cities (including Detroit, El Paso, Phoenix and San Antonio) for violations of the Clean Water Act.

--A civil penalty of \$15 million against the Texas Eastern company for toxic substance violations at up to 89 sites along a 1,000 mile-long natural gas pipeline. The fine was the largest ever for violation of any environmental statute.

--A coordinated campaign to protect the Chesapeake Bay included charges against 26 facilities in the watershed for violations of the Clean Water Act.

After negotiations broke down, the Justice Department issued a five-count criminal indictment against Exxon with potential penalties of up to \$600 million.

21) **Deterring conflicts of interest:**

EPA has set a strict new policy on the agency's use of contractors, barring them from involvement 17 specific activities and warning of improper conflicts of interest in 15 additional areas.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 1990

PRESIDENT BUSH'S ENVIRONMENTAL RECORD IN BRIEF

The Administration can point to a strong and varied record of environmental action in its first year.

The President has approached environmental issues in the spirit of stewardship, balancing the need for increased environmental protection with the need for continued economic growth.

LEGISLATIVE

- * Proposed the first major rewrite to the Clean Air Act in over a decade to reduce emissions that cause acid rain, smog and air pollution. A bipartisan agreement was reached with the Senate leadership. Legislation was subsequently passed by the Senate and awaits action by the House.
- * Increased research on global climate change by 43% in 1990 and proposed an additional 57% increase to \$1 billion for 1991.
- * Proposed elevating the Environmental Protection Agency to Cabinet-level status.
- * Presented a budget which expands the EPA's operating programs by 12% and adds three quarters of a billion dollars to an aggressive effort to clean up wastes at federal facilities around the country.
- * Proposed \$450 million in spending for land acquisition as part of his "America the Beautiful" program in order to expand our parks, forests, refuges and other public lands.
- * Increased funding for Clean Coal technology.

REGULATORY

- * Banned most uses of asbestos.
- * Stopped the importation of all African ivory into this country, a move already beginning to show evidence of beneficial effects for the elephant population.
- * Proposed the cancellation of the pesticide "Alar," as well as some 40 uses of EBDC's, a family of pesticides commonly applied to food crops, and suspected by scientists of posing risks to health.

- * Ordered the development of proposals to assure that hazardous wastes are not indiscriminately exported to foreign countries, and endorsed the U.S. entry in to a U.N. convention to require environmentally sound management of exports of hazardous, infectious, and household wastes as well as municipal incinerator trash.

OTHER ACTIONS

- * Launched a program that would promote the planting of a billion new trees a year in America as part of the "America the Beautiful" initiative.
- * Proposed a worldwide phase-out of CFCs, with appropriate provision for safe substitutes, in order to protect the stratospheric ozone layer.
- * Hosted an international White House Conference on Global Change this month and offered to host the first negotiating session aimed at developing the framework for an international treaty on climate change.
- * Began efforts to achieve the goal of no-net-loss of wetlands. These include a series of public meetings on the no-net-loss policy to be held this summer.
- * Encouraged international cooperation and commitment through emphasis on environmental issues at the economic summit and bilateral meetings with allies and other world leaders over the past year.
- * Offered technical assistance to Eastern Bloc countries now trying to save national environments after years of Communist rule.
- * Began training Peace Corps volunteers in pollution prevention and reforestation techniques.
- * Started a pilot tracking program to prevent the type of medical waste wash-ups that plagued beaches around the country only two years ago.
- * Re-directed the Superfund programs toward "enforcement first," with emphasis on more permanent remedies for abandoned hazardous waste sites.
- * Taken a leading role in the creation and work of the United Nations-sponsored Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, which coordinates a long-term assessment of global change.

- * Focused public attention on the need to develop cleaner alternative fuels, an effort that has already prompted several major oil companies to begin marketing reformulated gasoline.
- * Put forward a seven-point plan for improving laws governing food safety. This plan will allow for faster action against problem pesticides and stronger penalties for misuse.

USA's best environment: New England

By Rae Tyson
USA TODAY

9/p

New England — led by Vermont — has the USA's healthiest environment while the South, especially Alabama, has the worst, a study reports.

"The South has become the nation's biggest waste dump," says Eric Bates of the Institute for Southern Studies, a non-profit research group that produced the report.

Thirty-five indicators — including air and water quality, public health, land-use policies and per capita environmental spending — were measured.

Among findings:

- ▶ New England — led by Vermont — had six of the 10 best scores. Others: Minnesota, Wisconsin, Oregon, Hawaii.

"It's wonderful to be at the top of the heap," says Jonathan Lash, Vermont's natural resources secretary.

- ▶ Indiana was the only non-Southern state in the bottom 10.

- ▶ Many Northeast and Great Lakes states fared poorly on the "poison index" — a measure of air and water quality, waste disposal — but compensated with aggressive programs to manage the problem.

- ▶ Most Mountain states "scored poorly in all areas of government initiative."

- ▶ Alaska has the most homes with inadequate plumbing; Minnesota, the fewest.

- ▶ Iowa uses the most pesticides per capita; Rhode Island, the least.

- ▶ New Jersey and Maryland spend the most on public health; Alaska spends the most on environmental regulation.

- ▶ Oregon and California have the best land-use policies.

- ▶ Alabama was given the lowest overall scores.

"I don't think they know what they are talking about," says Leigh Pegues, director of Alabama's department of environmental management.

Says Pat Byington, administrator of the Alabama Conservancy, a coalition of environmental groups: "That ranking doesn't surprise me at all."

Report checks states' environmental health

The environmental health of all 50 states was assessed in a report Monday by the Institute for Southern Studies.

Using 35 indicators in four general categories, the institute — a non-profit research center in Durham, N.C. — developed its "Green Index" report. Data were drawn from government, industry and advocacy group sources.

The general categories: public health; politics and policies; worker health; and poisons — air and water pollution, pesticide use, waste disposal. Among findings:



Coming Wednesday
Companies and
the environment

	Over-all rank	Per capita spending for Environ.	Health	Cancer deaths/ 100,000	Work deaths/ 100,000
Ala.	50	14.88	7.54	433	8.4
Alaska	37	246.19	47.62	442	34.2
Ariz.	38	12.59	29.01	360	5.9
Ark.	45	12.81	11.75	383	11.8
Calif.	11	44.44	17.83	366	7.1
Colo.	18	19.69	7.22	282	10.5
Conn.	5	12.11	9.58	434	1.8
Del.	35	44.80	53.30	500	7.0
Fla.	30	14.85	15.13	367	10.0
Ga.	44	11.31	16.61	406	12.4
Hawaii	7	17.41	99.69	371	6.7
Idaho	27	48.97	6.41	307	18.2
Ill.	22	15.75	7.27	402	7.1
Ind.	43	8.46	11.17	438	8.2
Iowa	13	18.52	8.74	377	9.6
Kan.	33	12.38	5.88	345	10.2
Ky.	41	23.74	11.48	414	14.0
La.	48	16.24	6.60	422	12.2
Md.	15	19.22	120.39	491	6.4
Mass.	2	20.97	37.82	443	2.4
Mich.	24	18.93	15.00	454	5.5
Miss.	49	23.42	5.90	438	14.9
Mo.	23	24.34	8.15	390	5.7
Mont.	26	67.00	n/a	372	22.6
Nev.	25	18.01	6.60	422	12.3
N.H.	8	29.07	9.66	375	5.1
N.J.	19	26.33	120.39	464	3.7
N.Y.	12	12.77	15.00	403	2.7
N.C.	42	12.19	7.80	408	7.9
N.D.	13	29.89	5.90	355	14.2
Okla.	31	13.28	10.19	326	7.8
Ore.	9	47.78	3.25	396	11.9
Pa.	20	27.96	8.25	442	6.6
R.I.	47	14.79	8.74	418	7.0
S.C.	17	74.08	52.58	348	15.3
S.D.	46	14.77	26.21	408	8.5
Tenn.	40	21.60	7.59	229	15.5
Utah	34	40.56	3.39	376	7.2
Vt.	39	15.07	10.19	440	11.3
Va.	32	24.09	11.78	409	17.2
W.Va.	6	54.42	18.25	396	6.5
Wyo.	29	125.45	21.65	238	32.5

	Pct. w/ dirty air	Pct. w/ drinking/ water probs	Lbs. of managed haz. waste/ person	Super fund sites	High-risk plants
Ala.	24%	21%	3,778	512	5
Alaska	58%	79%	5	1	1
Ariz.	88%	82%	582	482	3
Ark.	0%	4%	614	118	1
Calif.	96%	9%	283	8,742	11
Colo.	84%	26%	173	377	2
Conn.	100%	9%	88	180	1
Del.	66%	9%	127	888	7
Fla.	37%	37%	12,496	641	11
Ga.	37%	37%	12,496	641	11
Hawaii	0%	0%	0	0	0
Idaho	31%	36%	9	168	1
Ill.	78%	7%	408	283	2
Ind.	45%	4%	681	1,437	2
Iowa	41%	26%	1,082	325	2
Kan.	35%	26%	1,082	325	2
Ky.	41%	27%	4,424	267	3
La.	59%	14%	6,555	268	17
Md.	81%	2%	274	264	2
Mass.	100%	5%	186	1,747	0
Mich.	90%	4%	1,219	1,747	4
Miss.	0%	27%	1,875	303	2
Mo.	46%	10%	14	487	0
Mont.	52%	53%	60	142	1
Nev.	98%	34%	206	0	0
N.H.	90%	8%	1	415	0
N.J.	100%	75%	2,375	3,107	5
N.Y.	73%	9%	1,151	1,115	2
N.C.	7%	9%	452	780	7
N.D.	0%	26%	247	23	0
Okla.	17%	16%	1,310	41	0
Ore.	68%	53%	21	7	3
Pa.	89%	47%	5,256	1,195	7
S.C.	17%	6%	3,175	63	3
S.D.	11%	25%	0	2	0
Tenn.	43%	43%	384	768	7
Utah	78%	34%	5,812	176	0
Vt.	33%	6%	3	249	0
Va.	25%	15%	8,760	171	2
W.Va.	82%	87%	282	548	10
Wis.	60%	2%	12,443	305	5
Wyo.	9%	65%	259	89	0

Breakdown of some state ratings

The best worker safety programs

1. Massachusetts
2. New York
3. Minnesota
4. Connecticut
5. Maryland

Highest percentage of homes without plumbing

1. Alaska
2. Kentucky
3. Mississippi
4. West Virginia
5. Maine

Highest percentage of radioactive waste

1. Illinois
2. South Carolina
3. New York
4. Florida
5. Pennsylvania

Best environmental ratings in Congress

1. Vermont
2. Massachusetts
3. Rhode Island
4. Maine
5. New Jersey

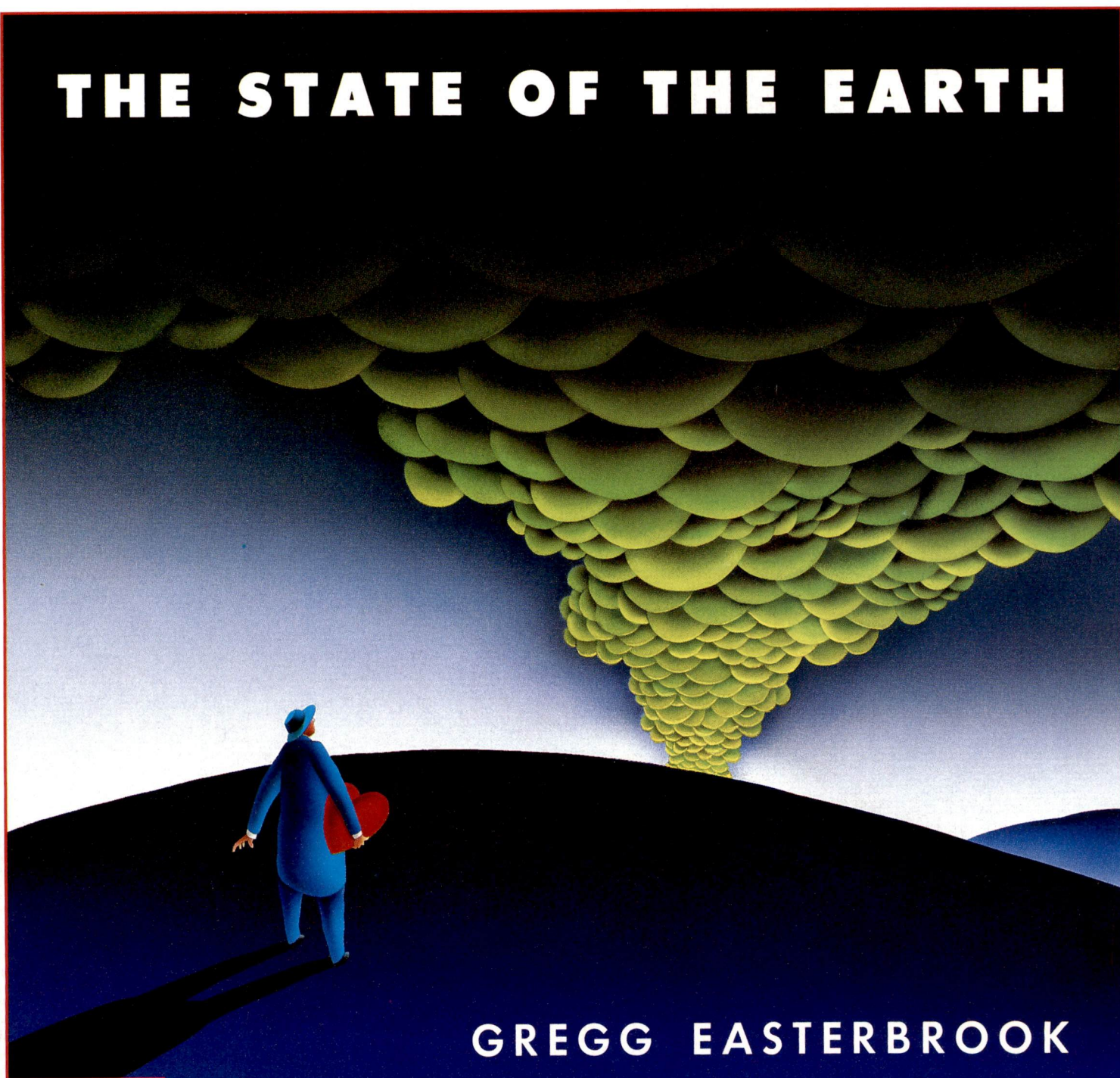
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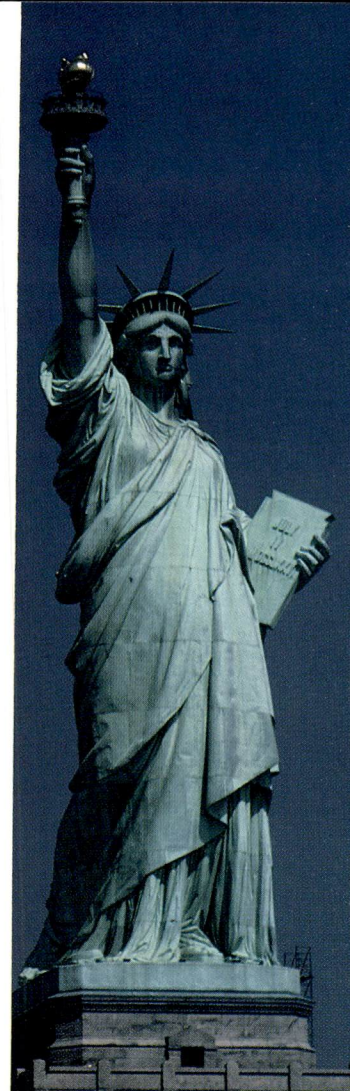
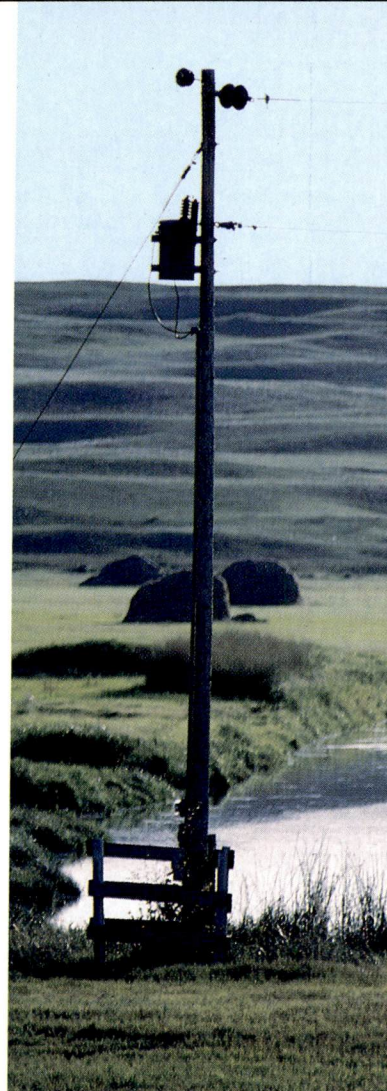
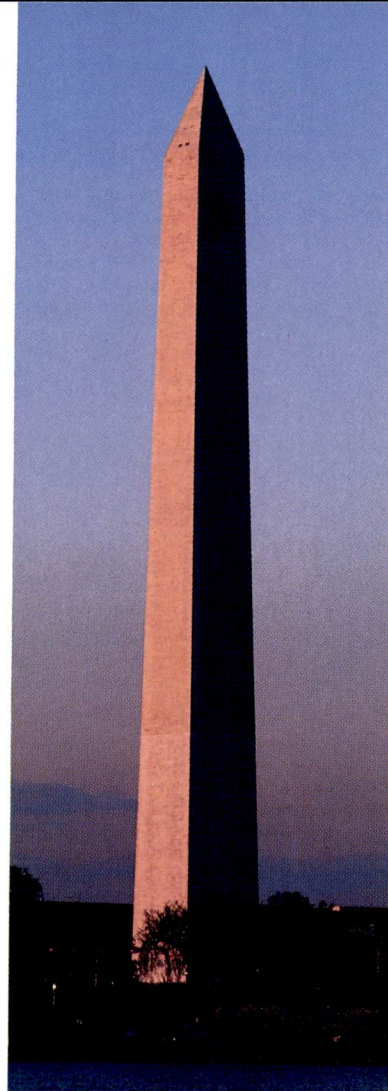
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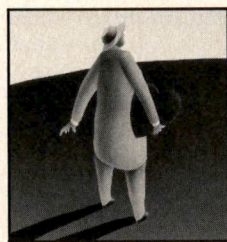
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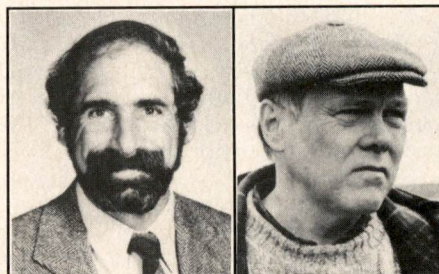
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"Too many politicians think global warming can be fought with hot air...I hope Barbara Bush will read this book and talk about it over breakfast."—Denis Hayes, Chair, Earth Day, 1990



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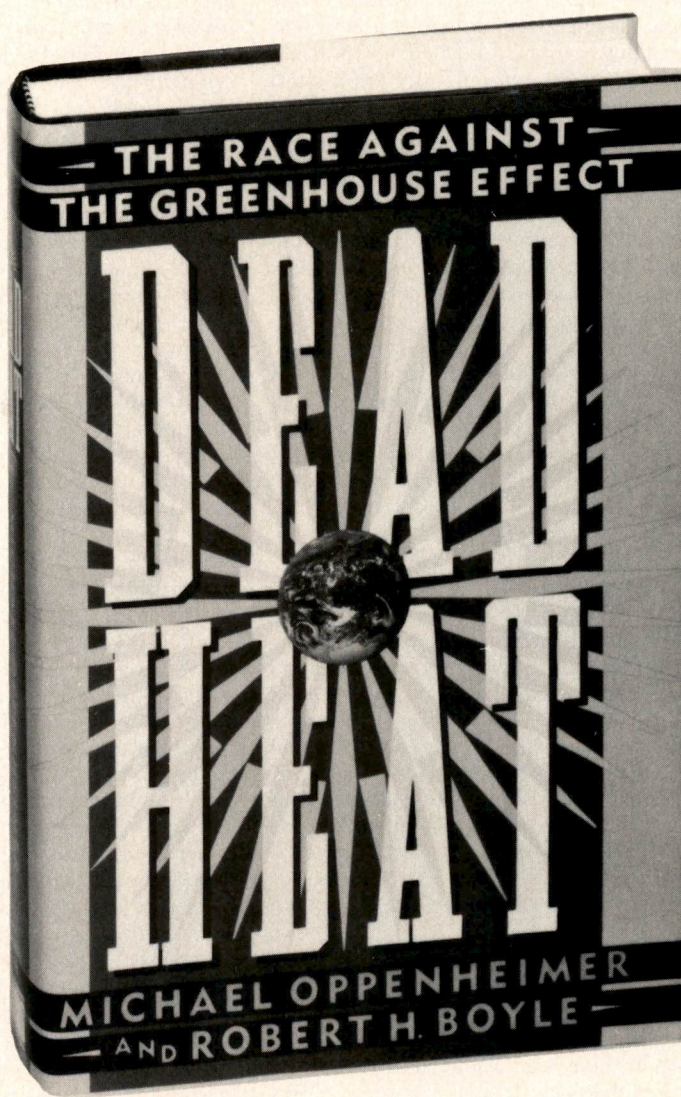
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CORRESPONDENCE

Violent reactions

To the editors:

Your criticism of the Sentencing Project ("One in Four," March 26) is on target, but your positive suggestions—Head Start, better education, and health care—though sound ideas, are only incidentally crime-fighting measures. Heaven help us and heaven help our cities if we must wait until they work their beneficial effects.

The most positive step we can take to fight crime is to change our drug policy. It is more than misguided: it rewards violence. Today's dealers stake out their territory, prevent employee theft, and intimidate informers by demonstrating their capacity for violence. A violent person can rise to the top of a drug gang and earn a fortune even if only for a short time.

But there is a second and equally important way that our drug policies encourage crime and violence. People must learn to handle the aggression and hostility in their environment. That used to include pushing, shoving, and fist fights. Today it means knives, guns, and wolf packs. Youngsters become violent in order to counter the violence they see around them. Philippe Bourgeois, who is doing an anthropological study of East Harlem, has concluded that drug violence is contagious—forcing everybody who wants to walk the street at night to demonstrate they can retaliate. As a result, new recruits enter the criminal world faster than we can arrest them.

A more realistic drug policy would allow less violent people to deal drugs or even allow legal establishments to deal. At a minimum, drug treatment centers ought to be permitted a range of services that include providing drugs to addicts. This one measure would drive a wedge between the addicts who form the army of street criminals and the dealers who live off the addicts' earnings. Prisons would return to their historic function of housing the violent.

NATHAN RILEY
Albany, New York

To the editors:

As the author of the recent report documenting that almost one in four black men in their twenties are under the control of the criminal justice system, I feel obligated to respond to "One in Four." First, you raise the point that the report comes from a source "not wholly disinterested." As a small organization with

limited resources, we would have much preferred that the Justice Department or an academic institution had undertaken this study. Given the enormity of the problem we documented, it is surprising that this has not been done previously.

You argue that tripling the prison population since 1973 may have had an unknown significant impact on crime. Yet the literature on incapacitation, most notably a 1978 study by the National Academy of Sciences, shows this impact is relatively minimal. In order to achieve a ten percent reduction in crime, the NAS study concluded that New York would have had to increase its prison population by 263 percent and Massachusetts by 310 percent.

Although I am personally distressed that the goal of rehabilitation has been largely removed from our corrections system, this issue has been unfairly portrayed as a "criminals vs. victims" argument. If offenders, while in prison or serving an alternative sentence, are assisted in leading a legitimate lifestyle upon release, all of us as "potential victims" should be heartened.

Finally, you portray our report as arguing for criminal justice reforms at the expense of larger social policy changes. Our report, though, called for a dual approach to solving these problems, concluding that, along with changes in the criminal justice system, it is "time now to 'experiment' in crime control by attacking those social factors that many believe provide a more direct link to crime, such as unemployment, poverty, and substance abuse."

MARC MAUER
Washington, D.C.

The writer is assistant director of the Sentencing Project.

To the editors:

As an inmate in North Carolina's maximum security prison, I was very interested in "One in Four." According to the U.S. Justice Department's figures as well as other studies, the majority of inmates now housed in state and federal prisons were victims of one or more forms of child abuse, and most of them can be helped with such mental health treatment programs as assertiveness training, anger management, and group support programs. In many of these cases, the inmates have learned to suppress their anger until they can bear it no longer and explode into violence. Once their anger is released, they retreat back into a passive behavior as a method of coping.

Through training most people can learn to be properly assertive in their actions. However, due to the failure of the federal and state legislatures to provide funding for such programs for inmates, little is being done.

Yes, I totally agree that the street is the place to begin to solve the crime and drug and drop-out and teen pregnancy and a lot of other problems, but there must be programs to help teach the present inmates of our prisons how to exist in the real world when they are again released into society.

DAVID ELLIS
Raleigh, North Carolina

Balance of politics

To the editors:

Charles Krauthammer writes in "The German Revival" (March 26) that Western Europe developed "transnational institutions, most notably the European Community" in order not to risk "the national explosions that follow almost universally—in our time, in Asia and Africa—whenever the imperial power withdraws."

But surely there would be no likelihood of war among France, Italy, the Netherlands, Great Britain, etc., even in the absence of the European Community. That transnational institution, as well as others, is not the cause of the peaceful relations among these countries. On the contrary, it is itself the consequence of the non-belligerent character of these countries, which is rooted in their liberal democratic political institutions. Krauthammer is right when he points out the instability of the "balance-of-power system" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But he is wrong in not seeing that the post-cold war balance-of-power system now in the making has much greater chances of success. Its participants are countries that have their own internal system of liberal democratic balances (and checks) on power, capable of containing aggressive militarism.

ALEKSA DJILAS
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Mythical majority

To the editors:

Your Notebook comment that Jesse Jackson "prefers statehood for D.C., so he can become a senator without trying" (March 26) points to an important flaw in our form of democracy: a lack of proportional representation in Congress. Rather than being a subject of snide remarks, Jackson's political status should demonstrate why we need to rethink one of our fundamental assumptions about how democracy should work.

Jackson gained the allegiance of many white voters in his 1988 run for presidency, but his base clearly was in the black community. Yet even though he is with-

continued on page 48

APRIL 30, 1990

PROTECTION RACKET

Within the tentative trade agreement just struck between the United States and Japan lies a fairly disturbing comment on America's mental health. Among the promises made by the Japanese government is that it will shorten the work week for its employees and encourage private companies to do the same for theirs. Now, the whole idea behind trade talks with Japan—as articulated by U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills and a number of congressmen—is that in large part the trade gap between the two nations results not from Japanese industriousness but from Japanese unfairness. So it is a little odd for Hills to emerge from the talks and proudly declare that the Japanese have agreed to become less industrious. But apparently it has come to this. America is so insecure about its global economic status that it now unabashedly asks other nations if they can lend a hand by tying one behind their backs. Well, look at the bright side: at least this episode helps strip the pretense of piety from the bipartisan chorus of political opportunists urging the United States to “get tough” with Japan.

More specifically, it highlights a strain of neo-protectionism that seems to be creeping into American trade policy. This trade pact is among the first products of the Bush administration's “structural impediments initiative” (SII). The idea here is that protectionism is more than skin deep: Japan impedes trade not merely through tariffs and quotas, but via subtler, culturally ingrained barriers. This premise is undeniably on target: subtle trade barriers do abound in Japan, and lowering them should appeal to any earnest champion of free trade. But to categorize long work weeks as one such “structural impediment” is to betray a less noble goal: not to free world trade but simply to cut the U.S. trade deficit, whether by boosting American exports or stifling imports.

This sort of indiscriminate emphasis on the bottom line is a close relative of the currently vogueish idea of

“managed trade”—a simple agreement between nations to keep their imports and exports at agreed-upon, politically palatable levels. Hills claims to oppose managed trade, but the deal she has forged with Japan makes it hard to see why she would. How fundamental is the difference between a Japanese vow to reduce its exports and a Japanese vow to work less hard? Or the difference between a Japanese pledge to raise imports from the United States and a Japanese pledge (also a part of the SII deal) to raise government spending—not because the Japanese government especially wants to build more roads and such, but because building roads and such is known to draw heavily on American imports? In the end, all of these approaches amount to fighting protectionism with protectionism. They don't expose Japanese companies to untrammelled competition, but rather coddle American companies.

Even in its purer, more principled form, SII is problematic. The textbook example of a “structural” impediment is the Japanese law permitting neighborhood shopkeepers to forestall the coming of larger, cheaper retailers—which are often more open to American goods, and are sometimes (as in the well-publicized Toys ‘R’ Us case) American in ownership. The SII pact includes a Japanese promise to reform these laws. This reform, unlike the Japanese vow of future sloth, would have the welcome effect of raising the material well-being of both Japanese (consumers) and Americans (producers). Still, it presumes an easy answer to hard questions. Discrimination against Toys ‘R’ Us is at root a social policy—aimed at protecting small stores from large-scale competition, whether foreign or domestic—that has the side effect of dampening trade. Should this or any other Japanese social policy be shaped by Hills? Before answering, put the shoe on the other foot. The subsidized loans handed out by the U.S. Small Business Administration marginally handicap large foreign (and



domestic) competitors. Does that mean the fate of the SBA should be a subject of international negotiation? We don't recall Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, one of America's most rhetorically gifted protectionists, ever interrupting his tirades against Japanese trade barriers to call for the death of the SBA. We do recall him loudly endorsing various farm subsidies, some of which undoubtedly penalize foreign farmers (and all of which can be rationalized with just the sort of maudlin evocations of a bygone era that are used by the Japanese shopkeeper lobby).

Yes, yes, Japan is on balance more protectionist, "structurally" and otherwise, than the United States. But the question remains: Where exactly is the line between the legitimate pursuit of free trade and unwarranted meddling in foreigners' affairs?

To begin with, don't imagine that the line can be neatly drawn between avowedly and incidentally ("structurally") protectionist policies. Even plain, old-fashioned trade barriers—American sugar quotas, the Japanese ban on rice imports—are at their core social policies, designed to benefit particular interest groups or ways of life. When Japan recently agreed to grant American access to its supercomputer market—in response not to SII but to the threat of retaliation under the "Super 301" provision of the 1988 trade bill—it was in effect tailoring a social policy to U.S. demands.

Faced with this inseparability of trade policy and domestic policy, we are tempted to condemn all meddling—i.e., all trade negotiations—and repeat the familiar (and true) refrain that Japanese protectionism hurts Japanese consumers at least as much as American producers: If Japan wants to so sharply skew its energies away from consumption, and bear the attendant pain, who are we to stop it? The trouble with espousing this blanket ban on hardball trade talks is that we secretly enjoy their fruits. When fear of reprisal leads Japan to open the door to American supercomputer companies, or to Toys 'R' Us, we feel, at one level, slightly more sanguine about the world's economic future (just as we would if the United States could be bullied into ending sugar quotas). This puts us in the awkward position of the sanctimonious sheriff who condemns vigilantism and frets about its toll on individual rights, but rather likes its contribution to social order. All the yahoo Japan bashers in Congress are nauseating and frightening in their savvy use of latent American racism, but this very scariness does often succeed in liberating trade. It is always tempting to endorse rough justice so long as it doesn't get too rough.

The question is whether we can ensure that it won't—that hardball tactics won't incite a trade war. And if so, how? The closest thing to a good answer comes in the form of three tips for the makers of American trade policy. (1) Try to confine your wrath mainly to simple, overt forms of protection. Again, it isn't that tariffs and quotas are necessarily more pernicious than Toys 'R' Us-type barriers. Rather, it's that their overtness, their transparent unfairness, gives your indictment of

them an appealing and formidable simplicity. It is hard for Japan, or any other signatory of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trades, to get too indignant in defense of blatant trade impediments. (2) Speaking of GATT: try to confine the dialogue to forums conducive to a high degree of civility. Multilateral GATT talks, in particular, provide an august rubric and a safely low profile. Low-key bilateral negotiations can be similarly unthreatening. But a law such as Super 301, with its dramatic ritual of publicly naming unfair traders, provides a week-long excuse for congressional posturing and incites untold Japanese ill will. SII, as some news broadcasts of early April showed, similarly provides a soapbox for demagogues. (3) Be sensitive to political context. Japan is now undergoing a crisis of economic and political confidence that has left Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu precariously perched. He wants to win the favor of Japanese consumers with the lower prices that free trade brings, even though this means antagonizing special interests. His political success is thus in the interest of the United States. Yet owing to Japan's current insecurity, which (like America's) sometimes borders on paranoia, his influence erodes when he is perceived as slavishly following the American line. By their very prominence, then, SII and Super 301 make it hard for him to do the right thing.

In short, now is a dangerous time to be playing hardball with Japan, and SII and Super 301 are especially dangerous forms of hardball. Besides, look at the meager rewards in whose name these risks are being incurred. No more than \$10 billion of the \$50 billion U.S.-Japan trade gap can be chalked up to Japanese protectionism, and less than half of that could be erased through concessions that are politically feasible in Japan. So if tip (1) above means that Japan's many "structural" trade barriers go unexpunged, this won't wreck the American economy.

The dangers of rising trade tension extend beyond a possible trade war, and even beyond economics. In a post-cold war world, the United States occupies a pivotal position. It stands smack in the middle of a chain of mostly capitalist, mostly democratic nations spanning three-fourths of the Northern Hemisphere, from Warsaw to Taipei. It dominates one of three regional economic blocs that together constitute the modern global economy. It remains the world's most powerful nation, economically and militarily, and for this and other reasons it is easily the most formidable guardian of the political and economic values that triumphed globally in the 1980s. America, in short, stands at the heart of a loosely coherent body of like-minded nations that have the power collectively to foster the evolution of humane and productive governments worldwide. To the extent that U.S. relations with Europe to the east, and Japan to the west, remain strong, the prospects for the world will look tolerably bright. To the extent, on the other hand, that American politicians who should know better keep stirring up antagonism between the two great Pacific powers, these prospects will look less bright.

NOTEBOOK

RECONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM: For many years one of the most glaring and obvious empty spaces in our political and cultural life has been the one that should be occupied by a general magazine of high intellectual and literary quality that offers a forum for uninhibited commentary on black American politics, culture, and society. *Reconstruction* shows every sign of being up to the task of filling that empty space. The first issue of this handsome new magazine includes William H. Simon's searching and critical meditation on affirmative action, Peggy Davis's essay-review of Leon Dash's book on teenage pregnancy, and a tough assessment of the career of John H. Johnson, the founder of *Ebony* magazine, by *Reconstruction's* own founder and editor, Randall Kennedy, a professor at Harvard Law School. *Reconstruction* has been launched as a quarterly, with plans to turn it eventually into a bimonthly—an African American answer to *Dissent* and *Commentary* and *Tikkun* and *The American Prospect* and the rest. One of the many things we admire about *Reconstruction* is the fact that Kennedy didn't spend years writing prospectuses, raising funds, holding meetings, etc.; he just went ahead and (with the help of a few volunteer law students) got out a magazine, and a good one at that. Subscriptions are \$25 a year (\$40 for libraries) from *Reconstruction*, 1563 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

BRYANT GUMBEL 1, G. W. F. HEGEL 0: In a *New York Times Magazine* piece about the black scholar Henry Louis Gates Jr., his former colleague Jonathan Culler, semiotician extraordinaire of Cornell University, explained Gates's appeal: "Desire is always mediated desire. The fact that he is visible in the media reinforces his desirability within the universities. . . ."

THE NIXON WATCH: "George Bush has a benign attitude on culture, forgetting Richard Nixon's profound warning in one of his taped Oval Office conversations to stay away from 'the arts'" (Evans and Novak, *The Washington Post*, April 11). The exact, profound quote—to daughter Tricia—was: "The arts you know, they're Jews, they're left wing—in other words, stay away."

YIPPY FOR FREEDOM: Surely we are not alone in the worry that Eastern Europe is being invaded by the worst of the West along with the best of the West. As the threat of communism recedes, the threat of cuteness mounts. This week we note the arrival in our office of the CADDY Bulletin. CADDY stands for Committee to Aid Democratic Dissidents in Yugoslavia. Really, it

does. We await the appearance of the countervailing DADDY (Despots Against Democratic Dissidents in Yugoslavia). And to the north, perhaps HAPPY (Hungarians in Aid of Progressive Principles and Youth), and DIPPY (Dentists in Poland Protest by Yelling).

MOST KIDDING ASIDE: We apologize for making light of Lee Atwater's illness (Notebook, April 9), which turns out to be more serious than anyone originally thought. Our objections to the campaign he managed for George Bush stand, but we sincerely wish him well in his struggle for health. And Lee's brand of political skeet shooting doesn't look so bad now that—in the hands of lesser Republican operatives—it has finally found some appropriate targets. Here's what's happening: Roger Ailes and Roger Stone are giving up on candidates altogether and are going after each other instead. Roger A. calls Roger S., whose firm now and then breaks ranks to represent a Democrat, "a press nymphomaniac" who can't get enough of seeing himself quoted in the media. "He didn't get hugged enough as a child, but then if you look at him, who the hell would hug him?" says Roger A. of Roger S. One of S.'s partners responds by calling A. "the fat man" and a "loser." Get well, Lee. Your party needs your comparative decency and intelligence. •

Prices are negotiable.

HOSTAGE BAZAAR

By Martin Kramer

An editorial in *The Tehran Times* of February 22 set off the latest wave of expectation. "Muslim forces," it declared, "should work to get the hostages free with no precondition." *The Tehran Times* is the mouthpiece of Iran's president, Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, and Rafsanjani is the target of President Bush's repeated declarations that "goodwill begets goodwill." Iran's "goodwill" translates into the release of American hostages in Lebanon. The "goodwill" of the United States means the lifting of trade embargoes and a new beginning in Iranian-American relations. Administration officials may have the makings of a deal.

But no freed Americans have yet winced at bright camera lights in Damascus and Wiesbaden. In an unrelated development, Palestinian terrorist Abu Nidal surrendered three of his European hostages. But Rafsanja-

ni has delivered only more editorials, all promising to use Iran's leverage with the Shiite groups that hold the Americans. The hitch: any understanding reached in the back channels of U.S.-Iranian diplomacy must now get through the rubbled back alleys of Beirut's southern suburbs, where the hostages are kept. Their keepers have some leverage of their own, and the real bargaining has only just begun.

There are three clusters of American hostages held in Lebanon. Each cluster is held by a Shiite group that makes claims under a distinct name; each name is associated with a different logic for hostage-holding. There is a question about whether the three groups are completely separate, since all are affiliated with Hezbollah, the larger Shiite movement backed by Iran. But there are certainly three distinct Lebanese arguments for keeping foreigners in leg irons. Before Rafsanjani can deliver the American hostages, he will have to defeat them all.

Islamic Jihad is the most veteran of the hostage-holding networks. The group originally rested upon the planning genius of Imad Mughniyya, a Shiite from South Lebanon, and the bomb-making skills of his cousin. Together they are believed by some analysts to have carried off the suicide bombings against American and French targets in 1983. In those glorious days Islamic Jihad had no private agenda but simply served Iran's Islamic revolution and Hezbollah.

But at the end of 1983, Kuwaiti authorities captured the bomb-making cousin and a group of co-conspirators, following a failed attempt to blow up the American and French embassies. Mughniyya's cousin was sentenced to death by a Kuwaiti court, along with two other Shiites. Another fourteen defendants drew prison sentences. Since that time Islamic Jihad has devoted much of its energy to freeing those on Kuwait's death row. Islamic Jihad knew that the Emir of Kuwait would never surrender to a gang of schismatic Shiites on his own accord. But it did believe him to be an agent of the United States, who would slavishly do America's bidding. Islamic Jihad therefore took Americans in Lebanon as hostages and held them against the lives of the condemned Shiites in Kuwait. Sure enough, the Emir didn't free the convicted men, but he did refrain from giving the regal nod to the executions.

Through all of this, Islamic Jihad dutifully worked hand in hand with Iran. When foreign hostages were easy to come by—before the Syrian deployment in West Beirut in 1987—Islamic Jihad periodically seized Americans and Frenchmen as a favor to Iran. Iran then spent them for French financial concessions and U.S. arms. But Islamic Jihad prudently insisted upon keeping at least two Americans as a guarantee against the mistreatment or execution of the Shiites held in Kuwait, and as a bargaining chip for their eventual release. That's what thwarted the Iran mission of Robert McFarlane and Oliver North. And that's why Islamic Jihad still clings to Terry Anderson and Thomas Suth-

erland, both taken in 1985. (By keeping two hostages in separate places, Islamic Jihad can't be put out of business by the sudden discovery or death of one hostage.)

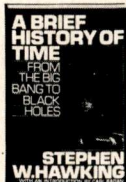
Of all the bands of hostage-holders, Islamic Jihad has the most intimate tie to Iran, but Iran also owes it the most. While the Gulf War lasted, it did noble service as an Iranian fifth column, both in Lebanon and Kuwait. In addition to Islamic Jihad's claim on Iranian gratitude, it holds the blue chip hostage. Anderson is the longest-suffering captive and a journalist who had legitimate business in Lebanon. His sister and fellow journalists have made him into a *cause célèbre*, and he commands the lion's share of sympathy for the hostages.

Islamic Jihad won't simply give away this prize, and for good cause. Although the Emir of Kuwait may have decided not to order the execution of the condemned "brethren," Islamic Jihad believes the release of its hostages might tempt him. So Rafsanjani must secure concessions from Kuwait, involving either the release of the condemned Shiites or a commutation of their death sentences. Failing that, Rafsanjani must persuade Islamic Jihad that he has found a more effective method for helping "the brethren" in Kuwait than the holding of American hostages. Gaining an explicit Kuwaiti concession will be tough, and getting the hostages without one will be tougher. Still, it is noteworthy that Islamic Jihad kept silent throughout the latest round of hostage speculation, and its most overt apologist in Hezbollah has hinted cryptically at progress. If there has been movement, it has probably been here.

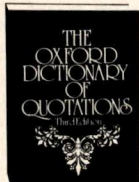
A second cluster of American hostages is held by the Revolutionary Justice Organization. Its three Americans—Joseph Cicippio, Edward Tracy, and (in all likelihood) Frank Reed—were seized in the fall of 1986, just when Islamic Jihad seemed likely to trade away all its Americans. The logic of the Revolutionary Justice Organization holds that the very presence of American hostages has shielded the Shiite suburbs against hostile aggression. It would be folly to trade them all off for American arms, economic concessions to Iran, or Shiite detainees. Once the last American hostage goes free, what will prevent the Syrians, with American blessing and Saudi financial backing, from quashing Hezbollah in Beirut's Shiite suburbs? What will keep American agents and Israeli bombers from coming back to wreak vengeance? What will prevent a new Sabra and Shatila, this time perpetrated against Shiites?

Many of Hezbollah's Iranian backers have asked themselves the same questions and have sanctioned the Revolutionary Justice Organization. The group held other hostages—Frenchmen who were traded away by Iran, and other foreigners who were sold for cash. But Americans are talismans too precious to be bartered away, and the Revolutionary Justice Organization has made no systematic demands for their re-

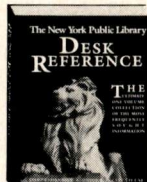
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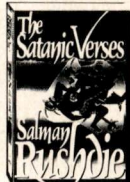
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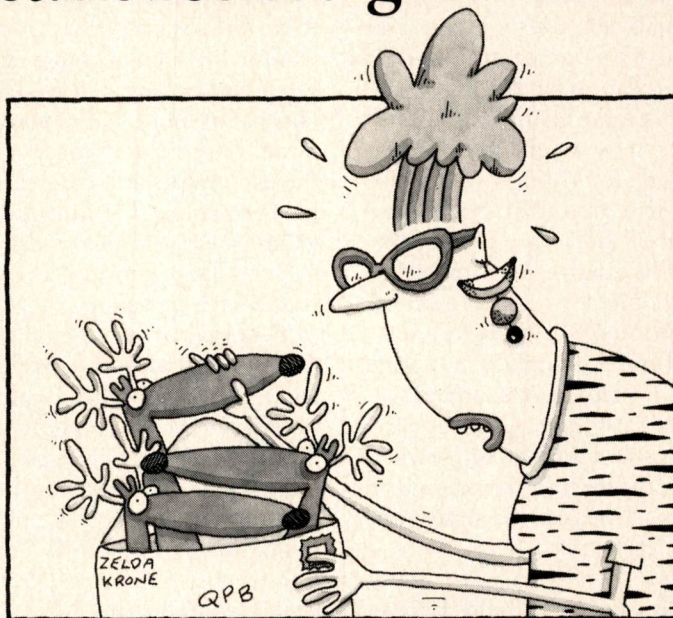
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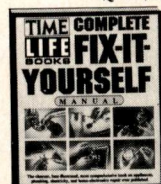
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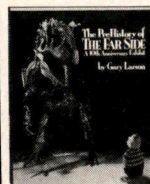


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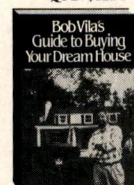
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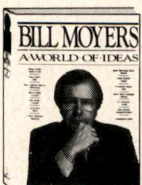
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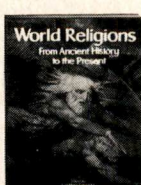
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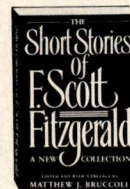
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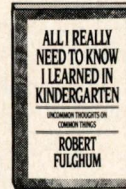
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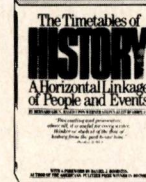
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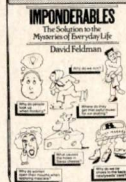
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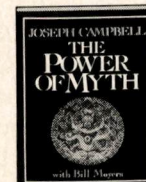
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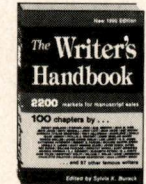
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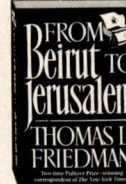
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lease. Instead, the Americans are threatened with death whenever the United States (or its "agents," such as Israel) seems poised to strike the Muslims of Lebanon.

To effect the release of these three, Rafsanjani has to convince the Revolutionary Justice Organization that its logic is flawed—that by holding American hostages, the group has tightened the Syrian noose around the Shiite suburbs, where Syrian forces now man checkpoints. The argument is a bit tortured, for though it may be true to a point, it may also be true that hostages *are* the best guarantee for the survival of their captors. Rafsanjani is arguing that less tangible guarantees—from the Syrians, of all people—will do almost as well. Presented with this argument, the Revolutionary Justice Organization tried to burst the latest bubble of hostage talk with an angry statement rejecting any release. Rafsanjani has only begun to undermine this rationale, which is also echoed by Hezbollah's hard-line Iranian patron, former Interior Minister Ali Akbar Mohtashemi. "Freedom for the hostages," he maintains, "means breaking the chains of bloodthirsty wolves."

The third cluster of Americans is held by the Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine. Its captives are three American educators, taken together in January 1987: Robert Polhill, Alann Steen, and Jesse Turner. The logic here recalls that of Islamic Jihad: take Americans hostage in order to force the hand of a third party holding Shiite detainees. In this case the third party is Israel: Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine proposes to exchange the three Americans for some 300 Shiites held in a prison camp run by the Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army. In an act of solidarity, the group has also added Palestinians imprisoned by Israel to its wish list. The group looks to the precedent of the 1985 hijacking of TWA Flight 847 to Beirut—a crisis resolved when Israel agreed to release more than 700 Shiite detainees to gain freedom for the American passengers. If it isn't too late to reenact the triumphs of the seventh century, why not those of 1985?

But the deal proposed by the Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine simply will not fly. When Israel released Shiite detainees for the hijacked Americans, Shiite fundamentalists held no Israelis. Now they do; as many as three Israeli servicemen are held by Hezbollah. They are the only key to the prison gates in South Lebanon and the cell door of Sheikh Abdul Karim Obeid, the Hezbollah cleric whom Israelis abducted last summer. Nor are the three American professors the moral equivalent of the TWA passengers. By the time they were abducted, these foolish souls had been warned many times to get out of harm's way and leave Muslim Beirut. Their plight has stirred more incredulity than sympathy among most Americans. In the unregulated market of hostage-trading, the three educators are junk bonds. Their value is uncertain, and is probably a good deal less than their owners think. Still, the United States has made it clear to Rafsanjani that

"goodwill" can flow only after *all* of the American hostages are out; they must be worth something.

But their market value will become clear only after Israeli soldiers are swapped for Shiite detainees. Until then, the Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine cannot be seen to have abandoned the Shiite "strugglers" who languish in Israeli captivity. The group's latest statement still demands an "exchange." But when Israel does its deal for its soldiers, the Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine won't throw in the three professors as a bonus for Israel. At that point, the group's most logical tack would be to shift gears and offer its hostages in return for getting Hezbollah back into South Lebanon.

That may prove to be the most drawn-out negotiation of all. A year after the three wayward profs were spirited away, the rival Shiite Amal movement, with the backing of Syria, drove Hezbollah from its redoubts in the South. Since then, lots of bad blood has been spilled in internecine feuding. Some 3,000 Hezbollah sympathizers have been chased out of the South and are now demanding to go back. Their purpose, they declare, is not to displace Amal, but to prosecute their sacred struggle—their jihad—against Israel. If the Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine tied the release of the three professors to Hezbollah's return to the South, it could strike a heroic pose, and perhaps salvage a return on its hostages. But Rafsanjani would have to do a difficult deal with the Syrians and the Amal movement to allow Hezbollah's descent southward. The basis of that agreement—the so-called Damascus Accord—exists only on paper. Iran will have to subsidize its implementation with favors and straightforward payoffs.

Shiite hostage-holders and Syrian presidents don't get taken to the cleaners. Doing deals with them is bound to be punishing and protracted. Nor can Rafsanjani expect unanimous support at home for his efforts. Some domestic opponents who reject any reconciliation with the Great Satan are demanding that he bow out and let the hostage-holders choose their own course. Other critics are actively urging the hostage-holders to swallow their keys. Rafsanjani is playing three-dimensional chess with a dozen boards, and a mistake on any one of them could ruin his game.

But Rafsanjani draws upon a deep reservoir of *zerangi*, that manipulative guile raised to an art in Persian politics. He also knows how to issue veiled

COMING:

Mickey Kaus
on a new strategy
for liberals

threats and make elusive promises. The hostage-holders need Iran's protection; the Syrians want that cut-rate Iranian oil. Improved leverage has made Rafsanjani show (or feign) new optimism about his ability to bring the hostages out. The latest word from his camp followers puts the target date for release of all the hostages at the end of 1990, and suggests that they might be released in "stages" during the year. Each stage might well be the release of one of the clusters described above.

But there is always "Factor X": fidgeting by the Bush administration while Arabs and Persians practice their traditional art of commerce. This is not Eastern Europe. Middle Eastern history isn't on fast-forward, but advances frame by frame. A lot of patient work has created incentives without compromising principles, setting Iran's president in slow motion. But the "hostage process" can always be arrested by some gaffe akin to the East Jerusalem debacle. Note how Bush took a needless risk by boasting of the amazing things he is doing behind the scenes to effect a hostage release. That hardly helps to convince the hostage-holders that the United States has made its final offer. Thankfully, Bush's attempted phone call to Rafsanjani went straight to a hoaxer. Who knows what new misunderstandings might have arisen? Persia's head of state cannot help wondering what stirs this inscrutable Occidental.

MARTIN KRAMER is a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, D.C., where he is writing a book on Hezbollah.

The sound bite on the Mount.

FAX VOBISCUM

By Andrew Sullivan

"The nation's Roman Catholic bishops announced yesterday that they have engaged a major public relations firm and a politically connected polling concern in Washington . . ." —*The New York Times*, April 6, 1990

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HILLTOP RALLY CALLED TURNING POINT
AS NAZARENE TURNS TABLES ON PHARISEES

JERUSALEM, PASSOVER EVE, A.D. 33—In a daring move to reinvigorate his dark-horse campaign for the Kingship of the Jews, the Rev. Jesus Christ acted decisively today to shift the debate to a higher level.

Speaking on a suburban hilltop in the Roman-occupied West Bank, the Bethlehem-born prophet set out a series of new campaign themes designed to broaden his support beyond his artisan-class base of carpenters and fishermen. He made a special appeal for the all-important "meek" vote, promising members of this key constituency that their long-term real estate prospects would fare well under a Jesus administration.

In his Mount remarks, Mr. Christ also praised those in this troubled region who support the peace process. Turning to ethics issues, he pooch-pooched the conventional wisdom that calls for responding to every negative spot with another negative spot. Instead, he recommended a positive policy toward enemies, warning against getting into face-slapping contests that can lead to a cycle of violence. He added that his supporters should not be concerned about matching funds since an anonymous benefactor has promised indefinite backing.

In what was seen as a distancing of himself from the incumbent Pharisaic leadership, Mr. Christ called for renewed efforts on behalf of the poor, the pure in heart, the recently bereaved, the oppressed, and other interest groups targeted by Wirthlin Group polling data.

Sources close to the Father, who spoke, as usual, on very deep background, described the speech as "inspired." Hilltop exit polls indicated that it is likely to give an added boost to Mr. Christ's recent surge in opinion surveys, which began with a highly successful water-into-wine photo opportunity in Cana.

Few area prophets have made a more dazzling impression in first-century Palestine than this earnest, bearded figure, who speaks fluent Aramaic and has demonstrated strong appeal not only among Israelites but also among Samaritans and other ethnics. At each campaign stop the crowds have multiplied, as have the fishes. Acclaimed by such distinguished scribes as Georgius F. Willius in *Jewsweek* ("a combination of Cicero and Mithras"), Wilhelmus Safir in *The Old Rome Times* ("a moderate we can deal with"), and Davidus Broderius in *The Jericho Post* ("the real spokesman for the A.D. thirtysomething generation"), Mr. Christ's campaign looks set to be transfigured. "Anyone who thinks this guy's a kook is laboring under an immaculate misconception," said one prophecy analyst who spoke on condition that he not be beatified.

Senior officials at the court of King Herod, however, discounted the Nazareth-based ex-carpenter's rise in the polls, saying Mr. Christ would need a "miracle" to carry Jerusalem. Close allies of the Kingship hopeful, though, said this would be "no problem" and that three days is a long time in messianics.

For press kits, epistles, and further information on the man Populus magazine calls "the sexiest man since John the Baptist," contact Paul at our Jerusalem office, or call toll-free 1-800-GALILEE and ask for Judas.

ANDREW SULLIVAN is a former TNR associate editor.

EVERYTHING YOU KNOW ABOUT THE ENVIRONMENT IS WRONG

By Gregg Easterbrook

The air and water are getting cleaner, not dirtier. Acid rain may be preventing global warming. Smog protects you from ozone depletion. Family farmers dump more chemicals than toxic waste sites. The "poisoning of America" is already over. Nature kills more species than humanity. The Third World is a greater threat to the ecology than the West. Some environmentalists actually long for the environment to get worse. Some business leaders want it to get better. OK, OK. That last taxes credence, though occasionally it's true. All the others are bang-on actual.

As Earth Day approaches there is a growing sense that the only socially respectable attitude toward the environment is pushing the panic button. Fashionable alarmism may eventually create a Chicken Little backlash: as the years pass and nature doesn't end, people may stop listening when environmentalists issue warnings. The tough-minded case for environmental protection is ultimately more persuasive than the folk song and flowers approach. For liberals, being tough-minded means shedding some cherished preconceived notions, but it also means creating more rigorous arguments in favor of ecological respect as a human value, and, perhaps, of pointing the way toward finding humankind a constructive role in creation's scheme. Herewith a guide to what's really going on in the environment.

ACID RAIN After a decade of Reaganesque mumbling about further study and congressional Democratic stalling, action finally seems assured. (Democrats stalled because the high-sulfur coals that are the chief cause of acid rain come from underground mines staffed by the United Mine Workers; low-sulfur coals come mainly from non-union surface mines in the West.) The new Clean Air Act will reduce national sulfur dioxide emissions by about half and cut a related acid rain source, nitrogen oxide. Probably it will include a "cap" mandating that no matter how much future electricity production grows, total acid rain emissions may never exceed the new (reduced) level. This provision, brainchild of Environmental Protection Agency administrator William Reilly, is a far-reaching barrier against future new pollution.

GREGG EASTERBROOK is a contributing editor of *Newsweek* and *The Atlantic*.

Little-known note: in the past fifteen years national sulfur dioxide emissions have already fallen by about one-quarter even as coal use increased nearly fifty percent, owing to controls under the old Clean Air Act and to the construction of new power plants with superior technology. Second note: recent studies, including a ten-year, \$500 million federal project, show acid rain effects to be considerably less than theory predicts. Only high-altitude red spruce trees, not forests generally, so far display acid rain damage; and though some enviros projected that a majority of Eastern U.S. lakes would by now be too acidic for most life, the federal study found that only four percent have crossed this threshold. Conservative critics interpret such studies as proving acid rain is no big deal. Four percent lifelessness no big deal?

ASBESTOS An example of sacrificing complexities when they get in the way of a good outrage. Studies show that workplace exposure to airborne fibers is very dangerous; that justifies cessation of production. But the larger questions of whether asbestos in place does any harm, and whether ripping it out actually creates a health risk, are neither simple nor bad news, and so are largely overlooked. *Science* recently published a paper detailing an asbestos risk study by an international team of experts. They concluded that asbestos in tiles or insulation is statistically harmless; in schools it would cause at most one death in 10 million children.

Yet thanks to front-page treatment of asbestos fear—given great play in the early 1980s when studies were preliminary—there is a 1987 federal law requiring that asbestos be ripped out of public buildings. This causes fibers to become airborne, exposing workers to the one aspect of asbestos that truly is dangerous. The cost? EPA estimates \$55 billion. Fifty-five billion dollars to save one life in 10 million? Aren't there far more promising public health investments?

CLEAN AIR ACT Currently slouching toward passage in Congress, this revision of a 1970 law is the most important environmental legislation since Superfund in 1980. The bill will reduce smog from cars, trucks, and other

AND ON THE EIGHTH DAY, WE BULLDOZED IT.

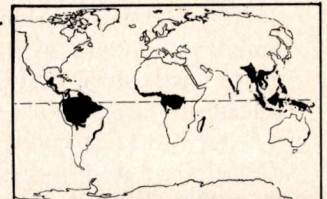


The oldest rainforests date back to the dinosaurs, 100 million years. Today they offer the last refuge for half of all plant and animal species on earth.

But how much time do rainforests have left? Millions of acres have been bulldozed and burned. Unless we act now, the last traces of original, irreplaceable paradise will vanish in a single human lifespan.

A miracle of creation will be wiped out, thousands of species doomed to extinction. And nobody will gain.

Rainforest soils are too shallow for agriculture, their complex ecology too fragile for humans to exploit without turning our planet's richest natural regions into eroded wastelands. Short of sustainable uses, leaving the rainforests alone would be the most promising development.



50,000 acres a day
are lost worldwide.

What can you do to save the rainforests?

You can support activist organizations in a dozen nations campaigning to conserve the splendid variety of living things which depend on these endangered environments.

Elusive jaguars, rarest orchids, colorful birds of paradise. And the latest arrivals on the scene: the children of humankind.

Save the rainforests and safeguard the survival of half of the species on earth, including our own.

Here's my donation of ☐ \$25 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$75

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sources, as well as acid rain and toxic air emissions from factories.

Conservatives, Republicans, and retro Democrats such as Michigan's John Dingell have long resisted an air pollution crackdown. Industrial lobbyists actually are complaining on Capitol Hill about being "steam-rolled" by environmentalists, a group with perhaps a billionth of their money clout. Industry's Clean Air Working Group has issued the obligatory cries of woe: up to 1 million jobs lost, another 2 million "at risk." Precedent suggests it will be amazing if the actual number of jobs lost is six. Environmental legislation often causes business disruptions, but to my knowledge no economist has ever demonstrated net job loss. After all, jobs are created when new anti-pollution hardware is built; and new low-sulfur mining jobs will open when high-sulfur employment declines as a result of acid rain provisions. It's possible that by pushing industry for more innovation in environmental controls, the new act will do the business sector a favor, putting it in a position to market clean technology to the rest of the world.

When House-Senate differences are worked out, the law should cut the typical new car's pollution to two percent of that emitted by 1970 models; extend auto emission controls to trucks; cut acid rain by half; and reduce industrial toxic air emissions by about three-quarters. Basically, it's a great piece of legislation.

That hasn't stopped many of the good guys from denouncing it. They're angry that amendments aimed at pushing cars down to one percent of 1970 pollution failed. (Many engineers think two percent is the technological limit for gasoline engines.) They're angry that the act may delete federal authority to seize control of environmental planning in cities ignoring smog reduction deadlines. (Such power has been on the books for years but almost never used; and as adamant as enviros are that the power be maintained, conservatives have been adamant that it be expunged. Why either side cares so passionately about an empty threat is hard to fathom.) They're angry that the Senate dropped a 40 mpg auto standard, promoted as a way to slow global warming by cutting carbon dioxide emissions from cars.

And enviros are especially mad about one of the most obscure aspects of the legislation, a "second stage" test for air toxics. All sides have agreed that industry will first be required to install "best available technology" controls on its smokestacks, which is expected to cut airborne toxics by seventy-five percent. Afterward there will be studies of any residual risks posed by remaining emissions. Industry wanted an acceptable residual risk to be an additional one-in-10,000 chance of cancer in the factory community; enviros wanted the risk to be one in 1 million for a hypothetical person living his entire life at the factory gate. The latter would have in effect forced toxic emissions to zero. This is actually a good idea for the future. (See ZERO EMISSIONS.) But the notion is sufficiently controversial today that the entire bill almost collapsed over it. The fight was a low point for enviro credibility. If toxic air pollution constitutes an imminent health threat, what possible grounds could

there be for sacrificing a rapid seventy-five percent reduction over a statistical dispute that wouldn't even have effect till the next century?

One worthy idea from the administration proposal is now wavering in Congress: a strong alternate fuels provision. Despite his oil-patch background, President Bush signed off on a proposal that would have required oil companies to begin pushing methanol (a low-pollution gasoline substitute usually made from natural gas) and ethanol (low-pollution corn-based fuel), and automakers to build a substantial number of cars equipped for these fuels. Democrats in the Senate, of all folks, deleted the meaningful features of the provision. (See REFORMULATED GASOLINE.)

Assuming the bill becomes law, Representative Henry Waxman of California should be heralded a dull hero; Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell of Maine a cranky one. Waxman not only kept the clean air issue alive through the Reagan dark years, but at key points he has swallowed his chances for media credit in order to ensure that some bill passes—rare behavior on Capitol Hill these days. Mitchell took over what is normally the authorizing subcommittee chairman's policy role because the chairman, Max Baucus of Montana, was out of his depth on this issue. It was important to Mitchell's leadership image that he shift as much credit as possible from Bush onto his party. Early in the dance Mitchell was romancing environmentalists, whose ratings are important in Maine; but when enviros tried to attach provisions that would have made them feel righteous while leading to the bill's defeat, Mitchell held firm for common sense.

Will the new Clean Air Act make American air pristine? No. Severely polluted cities such as Los Angeles, Houston, and New York are certain still to have problems even if all goes well with enforcement. But the current twenty-year trend toward cleaner air will accelerate, and the next round of air legislation can tackle the next remaining problems. Take what you can get.

CLIMATE CHANGE The world's temperature may or may not be increasing by the several degrees necessary to cause sea-level rises or unbearable temperatures for the poor in the equatorial Third World. "Climate change" is, unfortunately, a more immediate prospect.

Some researchers believe that a small increase in world temperatures—much less than the greenhouse gloom predictions—will alter weather patterns. There may be storms of increasing severity, droughts in what are now agricultural regions, added rainfall in places we don't need it, and disruption of the water cycles of the lakes and rivers on which the world's cities rely. The unusual behavior of El Niño and other major ocean currents are taken by some as indication that climate change is beginning. Weather patterns vary all the time, of course, and no one really knows what drives the vacillations. But for the next few decades, climate change is probably a greater worry than global warming.

COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS Many economists are intensely frustrated that the media refuse to discuss the fact that

environmental protection often doesn't stand up to a cost-benefit test. So let's discuss it.

During last spring's White House debate over what Clean Air Act terms the administration would propose, Office of Management and Budget Director Richard Darman snapped that acid rain restrictions would cost "\$6,000 per fish saved." Darman was put in his place when a high-level participant shot back, "Dick, you're the sort of guy who would put a SKIERS FOR NUCLEAR WINTER sticker on his car." In truth, many environmental initiatives don't do particularly well when subjected to cost-benefit analysis. The trouble is that freedom from pollution is a social good, deserving of the special protection granted other freedoms.

It may be fair to use C/B analysis as, say, the tool for judging certification of a new drug that would help a large number of people while injuring a tiny number. But protection of the ecology differs from this kind of test in several respects. Cost estimates for pollution abatement are usually far higher than actual expenditures, and benefits are hard to project because in most cases it's impossible to know whether any given person would have gotten sick had the environment been cleaner. Nor is there any rational way of assigning benefit value to the beauty of nature, the enrichment that comes from having wilderness preserves and parks, the potential genetic value of other species, and so on.

The proper test for environmental regulation is reasonableness. Economists blanch at that term because it engages subjective human emotions, which don't translate into bar graphs. But that's real life for ya. Huge expenditures for infinitesimal gains don't pass a reasonableness test. (See ASBESTOS.) But most environmental improvements—such as smog and acid rain reduction—can be achieved at reasonable cost.

ECONOMIC SCORECARD, THE Virtually all of industry's claims that environmental controls would shut down factories have turned out to be hogwash. Some environmental regulations have even made industries more

competitive. Regulation of the carcinogen vinyl chloride caused the plastics industry to discover a less expensive method of manufacturing; auto emissions and fuel economy standards forced Detroit to learn high-efficiency engine design, a necessity for competition with Japan.

In a major switch, some corporations are now earnestly tightening environmental controls, not just giving them lip service. Monsanto is voluntarily reducing its toxic air emissions ninety percent; two years ago Dow broke away from the petrochemical industry's united foot-dragging front and endorsed more federal regulation. Causes for such corporate enlight-

enment: fear of new liability costs imposed by laws like Superfund; grudging awareness that bad environmental p.r. is not going to go away; preference for uniform federal regulation to fifty conflicting state regimes; a realization by firms that are ahead in environmental controls that forcing competitors to clean up too helps level the market playing field.

Typically, however, the impetus for environmental improvements is imposed on industry by activist and community pressure. As Peter Sandman of Rutgers University notes, at every point along the environmental progress curve corporations have claimed pride in whatever they've been

forced to do in the past, while insisting that whatever they're being asked now is out of the question.

EMISSIONS TRADING At last, Representative Bob Forehead of "Washington" will be heartened to know, there are going to be pollution rights! The new Clean Air Act contains a section allowing power plants to buy and sell on the open market the rights to emit acid rain precursors. The existence of this provision has delighted economists and horrified most activists, with the exception of the Environmental Defense Fund, which supports it. The theory is that emissions trading will make it possible for field-level managers rather than bureaucrats to decide which power plants can lower emissions most rapidly and efficiently. Those that can cut



PAINTING BY ORI HOFMEKLER

their pollution quickly will do so, and profit by selling their certificates; plants that would have technical problems cutting back will buy some emissions rights. This is a new approach to pollution control: using market incentives rather than federal "command and control," this year's Out term. If successful, the idea may be expanded to other environmental categories.

Enviros feel that however pragmatic, the program offends because it sanctions the existence of some pollution. "But the worst way to sanction pollution is the way we do it now, with regulations that sound great on paper and cannot be enforced," says Senator Tim Wirth of Colorado, who may have the most sophisticated and non-conventional understanding of environmentalism in Congress. Anyway, the amount of pollution permitted by the trading system is programmed to gradually decline.

ENVIRO LINEUP, THE Here are the major players in environmentalism: the Environmental Defense Fund (EDF), Greenpeace, the National Audubon Society, the National Wildlife Federation, the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), the Public Interest Research Group (PIRG), and the Sierra Club.

The EDF and the NRDC are the most influential in Washington, through effective lobbying and the fact that both do original science. It was the NRDC's analysis of Alar that prevailed; EDF researchers have countered industry claims that acid rain is no problem. The NRDC leans hard left; reporters rely on it for quotes expressing outrage at anything government or industry does. The EDF, the only enviro group with an economics wing, is currently held a turncoat because it helped write the emissions-trading portion of the new Clean Air Act.

Greenpeace is the fastest-growing, appealing to the young with its direct-involvement tactics. The group's leadership boasts of spurning the establishment; in fund-raising, however, Greenpeace worships the system. It eagerly solicits endorsements from rock stars and celebrities, people not known for promoting an ethic of modest consumption. Currently Greenpeace is running save-the-whales ads starring Christie Brinkley, whose lifestyle could support 10,000 Third World children. Greenpeace has displaced Amnesty International as the entertainment industry's charity of choice.

PIRG is a leader in organizing local citizens' groups; the Audubon Society and Wildlife Federation are large mainstream organizations. The Sierra Club lately is a queer case. Its reserve of public goodwill, dating to the 1960s when it was the environmental vanguard, runs deep. But its behavior has become crankier and crankier as it tries to respond to the problem of differentiating itself now that environmentalism is mainstream.

Then there's Earth First!, a group that endorses "ecotage." Earth First! says that people should chop down power lines, pour sand in the gas lines of bulldozers, drive spikes into trees so they can't be logged. Some members are under indictment; co-founder David Foreman is a media darling, having recently received a fawning portrayal on "60 Minutes." Typical

Foreman: "An ice age is coming, and I welcome it as a much needed cleansing. I see no solution to our ruination of Earth except for a drastic reduction of the human population." It's unclear how often Earth First! actually has carried out ecotage. The group seems sustained by television's appetite for people who will calmly and politely say outrageous things.

ENVIRO POLITICS Enviros won the last twenty years by a hefty margin, but you'd never know it from their behavior. Now that their cause is mainstream, they're nervous: If Republicans call themselves environmentalists, doesn't that mean something went wrong? Of course, enviros are encoded to be upset—that's their social function.

Then there's the fund-raising imperative. Environmental groups now have stakes in self-preservation, and direct-mail appeals are a prime revenue source. As the right-wing kooks have shown, scare tactics are what produce money through the mails. In this regard some enviros subconsciously long for the new Clean Air Act to fail; then they could drop-ship mailings decreeing a new disaster and a president who is "against the environment."

Politically, environmentalism has become a refuge of anti-growth and counterculture sentiment. To the extent it is a proxy for anti-growth, it has a pull-up-the-ladders aspect: I've made my pile via the system, now don't you dare spoil the view from my vacation home window. To the extent sentiment is counterculture, movement members are eager for indications that society is collapsing. If scientists called a press conference to say, "Great news, we've recalibrated the satellites and it turns out there's no ozone hole after all," many enviros would be heartbroken.

The anti-growth aspect can be simple property-values elitism. But there's something much deeper to the counterculture aspect—cutting across class lines to engage people who feel screwed by the direction of society, or have an uneasy sense that progress is elementally flawed. Silly though they sometimes appear, most environmental zealots act from feelings that are genuine and important for society to hear: from a sense that material culture has lost its bearings, and that awareness of our roles in nature may cure what ails modern humanity.

ENVIRO RUBBISH Trouble is, hardly anyone who thinks in the above way is willing to act in the above way. In some social protest categories like civil rights, there are complex arguments regarding when dissenters may be justified in stepping outside the law. But if you believe power plants to be elementally wrong, you don't have to sabotage the lines—you can refuse to have them connected to your house. Has any Earth First! sympathizer done that? Is there one environmentalist in a million who actually lives in a dwelling with no power or central heat, grows all his own food, would if injured refuse high-tech medical care or if ill refuse drugs, never rides in any car, subway, bus, or train, and declines to attend environmental conferences because it would take too long to ride there on a horse? Enviros commonly cite

E. F. Schumacher's theory that people are better off spending their lives in small village economies living by their own resources, because this gives you mastery over your own fate. I've observed some of the world's peasant population at the village level and can't imagine any way to have less mastery over your fate, but still, nothing's stopping enviros from living this way, today, in the United States. Except convenience.

The idea that someone else should make ecological sacrifices is a common thread in environmental theory. Thomas Berry, a retired Jesuit father in vogue as an ecological essayist, has written, "A few hundred automobiles with good roads may be a great blessing. Yet when the number increases into the millions and hundreds of millions, the automobile is capable of destroying higher forms of life on the entire planet." What possible ordering of society could lead only to a few hundred cars yet a network of good roads? One in which inordinate resources were lavished on the elite, at the expense of the typical person. Through this sentence Berry betrays one of the most common materialist fantasies—the desire to have the entire road to himself.

FOREST LOSS, TOPSOIL LOSS, AND DESERTIFICATION

Till the recent Amazon burnings, world forests were making a minor comeback, partly because chopping wood for home heat is being supplanted by those awful fossil fuels and that awful nuclear power. Now forest acres are declining and deserts increasing, mostly because of human activities. Overuse of pesticides, fertilizers, and irrigation water is causing severe topsoil losses. (See *UNFRIENDLY FARMS*.) Desert expansion is unattractive for obvious reasons. Forest losses not only decrease species habitats but may aggravate the greenhouse effect by reducing a natural means of subtracting carbon dioxide from the air. Topsoil loss is especially troubling because it takes nature millions of years to make soil from rock. As others have noted, ample soil may be a more important geologic gift than ample petroleum. There are alternatives to gasoline; it's hard to imagine running society without soil.

"GARBAGE CRISIS," **THE** In the 1970s my first job as a journalist was with *Waste Age* (its real name), the trade magazine of the garbage industry. One of my first stories quoted various luminaries warning that a "garbage crisis" was about to strike. Fifteen years later it's still about to strike.

Except in a few densely populated cities, it's nutty to maintain that a country as vast as America is "running out" of space for landfills. There is room to landfill our

trash till the Lord's return. What we are running out of is willingness to tolerate landfills. That's as it should be. Though landfills can be built with reasonable environmental safety, they are fundamentally bad ideas: enablers of an irresponsible attitude toward resource consumption. What are responsible alternatives? Enviros say recycling. Supposedly it's about to take off. Fifteen years ago I wrote story after story saying recycling was about to take off.

Grumps maintain that recycling is a fraud, noting that more recycled newsprint is already available than processors will buy. But don't markets always take time to develop? There's no reason the United States can't eventually recycle a quarter of its trash, considering that the advanced economy of Japan recycles more. Though separation of aluminum cans and newspaper, the two most viable recycling commodities, is a big pain for homeowners, it's a good idea for society.

But recycling won't ever solve all disposal problems; and reductions in the packaging content of products aren't going to make more than a tiny nick in the problem. Municipal waste is probably best managed with a combination of moderate recycling, waste-to-energy plants burning the bulk of the trash, and some landfills (there's no scheme that eliminates them) for ash from the burners.

Lately enviros have grown hysterical in their opposition to waste-to-energy, even though this would help replace fossil fuel consumption. (Most of the

energy value in trash is "biomass," a renewable resource.) Why? Because the plants, by alleviating the perception of a garbage crisis, would reduce pressure for the quixotic goal of universal recycling. Plus they're built by big profit-hungry firms, so they must be evil. Enviros have succeeded in terrifying many communities about waste-to-energy facilities by talking up trace dioxin emissions almost laughably small. (Enviros are up in arms about a Georgetown, South Carolina, paper mill because its effluent contains 0.6 parts per trillion of dioxin.) Waste-to-energy furnaces have been widely used in Western Europe for half a century, and no one's been able to document any public health harm. Scandinavia studies indicate some long-term risk to workers inside such plants, but none to the general public.

By the way, in the mid-1980s about a third of the nation's landfills closed, owing to an EPA technical action with the ponderous name "loss of interim status." The closed landfills were pretty much a who's who of the nation's cheesy operations; this wide-scale shut-down was a great thing for the environment, not a "crisis."



ACID RAIN
DRAWING BY VINT LAWRENCE

GREEN PRODUCTS For now, forget 'em. There's practically no difference other than higher price between most green products and what they supplant. "Biodegradable" garbage bags, for instance, only degrade in the laboratory, not under landfill conditions. For the longer term, however, this is a promising idea. Let's see if somebody can come up with products that are meaningfully green.

GLOBAL WARMING: IS IT HAPPENING? Data are dueling over two aspects of this subject: whether warming has already been detected, and whether computers can project temperatures for the next century. (See "The Call of the Wild" by Evan Eisenberg, page 30.) Widescale climate effects are so little understood that there are currently scientific debates on matters as basic as whether warming would cause increased rainfall or drought; whether plants would flourish in more carbon dioxide or gag on the stuff.

There's even a faction that thinks global warming might be acceptable. Under this theory, my hometown of Buffalo would become a vacation paradise. The U.N.'s Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the same outfit George Bush was blasted for failing to deliver a doomsday speech to, has estimated that a world warming of 3.5 degrees Fahrenheit would increase agricultural output in the Soviet Union by forty percent and in China by twenty percent (currently chill latitudes would suddenly have growing seasons), while aiding reforestation worldwide. One IPCC committee projected that on balance gains in agriculture and forest growth would outweigh losses of coastal areas owing to sea-level rises.

GLOBAL WARMING: VEILED? Perhaps the most important question, raised by Pat Michaels of the University of Virginia, is why the industrial era's output of greenhouse gas hasn't yet triggered runaway heat.

One possibility is that scientific understanding of the greenhouse effect is fundamentally mistaken. Another is that nature's climate control systems are more resilient than currently assumed. Nature manages greenhouse gases by having carbon dioxide inhaled by plants and absorbed by ocean life; research increasingly suggests that biologically moderated greenhouse cycles help keep Earth's climate steady and temperate. Plant decay, volcanic seepage, and other natural processes annually add about 200 billion tons of carbon dioxide to the atmosphere; human activity accounts for 7 billion tons, perhaps a small enough amount that nature can for the moment handle it.

A third possibility is that we haven't reached the greenhouse tipping point. Environmentalists urgently warn that atmospheric carbon dioxide has increased by twenty-five percent in the last century, which sounds like a guarantee of woe. They don't add that the carbon dioxide background level is about 290 parts per million (0.029 percent), so that even a huge relative increase in carbon dioxide has little absolute effect on the amount in the air.

Next, it's possible a greenhouse would be occurring

but is being held in check by some other influence. One candidate is "smog block." Industrial activity has put lots of smudgy pollutants into the air, which may be blocking some of the sunlight that would otherwise reach the ground—a kind of nuclear frost. Evidence to support this view comes from data suggesting that temperatures in the Northern Hemisphere, where the industrial activity is, have not risen, while those in the Southern Hemisphere have. Emissions from volcanic activity, up recently, might also be creating a natural block.

Or maybe warming is being temporarily inhibited by the oceans, whose enormous mass tends to smooth out global temperature swings. Since the middle decades of this century were chilly, this line holds, the oceans cooled; now they are giving up their coolness by drawing extra heat from the air, and once they become warm—look out.

Then there is the incredibly annoying possibility that acid rain prevents global warming. Thomas Wigley and other scientists have recently produced studies suggesting that aerosol particles of sulfur dioxide increase the "albedo," or reflectivity, of Earth's cloud layer, causing more solar heat to bounce back into space. If this theory is correct, acid rain reductions without greenhouse gas control might backfire.

Finally, it's possible that global temperatures can be skewed in either direction by small variations in the output of the sun. Our star is nearing the peak of an unusual sunspot cycle; whether that has any relationship to its energy production, no one knows. In fact precious little is known about the internal processes of the sun. A paper by the astronomer-SDI salesman Robert Jastrow suggesting that solar variability is the driving force in climate change has had considerable influence in the Bush White House.

GLOBAL WARMING: WHAT TO DO? Some in Congress have suggested that because it would take a long time to reduce society's output of greenhouse gases, we should start doing so—before the verdict on global warming is in. Conservatives reply that this would amount to shutting down the industrial state on sheer speculation.

The United States, Soviet Union, and China produce fifty-one percent of the world's artificial carbon dioxide emissions; if the effects of forest burning were factored in, Brazil would join this big three. Power plants and family cars are the primary villains. Of the Western powers only France, the world's most energy-efficient state—its economic output per BTU input is double that of the United States—isn't a major carbon dioxide malefactor. But enviros don't talk up France because its low fossil fuel consumption is achieved mainly by greater reliance on nuclear power than any other nation.

Substantial immediate cuts in Western carbon dioxide output would likely come through a combination of higher mpg automobiles, greater investments in energy conservation technology, and more nuclear power, preferably from advanced "inherently safe" reactors. (See "Safe Nuclear Power" by Lawrence M. Lidsky, *TNR*, December 28, 1987.) Well—what's so bad about that formula? All items sound good to me

regardless of whether global warming looms.

There's more fossil fuel around than the Chickens Little said, but we've got to start weaning ourselves from the stuff someday. Irrational dread of nuclear power should wane; so should attachment to inefficient cars. An attempt to push the U.S. auto economy standard from the current 27.5 mpg to 40 mpg recently failed in the Senate, though a more reasonable 33 mpg might have passed. Carpers point out that raising the standard will take years to produce any notable effect on fuel consumption, because most cars on the road will be older, less efficient models. So? This is like saying a policeman who sees a murder committed shouldn't bother making an arrest since there will still be criminals on the loose. All public policy changes occur at the margin.

And the conservative idea that industrial life without petroleum is impossible seems like flat-Earth thinking to me. Sure, it's hard to imagine an advanced economy based on anything other than whopping consumption of petroleum. But little more than a century ago, no intellectual imagined economies based on whopping consumption of petroleum. All someone has to do is invent a practical means for separating hydrogen from water, and an inexhaustible, pollution-free replacement for gasoline will become available. Solar power collected in space, fusion reactors, and other concepts that may become real in the next century hold out the hope of humming economies without any environmental degradation or fuel crisis worries. Not that this would necessarily please environmentalists.

HEALTH SCORECARD Though environmentalists predicted it would get much, much worse, U.S. public health has shown steady improvement in recent decades. AIDS aside, incidence of stroke, heart disease, and hypertension have declined while the life expectancy continues to lengthen. A revealing statistic is that if the mortality rates from 1940 applied to 1988, 4 million Americans would have passed on last year. Instead, 2.2 million died. This represents a spectacular net public health improvement occurring during the very period when the manufacture and use of toxic chemicals, dangerous machines, and nuclear materials expanded exponentially.

Considering that gross industrial pollution was far worse in the past than it is today, if the repeatedly predicted pollution-induced health crisis were going to occur, it should already be in evidence: a huge demographic cohort of Americans exposed to gross pollution from the turn of the century through the 1960s having reached the point in life where disease is typical. Yet the

age-adjusted incidence of cancer has increased only slightly. Would public health have improved even more with greater environmental regulation? Almost certainly. This, in fact, is the best argument for substantial new investments in pollution control.

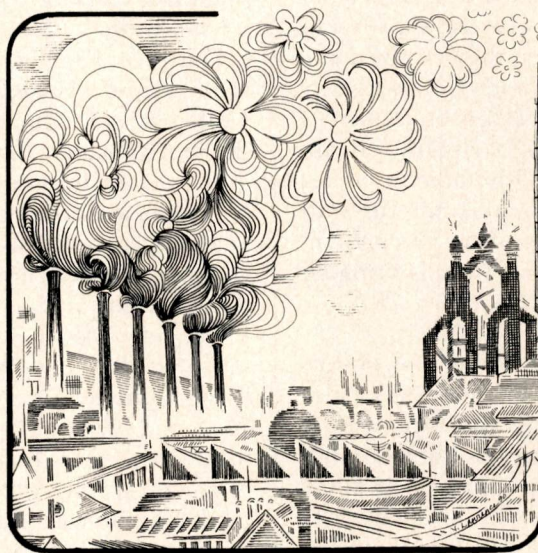
MAN OR A MOUSE, ARE YOU A? Everybody knows the objection that megadoses used on lab animals distort the reliability of tests. (Carcinogen doses may be equivalent to 35,000 times normal human ingestion.) Less understood is that lab animals and humans often respond differently to chemicals because of their differing metabolisms.

Dioxin, which terrifies everybody, was commonly described ten years ago as "the most deadly compound ever devised by man." It's unquestionably dangerous. But recent studies suggest the danger level to have been significantly exaggerated, because it turns out mice are much more sensitive to this chemical family than people are. This may be why there was no general public health crisis at Love Canal, which reeked of dioxins.

Mice are attractive to researchers because they are small, cheap, and reproduce and die rapidly, allowing "long-term" effects to be observed quickly. Chimps, apes, and pigs would be better subjects for toxicology, having metabolisms more like ours. But the primate family suffers enough as it is for medical testing, and pigs are too large to be practical lab animals. Between megadoses and

the fact that mice aren't men, lab animal results don't necessarily translate into reliable human disease projections—another possible reason why fewer people are dying than expected. (Or hoped, if you're a "Deep" Ecologist.)

MODELING, STATISTICAL Most EPA risk estimates are derived from models, not actual mortality or exposure data, a controversial practice among statisticians. For instance, EPA's estimate that radon kills 20,000 Americans per year (making this natural substance more dangerous than all artificial pollutants combined) is extrapolated from the fates of fewer than 400 uranium miners. New Jersey is the only state to have compiled hard data on radon incidence. It found that about one percent of residents were exposed to dangerous levels, confirming that the threat is genuine. EPA models predicted the number would be ten percent. Recent studies conducted at Stanford and the University of California indicate that EPA models predict residues on lettuce of captan, a common pesticide, would be 51,000 times greater than what researchers actually have found; on



CLEAN AIR
DRAWING BY VINT LAWRENCE

tomatoes, the models overstate by 11,000 times.

MUDDLING FORWARD Though everyone's looking for bans and similar dramatic announcements, most of what environmental regulation accomplished in the past twenty years came through obscure technical rulings getting next to no media attention.

Municipal landfills are becoming less likely to pollute because of a series of directives regarding composition of barriers. "The lower liner shall be constructed of at least a three-foot layer of recompacted clay or other natural material with a permeability of no more than one times ten to the minus seven centimeters per second," words from an unheralded 1984 law that caused enormous grousing by landfill operators, demonstrate what most real-world environmental reforms are like. Ocean dumping of sludge is ending because of a tediously drawn-out sequence of technical and legal gambits by enviros and the EPA (the EPA with the approval of Reagan White House officials after they realized the worst offenders were liberal strongholds New York City and Boston). This past winter the EPA promulgated a rule bringing twenty-five categories of organic chemicals, with names like hexachloro-1,3-butadiene, under industrial pre-treatment jurisdiction, meaning the stuff can't go into sewers anymore. Lots of no-glory incremental steps like these are the guts of what is bringing the environment back.

NATURE, THE CRUMMINESS OF Nature makes toxins, pollutants, and radioactive materials in far greater quantities than man does. Nature discards creatures with a pitilessness that makes humanity seem saintly: more than ninety-nine percent of the species ever to come into existence have been rendered extinct. So why does conventional wisdom hold that natural arrangements are metaphysically superior to artificial ones? It's easy for *Homo sapiens* to imagine nature metaphysically pure, since we sit at the pinnacle of the food chain. No species preys on us, and no organisms save diseases can even challenge us. But to the majority of Earth's creatures that live to be chased and eaten, it is doubtful the natural scheme suggests Eden.

The gravest challenge human beings pose to the ecosphere is that we will continue to behave in a purely "natural" manner: expanding our population to the limit the environment can carry, as other creatures would do if competitors did not stop them. Perhaps via technology, humanity can vastly increase its numbers while somehow satisfying its resource needs, dodging the consequences of the starvation cycles that control other species.

But a purely "natural" takeover by man would leave other species little hope. What's most urgently required of humanity is artificial thinking—conscious self-control of a kind unknown in nature.

NATURE, REFORM PROSPECTS FOR Undermining today's environment debate is the notion that man's existence is somehow bad or a perversion of nature. Attendees at

the recent profusion of environmental conferences know their low point invariably occurs when someone takes the podium to deliver a litany of politically correct guilt over his own existence. To reject humanity as unnatural does nature a great injustice. Man springs from the natural scheme just as does any animal or plant. The thinking intellect is essential to the fulfillment of nature's dream, especially since, using our intellect, we may one day find wholly unnatural solutions not only to environmental problems but to flaws inherent in nature itself.

One prominent flaw of the natural scheme is its amorality. The tiger does not recognize such concepts as right and wrong; it kills by rote, feeling nothing as it slaughters the antelope. Tigers as a group would feel nothing if they slaughtered enough antelopes to render that group extinct. *Homo sapiens* has at least developed the spark of conscience that tells us such behavior is wrong.

Our record regarding the heeding of higher instincts is of course dismal, but then remember that by the geological clock the notion of "morality" is a creation of the second hand's most recent tick. For all the powerful criticisms environmental writers make of human abuse of nature, it's amazing they seem to care so little that the arrival of people has at least entered into the natural equation the new, innovative, and entirely artificial idea that suffering and pointless death ought to be opposed.

Consider that by gaining access to technology, *Homo sapiens* is the first creature to have the possibility of living without killing. Today we slaughter animals for food, and brethren for distressingly trivial reasons. But unlike the tiger, man can think his way out of both reliance on lower species for nutrients and materials (with a technical solution) and persecution of his own (with a moral solution).

Homo sapiens is also the first creature to have the possibility of preserving life through the inevitability of environmental change. Today humankind is the foe of many species, assiduously sabotaging their hopes. But that's today, with human understanding of the environment and our proper role in it at a pitifully low level. Who's to say that as that level rises positions might not reverse, and man become an agent for the preservation of life, rescuing species that would otherwise fall extinct?

NUCLEAR POWER No one has ever been killed by a nuclear power plant. Using coal for electric power annually condemns to death 101 U.S. miners, the average for the last decade; the mining leaves huge gashes in the Earth. Nuclear generators emit no greenhouse gases, acid rain, or smog; they displace fossil fuels, which we ought to be conserving for our grandchildren.

Nuclear power has many problems. But this is a reason to shut down the bad plants, not to oppose new, technically improved facilities, with passive-safety and waste-reducing features. The cost of nuclear plants may soon be reduced by an overdue shift on the part of American manufacturers to standard modular designs, rather than making every installation one of a kind.

Waste remains an indelible concern. Even Energy Secretary James Watkins, an old nuclear hard-liner, has said that because of waste, contemporary fission reactors are only acceptable as a transitional power source, till alternatives like fusion or perhaps solar energy collected in space become available in the next century. In theory, fusion reactors could burn seawater, producing almost no byproducts; space solar power could be entirely benign. So how about this for a compromise liberal position on nuclear power: live with fission reactors till we know for sure about the greenhouse effect, or something better comes along.

OZONE DEPLETION It's real. Even Margaret Thatcher, whose high-latitude nation lies near the North Pole ozone breach, is worried. Stratospheric ozone screens out ultraviolet radiation, which can cause skin cancer and birth defects. Satellite data show that ozone over Antarctica seasonally declines forty percent or more compared with a decade ago. Unanswered is: What does this mean? First, it's far from proven that the current degree of ozone depletion harms anyone. Holes have only been observed over the poles, where there's hardly any life anyway; and it's not clear that even the UV at the poles reaches a level that is dangerous, though some researchers think this will be proved eventually. *Nature* recently published a study suggesting that regardless of what the ozone layer is doing, observed UV levels at the ground have declined in recent years.

Second, though CFCs unquestionably create a breakdown product that depletes ozone, it's not yet proved they are solely responsible for the holes. Little is known about natural ozone cycles. The destructive CFC byproduct is chlorine; natural emissions of chlorine (mainly from volcanos) far exceeds artificial quantities. For technical reasons CFC chlorine is more likely to reach the stratosphere than chlorine from volcanos. But with world volcanic activity up in recent years, there may be some relationship between that and the sudden holes.

Third, there may be a solar ozone cycle. Stratospheric ozone is thought to be made when solar energies (including the very UV radiation we want blocked) strike normal two-atom oxygen molecules, converting them to three-atom ozone variations. Do sun output changes create ozone depletion and restoration cycles? Nobody knows.

This said, humanity can ban CFCs but it can't plug volcanos. The Western nations are committed to a fifty percent reduction of CFC manufacturing by the year 2000. (A bigger deal across the Atlantic since European countries never banned CFCs as a spray-can propellant, as the

United States did twenty years ago.) Last year Bush said he would seek a total CFC halt, though he has yet to introduce legislation to this effect. Du Pont, the principal CFC manufacturer, says it will cease production by 2000, offering a new substitute. If CFCs someday prove not to be the ozone villain, we can always go back to them.

Two extremely grating complications: First, the new substitute is less energy efficient in air conditioners and refrigerators, the main CFC use. That means more energy will be consumed to compensate ... which may enhance the greenhouse effect ... which means more fuel use. ...

Second, Third World nations refuse to sign the CFC accord: they may take over manufacturing of the chemical, negating any gain in the West. But consider that lack of refrigeration is the principal cause of the food spoilage that plagues many developing countries. There's no way they can surrender any aspect of affordable refrigeration (the Du Pont CFC substitute is more expensive as well as less efficient) to help the West cover its pollution guilt. Unless some evidence emerges showing ozone depletion is affecting people other than ozone researchers at the poles, it isn't likely the Third World will stop making CFCs.

Anyway, you'll be pleased to know recent research indicates that urban smog is quite effective at impeding UV rays. So if ozone depletion does become generally dangerous, future hardbodies may flock to tan under the friendly LA smog dome,

instead of in some dangerously clean place like Hawaii or New Zealand.



THIRD WORLD POLLUTION
DRAWING BY VINT LAWRENCE

PESTICIDES According to Bruce Ames, the California toxicologist who invented the Ames Test, the standard means of determining if a chemical is carcinogenic, the typical American diet contains 10,000 times more naturally occurring pesticide, much of it carcinogenic, than residues of the synthetic variety. (Once an ecologists' hero, Ames became the devil incarnate when he started saying this.) Plants make a variety of biological toxins for metabolic purposes or as evolutionary adaptations against competitors. Arsenic and cyanide are two toxins commonly occurring in even organically grown fruits; the biological pesticides in some plants have twelve-syllable chemical names that would scare the wits out of you on an ingredients label. If lab animals were given some natural toxins in the same doses used to test synthetic compounds, they would not slowly grow ill, as did the Alar mice. They'd drop dead on the spot.

Concern about synthetic pesticides is now well out of proportion, though it's easy to see why this happened,

since memories remain fresh of DDT and other "hard" pesticides that did enormous damage before being banned. The public seems to have forgotten that most pesticides are there for legit reasons: increasing yields so food is cheap, killing off microbes that otherwise would make consumers sick. Those stories about people getting ill from what they bought at the health food store are no joke.

That said, it's crazy not to ban any suspect food chemical that does not have some strong compensating virtue. Alar was an easy choice—who cares if apples are shiny red or only sorta red? Others may be tricky. In the wake of the Alar flap the EPA also banned EDBC, a common fungicide that causes cancer in lab animals. The lowly fungus produces most of nature's deadliest poisons and carcinogens—aflatoxin and a list of others. The net carcinogen content of the U.S. food supply may increase as a result of the EDBC decision.

One positive sign is that the trend in pesticide chemistry is toward compounds that can be used in small quantities ("microdose" pesticides), have narrow ranges of toxicity, and lose their potency rapidly. Great promise is held by the fledgling science of altering plants so that they do not require pesticides. If you're horrified by the thought of genetic engineering, bear in mind that one of its likely first effects on society is a reduction in food chemicals.

POLLUTION SCORECARD Since the first Earth Day in 1970 most measures of U.S. ecological quality have improved, not declined. Direct industrial water pollution is down significantly; the Great Lakes and some other water bodies are recovering. (Groundwater pollution is more of a question.) Though old toxic waste dumps identified under the Superfund program continue to bedevil everyone, creation of new dumps has essentially ceased—an easily overlooked accomplishment. Development of wetlands has slowed; growth, in general, is less likely to come at the expense of land or vistas better preserved. Airborne sulfur and particulates, the two leading varieties of air pollution in 1970, have fallen sharply; lead, the worst atmospheric poison, has nearly disappeared from the U.S. sky; though smog, an index of American prosperity as measured by per capita auto ownership, has increased slightly, the rate of increase is below that of the increase in autos and economic output, indicating that with further effort smog can be bested, too.

PROPHECY SCORECARD Environmental prophecies have frequently landed far wide of the mark. A perennial favorite, cataclysmic world famine, has yet to pan out. (There was a 1967 best seller called *Famine 1975*, and Paul Erhlich still elicits warm coos on the media/Robert Redford conference circuit by declaring that general starvation is just around the corner.) After the winter of 1976-77, the coldest in a century, many of the same people now crying global warming declared that an ice age was beginning. Even Stephen Schneider, an atmospheric scientist who is extremely sharp and a favorite

source of greenhouse effect quotes, wrote a book in the 1970s lending credence to an imminent ice age. According to the Club of Rome, we're all dead already.

REFORMULATED GASOLINE During the Reagan years petroleum companies repeatedly told the EPA it was impossible to cut the inherent pollution content of gasoline. Then semi-Texan George Bush proposed mandatory use of alternative fuels such as methanol. Suddenly oil companies allowed as how gasoline could be reformulated to make it cleaner. "I've been in the business twenty years and never even heard the phrase 'reformulated gasoline' till we announced the alternative fuels provision," Reilly says. Arco and Marathon are already offering reformulated grades in high-smog markets. The product appears to burn about as cleanly as ethanol or methanol, making it a terrific development. Fuel improvements are an especially effective form of pollution control because the benefits spread to cars already on the road.

But now the advance is in limbo. When it seemed that mandatory alternative fuels would be in the Clean Air Act, it was expected that every oil company would reformulate, accomplishing a smog reduction very rapidly and cheaply. Now with mandatory alternative fuels in danger of being chopped out of the bill, this may not happen.

By the way, the typical pre-1975 car now emits twenty-five times as much pollution as the typical new car. By 1993 a single older car will countervail the emissions gains of fifty new ones. Yet there is no initiative to get old cars off the road. Republicans won't touch this one because cars are private property, and Democrats protest that smoggy old models tend to be owned by the poor. How about a bounty program? Paying people to junk outdated cars might be more socially efficacious than trying to wring the last fraction of a gram of smog from new car exhaust.

REVERSIBILITY Though commentators often claim human abuses cause aspects of the environment to be "destroyed," nearly every environmental mistake is reversible—except extinction. Sometimes reverses can come surprisingly fast. Lake Erie and the Thames River, both pronounced "dead" in the 1960s, are already nearly thriving again merely through moderate pollution control. The bald eagle may be taken off the endangered species list a decade after many said there was no hope of averting extinction. Within ten years it should be impossible to determine where the Exxon Valdez spill even occurred. Whenever the ecology is pronounced "destroyed" by a transitory event, bear in mind nature is an elaborately defended fortress that has been repelling assaults for four billion years.

It's even possible that some extinctions will become reversible. To the extent DNA from dead species can be found or inferred from the "junk genes" in living species, believed by some researchers to be switched-off records of ancestral forms, humanity might someday bring creatures back to life instead of wiping them out.

SPECIES RIGHTS It may be that the worst crime humanity now commits on Earth is killing off species. The biologist E. O. Wilson estimates that people have recently begun to extinguish lesser creatures at a pace 10,000 times the typical natural rate. Wilson further believes that the diversity of the ecosphere is richer right now than at any time in Earth's past. That is a testament to the environment's recuperative powers, since the past contains catastrophes (ice ages, comet impacts, shifts of the planetary axis) that dwarf human meddling. It also suggests that by killing this diversity, we are doing far more profound harm than through routine reversible mistakes like spilling oil or smogging up the Grand Canyon.

Meanwhile, there's an argument for species preservation that rarely enters the impassioned animals rights debate. Namely, that other creatures may be evolving toward sapience, too. In principle many if not most species ought to be "trying" to become intelligent, because as *Homo sapiens* has shown, intelligence is the most powerful of adaptive mechanisms. Dolphins, chimpanzees, and apes aren't merely creatures that right-thinking people shouldn't want killed; they are potentially like us. I have no qualms about asserting that people at present have a rights stature exceeding that of "every creeping thing" (Genesis 1:26). But harming the prospects of life that may someday acquire the same stature is not only wrong; it could get us into serious trouble with our creator.

STATES' RIGHTS A number of state and local governments have jumped ahead of Washington in environmental rules. Los Angeles is working on a far-reaching plan for smog control that calls for restrictions not just on industry but on individual behavior, a territory that terrifies Congress. (Mandatory car pools and bans on charcoal barbecues, for example.) New Jersey and Michigan have toxic cleanups stronger than Superfund. Florida, where groundwater is close to the surface, is becoming a leader in landfill crackdowns.

Last year, during sparring over the Clean Air Act, Waxman wanted the California 1993 auto emission limits made a national standard; Detroit lobbyists whined that this would cause every doughnut shop in Michigan to close, and so on. Then the governors of eight Northeastern states announced that they would seek California 1993 limits on cars sold in their jurisdictions. Detroit realized that between the West Coast and the Northeast it would have to equip half its output with the controls anyway. Opposition evaporated.

SUPERFUND All numbers in this category are stunning—31,000 abandoned toxic waste sites found; 1,224 of them put on Superfund's priority list; cleanup (which the EPA insists on calling "remediation") has begun on only 261 at them.

Since Love Canal and Times Beach in 1978, elaborate epidemiology projects have attempted to demonstrate general public health harm from leaking toxics. All have come up blank. Studies of Superfund's worst cases in Woburn, Massachusetts, and Lipari, New Jersey, show elevated leukemia incidence among families immediately adjacent. In Niagara Falls several children living in homes right on Love Canal suffered rare diseases. But no general public health damage occurred in these places.

Reagan considered Superfund a big joke, unleashing Anne Burford to destroy it. One of the most important tests of whether Bush truly is "the environment president" is whether he can make the clean-up work. People may be scared to excess about toxic dumps; but they are scared, and deserve to have their fears put to rest.



UNFRIENDLY FARMS
DRAWING BY VINT LAWRENCE

THIRD WORLD POLLUTION Anyone who's traveled in the developing world knows that it's a fantasy that Western industrial countries are the polluted ones. Mexico City, New Delhi, Karachi, and Leipzig have choking levels of air pollution, sometimes requiring auto headlights at midday. Poland, Nigeria, Kenya, Bangladesh, the Philippines, and others have sickening levels of water pollution;

where "sanitation" exists, it consists of open conduits of human and industrial waste. Recently I went rafting on the remote Trisuli River in Nepal. It was revoltingly polluted. At one point I jumped off the raft to ride some rapids on a life preserver. Our Nepali guide offered cheerfully, "Whatever you do, don't open your mouth!"

In the developing world vehicles have no emissions controls, gasoline is low quality, coal is burned without stack controls, sewage and industrial discharge go directly into waterways, and wood stoves warm homes and hovels. Conventional liberalism says the Third World environment has been corrupted by technology. From what I've seen the Third World environment needs technology desperately.

THIRD WORLD RESOURCES There's a famous statistic that the United States has four percent of the world population and consumes forty percent of world resources. Americans ought to bring their consumption down. But would that address the core problem this statistic reflects? Not in the slightest. What the statistic really

tells us is that resource consumption in the Third World has got to go up, up, up—so that the billions of impoverished men and women who make up Earth's vast underclass can enjoy some measure of physical comfort and opportunity. It's not an embellishment to say that some ecologists are more concerned with the conditions faced by grizzlies in Wyoming parks than human beings in Calcutta or Lagos. I recently drew a hiss at Harvard Divinity School by saying of Third World priorities, "People are more important than plants and animals."

Many enviros are burdened by a post-Schumacher daydream in which Third World residents don't want material goods: they would rather live as rustic peasants, patiently tending gardens and preserving ecological niches. Living in Pakistan, I discovered the most remarkable thing—people there long to be sheltered and relieved from manual labor and to have their children's diseases cured. They frantically desire cars or any kind of mechanized transportation that spares them traveling on foot with burdens on their backs.

When asked what should be done for the world's poor multitudes, enviros generally try to shift the discussion to how if it hadn't been for colonial exploitation, overpopulation never would have happened in the first place. Maybe so, but it did happen, and today there is one proven nonviolent means to bring down population growth: industrialization. Industrial countries have low birth rates. Developing countries have high birth rates. Absent some total transformation of human nature, this suggests that what the developing world needs is more industrialization.

There's a hopeful note in all this. Environmentalism and economics are likely to replace militarism and ideology as the dominant international issues of the twenty-first century. People in strong, affluent nations like ours don't have to deal with the reality of fellow beings living a subhuman existence in the slums of Nairobi or Manila. But if Third World nations, in their quest for a reasonable standard of living, begin polluting the planet in a major way, no amount of wealth or military power will insulate us from the effects. We'll have to start giving them, not selling to them, all the clean technology and sustainable agriculture tools we've got. It's a long shot, but maybe the desire to preserve the ecosphere in which we all must live will be the force that finally brings the world's fractious nations together.

TODD, JOHN Environmental biologist who runs a wonderful organization called Ocean Arks International. Todd did his doctoral work traveling the world and cataloging microbe life that once thrived under ecological conditions that are toxic by today's standards. Later he became concerned that modern sewage treatment systems were ecological failures because they produced toxic sludge. A thunderbolt hit him. Why not mix the sludge with microbes that naturally metabolize toxics? He did just that with a pilot

plant in Providence. Its energy input is negligible, its product potable water. Todd believes such a system could handle all of Providence sludge with 120 acres of reaction tanks, a realistic number.

So are environmentalists happy about this breakthrough? No, they're furious. Todd says some of his old friends no longer speak to him: by discovering a solution to a man-made offense, he takes away an argument against growth.

UNFRIENDLY FARMS Farms, one of the leading customers for bulk chemicals, are now a greater source of water pollution than industry. Pesticides are more likely to reach you via farm runoff that pollutes drinking water than as residues on food. According to the EPA, today only seven percent of river and stream pollution comes from factories; sixty-five percent from farms. Seventy-four categories of pesticides have been detected in groundwater. Yet farm use of toxics is almost completely unregulated.

Liberals don't like to talk about this because their preferred worldview is that farmers are among the oppressed of the earth; conservatives shun the topic because, "Nobody can tell me what to do with my land!" The federal crop support program is up for renewal this year. Enviros are trying to inject a modest clause requiring farmers who accept subsidies to keep records of how they apply toxics. The farm lobby's gone berserk.

Overuse of pesticides and fertilizers is not only bad for the environment and farmers themselves, it's usually unnecessary. Even the National Research Council, considered a vassal of Big Science, says the typical U.S. farm employs far more chemicals than justified. The best explanation for this phenomenon is that farmers were oversold when bulk pesticides became widely available in the 1950s; now, endlessly paranoid about next year's yield, they are nervous about backing off. Since farmers have an interest in preserving their land, a movement toward sustainable agriculture—fewer chemicals, conservation tillage, "integrated pest management" that controls insects more through knowledge of their life cycles than poisons—is slowly picking up steam in the farming establishment. A little regulation to prod it along couldn't hurt.

WHITE HOUSE POLITICS John Sununu's not a monster—he pushed acid rain legislation as governor of New Hampshire—though he is well to the right of Reilly. As chief political *macher* for the White House, he is keenly aware that Bush must deliver something on his environmental promises or pay a price in 1992. Darman has mostly gotten his nose out of environmental proposals, partly because Reilly clobbered him in their first showdown over the Clean Air Act, partly because he realizes costs from the bill will be expressed in higher consumer prices, not the federal deficit, which is his baby. Roger Porter, Bush's domestic policy adviser, helped rescue the act in the Senate. Conservatives are now steaming be-

cause they think he gave away the store.

ZERO EMISSIONS Lynda Draper, the housewife who set off a national anger campaign when a General Electric refrigerator repairman vented some CFCs out of her kitchen window, may have been overreacting: the tiny amount of chemical released had an environmental impact too minuscule to detect. But then any one person's vote has a minuscule impact on an election, and we think every citizen ought to vote. Individual incidents of pollution basically don't matter; toleration of pollution generally matters a great deal. Draper's instincts were right on the money.

Barry Commoner has said that since all regulatory schemes can be tripped up by some smart lawyer, we ought simply to outlaw pollution. Most corporate executives swear this is utterly out of the question. Don't believe them. Monsanto has already committed itself to zero; Du Pont endorsed the concept. Zero emissions of toxics may be impractical today. But in the next century executives will consider it a mundane, conventional business concept.

Corporate America has lost the public's confidence on environmental affairs, and the only thing that's going to win it back will be a regime under which factories have no regularly planned discharge of any toxic substance. Zero emissions will be expensive, and at some point have sharply diminishing social returns. People are going to press for it anyway. And there's no reason why a zero emissions standard shouldn't be an exciting goal for engineers and managers. Americans love to talk about sophisticated technology. "Sophisticated" devices don't pollute. Only crude ones do.

Next question: If industry accepts a zero standard, how about you and me? A third of sewer pollution comes from household items like bleach and paint thinner; lawn mowers and furnaces contribute to air pollution; bakeries and dry cleaners are top ten sources of smog; lawn chemicals differ little from pesticides. Everybody wants industry to change its ways. Will individuals be willing to change theirs?

ZILLIONTH, OUR NOTION OF "NATURE" MEASURED AS At every point in human history we have mistaken the current horizon for the boundary of the world. Our ancient ancestors never dreamed there were other continents; the Chinese spent a millennium imagining they were the only civilization; Renaissance Europeans were stunned to discover that there was another hemisphere.

Today we regard the living shroud around Earth and speak as though that were nature. Look up over your head some evening. Earth is one-zillionth of a zillionth of nature. Environmentalists admonish that the only way to understand the environment is to remember that everything is part of everything else. Then they speak as though Earth's ecosphere were a closed system, a be-all and end-all. It is but a tiny

part of a vastly greater natural scheme. That scheme has a prominent flaw that is not visible to us here on Earth, and so has occupied comparatively little of the time of the worldly philosophers. It could, however, be clearly observed from the vantage point of the recent Voyager probe. The flaw? That most of creation is lifeless.

Of the dozens of planets and moons in this solar system, only ours appears to support life. Radio telescope searches have been unable to detect any hint of artificial transmission in our galaxy. Researchers have recently advanced theories suggesting that for reasons of physics, only a comparatively tiny percentage of the planets we presume to exist elsewhere would have anything like the narrow range of elements, temperatures, and pressures necessary to nurture the one form of life we know to be possible: carbon-based organic life. Perhaps that conclusion will turn out to be wrong, the cosmos rich with strange and beautiful forms of life. For the moment, we must assume that Earth's living system is an exception and a miracle indeed.

Now consider: though nature was unable to make most of this solar system live, a thinking intellect might. Nature was confined to what is possible in spontaneous interactions of elements randomly disturbed. Thinking creatures are restricted only by their imagination. Perhaps we are here in order to add to the natural system a component able to act by design.

It is not at all impossible to imagine that the ability to render cold planets warm and dry planets wet will someday be within human grasp, assuming we find the wisdom not to blow ourselves up in the interim. The sequence of evolution may well turn out to be: creation of life; multicellular life; plants; animals; mammals; scheming beings that abuse nature's benevolence; and finally sensible beings that return the favor by extending the gift of life into the infinite environs of space.

A continuous expansion of Earth life, which would spell ruin for the natural system here, might be a great boon to creation once Earth's creatures begin to spread outward from their place of origin. "Deep" Ecologists see the development of human consciousness as an unadulterated disaster for nature. "Planet Managers" see it as a controllable disaster. Nature herself may consider it a godsend.

The prospect of expanding life into the heavens may sound too remote to be relevant to today's environmental debates. Hardly. It's far more meaningful than such details as unburned hydrocarbon gram levels or delayed Subtitle D regulations. This prospect gives us reason to believe that humankind can take a constructive place in the larger natural scheme. Isn't that a promising long-term challenge for a race of creatures whose worst inner fear is that their existence has no lasting purpose? And it moves us to hope that if we learn to manage our world and passions wisely, our descendants may someday enjoy a truly magnificent destiny, upon which all creation will smile. •

BOOKS & The Arts

Stanley Kauffmann on Films

Mystifications

Elaine May, Peter Falk, and Julian Schlossberg have known one another for at least fourteen years. Elaine May wrote and directed *Mikey and Nicky* (1976), Peter Falk played Mikey, and Julian Schlossberg, a producer and distributor, made a brave effort to promote that extraordinary film. (I saw it again recently on TV and again thought it a neglected gem.) Now these people have joined up for another project, a farce-comedy called *In the Spirit* (Castle Hill), which may turn out to be neglected but which is not a gem.

May didn't direct or write it: she plays a leading part. Sandra Seacat, known as an acting coach, directed it, and it was written by Jeannie Berlin, May's daughter, with Laurie Jones. Berlin is in it, in a lesser part. Peter Falk is in it, too, also in a lesser part. Another leading role is played by Marlo Thomas. Schlossberg produced the picture and may have been as seduced by the idea of working with two *Mikey and Nicky* veterans as by the script itself. Anyway, I hope that's the case: it's more comprehensible than unalloyed admiration for the screenplay.

The idea is so lame, its articulation so mechanical, that the whole film seems artificial respiration for the premise. At the start May and Falk are a couple living in California, where he has just lost his job. Thomas is a health-food nut and spiritualist living in New York. Berlin is a hooker—yet one more movie-cliché hooker—in New York. A voice-over tells us ominously that these people's karma will bring them together. (Surprisingly, this voice is male—in a

film written by two women about the adventures of two women and directed by a woman.)

And, do you know, they *are* all brought together! In Thomas's New York apartment, by a series of shameless contrivances. To give the plot somewhat more space than it merits, the long last section of the picture has May and Thomas hiding out in a big house in upstate New York, devising traps and snares for a killer they think is trailing them. Somewhere underneath, I think, is a suggestion that karma determined all.

Up to that last section, there's a mild veneer of cosmopolitan glitz. Jokes about a diet of kelp and about Shirley MacLaine mysticism fly thick and fast—well, anyway, thick. But when the physical stuff starts happening—a murder and the May-Thomas flight—pallid Woody Allen gives way to Abbott and Costello in drag.

Seacat handles the first part adequately, but she is as lost as her actors in the second, pratfall part. About May a

big question mark looms. Patently she's a woman of great gifts. Patently one of those gifts is not self-management. She followed *Mikey and Nicky* by writing and directing *Ishtar*, the *ss Titanic* of film comedies. Now—perhaps out of mother love—she appears in a script that is not only weak but is quite unsuited to her sophisticated comic style. May is said to do a lot of uncredited rewriting of other people's screenplays. In this case, charity should have begun at home.

Santa Sangre (Expanded Entertainment) is differently, and ultraseriously, mystical. It was written and directed by Alejandro Jodorowsky, who wrote and directed and starred in *El Topo*, which was a *cause* somewhat *célèbre* in 1971. That earlier film was a religious fantasy set in the Mexican desert, with Jodorowsky as a Christ figure and with surreal and symbolical trappings that would have done any bright high school sophomore proud. But Jodorowsky had an eye. I remember trying to walk out of *El Topo* several times, but every time I started to go, another startling picture would arrest me.

There's not much that's arresting in *Santa Sangre*: this time I stayed through the whole thing hoping to be startled, but without much luck. This time the setting is Mexico City, again it's a religious fantasy; the leading role—a quasi-religious figure—is played by Jodorowsky's son, Axel. The symbolism is much less ingenious than before (if memory is serving) but is just as incessant.

A circus woman founds a Christian sect devoted to a "saint," a girl whose arms were cut off before she was raped and murdered. The circus woman's drunken husband cuts her arms off one day, then cuts his own throat. This causes a bit of a trauma in their small son who witnesses it all; when he grows up, his mesmerizing mother, now armless like her "saint," tries to use him for her purposes. The symbolism, clear and otherwise, includes: a circus elephant dying, bleeding through its trunk; sex (there's a

FILMS WORTH SEEING

Cinema Paradiso. In a Sicilian town, a film-going boy grows up. Rich and redolent. (Reviewed 2/19/90) **Glory.** Fine directing and writing, and (with the exception of Matthew Broderick) fine acting in this stirring account of a black Union Army regiment and its white colonel. (1/8&15/90) **Lonely Woman Seeks Life Companion.** The Soviets send us a not-quite-comedy, delicately done in every way, of a fortyish woman and her grasp at happiness. (3/19/90) **Pretty Woman.** Enjoyable hokum about a high-rolling investment broker and an LA hooker. The plot is there only to let us spend time with Richard Gere and Julia Roberts, who are worth it. (4/16/90) —SK

good deal of female undulation); and, inevitably, a dwarf.

The only interesting point about *Santa Sangre* is how old-fashioned it seems. This is the kind of daring that might possibly have stirred *tout Paris* in 1922. Today it all seems very dated. The religious hocus-pocus is dreary; and the assaults on bourgeois convention are milder than those in this week's cop picture, whatever it happens to be.

After last week's comment on American film importing, a note on American film exporting. Recently I came across an interview with Liv Ullmann and the Hungarian director Istvan Szabo, which they gave to *Le Monde* last winter and which was translated in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*. The occasion was the Festival of European Cinema, where Ullmann and Szabo had been jurors.

They both began by attacking the interviewer as a representative of the European press, which they say continually downplays European films and supports American hoopla. Szabo: "You take the line of least resistance by adding your own little voices to the massive chorus of approval organized by the American 'majors' when they launch the same movie all over the world." He calls such pictures "the filmic equivalent of fast food."

Ullmann, who concedes that some European films are self-indulgent, asserts that at least some European films "ask questions about our identity and our future," while American films "just seem gratuitous . . . violent and caricatural." She adds:

It's hardly surprising that young Europeans, swamped with such films, are bored by European ones, which are much less standardized and more profound. I don't understand why the critics have abdicated their responsibilities. Their power to influence remains intact and they are free to pick and choose. So why do they play follow-my-leader?

It's not often that one sees critics—here Ullmann and Szabo are addressing European critics—called to account by film people for their spinelessness. As for the plaint about the difference between our films and theirs, it's certainly arguable: we all know of pluses and minuses on both sides of the Atlantic. Still, it's hard for an American not to feel a twinge of guilty recognition in the charges above. It's true that these charges by Europeans have often been made before, but that fact may be the grimmest aspect of the matter: insofar as the Ullmann-Szabo comments are just, they depict a long-standing state of affairs that may be getting worse. •

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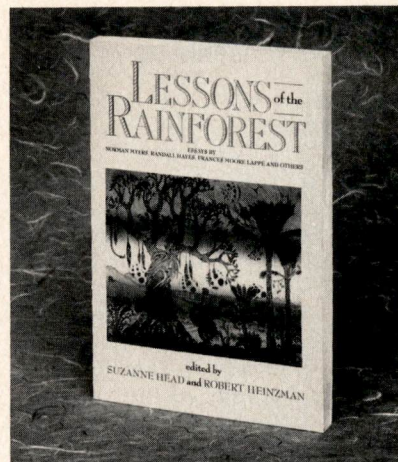
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Nature's four lessons for ecologists.

The Call of the Wild

BY EVAN EISENBERG

No one has told my cat about global warming. Last November, her first in the country, she grew a winter coat, something she never did in Manhattan. Her thighs were shaggy as a musk-ox's. The flea comb no longer plumbed her depths. When she groomed herself, she sounded like a rooting pig. The wildness in her, sprung from its dungeon, had already spoken up in a hundred ways that were fearful to watch and sometimes unpleasant to clean up. The new coat was the most striking thing, because it was so physical.

The rest of us here are obsessed with global warming. We knew all along that there was work to do on the Earth's behalf (and our own) and that much of it was urgent. Still, it seemed manageable. We would chip away a little at this problem, a little at that, and as more and more of us applied our chisels the shape of a sane planet would emerge. But now the solid material we have been working with seems to melt under our hands. Our problems multiply, ramify, run in rivulets of unpredictability.

Briefly, the facts are these. Over the past century, humankind has added large quantities of carbon dioxide, methane, halocarbons, nitrous oxide, and other "greenhouse gases" to the Earth's atmosphere. These gases let the Sun's energy in, but they do not let much of it out. All other things being equal, temperatures at the Earth's surface should rise as a result. But all other things are not equal: a skein of feedback loops involving cloud cover, ocean currents, even the activity of soil bacteria complicates things almost beyond imagining. Some of the loops are negative and will make things better, some are positive and will make things worse, and some have not yet declared their valence.

Add to this the lag in air temperature caused by the ocean's absorption both of carbon dioxide and of heat, and the possibility that we are due for an ice age in a few

EVAN EISENBERG is the author of *The Recording Angel: The Experience of Music from Aristotle to Zappa* (Penguin). He is at work on a book about man's role in nature, real and imagined.

centuries, and you have some idea of the mess of entrails our seers must read. Elaborate computer models requiring quadrillions of calculations—but still primitive in relation to the problem—predict that if no action is taken, temperatures will rise an average of three to five degrees Fahrenheit by the year 2050, with wild variations (in rainfall and storms as well as temperature) from place to place.

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The numbers sound piddling until one remembers that the total global warming since the height of the last ice age 18,000 years ago has been about nine degrees F. A number of studies indicate that temperatures have already risen an average of one degree F. in the past century, which is roughly consistent with the computer models but also consistent with the possibility that they are dead wrong.

Supposing they are right, other models try to guess the effects: forest death, forest fires, extinctions of flora and fauna, drought in the world's breadbaskets, thawing of the polar ice caps, climbing

sea levels, Venetian cities. Even the possible benefits of global warming (fewer winter illnesses, stimulation of crop growth by carbon dioxide, longer growing seasons in Russia and Canada) are likely to be tainted by social disruption, for we are talking about a rate of climate change far greater than anything mankind has yet seen. And there will be aggravating factors: farmers will have to deal not only with heat and drought but also with increased ultraviolet radiation (caused by ozone loss in the stratosphere), soil erosion, acid rain, and air pollution (such as ozone in the troposphere).

Oblivious, my cat grew a winter coat. The prospect of global warming would not have affected her plans for this past winter, which turned out to be rigorous (for one month, at least) in the accepted New England way. It affected my plans, ironically, by making me think harder about how to thicken the fur of my house. If I insulated better I would burn less wood and belch less carbon dioxide. Keeping warm in winter, I would do my bit to keep future summers cool.

That I am copying my cat does not bother me at all. With all this talk about the end of nature, it is good to be reminded that there is still a quantity of nature in each living thing and that we can learn from it. Is it true, as some think, that one smudged human thumbprint, one sour breath, is enough to denature nature? No truer than that one touch of nature is enough to naturalize civilization. The wildness in our genes and in the genes of our cats and cabbages affects civilization far more than our dams and dark emissions affect nature. As Wendell Berry has written, "We breathe and our hearts beat and we survive as a species because we are wild." We modify nature, but nature makes us from scratch.

The ancestor of our word "nature" is the Latin *natura* (from *nascor*, to be born), which glossed the Greek *physis* (from *phyo*, to bring forth or to grow). For the ancients, nature was the nature of something: of a tree, of the gods, of man. Nature could be opposed to convention, or to technology, but not to the human as such. It was not a realm unto itself; all life was shot through with it. If nature came also to mean physical law, that did not exclude man, either, as anyone could prove by jumping out a window.

In English, the opposition between man and nature first appears in the eighteenth century. It seems to have been at once a reaction against the coal mines and steel mills and a cause of them. By this time an intimate and remarkably stable marriage of man and the land had

been achieved in northern Europe, much of which had been farmed productively for centuries. Now, in this continent-sized garden, sibilant promises of god-like power were heard. As industrialization paved over the garden, sensitive persons found refuge in remnants of wilderness—or in fantasies of a great wilderness across the sea. But the Romantic idealization of pure and untrodden nature only ratified the cold exploitation of whatever part of nature man did tread on. Part of the Earth would be stripped for food, clothing, and suspension bridges, and part would be reserved for the contemplation of poets.

The coolest exploiters of nature and its warmest defenders have had one assumption in common: that nature is one thing, mankind another. To the first, nature is inert matter that can be manipulated at will. To the second, it is a kind of anti-matter that vanishes at a touch, and so must be kept in special receptacles called parks or preserves.

Oddly, the rhetoric of "being part of nature" is common among extremists of both stripes. In one lexicon, being part of nature means abandoning our own nature—giving up the habits of delving, building, and transforming that, more in degree than in kind, set us apart from other living things. In the other lexicon, being part of nature means doing what comes naturally to us, which as often as not is mindless exploitation. From this latter point of view, the fact that we are part of nature means that anything we do—no matter how ugly or willful or contorted—is, by definition, natural.

Neither side seems to appreciate the obverse of the fact that we are part of nature: namely, that nature is part of us. Another way of saying the same thing is that we have a nature—human nature—that is like and unlike that of any other thing. The Talmud advises that every man carry in one pocket a slip of paper reading, "For me the world was made" and in the other a slip reading, "I am but dust and ashes." It is dangerous to forget that we are part of nature, but equally dangerous to forget how different we are.

In recent years, one side of the antithesis I have been discussing has been commandeered by a movement that calls itself Deep Ecology. At the heart of the movement is the idea that humans have no right to a larger role in nature than raccoons. Instead of trying to remodel our earthly home, we ought to fade into the woodwork like the other residents. In strict practice this would mean reverting to the hunting and gathering that fed us for the first few million years of our hom-

inid career, before agriculture let us breed like mice in a seed bag. It would mean returning most of the Earth to wilderness.

Of the movement's American manifesto, *Deep Ecology* by Bill Devall and George Sessions, which was published in 1985, even a convert such as Bill McKibben concedes that it "shows its West Coast origins at times." I would add that it shows its academic origins as well (Devall and Sessions teach sociology and philosophy, respectively). The product of ivory towers hidden in the redwoods, it is the only book I know that manages to be flaky and moldy at the same time, like a fine old Stilton. Its eclecticism—the best thing about it—helps it to be evasive. In setting out its vision of a humankind in harmony with nature, it is very discreet about the fact that such a humankind would be very, very small. Squirreled away in a dark crotch of the book, in a line from an interview with the Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess, is a target for world population. It is one hundred million. There is no discussion of how that target might be reached, but the fact that the movement's totemic philosopher, Martin Heidegger, was a Nazi gives one pause.

When it comes to politics, Deep Ecology is deep the way an ostrich's head is deep. The same can be said of Earth First!, in effect the movement's direct action branch. Inspired by Edward Abbey's novel *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, Earth First! specializes in acts of sabotage (disabling bulldozers, cutting power lines) in defense of wilderness. Although members of the group have shown great courage in acts of nonviolent resistance, they do have some questionable habits, such as the spiking of old-growth trees, which a few years ago caused the maiming of a sawmill worker. (Earth First! denied responsibility, claiming that it would not have spiked a stand without notifying the timber company. But spiking would have no bite if such accidents could not happen.) And they have some questionable ideas, such as the view expressed in the group's journal that AIDS is a good thing because it reduces the human population without harming the birds and bees.

A new book by Earth First! member Christopher Manes, *Green Rage: Radical Environmentalism and the Unmaking of Civilization*, makes a surprisingly good case for some of the radicals' tactics, which have greatly increased the cost to industry of raping wilderness. He is unable, though, to show that they have a strategy—unless it is to keep some wilderness alive for the day when civilization

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"chokes on its own dung" (as one radical put it), after which a saving remnant of mankind can return to the idyllic lifestyle of the Pleistocene. "The time to make the choice between the natural and cultural world has come," Manes concludes, and it is lucky that this is his last sentence; it would have been awkward to have to make that choice while writing a book.

What about the other side of the antithesis? At the far end are the crazed futurists, the sort of people who would make cows legless milk dispensers, conveniently stackable, and replace sheep with tube-fed lamb-chop cultures hundreds of yards long. But this extreme is no longer worth talking about. The range of thoughtful discourse has shifted in an "ecological" direction: even the technocrats now admit that the planet is only so big and can take only so much abuse. Somewhat chastened, those who once tried to dominate nature now settle for managing it.

Planet Management has become the dominant worldview among scientists and policy-makers. It is the Fortran version of the Judeo-Christian ethic of stewardship, which sees the Earth as a garden that we are to dress, keep, and humanize. The finicky eye of God has been replaced with remote-sensing satellites that tell us, without moralizing, just where we stand. A good idea of how it all works may be had by leafing through the September 1989 special issue of *Scientific American* titled "Managing Planet Earth." Between the gaily colored advertisements in which major polluters express their commitment to a cleaner planet can be found advice on the management of water, air, population, energy, industry, economic development, agriculture, biodiversity, and climate.

The charts and the diagrams alone are enough to give a sense of the fearsome analytic guns these scholars pack. Much of their advice is excellent. If our leaders heeded it, the planet might stand a chance of getting through the next century in one piece. And yet there is something about the enterprise that rubs me the wrong way: an arrogant and mettlesome streak that is not only unseemly, but dangerous.

Not long ago I received a piece of junk mail from the Union of Concerned Scientists that asked, in hectic letters on the outside of the envelope: "IS OUR CLIMATE OUT OF CONTROL?" Had I stopped beating my wife? As far as I knew, our climate had never been under control. Certainly it had never been under mine. It had, perhaps, been under the control of the Earth itself, if one accepted some

version of the "Gaia hypothesis" advanced by the atmospheric chemist James Lovelock and the microbiologist Lynn Margulis—the idea that the planet behaves like an organism, maintaining temperature, oxygen concentration, the salinity of the oceans, and many other variables within the narrow limits that life requires. But that was not what the question on the envelope seemed to imply. It seemed to imply that if we were not now controlling the climate, we should be.

Climate is likely to be the airy field on which, in the next decade and the next century, Deep Ecology and Planet Management (and other doctrines) will fight it out. The first skirmishers are in the bookstores. About a third of Bill McKibben's book *The End of Nature* comprises the clearest and most compelling summary of the problems of global warming and ozone loss that I have seen; in the other two-thirds he works out a Deep Ecology response to global warming. Or rather, to hear him tell it, the specter of global warming chases him into the arms of Deep Ecology against his will. Weather permitting, he would gladly go on living in the trusty Western way, with a warm house full of appliances and a car always ready to roam. But the weather does not permit that anymore.

McKibben does not think much of technical fixes. By concentrating on the kind of solutions proposed by the crazed futurists, such as covering the oceans with styrofoam pellets to reduce their absorption of sunlight, he makes all technical fixes sound repugnant. By arguing that, no matter what we do, it is too late to stop global warming altogether, he makes both technical fixes and government action sound hopeless. Instead, he pins his fainting hopes ("I hope against hope") on a sort of religious revival, a millennial fit of repentance such as the West has not seen in centuries. McKibben asks that we return to a "humbler" way of life, a "path of more resistance." What he has in mind is not hunting and gathering, exactly, but a Gandhian or Thoreauvian life of homesteading and abstemiousness. To begin, we can turn down the heat and air conditioning, mothball our cars, take long walks instead of airborne vacations, and stop having kids.

The Planet Manager's response to global warming is somewhat different. In *Scientific American's* special issue, the article on global warming is the work of Stephen H. Schneider, who directs the interdisciplinary climate research program at the National Center for Atmospheric Research in Boulder, Colorado.

One of the best-known exponents of the theory of global warming, Schneider is also the author of *Global Warming: Are We Entering the Greenhouse Century?* His writing cannot hold a candle to McKibben's, but his account of the scientific debate adds a good deal of light. It gives one a better grip on the kinds of uncertainties involved in climate modeling, a better feeling for the roller-coaster history of the Earth's climate. There is something about McKibben's elegiac tone that makes one hunger to believe the worst. Schneider's account, being far less vivid, allows the critical mind more play. (A good compromise between the two approaches is achieved in Jonathan Weiner's *The Next One Hundred Years*, which lays out the problem deftly and eloquently in an anecdotal, meet-the-scientists way. Although weaker on solutions and somewhat one-sided—we meet only scientists who are convinced of global warming—it may well be the best all-around introduction to the subject.)

For Schneider, global warming is not a spiritual crisis, but a problem in science and public policy. It is a problem to be managed. Admitting that global warming is not certain and that its extent and its results are wildly uncertain, Schneider puts his recommendations into two broad and overlapping classes. The first consists of "anticipatory adaptations," things we can do now that will help us adapt if and when global warming becomes a problem. The second category is made up of things that we would be wise to do anyway, for independent reasons, even if global warming fizzles out. Fortifying our cities to resist higher sea levels is an example of the first; improving our energy efficiency, of the second. Making our agriculture more diverse and adaptable falls into both classes.

A number of thinkers (Wendell Berry, Wes Jackson, and Paul Shepard come to mind) have tried to steer paths of moderation between these two poles—between the teeth of wildness and the suction of total control. There is room for many such paths. The point is not to find a single way of thinking about nature, something we can stitch on a sampler and consult before stepping out the door each morning. Although Deep Ecology will never be a majority view, it tugs usefully on the sleeve of the majority view. The danger is that it may confuse more than it corrects—that its sometime heartlessness and frequent brainlessness may convince people that there is no sound alternative to what they are already doing. And the idea that nature has ended multiplies that

danger a hundredfold.

The idea that nature has ended is not a tenet of Deep Ecology. That is no wonder; injected with it, the doctrine self-destructs. Yet it does seem to follow, in a way, from Deep Ecology's insistence that the only real nature is untouched nature. That is the path McKibben travels. He contends that by changing the makeup of the atmosphere, which in turn is changing the world's climate, we have ended nature. What might have been a truly useful book is swamped by that philosophical freight.

The nature McKibben is talking about is "independent" nature, a realm wholly apart from man. Unluckily, a fair number of people share his idea of nature (though many of them might call it wilderness instead). That idea of nature is a recent and baleful invention. Arguably, it is what got us into the mess we are in. Certainly it is unlikely to get us out of it, as McKibben himself concedes. "If nature has already ended," he asks, "what are we fighting for?" He has gently browbeaten his readers into accepting a concept of nature that will prevent them from working to save nature. (To save, I guess I should say, this green stuff that looks like nature.) We might still work to save our skins; but the easiest way to do that, McKibben admits, would be to resign ourselves to the end of nature and embrace its successor, a world wholly reconstructed and controlled by man—in other words, to abandon ourselves to our "defiant reflex."

Whatever one thinks of Deep Ecology, there is only one thing that could possibly impel anyone to adopt its precepts, and that is a love of nature. If nature is dead, then so is the way of life McKibben recommends. We are free to create the artificial world whose prospect makes his blood run cold. If nature does not exist, everything is permitted.

But there is no need to panic. If nature is ending, it has been ending for millennia. There may have been reaches of the northern hemisphere where no traces of DDT showed up in the 1960s, but there were no reaches where saber-toothed tigers or mastodons did show up. These and a host of other big animals had become extinct at the end of the Pleistocene era—partly because of the recession of the ice sheet and partly, many scientists think, because of the procession of well-armed humans across Eurasia and North America. To give a more general example, man-struck fire and other forms of deforestation have been changing the face of the Earth for a half million years. Since the global climate system is tightly coupled internally and highly sensitive to small disturbances (a trait mete-

orologists call the "butterfly effect"), it is likely that even small, local changes in the atmospheric mix caused by fire, such as more smoke and less water vapor, have long been affecting the day-to-day weather everywhere on Earth.

Indeed, the observation that human activities might be altering climate was made a century and a half ago by George Perkins Marsh and two centuries ago by Buffon. All organisms change their environment: if they did not, life could not exist. In general, the ones that change it most are the humblest—the unicellular organisms that decide the chemical composition of the oceans and the air. In this respect, man has more in common with the phytoplankton than with his fellow vertebrates. It is true that industrial man is changing the planet more quickly and dangerously than man or any other organism has done before (the best measure of this being species extinctions, not climate). But we can hardly judge the gravity of our present impact if we think that *any* impact is an aberration and a crime.

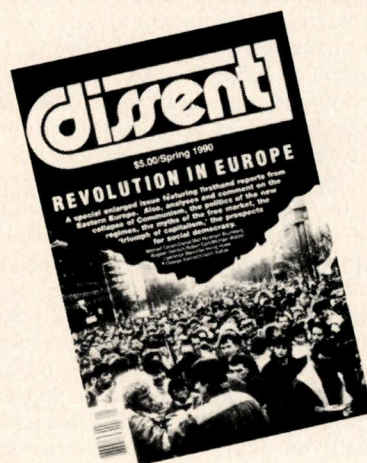
McKibben mentions in passing the argument that man is part of nature, that man like other animals has always altered his environment, that this is the most natural thing in the world. But to McKibben this is "a debater's point, a semantic argument." It is that for many of us, I think, only because we have so little first-hand or even secondhand knowledge of how humans get their livelihood from the Earth. We view nature through a window. Walking in the woods, we carry that frame with us, like the "Claude glass" that aesthetes of the eighteenth century used to transmute ordinary views into romantic landscapes. If a human figure stumbles into the frame, we shift the frame.

It would be hard to invent a better specimen of the strawberry-tinted view of nature common among the Deep Ecologists than the following excerpt from McKibben's book:

North America, of course, was not entirely unaltered by man when the colonists arrived, but its previous occupants had treated it fairly well. In many places, it was wilderness.

And most of it was wilderness still on the eve of the Revolution, when William Bartram, one of America's first professional naturalists, set out from his native Philadelphia to tour the South. . . . And not the dark and forbidding wilderness of European fairy tales but a blooming, humming, fertile paradise. Every page of Bartram's long journal shouts of the fecundity, the profligacy, of this fresh land. "I continued several miles [reaching] verdant swelling knolls, profusely productive of flowers and fragrant strawberries, their rich juice dyeing my horse's feet and ankles." When he

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stops for dinner, he catches a trout, picks a wild orange, and stews the first in the juices of the second over his fire.

First of all, much of the "wilderness" that Bartram traversed had been inhabited or hunted in for 12,000 years. The "verdant swelling knolls" were almost certainly the product of regular burning by the Indians, a practice that thinned the forest and opened up habitat for deer, birds, berries, and other things the Indians liked. This was conscious husbandry—so much so that a Spanish historian who spoke with an Indian captive got the impression that the deer were domesticated. Although the strawberries Bartram trampled were native, they were not a great deal wilder than commercial Maine blueberries, which are likewise stimulated by regular burning. Most likely the trout that Bartram ate were truly wild and unmanaged, for by a quirk of history most of the Southeastern Indians did not care for fish. But the oranges in whose juice he stewed them were not wild in the strict sense, but escaped from cultivation. Native to China, they had come to America with the conquistadors.

The Indians who lived in North America had indeed "treated it fairly well," but not by keeping hands off. The Deep Ecologists who now idolize the Indians have much the same view of them that the first white settlers had, which is to say, a racist view. The Indians (the settlers held) were children of nature. The land they had lived on for millennia still counted as wilderness and so could be claimed without qualm. It was "unimproved"; the whites would improve it. (Never mind that most of the first white settlements were on clearings the Indians had farmed for centuries.) The Indians had no history, or if they did it was "natural history." Their skeletons and arrowheads belonged in the same museum as the stuffed and mounted buffalo.

The mantle of the American Indian is one that many white intellectuals like to wear. The Deep Ecologists make free with Native American myths and rituals, but only those fitting their image of indigenes as invisible in the woods as fleas in fur. The Planet Managers respond that the Indians, like all other humans and all other organisms, changed their environment as much as their technology let them. Nature was sacred to the Indians, say the Deep Ecologists; was something they made use of, say the Planet Managers. As usual, the truth squats somewhere between these two positions. In the recent documentary film *The Wilderness Idea*, a Tuscarora Indian named Richard Hill observes that for the Iroquois, the whole universe was civilized; if anything, man was its least civilized citi-

zen. "One of our chiefs said it best: 'The West didn't get wild until the white man got there.'"

By segregating man and nature we not only falsify the past; we also get confused about the future. Nowhere is the confusion more crippling than in our thinking about the greenhouse effect. The chapter in which McKibben celebrates Bartram's travels ends: "We have built a greenhouse, a *human creation*, where once there bloomed a sweet and wild garden." In that one convex sentence most of the book's flaws are magnified. What interests me most is the way the image of the garden has been enlisted on behalf of wilderness. After all, in real life a garden is as much a human creation as a greenhouse is.

In myth, things are different. A former *New Yorker* staff writer, McKibben now lives in or near the Adirondack State Park, the largest remnant of wilderness in the East. In describing his life there he revives, consciously or not, the myth of Eden—much as Bartram did in Florida. Acid rain, ozone loss, and global warming threaten to expel him and his helpmeet from this last paradise. He does not hold himself guiltless; most of his life he has lived like any good American. One year, he put 40,000 miles on his car. Our culture handed him the apple and he did eat.

For most people in most of recorded history, the garden has symbolized an ideal harmony of nature and culture. Such unanimity has been possible only because people did not agree about what the garden was. Each age and each nation has re-created the garden in its own image of that harmony. Conversely, each has imagined that harmony in the image of its own gardens. Some have leaned toward artifice, others toward wildness, but few have hesitated to raise the banner of the garden. Its dense weave of associations (art, Godhead, childhood, sex) has made it almost indispensable.

The greenhouse is a less sought-after symbol, or maybe a less promiscuous one. While the image of the garden hovers teasingly between nature and culture, that of the greenhouse seems to come down squarely on culture's side. The garden plays with nature, the greenhouse defies it. While the grandest outdoor garden must bow to the bullying of latitude, a greenhouse can thumb its nose.

Part of what oppresses us when we think about the greenhouse effect is the image we have of greenhouses. A greenhouse meant only to soften either end of a northern winter can, it is true, give the

festive and cosseted feeling of a bedroom swathed in sun on a snow-clad Sunday. But the kind of greenhouse we think of when we think of global warming is the kind in which tropical plants are propagated, the kind that is humid and stifling. Which sensation will be closer to the reality of global warming will depend on where you are and who you are. For McKibben, what is oppressive in prospect is not the heat, it is the humanity—the thought of being penned up in "a human creation."

He may have been misled by his analogy. For while a deepening of the greenhouse effect would be a human creation, it would be an accidental one. (Here, as elsewhere, McKibben confuses influence with control.) Even the greenhouse that is a deliberate human creation is by no means as arrogant or unnatural as it is made out to be. The greenhouse defies nature in a gentle and modest way. It does not try to change the climate of the globe, or even of a knoll, but only of a few cubic feet of space. If it is arrogant and unnatural, then so is an anthill.

Nor is there anything unnatural about the greenhouse effect. It has been in place for aeons. Without it, Earth would be as chill and lifeless as Mars. Three-and-a-half billion years ago, the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere was probably hundreds of times greater than it is now; that is how the Earth was kept warm enough for life to emerge in the Sun's salad days, when that star was perhaps one-quarter less bright than it is now. The Earth has been shedding atmospheric carbon dioxide steadily, like a man peeling off layers of clothing as the morning warms up. The problem now is that humanity, like an overprotective mother, is adding layers. The expected result is global warming. That, if it happens, will in some sense be unnatural or artificial, but the greenhouse effect itself is not.

In fact, the greenhouse effect displays some of nature's most ingrained habits. Erwin Schroedinger, seeking to define life to a physicist's satisfaction, found its signature in the ability to resist entropy. Among other things, this can mean maintaining an energy gradient between inside and outside. The relevant inside can be the cell, the body, the dwelling, even (if the Gaia theorists are right) the planet. The art of maintaining such a gradient is in part the art of insulation; more broadly, it is the art of energy efficiency. The greenhouse effect embodies both.

Although no one has told my cat about the greenhouse effect, it is clear that she grasps the basic principle. Mammals are

expert in the art of insulation, being distinguished by hair or blubber as well as by milk. Carnivorous mammals are doubly expert when it comes to energy efficiency (nap, pounce, nap). But every life-form masters this art in some way, for none can afford to do otherwise. Only man, with his knack of fire, has had the luxury of getting sloppy about energy efficiency. And only modern man, sinecured by fossil fuel, has been able to slough off the discipline altogether.

We humans have always been proud of the privileges we have won and the short-cuts we have found. But when our short-cuts bring us to the edge of an abyss, it may be time to step back and study the subtler paths that nature generally takes. It may be time to swallow our pride and learn from cats. In what follows, I want to give some examples of things we can learn from nature that may help us contend with global warming.

In a sense, of course, all technology learns from nature. Even nuclear power might be described that way. (We have not only the non-living example of fusion in the Sun and the stars, but the living example of a bacterial community that, concentrating natural uranium 235 in a streambed in Gabon some 1.8 billion years ago, built a fission reactor that ran for millions of years.) Still, it is possible to make some distinctions. As Lewis Mumford long ago noted, industrial technology hit its stride only when it gave up copying organic forms and moved on to abstract mechanical operations. But Mumford, and after him Gregory Bateson, also noted that we have paid a stiff price for the power that our stiff mechanism conferred. Our linearity has caught in nature's throat. We have disrupted the non-linear cycles that sustain all life. If we can now penetrate to the abstract principles of the organic, a very different kind of technology may arise.

The Greenhouse Principle is the obvious place to start. Except in my capacity as mammal, I am not an expert on energy efficiency. But Amory Lovins, co-founder of the Rocky Mountain Institute and author of *Soft Energy Paths*, thinks that world carbon dioxide emissions could be reduced enough to abate global warming simply by the use of existing energy-conservation technologies, such as superinsulation, efficient engines, industrial heat recovery, materials recycling, and low-emissivity window coatings. As the last example makes clear, it is a matter of fighting the greenhouse effect with the greenhouse effect. In *Least-Cost Energy: Solving the CO₂ Problem*, a study first published in 1981 and just reissued, Lovins, his wife L. Hunter

Lovins, and two German scientists argued that a planet industrialized to West Germany's 1973 level, with a population of eight billion and a gross product grown fivefold, could use one-third less energy than it uses now. The secret of this prestidigitation lies in the fact that efficient technologies would pay for themselves (some sooner, some later) in lower fuel bills. Far from requiring brutal government intervention or a gutted standard of living, the stabilization of global warming could be achieved by helping the free market get its hands on the right devices, which it is now prevented from doing by hidden energy subsidies and other political baffles. Other experts are less confident of this. Still, there seems to be wide agreement that the cheapest, quickest, and cleanest weapon against global warming, and therefore the one that should be deployed first, is energy efficiency.

Another thing we can learn from nature is the Principle of Circulation. In *Making Peace with the Planet*, a very intelligent example of the Planet Management approach, Barry Commoner recalls to duty the four "rules of ecology" he drafted almost two decades ago in *The Closing Circle*. The one I want to borrow is: "Everything has to go somewhere"—a rule that "expresses the fundamental importance of cycles in the ecosphere." In unhappy contrast, what Commoner calls the "technosphere" is dominated by linear processes. A one-way street runs from raw material to product, and the street is strewn with trash.

Looking back at those two decades of environmental effort, Commoner finds that the pollutants we have tried to limit by regulation and cleanup are still with us in force. Only when we have outlawed a pollutant altogether—and replaced the technologies that produced it—have our efforts paid off. Although Commoner is concerned mainly with old-fashioned pollutants of the toxic and noxious varieties, his argument applies almost as well to carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases. In general, our linear technologies must be replaced with cyclical ones built on the premise that their products have to go somewhere.

In particular, fossil fuels must give way to renewable energy. The new solar thermal plants, in which sunlight heats oil that turns water into steam that drives turbines, are already as cost-efficient as late-generation nuclear plants. Photovoltaic, wind, and geothermal technologies are also coming down in price (despite the malign neglect of the Reagan years) and do not

312 MILLION PREGNANT IMMIGRANTS?

The Attorney General last December, on the President's instruction, informed the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization that in all refugee, asylum and deportation cases, an "applicant (who) has refused to abort or be sterilized... will now be considered to have established a well-founded fear of persecution..." This brings them under the purview of the Refugee Act of 1980.

The instruction was aimed primarily at China, and since the U.S. Government has already concluded that coercion is being practiced in China after women have had one child, it establishes a prima facie case for Chinese mothers to claim refugee status.

There are nearly 312 million Chinese women in their childbearing years. Add their husbands and children, and President Bush—without public discussion or an environmental impact statement—has qualified several hundred million Chinese and unborn babies for refugee status.

Let us hope that the rush does not start. The President has done just what President Carter did in 1980 when the Cuban boatlift began: put the decision in the other side's hands as to who will get onto the boats.

The President was engaged in a little power struggle with Congress—but it is dangerous to trifle with the nation's demographic future in the pursuit of such political games.

Congress is playing similar games. With the Morrison subcommittee in the lead, it is considering bills to increase immigration quotas, allow various Central Americans to stay here if they can get here, start a guest worker program, and expand the 1986 amnesty.

With natural increase alone, U.S. population size would be heading toward a gradual turnaround in the next two generations. Present immigration levels will send it past 333 million by 2080. These proposals could drive it explosively higher. We must learn to balance a natural sympathy for others (and the urge to score political points) with a sense of responsibility for the nation's future.

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Before we choose a crowded future through inadvertence, we should ask: how many Americans should there be? **NPG** is engaged in a new study of optimum population. On immigration policy, for example, labor economist Vernon Briggs concludes that the poor and the nation would benefit from selective rather than mass immigration, with fewer, better educated youths entering the labor force, and a consequent turnaround in population growth.

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release any greenhouse gases. Nuclear power does not, either, but it does produce radioactive waste that has to go somewhere and as yet has no safe place to go.

Since vehicles account for one-quarter of the nation's carbon dioxide emissions, the replacement of gasoline with ethanol and other fuels made from recent biomass (corn, sugar cane, algae, agricultural wastes) could make a major dent in global warming. As long as the biomass is constantly replaced, the principle of circulation is honored and there is no net addition of carbon dioxide to the air. (Care must be taken, however, not to stress an agriculture that already uses too many chemicals and loses too much soil.) Even something as atavistic as wood, if it comes from a properly managed woodlot, is preferable to fossil fuel.

Wood, too, releases carbon when it is burned, but the carbon has been captured from the atmosphere recently and can be captured again by new saplings. The carbon in coal (to take one kind of fossil fuel) was captured by the vast swamp forests of the Carboniferous period, whose like we will not see again until global warming has already ruined us. Locked up for millions of years, then abruptly released, it floods the carbon cycle—as if the dead should arise from their graves and enter the job market. Likewise, vast amounts of carbon locked up in tropical rain forests are now being released by burning, not for energy but simply to clear land. So we might add a corollary to the Principle of Circulation and call it the Pandora Principle: What nature has locked up should be unlocked only with the greatest caution.

By developing these new energy sources, we can not only lessen our own rude emissions of greenhouse gases (the United States owns one-twentieth of the world's lungs but exhales one-quarter of its carbon dioxide), but also help developing nations avoid our bad habits. Otherwise, we are likely to see ourselves caricatured on a global scale, with grotesque consequences.

The Principle of Diversity is another lesson nature teaches. How is it that my cat, raised in Manhattan walk-ups, knows how to grow a winter coat? Although she is a domestic animal, the wildness has not been utterly bred out of her. She still has some "ecological genes" in her, as a breeder would say, that let her adapt to changes in the environment. Her species as a whole, moreover, has a great deal of genetic variation in it, making it infinitely more adaptable than any individual cat could be. On a

still higher level, the diversity of species within an ecosystem allows it to adapt to disturbances that might otherwise be fatal.

Diversity on all three levels, coupled with migration, should allow some ecosystems to adapt—at least in part—to global warming. Individual trees cannot migrate, of course, and forests migrate slowly; they may not move north as quickly as the climates they rely on. But just as we help cats migrate (for which they are rarely grateful), we can help forests.

The sterile plantations of cloned and irrigated trees that McKibben dreads—dendroids born of our "defiant reflex"—are not the only way. Like squirrels and bluejays, we are already agents in forest migration. That is perfectly natural—it is a good example of coevolution—and no less natural if we speed the process up. If and when it becomes evident that the maple and hemlock forest around me is expiring, and that the oak and hickory forest from the south will not arrive in time to take its place, I can take a stick and a bag of acorns and make my walks useful. Governments and organizations can do the same thing on a larger scale. And the more different kinds of seeds and seedlings we plant, the more likely it is that some of them will flourish under the new (and as yet unknown) local conditions that global warming may bring.

If the buildup of greenhouse gases that has already happened means that we are "committed" (consider the career of this word: insanity, politics, romance, and doomsday in just four decades!) to several degrees of global warming, then we shall have to adapt. And the key to adaptation, especially in the face of the unknown, is diversity. We must do everything we can to stanch the loss of diversity in flora and fauna, domestic as well as wild. The diversity of human ways of life must also be preserved, in fact multiplied, above all where food and energy are concerned. Diversity, like energy efficiency, is one of nature's fingerprints, as visible on the blown-glass surfaces of human culture as on a meniscus of seawater squirming under the microscope.

Diversity may prove useful not only in adapting to global warming, but also in stopping it. We do not know how the levels of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, and thereby the Earth's temperature, are regulated (assuming that they are regulated, which some scientists dispute). But the "Daisyworld" computer models of James Lovelock, the creator (with Lynn Margulis) of the Gaia hy-

pothesis, confirm what ecologists have long believed: that in natural systems, diversity promotes stability. (Although this principle has recently been challenged by Robert May and other chaos theorists, Lovelock argues in *The Ages of Gaia* that their models ignore the effect of the organism on its physical environment.) Each species we lose—and we are losing perhaps fifty a day—is a piece knocked out of the structure of our house. We do not know which ones are holding up the roof; in a sense, all of them are. A plantation of cloned trees may lock up as much carbon dioxide as a native rain forest, but its role in the larger mechanism that regulates carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases is likely to be very different.

This brings us to a fourth thing we can learn from nature: the Principle of Self-Regulation, or sitting back sometimes and letting nature do the work. Learning from nature need not always mean imitating nature. It can also mean leaving big chunks of nature in place to do what they have evolved to do. We tend to think of nature as a warehouse of raw materials awaiting our shaping hand and animating breath. In the light of insights provided by the Gaia theorists, among others, nature now appears to be more like a greenhouse—an oddly commodious shelter in a cold and gasping universe.

One need not buy the Gaia hypothesis lock, stock, and barrel to see that many things in nature, from cells to ecosystems, tend to regulate themselves. While they do not, like a thermostat, regulate themselves exactly to human specifications, they do tend to keep themselves in a state of health that, in the long run, is better for the humans associated with them than a state of illness. What allows natural systems to regulate themselves is their wildness, the cleverness bred in them by natural selection. (In the case of an ecosystem or the biosphere, we are talking about the coevolution of the component parts, which can give the appearance of a selected whole.) When humans try to tailor nature to their own specifications, they generally trim off a good deal of that wildness. Nature loses some of its ability to regulate itself, and humans are forced to take over the job.

As I mentioned earlier, natural forests provide us with a host of free services, one of which is climate regulation. Plantations of cloned or otherwise uniform trees, bare of understory, deadfalls, and most wildlife, may be able to take over some of those services, but probably not many, and not without constant human supervision. Another good example can

be found in agriculture. Drawing inspiration from forests and prairies, as well as from the canny peasant agricultures still to be found in some corners of the world, a growing number of researchers are trying to bring farming a little closer to the nature from which it was untimely ripped a hundred centuries ago. Wes Jackson in Kansas, Bill Mollison in Australia, Masanobu Fukuoka in Japan, the New Alchemists on Cape Cod, and even some respectable academics are working to create systems that display all four of the things we want to learn from nature: energy efficiency, cyclical diversity, and self-regulation.

By reducing the amount of fossil fuel burned in tractors and applied to the soil (some of whose products, in either case, end up in the atmosphere), these systems can help to slow global warming. (They also lend themselves to local food production, which reduces the fuel burned in shipping.) By cooperating with native flora and fauna rather than erasing them, they leave some natural systems in place, which again may (we cannot be certain) help slow global warming. They are likely to adapt better than industrial agriculture to drought, ultraviolet radiation, pest invasions, and other imponderables of atmospheric change. And while industrial agriculture will need constant adjustment, much of it in the form of expensive genetic engineering, the wildness in some of these alternative systems may allow them to evolve, to some degree, on their own.

Although stabilizing global warming may be the toughest environmental problem we have ever faced, the answers are at hand (provided, of course, that no chain of positive-feedback loops jerks the problem out of our hands and into the realm of fatality). We do not even need to draw a pentagram on the floor and summon the nuclear and genetic engineers. The answers are not easy, but they are not horrible or unnatural or Procrustean.

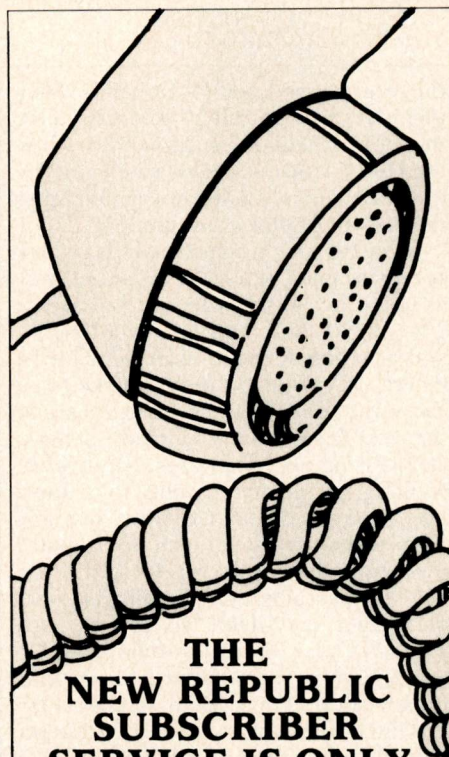
Let us come back for a moment to McKibben's prescriptions, at least his first steps. He and his wife are driving less, traveling less, keeping less warm (they strive to keep the temperature in winter at fifty-five degrees), and trying "very hard not to think about how much we want children." Although swearing off reproduction altogether strikes me as a shade overheroic (and a good way of breeding heroism out of the population), most of the things McKibben is trying to do are things we should all be trying to do. He is not sanctimonious about them; he twits himself for his inconsistencies.

In his eagerness to feel the lash for our sins, though, McKibben forgets that

there are smarter ways of making amends. Instead of keeping your house at fifty-five, you can superinsulate, using new techniques that cut fuel use by ninety percent. Instead of taking fewer or colder showers, you can put a solar heating panel on your roof, or get (if you can find it) the kind of water heater many Europeans and Japanese use, which heats water as needed by running it through coils rather than keeping a full tank simmering all day. Instead of renouncing travel, you can take the train. And you can agitate for cars that are more fuel efficient (while the EPA standard stagnates at 27.5 miles per gallon, Toyota and others have prototypes that get over 100) or that use some kind of "soft" energy (an electric van now going into production will release from power plants only a third as much carbon dioxide as an average gas-powered van releases from its tailpipe). The power we can exercise outside the voting booth, not only by consuming less but by consuming products that are environmentally benign, is a giant just stretching its limbs.

So far, "green consumerism" has been fairly superficial (despite the book-jacket increase in the number of simple things we can do to save the planet from fifty to 101, 750, and now 1001). Without encouragement from above it is likely to stay that way. Cars are a case in point. As James Fallows recently noted, we could impose a 100 percent tax on gasoline and still pay only half what Japanese motorists do. Our gas mileage standards are laughable. Mass transit will not be a serious alternative for most Americans until the federal government makes a commitment to a large and convenient system, as Europe and Japan have done. We need to prod, by direct investment and tax incentives, the development of new fuels and new engines. As Michael Oppenheimer and Robert H. Boyle observe in *Dead Heat: The Race Against the Greenhouse Effect* (a book well stocked with policy recommendations): "While government isn't exactly the mother of invention, it certainly can act as the midwife."

Similar tactics can be applied to power generation, agriculture, construction, and so on. In some enterprises—such as tree planting on a massive scale to absorb carbon dioxide, and stepped-up research into global warming and its effects—the federal government can also act directly. The argument that economic growth may be slowed does not impress me, since economic growth in its present form is part of the problem. The measures called for are not Draconian, as



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the economists like to pretend. They might instead be called Solonian, after the later Athenian legislator who, when the soil of Attica was being eaten away by grain and goats, made laws encouraging the culture of olives and grapes.

Invoking such a name reminds us how sorely we need real leadership, not only at home but in the international arena. The World Bank and our own lending and granting agencies must be made to invest in projects that (unlike vast dams and roads into the Amazon) are at the very least environmentally benign. Debt-for-nature swaps are a dandy idea, so long as we are careful to respect both sovereignty and dignity; but any kind of debt reduction can help reduce the pressure on rain forests and other ecosystems caught in the hinged jaws of hunger and debt. To relieve such pressure and foster sustainable development is not charity, it is self-preservation. The nations of the world are linked now like mules on a mountain pass. If the weakest stumble and fall, the others will follow.

Unlike the Lovinses, I think that some belt-tightening in the wealthy nations will be called for. The exact mix of cutting back and technical fix is partly a matter of public policy and partly of personal taste. Some may think that superinsulation is unnatural (though they would have trouble convincing an otter or a musk-ox of this) and prefer to shiver a little. If the hair shirt fits, I say, wear it. But in general what is needed is not to live poorer but to live smarter. For our species to try to insulate itself from the scrabbling and squashing that is nature would be the most unnatural thing of all. We cannot walk on air, but we can look where we are treading.

This is not to say that I join the Planet Managers in swelling with adrenaline at the prospect of adventure ahead. If we see global warming as yet another challenge, yet another chance to show our stuff, we are bound to make yet another hash of things. The Planet Managers plan to manage the planet on the best ecological principles. Everything will be different this time, they assure us; this time we know what we are doing. Of course, that is what we thought last time.

Perhaps we should think of the management we have to do as hands-off management: giving as free a rein as practicable not to humans (the time for that is long past), but to nature. Many of the Planet Managers do think in these terms, even if their jargon sometimes clouds the fact. Restoring stricken ecosystems, preserving genetic diversity (especially when this is done in situ rather than in vitro), controlling human popu-

lation—all these are ways of keeping wildness alive and letting it work.

But the Planet Managers believe that, in a world with anything like our present population and technology, human intervention will be needed not only to get wilderness going, but to keep it going. The Deep Ecologists believe this, too—at least the sane ones do—but conclude that we must therefore reduce both our numbers and our technological level. In other words, rather than keep wilderness in an oxygen tent, we must back off and give it room to breathe. And while they may take it too far, I think they have a point.

Their point is brought home—unwittingly—by Commoner's chapter "Population and Poverty." Pooh-poohing the zeal for population control that has become an article of faith among environmentalists, he argues that the notion of carrying capacity is meaningless when applied to a planet run by clever humans:

In an abstract sense, there is a global "limit to growth," but this is determined not by the present availability of resources, but by a distant limit to the availability of solar energy. . . . That distant limit is irrelevant to current policy. . . . The question is whether we can produce bountiful harvests, productive machinery, rapid transportation, and decent human dwellings sufficient to support the world population without despoiling the environment.

The answer, of course, is yes—provided we take Commoner's advice.

His view of population growth is not quite so cavalier as that; he takes the line that economic development will at some point (the "demographic transition") stabilize population more or less automatically. Still, I am troubled by his denial of limits, by his vision of a planet wholly humanized: a vast organic garden spangled with appropriate machines. For an ecologist, Commoner is oddly silent here about such matters as species extinctions and the loss of wilderness. With the best intentions and the best technologies, large numbers of humans weigh heavily on the ecosystems they invade. Farming, even the organic farming that Commoner favors, takes up space. If there is one thing ecologists have learned in recent years, it is that wilderness cannot be kept in boxes. Even in big boxes, it withers and dies. Gene pools stagnate, species vanish, ecological services fall into abeyance. The smaller the boxes, the more frantically they must be managed to retain even a semblance of life.

In his earlier book *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth*, Lovelock speculates on what would happen

if, at some intolerable population density, man had encroached upon Gaia's functional power to such an extent that he disabled her. He would wake up one day to find that he had the permanent lifelong job of planetary maintenance engineer. . . . Then at last we should be riding that strange contraption, the "spaceship Earth," and whatever tamed and domesticated biosphere remained would indeed be our "life support system."

Lovelock guesses that, at the present rate of per capita energy use, a human population of ten billion would still be living in "a Gaian world." At some unguessable point beyond that, we would be on our own.

The optimism of the Planet Managers has been shaken by global warming, and that may be a good thing. We need to be taken down a peg. Whether we need to be ground under the heel of a brutal and now somewhat deranged nature (or ex-nature) is another matter. Recoiling from control, which he thinks impious, McKibben wants to renounce influence as well, which cannot be done. I think he is right to recoil from control. The total control promised by some—all the Earth a formal garden, or a tight and tidy spaceship—is impious; worse, it is tedious. It is an ancient dream, but a bad one. If the Deep Ecologists want to cuddle up in a childhood memory of Eden, the Planet Managers want to grow up, but with a vengeance: to become not only their own fathers, but the fathers of all life.

I would like to believe that nature will always elude total control—that the dream of absolute power is not only impious and tedious, but fatuous. At the same time, I would like to believe that just as we can never wholly subjugate nature, so nature can never wholly abandon us. Hopkins wrote:

Generations have trod, have trod, have trod;
And all is seared with trade; bleared,
smeared with toil;
And wears man's smudge and shares
man's smell: the soil
Is bare now, nor can foot feel, being
shod.
And for all this, nature is never spent;
There lives the dearest freshness deep
down things . . .
Because the Holy Ghost over the bent
World broods with warm breast and
with ah! bright wings.

Holy Ghost or no Holy Ghost, I am encouraged in this belief by trivial miracles like my cat's winter coat. If, as the climate models suggest, she and her progeny have to trade it in eventually for something lighter, I like to think that the services of Genentech will not be required—that wildness, if we can keep it alive, will take care of itself. •

Kiss and Tell

BY HERMIONE LEE

Deception by Philip Roth

(Simon and Schuster, 208 pp., \$18.95)

The woman whose love affair with "Philip" is the story of Philip Roth's cunning and seductive new novel of adultery threatens to take revenge with her own novel, which will be called *Kiss and Tell*. Go ahead, says her lover/author, do what you like, feel free. He knows he's safe, because he, after all, made her up: she can only kiss and tell if he lets her. We've been here before, sort of. Maria left Nathan Zuckerman at the end of *The Counterlife* because she didn't want to be locked into his fiction anymore. What she found "diabolical" was that when Maria appears to be most "real," most "her own woman" in Nathan's book, she is least real, "just one of a series of fictive propositions." But Maria's protest is itself a "fictive proposition." And when the "real" woman in *Deception*—the model for Maria in *The Counterlife*—threatens to kiss and tell, we can be sure that she won't be allowed to. She can have no freedom outside the author's version. Her counterlife isn't one of his fictive propositions. She cannot betray him.

This is partly a matter of temperament. She is a nice, well-brought-up English woman who has "very muddled, complex feelings . . . about the whole business of self-exposure and the different kinds of betrayal." "Betrayal?" says the author coolly, not at all muddled himself by the charge—the same old charge—of having stolen her "real" life for his fiction. Betrayal, he says, is too "overpowering" a charge. There was no contract that he would "forswear" his art for love. To "forswear" is itself a word loaded with treacherous meaning. It means "renounce"—and renouncing is one of the subjects of the novel—but it also means "betray." What he will not betray is his profession.

In this novel, which is all speech, betrayal is repeatedly spoken of. You are a treacherous bastard, says an enraged Czech, accusing the author of fucking his wife. Cool as ever, the author replies: "Don't extend your sense of betrayal to me." When his wife reads the novel we are reading and takes it literally as evi-

dence of his adultery, he attacks her for being not a jealous wife, but a stupid reader. (Compare Maria, also the reader of the novel we are reading in *The Counterlife*: "On first reading I took it all rather literally, as a bad critic would take it.") But the husband/author does acknowledge the charge of "a sort of perverse betrayal," to the extent that he sat in their bedroom, while his wife was sleeping, and made up "little conversations" with his "imaginary woman." But she's a real woman! says this imaginary wife in anguish. No, says her author, you are deceived; and if you insist on reading my book literally, that is a betrayal of my art. He turns the charge of "betrayal" back against her; but he accepts—in fact, he welcomes—the charge of "deception."

So, though betrayal features insistently, the title is deception. And this isn't just because Harold Pinter got there first, but because their subject is different. When Pinter called his play of adultery *Betrayal*, and made us read the action retrospectively from the end back to the beginning of the affair, he brilliantly imitated the rewriting of the past that betrayed lovers have to endure, and all the different aspects of betrayal that such a retrospect exposes. Roth, not a devotee of Proust like Pinter, isn't as drawn to the logistics of adultery: to the strategies for concealment, the ironic coincidences, the accidental disclosures, the sickened enlightenings, the repetitions.

He does give, through the novel's voices, a tender and vivid sense of the artificial, pleasurable, short-lived enclosedness of a secret affair in a single room: the phone calls, the afternoons, the little jokes, the greetings and partings, the talking between fucking, the slight shifts of mood. Still, it's not adultery as sexual or social plot that he is primarily intrigued by, it's adultery as the occasion for authorial deception. The differences between betrayal and deception are pertinent. Betrayal is an act, deception is a craft. Betrayal is a crime, deception is a practice. Betrayal is exposure, deception is concealment. This book isn't nearly so much about adultery as it is about writing.

"Let's see how much attention you've been paying," the lovers say to each other. You seem to hear the author saying the same thing to the reader. The structure of *Deception* is itself deceptive, as elegant and ingenious as *The Ghost Writer* or *The Prague Orgy*. It requires attention, in that it looks improvised but is in fact very formally mapped. It is in fourteen sections (though you don't notice this), each of which is a dialogue with the author. There is the barest minimum of narrative, in the form of banal stage directions ("Laughing," "After he comes," "Crying"), as if to say that it is not in narrative commentary that clichés of sexuality can be subverted. This lover/author is not interested in out-Updiking Updike with the pyrotechnics of stylistic intercourse. No glitter of pubic hair, no moist interstices, no moaning and heaving here: this is strictly aural sex.

The dialogues alternate, in careful balance, between the love affair and seven other conversations: with a deracinated Czech girl; with the Czech husband; with a "crazy" American girl who is the author's ex-student and ex-lover; with a Czech woman who has left her English husband; with a woman, also an ex-lover, who is being treated for cancer; with a Polish woman translator; with the author's wife. These voices, speaking on a scale of pain that moves from furious bafflement to stoic gaiety, stand in a tangential relationship to the main story. At first they seem mostly like counterpoint, letting in contrasting registers of emotion.

The alternating dialogues of the love affair begin with a questionnaire, to be filled in by both applicants for adultery, which establishes the terms of their involvement. ("Who am I and why is it all right?") In the questionnaire, it's hard to tell who is speaking, and this intimate interchangeability continues. The dialogue is playful, attentively reciprocal, quiet. The reader, at the keyhole, listens in with the illicit curiosity and pleasure you feel when you get a crossed line on the phone. Talking is sexy, and so is listening. In *The Counterlife*, Nathan is imagined as unable to make love to Maria, so that, instead, "they never stop talking. . . . I expose myself to her voice as though it were her body. . . . Maria's voice, her talking tongue, is the sole erotic implement." She calls it "the purest form of eros. . . . That endless, issueless, intimate talk."

Here it recurs, and, as with all talk between lovers, there's a great deal of recurrence in it. The text works like musical notation, repeating themes, introducing variations, sometimes just playing a few notes of the main tune:

"You're trembling. Are you ill?"

"I'm excited."

"I listen to you a lot, you know."

"Too much. Why do you?"

This sexual/textual play is brilliantly controlled, and extremely manipulative. As always in Roth, it is serious play. Through the texture of the love affair we hear the painful story of her humiliating marriage, her inability to leave it, her unhappy attempts at therapy, her decision to renounce the affair. In short, she comes across as a terrible mess.

Matching her story of entrapment is his story (or as much of it as he chooses to give away) of cultural displacement, a set of mischievous diatribes that read as footnotes to *The Counterlife*. There is some coat-trailing going on here. You don't like this? says Roth. Well, here's more. So *Portnoy's Complaint* was born of the accusations of being a bad Jewish boy in *Goodbye, Columbus*, and Nathan Zuckerman came out of the shock waves from *Portnoy*. So Nathan plays victim of *Carnovsky's* fame, kike pornographer, parent-slayer, diasporan liberal in Zion, bearded alien amid the English corn. These books are all reactive.

And, increasingly, they are reactionary as well. There may be soft feelings in the private realm, but there is no tolerance for soft thinking in the public domain. The targets are delicate ones, brutally handled: "creeps who want to raise handicapped children," feminist objections to his exploitation of women, the xenophobia and the parochialism of suburban Britain, the

anti-Semitism of the fashionable English left. Dinner parties in London's SW3 with "Philip" (or Philip) must have been furious occasions, as "Philip"/Philip argued over Israel, Cuba, Nicaragua, and America's right to bomb Japan. We seem to have come a long way from the anti-authoritarianism of the Nixon satire in *Our Gang*. Still, the targets aren't dissimilar. When the mistress of *Deception* expresses surprise, after reading his books, at his obsession with Jews, he replies succinctly, "Read 'em again." And if you read 'em again for the politics, you find that the butts of Roth's satiric rage have always been cant, hollow rhetoric, and fashions in lazy thinking. In this novel about speech, anger at false language is apt.

But there's a worrying development. From *Portnoy* to *The Counterlife*, the antagonists—in America, in Israel, in England—could be heard, loud and frenzied. In *Deception*, strong arguments and oppositions are reported, but not heard. And in the lovers' dialogue no contradictions are brooked. Unlike Maria, who argues forcibly against Nathan's obsessions in *The Counterlife*, here the woman speaks her author's thoughts or acts out his version of things. Challenged to disagree with him, she replies: "I wouldn't dare." Anyone who disagrees is stupid.

This is gratuitous provocation for feminists, anti-Semites, and left-wing English intellectuals, guaranteed to give offense, like saying "Jew" in a loud voice in an English restaurant. (Like Maria, I think that this piece of Zuckermanthropology says more about Roth's paranoia than about British prejudice, but I could be biased.) Yet the provocation, characteristically, forms part of the novel's serious argument, which is about displacement and freedom.

"So our love story isn't a love story really—it's a cultural story. That's the one that interests you," says the mistress. "You're kind of the Albert Schweitzer of cross-cultural fucking." The self-exiled American Jewish author, balked and frustrated by England and Englishness, tries to make himself less alienated through the affair with the nice English woman. But the affair ends partly because she confirms his feeling that England is not for him. Unlike Nathan Zuckerman, who is left at the end of *The Counterlife* in an English pastoral, sitting beside the Thames, a Jew among gentiles, "Philip" goes home to streets full of New York Jews, bursting over with "anger, insult, argument, and impudence." He realizes that

he never got free of the tribe, just as she never got free of her marriage.

But "What's free?" the lovers ask each other. These voices, which seem to be speaking freely, are all obstructed. That's why the crossed lines of the Eastern European voices and the voices of the two "sick" women friends, one mad and one ill, cut into the sound of the love affair. Roth took here what may (happily) have been his last chance to write again about the stories that come out of the obstruction of Eastern Europe. As in *The Prague Orgy*, he listens to speakers who, "silenced, are all mouth," and whose "orgy" is of speech, not sex. The emigré Czech girl tells a cryptic horror story of having been used by the regime as a spy and a prostitute. The girl from Prague who married an Englishman finds herself alone and totally "misplaced." The Czech husband loses his aristocratic Czech wife to a black American. The Polish girl illustrates how "very unsecure" she feels in England with a vivid story of a heartless London rush hour. In the "free world," the blockages come from within. The paranoid clever American ex-student has been through shock therapy and a terrible, preyed-upon sex life. There's no escape from herself: "That's been my nemesis." For all her courage and style, the ex-lover who is dying of cancer has now been entirely taken over by her symptoms and treatment.

The author, all ears, a "talk fetishist," gets his freedom, and his gratification, from their stories. They unlock him, take him out of the prison of self. The climax of sexual excitement ("You're dazzling! Go on, go on!") comes when the lovers play "reality-shift." She pretends to be the biographer of Roth's characters, Lonoff and Zuckerman, while he pretends to be . . . himself. The biographer, a wonderful invention ("I can do Zuckerman in two years. I need a hundred thousand bucks if we're going to buy a bigger co-op and there's no other writer I can do this fast for that kind of dough"), got thoroughly fed up with Lonoff's costive prohibitions, but he's having just as much trouble with Zuckerman's multiple personalities: "What interests him is the terrible ambiguity of the 'I', the way a writer makes a myth of himself. . . . Where do they come from, all these improvisations on a self?"

That is Roth's essential subject. You might not think there was any mileage left in it. But this latest improvisation, in one further twist, presents the author as "himself." The women are not named, but the author is "Philip" (and he has a friend, just as real, named Aharon Appelfeld). The wife begs him not to name himself, to turn "Philip" into "Nathan,"

The Remarkable Objectivity of Your Old Friends

We did right by your death and went out,
right away, to a public place to drink,
to be with each other, to face it . . .

We called other friends—the ones
your mother hadn't called—and told them
what you had decided, and some said

what you did was right; it was the thing
you wanted and we'd just have to live
with that, that your life had been one

long misery and they could see why you
had decided that, no matter what we
thought about it, and anyway, one said,

most of us abandoned each other a long
time ago and we'd have to face that
if we had any hope of getting it right.

LIAM RECTOR

so as not to expose her. He explodes in carefully apposite fury: "Jesus Christ, is this Eastern fucking Europe?" The writer must be free to name himself, to break the taboo that attaches to betrayal. Discretion, shame, scruples are not for him.

What "Philip" has decided to write here is the notebook that became the novel *The Counterlife*. Roth's previous book, *The Facts*, began by his saying that "the facts have always been notebook jottings, my way of springing into fiction." Suffering from "fiction-fatigue," he chose there to go back to the facts. But fiction-fatigue seems to have been cured, and now the "notebook jottings" are being turned into their own form of fiction. It's a "pre-emptive strike" against the reviews:

I write fiction and I'm told it's autobiography, I write autobiography and I'm told it's fiction, so since I'm so dim and they're so smart, let them decide what it is or it isn't.

So, in the interests of the writer's freedom, betrayal is transformed into deception.

But because Roth never leaves his own arguments unanswered, this deliberate aesthetic is rudely challenged by the one other male speaker, the Czech who accuses "Philip" of fucking his wife:

You fucked her for her stories. . . . You get them into bed to talk to them. . . . You like it best when these soulful women can't actually tell their own tales but struggle for access to their story. . . . And then you listen and rush to write it down and then you ruin it with your fictionalizing.

The charge of sexual betrayal is refuted, but the charge of appropriation remains unanswered. "Philip" is alarmingly in charge here, much more in charge than Nathan ever is. Nathan is the author's stooge, victim, agent provocateur and fall guy, as well as his alter ego. Nathan is—often and sensationally—frantic, driven, humiliated, beside himself. But "Philip" is controlled, wise, authoritarian. He is the interrogator, who makes all the voices speak. He is the teacher, intermittently giving witty and subtle lectures on *Madame Bovary* or Kafka. He is the lawyer, setting up a novelist's defense. He is the doctor, treating his cases.

He is the patient also (the idea of illness and its curability runs all through this book, as through many of Roth's books), who cures himself through writing. And he is the philosopher who gives wise advice on freedom. "My sweet girl," he tells his lover, "the message is that you have an option. . . . The next step . . . is known as taking your life in hand." But her life is in his hands. He lets her go, but allows no "letting go." The ultimate deception of this novel has to do with freedom: Roth is the authoritarian author, masquerading as one who gives permis-

lace-edged sheet. The blurb promises us "the most provocative novel about the erotic life since *Portnoy*."

This is one kind of tease, of the reader as voyeur. The titillated consumer, going for his checkbook in the hopes of some classy soft porn, finds himself let in for a more cerebral form of gratification than he expected. A naughty deception. The other kind of tease is directed at the reader as gossip. If "Philip" is Philip, then *who is she?* The wife may be criticized for stupidity in asking this question, but the novel lures us on to be that stupid. I couldn't help resenting this, and felt there was too much winking and nudging going on.

To be teased is annoying. To be coerced is frightening. In Roth's most dazzling work, from *Portnoy* to *The Ghost Writer* to *The Counterlife*, the vociferous uncontrolled world out there tugs against, and pours into, the voice of the subject. The counterlives are as potent as the tactics of appropriation. But the voices of these women are not as energetic, independent, or interesting as, say, the voice of "Philip" talking to his father, who makes one exuberant and welcome guest appearance here, bitterly complaining about his grandson marrying a Puerto Rican. I'd rather hear this than Maria complaining again of ill-treatment from her awful English husband.

What do you want then? Roth might well reply. Women do complain about their husbands, they do take lovers, their affairs do end—and, for that matter, some of

them do enjoy a tender, masterful hand on their naked waists. Well, OK. But, however eloquently Roth cites Flaubert, there's no *Emma Bovary* here. I never believe that these women would go on speaking and being if "Philip" were not there to switch them on and off in his own interest.

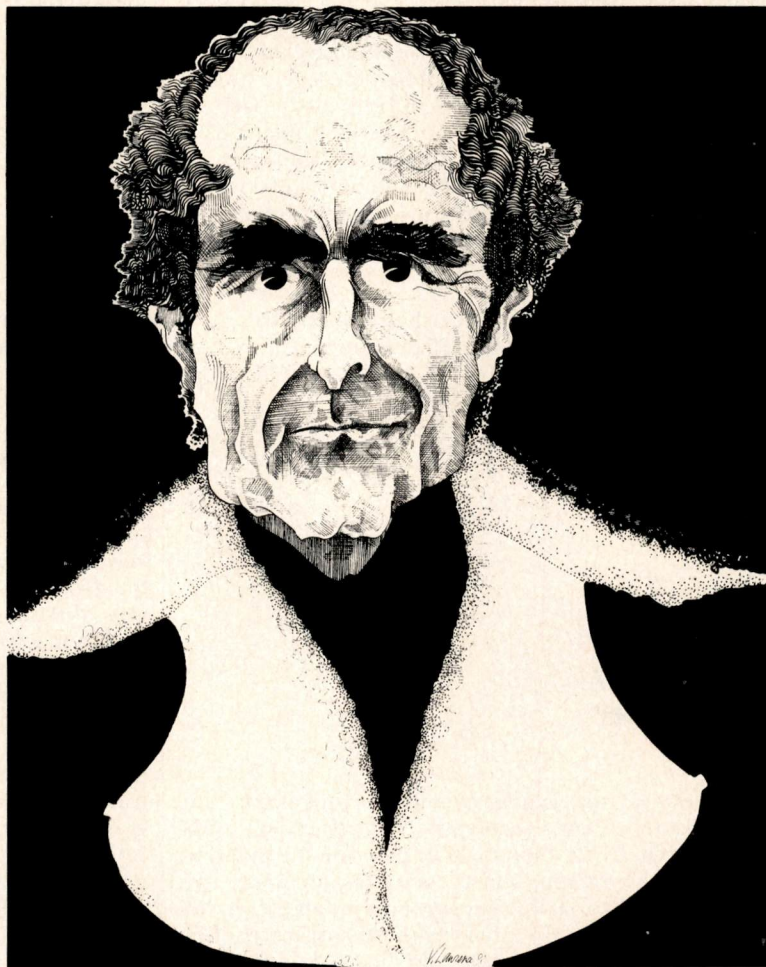
"Close your eyes," says the lover to his mistress, teasingly:

"Uh-oh."

"Close 'em."

"I am not going to be tied up."

"My dear friend, who here ever suggested tying you up this early in the game?"



PHILIP ROTH BY VINT LAWRENCE FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

sion. It is a dazzling and disturbing performance, a mischievous, enticing, exasperating tease.

Roth, of course, has always been a teasing writer. *The Counterlife* (the great novel of his middle years, compared with which *Deception* is a prank) teases us continually out of our desires for narrative security, our prejudices, our assumptions. The teasing in *Deception* is a more dubious enterprise, as its discreditable packaging suggests. On the cover, in tasteful, prurient soft focus, as through a peephole, we see a masterful male hand tenderly enclosing a naked female waist, buttocks coyly half-covered by a dainty

"I've read about it in books."

"So?"

"Writers write those books."

"Close your eyes."

"If I must."

"Let's see how much attention you've been paying. Describe this room."

"To begin with, it's far too small for two people to conduct a love affair in."

That playful, affectionate interchange is ominous, too: he *does* tie her up. "Writers write those books," and some writers go in for bondage, where their characters are concerned. And the room, the space of the book, is too small. It's as small, she points out (in an analogy I found hard to swallow), as the attic in which Anne Frank's family was "holed up":

"Well, that's what we're stuck with."

"I suppose. This is life."

"There is no other."

"Philip" is holed up in the little space of his own life: "there is no other." Like Kafka (as one of the women is made to observe), he has long gone beyond "translating experience into fable—he's imposing his fable onto ex-

perience." That has always been the complaint against—and the genius of—this writer, and that is why he matters so much. To get off the ship, to get out of the burrow, to be other than the self, to get inside a counterlife: that's the game, and it's in deadly earnest. In *The Ghost Writer*, Nathan riskily and irreverently set Anne Frank free in his imagination, to get himself out of the fix of being the good Jewish writer who's the bad Jewish son. This time the attempt to escape the little room is made through the erotic game of listening and transcribing, a game whose treachery subtly mimics the sexual betrayal of adultery. But as the game ends there is sadness, for lover, author, and reader. The writer looks back on the book of "our life, as it might have been," but is left still solipsistically mulling over the notebooks of his single life, holed up inside a ghetto of one, bound in between his own two ears.

HERMIONE LEE is the author of *Willa Cath-er: Double Lives* (Pantheon).

Critic's Return

BY IRVING HOWE

The Portable Malcolm Cowley edited by Donald W. Faulkner

(Viking, 586 pp., \$21.95)

Had Malcolm Cowley done nothing in the course of his long career but edit *The Portable Faulkner* (1946), he would have earned a place of honor in the history of American letters. By improvising a loosely woven narrative of Yoknapatawpha County out of Faulkner's books, he not only brought back into print some portions of major novels; he also made clear the thematic unity and moral gravity, as both reflection and criticism of the Southern myth, in the work of the greatest American novelist of our century. It's easy enough to say this about Faulkner in 1990, but not many people were saying it a half century ago, and Cowley deserves a lot of credit for consolidating Faulkner's reputation.

Unlike a good many academic critics today, Cowley wrote from the premise—I take it to be one of the few unassailable premises of literary criticism—that it is the work of the writer

that is primary and the work of the critic that is secondary. The critic's job, difficult enough, is to describe the poem or fiction, and then to venture some historical placement and judgment of value. (In practice these tasks are often simultaneous and inseparable.) That done, the critic should noiselessly get out of the way—which Cowley usually did.

From 1946 until his death in 1989 at the age of ninety, Cowley served as a part-time literary adviser to Viking Press, and now, in an act of tribute, the firm has issued a Portable of Cowley's own work, containing excerpts from the autobiographical *Exile's Return* (1934), a group of his best essays, some inoffensive verse, and a batch of letters. The editing by Donald W. Faulkner (no relation, I assume) is uneven: fine for the literary portions, poor with regard to Cowley's intellectual-political career.

Faulkner writes in his introduction that Cowley "suffered mightily for posi-

tions he had taken on international fronts regarding both the Spanish Revolution and the ongoing Russian Revolution." Which positions? Faulkner does not say. Was Cowley's suffering warranted or due to the low revenge of enemies? Faulkner does not say. Only later, in an editorial note, does he remark that Cowley had been "an ardent supporter of the Soviet 'experiment' and an equally ardent supporter of Stalin. Cowley parted company with the Soviet line a little too late for [Edmund] Wilson and others' comfort . . ." By page 467 we learn that in 1938 Wilson sent "a cranky letter accusing Cowley of ignorance in politics."

This will not do. It reflects perhaps the feeling of a literary man that politics is contemptible or unworthy of serious note, perhaps the feeling of a friend eager to protect a writer's reputation, perhaps (though by 1990 this is hard to believe) a mere lack of historical knowledge. During the 1930s Cowley was not just "an ardent supporter of the Soviet 'experiment.'" He played an influential role in American cultural life, and a central role in the political debates that raged among intellectuals. As literary editor of *THE NEW REPUBLIC*, he was able to use its back pages to advance pro-Stalinist views. Among the tiny group of anti-Stalinist left-wing intellectuals there was a strong feeling—strong is putting it mildly—that Cowley was a dangerous opponent, because he defended the fellow-traveling line with greater sophistication and effectiveness than could the Party regulars.

That Cowley broke from fellow-traveling politics in 1940 was to his credit; but to suggest, in Faulkner's rather lofty manner, that it was just a question of who broke a little sooner and who a little later is to trivialize a moral and political issue that has racked our century. Remember that these were the years of terror, the years of the Moscow trials and the Gulag—we didn't use that name then, but we had a pretty good idea of the phenomenon. The first major, and I'd say the most deep-going, battles over Stalinism were fought out in the 1930s, when Cowley's influence was large, and it took a certain moral courage to attack Stalinism in the cultural world. Nor was this some obscure sectarian squabble, interesting only to people in Moscow and Union Square. It entailed matters of fundamental probity; and insofar as participants on both sides claimed to speak from a socialist perspective, it entailed urgent questions—we still have not fully answered them—of what so-

cialism could or should signify.

As for Edmund Wilson, he certainly could be cranky, but there is nothing especially cranky about his rebuke to Cowley, a rebuke (Faulkner might notice) that charged him with something more than "ignorance in politics":

You're a great guy [wrote Wilson] to talk about the value of a non-partisan literary review after the way you've been plugging the damned old Stalinist line. . . . (Did you see the interview with Stalin in *Liberty* in which he invokes Peter the Great, Napoleon and even Napoleon the Third . . . and returns a noncommittal answer to a question about an alliance with Hitler?)

By now this is familiar stuff, every columnist dutifully repeats it, but in 1938 we could have used a few more such intellectual "cranks." What I have said about Cowley's career Faulkner could have found in Daniel Aaron's judicious, even sympathetic study *Writers on the Left*. But for whatever reason, Faulkner either does not know it or has chosen not to describe it in a responsible way—with the result, I suspect, that his failures or evasions will evoke excessive attention.

Does it all still matter? All those old disputes, those exhausted passions, those leftist quarrels. I think it does. I think it matters to millions of people still forced to live with the bitter consequences of the politics Cowley supported, and more immediately, it matters if Cowley's career does.

That career began as essentially a literary one. Like other American writers who had lived through the First World War, he spent a few stimulating years in Paris during the early 1920s, getting to know the Surrealists, gaining the friendship of Paul Valéry, and working with such avant-garde literary magazines as *Broom* and *Secession*. "I thank God constantly," he later wrote to his friend Kenneth Burke, "that I have crossed the water. Not that my soul has been transfixed with wonder, but just that I have been drawn out of my fixed orbit . . ." A remark that nicely reveals two sides of Cowley's sensibility: the expatriate of semi-modernist outlook and the stubbornly native American who persisted somewhat comically in calling himself a "country boy."

What later brought Cowley to the fellow-traveling cultural milieu was largely a complex of good intentions: sympathy with the victims of the depression, hope for a better society, fear caused by the rise of fascism. (It's especially worth stressing in 1990 that this held true for many people drawn to communism; otherwise that experience

would have not constituted so great a political tragedy.) In 1932 Cowley joined with other American writers to visit Harlan County, Kentucky, where a coal miners' strike under Party guidance was floundering. The delegation suffered rough handling from local thugs, with one writer, Waldo Frank, severely beaten. After that, said Cowley, "I knew which side I was on." Yes, but the sides could get badly mixed and the writers taking sides badly mixed up. As Cowley admitted some years later: "I wanted to write honestly, I wanted to do my share in building a just society, and it did not occur to me that those last two aims, both admirable in themselves, might come into conflict."

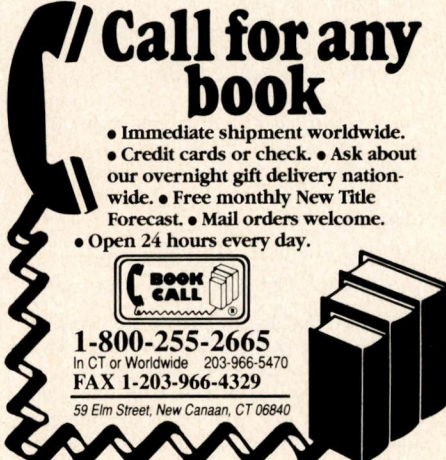
A few years later Cowley published *Exile's Return*, a charming account of the literary expatriates of the 1920s and their later return to the United States. The book has worn well; it retains its freshness as informal cultural history. It is written in a smooth, even creamy style that enabled Cowley to exploit his gift for evoking moments and places, though it also kept him from, or was a token of his inability to reach, intellectual sharpness. Especially weak are the literary judgments. Never quite at ease with the European modernists, Cowley could write that Eliot, Joyce, and Proust, while "great literary men," "resembled one another in proposing a future as cold as the touch of cold hands." A dull judgment.

Only in later years, after withdrawing from politics, did Cowley find himself as a literary critic. His conceptual powers always remained meager, and Faulkner does him faint service by writing that "with his peer Edmund Wilson" he "was the great 'public critic' of American writing for our century." What Cowley lacked was precisely the capacities Wilson possessed: wide learning, intellectual force, literary range. Could anyone imagine Cowley writing *To the Finland Station* or even *Patriotic Gore*?

Cowley's best criticism was focused on a small group of American writers: Dreiser, Hemingway, Faulkner, Fitzgerald, Dos Passos, Cheever. About such writers he could be warmly perceptive. (He was also sympathetic to some younger writers one would have supposed not to his taste, such as Jack Kerouac and Ken Kesey.) The essays that Cowley wrote about these American writers stemmed from strong generational feelings—loyalty to writers who had come through the First World War, those who had shared the pleasures and delusions of the 1920s,

and some of those who had plunged into the radicalism of the 1930s. His essays were composed in a pleasing and comfortable style, and his critical voice, shrewdly mild and conversational, seldom rose to exaltation or fell to grief. One sometimes felt about Cowley that his prose suffered from a surplus of moderation and—perhaps because of the moral bruises he carried from the 1930s—that as a writer he was no longer inclined to take chances.

Within these limits, Cowley could be a very fine critic. He had a pleasing sense



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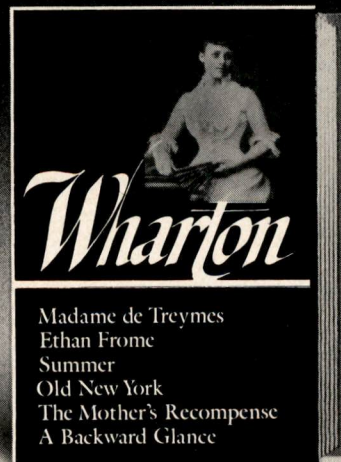
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of solidarity with living writers, not just with "literature" or "the tradition," for he knew how desperately hard it is to write a good poem or novel. He was very adept at capturing a writer's tone of voice, and sometimes mimicking it. He became a virtuoso of atmospherics. What he practiced wasn't exactly biographical criticism, it was an intuitive edging or sliding into a writer's sensibility—criticism, you might say, as secret sharing. This is a rare gift, precious few critics have it, and these days fewer seem to want it.

Here is Cowley on Dreiser:

His mind was like an attic in an earthquake, full of big trunks that slithered about and popped open one after another, so that he spoke sometimes as a Social Darwinist, sometimes as a Marxist, sometimes almost as a fascist, and sometimes as a sentimental reformer. Always he spoke, though, with an uncalculating candor that gave him a large sort of bumbling dignity.

And here Cowley writes about the almost-forgotten American Naturalists:

They have hardly a trace of the cynicism that is often charged against them. It is the quietly realistic or classical writers who are likely to be cynics, in the sense of holding a low opinion of life and human beings; that low estimate is so deeply ingrained in them that they never bother to insist on it—for why should they try to make converts in such a hopeless world? The Naturalists are always trying to convert others and themselves, and sometimes they build up new illusions simply to enjoy the pain of stripping them away. It is their feeling of fascinated revulsion toward their subject matter that makes some of the Naturalists hard to read; they seem to be flogging themselves and their audiences like a band of Penitents.

And here Cowley creates a fine image about Hemingway:

His heroes live in a world that is like a hostile forest, full of unseen dangers, not to mention the nightmares that haunt their sleep. Death spies on them from behind every tree. Their only chance for safety lies in the faithful observance of customs they invent for themselves.

Cowley's best piece of criticism was probably his essay on Faulkner. A few of its remarks seem off, as in his description of Popeye, the small-town thug of *Sanctuary*, as a "compendium of all the hateful qualities that Faulkner assigns to finance capitalism." I doubt that finance capitalism was a significant presence in Faulkner's imagination, and if it was, Popeye is certainly not its representative. Still, the essay was a pioneering entrance into Faulkner's "world," and among the first to honor Faulkner as historical elegist, one of the few American writers endowed with

a strong sense of the tragic. And no other critic was as keen as Cowley in detailing Faulkner's "delight" in the weather, the sort of observation more high-powered critics would be likely to miss.

Cowley dropped the stylistic calm that marks his mature criticism on one significant occasion toward the end of his life, and I think the incident is sufficiently interesting to warrant a bit of detail. Cowley's style of calm, I suspect, had come to serve as a defensive reaction against his earlier political self. Even in his best essays there was a strain of inhibition, like that of a person recovering from trauma; part of him, the more combative part, was held in check. All this was a fairly common and understandable response among writers who felt they had been burned by the politics of the 1930s. But now, in a polemical encounter, Cowley found a new—or is it old?—energy of expression.

In *Commentary* in July 1981, Kenneth Lynn, a neoconservative critic, printed a lengthy attack on Cowley, charging that his introduction to *The Portable Hemingway* reflected—oh, the horror of it!—an anti-capitalist bias. In discussing Hemingway's wonderful story "Big Two-Hearted River," said Lynn, Cowley had twisted it into a dark account of a soldier distraught after the First World War, while actually it was just "a sun-drenched, Cezannish picture of a predominantly happy fishing trip."

Three years later, in the Summer 1984 issue of *The Georgia Review*, Cowley printed a bristling reply in which he quoted from a Hemingway letter of August 25, 1948:

In the first world war, I now see I was hurt very badly: in the body, mind, and spirit, also morally. . . . I was hurt all the way through and I was really spooked at the end. Big Two-Hearted River is a story about a man who is home from the war. But the war is not mentioned.

Citations like these (there are a few others) were decisive for Cowley, since a keen literary intelligence like Hemingway must have known what he wanted to write. In rebuttal, Lynn launched an odious personal attack on Cowley and his "potato face" in *The Georgia Review*, Fall 1984, but then he did make a cogent literary point. Cowley's "wound-theory," wrote Lynn, is supported "solely by statements by Hemingway . . ." and that is not enough. What a writer says retrospectively about his work can often be misleading.

Now comes a curious twist. Together with the exchange between Cowley and

Lynn there appeared a letter from Philip Young, author of a keen study of Hemingway. Young wrote that Cowley's introduction to *The Portable Hemingway* "contains no discussion whatever of Hemingway's wound," that the notion appears in his, Young's, book. Evidently Cowley had been tricked by a faulty memory, and Lynn by eagerness to make a polemical point. But in going back to Cowley's introduction, I find that while Young, by a strict reading, is right, there are passages close enough to the "wound-theory" to warrant Lynn's assumption that Cowley held to it and Cowley's assumption that he had written in accordance with it. For example, Cowley wrote: "We notice that Nick Adams [the protagonist of "Big Two-Hearted River"] regards his fishing trip as an escape, either from a nightmare or from realities that have become a nightmare." In the context of the Nick Adams stories as a whole, those "realities" can plausibly be regarded as a trauma induced by the war.

Young made another and stronger point: that the "wound-theory" could be substantiated only by a close analysis of the story, of its style as a reflex of shell shock. Hemingway's style in this story is one of staccato nervousness, severe psychic repression, with a suggestion of some deep, unspecified trouble as the motive behind Nick Adams's return to the countryside. It is a story about an attempted emotional recovery—one is never quite sure how successful—through an immersion in the natural world. Certainly Lynn's notion of a "sun-drenched fishing trip" is ridiculous—tone-deaf, too. Lynn set himself up as a border guard to keep "negative" and "subversive" sentiments out of our Cezannish native grounds. As for Cowley, his essay shows that there is something about having to defend your integrity, even at the age of eighty-five, that makes the juices flow and the prose spring to life.

Literary criticism rarely enjoys a long life, and probably that is as it should be. Much of it is journalism, comment for the day; some gets caught up with aesthetic theories blessed with a short life; and still more is personal opinion, interesting only when it comes from powerful writers. My guess would be that only a small portion of Malcolm Cowley's work will last—say, *Exile's Return* and five or six essays. But when you consider the fate of most critics, is that really so little?

IRVING HOWE is at work on a book about the novel titled *Selected Short Subjects*.

Cheat's Tale

BY LUC SANTE

London Fields by Martin Amis

(Harmony, 470 pp., \$19.95)

The difference between a thin novel and a fat one is more than just a matter of length. From a big book—which can semi-arbitrarily be designated as anything over 400 pages—the reader feels entitled to more, quantitatively: not just more characters, more locations, more romances and death scenes and comic interludes, but more *stuff*, more digressions, arcana, crash courses in diverse subjects. The fat novel must be a miscellany of information, a multitiered box of trinkets and gewgaws. All this stuff should be judiciously arranged, however, in the hollows and contours of a real story, propulsive and engaging.

Martin Amis's *London Fields*, which measures 470 pages stripped, would seem to fill this bill with verve. There is its story: the triangle consisting of low-life Keith Talent, high-born and -minded Guy Clinch, and belle dame sans merci Nicola Six, observed by fourth party and fifth wheel (and first-person narrator) Samson Young. It is propulsive, since we know from page one that the story will end in the murder of Nicola Six, although we don't know whose hand will direct it. It is engaging, since there is ample opportunity to browse among the dominant and recessive traits of Guy and Keith and Samson. (Nicola Six, per tradition, is fated to remain an impenetrable ice queen.)

There are its perquisites: a philosophy of underwear, a manual of darts, a comparative study of London dialects, several stabs at a taxonomy of the English underclass, various à clef japeries at the expense of current English literary personages, a veritable thesaurus of the kiss (the Rosebud, the Pouter, Cousins Touching Tongues, Clash of the Incisors, Anybody's, Lady Macbeth, the Grand-A-Night Hooker, and so on). And there are its ambitions: it is intended to be a satirical portrait of present-day London life, an allegory of existence in the shadow of the Apocalypse, a sort of winged monument to the fallen of both the class war and the war between the sexes, and a large-scale metafictional brain-twister. It's packed with jokes, too.

Somehow, though, all these features and intentions put together add up to a small, rather shrill book. Why should this be? Amis, who to date has written five other, variously satisfying novels—one of them (1984's *Money*) very good—as well as one collection of short stories and two collections of essays, is a gifted joker, an inspired verbal cartoonist with a particular flair for the grotesque, a connoisseur of comic misery, especially comic sexual misery. He is one of those prose stylists who can set up a subject and write the proverbial hell out of it: "like the desolating gaiety of a fundless pediatric hospital (Welcome to the Peter Pan Ward), or like a criminal's cream Rolls-Royce, parked at dusk between a tube station and a flower stall, the eyes of Keith Talent shone with tremendous accommodations made to money."

Amis wields a deadly pen and, one suspects, a deadly tongue, so that one would avoid being on the other side of a restaurant scrap. In the London press he is written about not only as a rising young author but as a ringleader, a social arbiter, an urban public wit of a sort not seen in years. Perhaps Amis felt that these skills and attributes were insufficient, that it was time to write a really important novel, a Big Book not just in size and density, but in stature. And while it could be said that his strongest suits—satire, caricature, apothegms, one-liners, asides—might not be the ideal ones for the task of major-novel construction, it could likewise be pointed out that major novels have been built using just such materials. (*Tristram Shandy* comes to mind.)

But *London Fields* doesn't seem to want to be a major novel. The reader can sense its core of gleeful malice throwing off the more self-consciously important of its grafted appurtenances the way a body rejects an ill-matched foreign organ. The book's subject is cheating, primarily. Keith Talent is a *cheat*—always italicized, this word—who pursues every variety of the short con. Guy Clinch is cheating on his wife, pursuing Nicola Six. Nicola is cheating on life by arranging for her own death at the hands of one or another of the besotted men around.

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Samson Young is cheating on the rules of his journalistic task of recording the entwined stories of the other three by (metafictionally) fiddling with their destinies.

Samson is an American, or at least he has come from New York via an apartment exchange ad in *The New York Review of Books*, swapping a crummy walk-up for the vast London flat of a grandiosely successful writer; at the same time, misty allusions are made to an English childhood, and he uses Brit slang terms more often and less self-consciously than American ones. He is dying of some vaguely defined ailment that might be AIDS but sounds more like the traditional movie disease, and his moribund condition is apparently the thing that turns him from a more-or-less journalist into a real Author, godlike and fateful.

Thus he selects the constituents of his triangle from out of the crowd and sets them to work on one another to give him the matter of his book. Meanwhile the news fragments come winging in, dimly: there is a Crisis (always capitalized), the Russians this, the mullahs that, the President's wife some other thing. This obscure tension is presumably supposed to mount. The plot hurtles along like an opera pastiche with cardboard sets, every convention emptied and reinflated, until it crashes to a close with a device, half Pirandello and half O. Henry, that rings so hollow and feels so antiquated that one wants to believe its hollowness and mustiness are deliberate.

There is real desperation in many of these choices. The toying with authorship and voice and point of view and destiny serves no purpose, except as packaging: some backdated flash for the squares, some makeshift complexity for the professors. The world-crisis tease is even less pertinent, merely there to simulate historical significance. (This particular anxiety of the author's is underlined in the wonderfully fatuous note among the front matter in which he discusses his search for a title: one of the candidates was *Millennium*.)

Stripped of such trappings, the book begins to seem more plausible, although it is still way too long. Much of the padding comes from Amis's unstoppable compulsion for shtick. Many of his routines are, in fact, very funny: for example, the first time he uses a baby's gurglings—"War." "Lie." "Oil."—as a dark counterpoint to an adult conversation, or the first time he has illiterate yobboes suddenly begin talking like television sportscasters as they relate the progress of a soccer match ("During the first half the Hammers probed down the left flank. Revelling in the space, the speed of

Sylvester Drayon was always going to pose problems for the home side's number two. With scant minutes remaining before the half-time whistle, the black winger cut in . . ."), or the first time he quotes the inspirational passages on heritance from Keith's copy of *Darts: Master the Discipline*:

Those Pilgrim Fathers are said to have thrown darts while sailing to America in 1620 on the so-called Mayflower. Christ knows how they managed it as they only had a small boat as they were tossed about on the "Atlantic" Ocean. King Arthur was also said to have played a form of darts.

The trouble is that, having scored once with a given routine, Amis feels compelled to repeat the gambit again and again, without at all varying the tone or the nuance or the import. Perhaps it is only fitting, on the other hand, that compulsion should be so enmeshed in the novel's fabric, since virtually every character in it is a certifiable compulsive.

Reduced to essentials, then, the story (now about 250 pages or so in length) is a basic sexual triangle. Keith and Guy are cartoons, to be sure, but they are at least as complex and sympathetic as the more celebrated rabbits and coyotes. Keith is the king of his pub, the local darts phenomenon, a hustler who is always able to extract money from some small-time ploy or other (he has a four-color brochure detailing his legitimate pursuits: "Chauffeur and courier services; Own limousine; Casino consultant; Luxury goods and Celebrity purchases; Darts lessons given; London operative for Ambrosio of Milan, Perfumes and Furs") and then blow it all the next day at the turf accountant's. He is also a low-rent satyr with a long string of hapless, drunken, insane, or underage women scattered all over London. He's not a bad guy, really; he just can't help himself.

Amis clearly enjoyed writing about Keith and detailing his dank, malnourished world of pubs, petty crime, dirty jokes, hit-and-run sex, tabloids, canned lager, scotch eggs, council flats, case-workers. It is a world where Cockneys and Poles and Rastafarians can seamlessly alternate between conviviality and mutual antagonism, where nobody has ever held down a legitimate job or ever will. Then again, the lifelong unemployment (which may or may not be synonymous with idleness) is what really unites the disparate elements in his landscape. The under, upper, and artist classes all have plenty of time to spend in pubs, morning, noon, and night.

Amis is less interested in the upper class, and Guy, being helplessly noble, is assigned an interestingly terrible family

life, with an overbearing American wife and a literal monster of a child, who as an infant assaults and maims his nurses and requires muscular handlers with psycho-ward experience. In their differing ways, both men are obsessed with Nicola, whose job description sounds like something Amis cooked up to bait feminists: she is at once the story's nominal victim and the engineer of men's doom. Oddly enough, she is not altogether unsympathetic herself, principally because she can briefly appear human in the presence of the one man who has any power over her: the narrator, whose power derives from the fact that he is dying and thus is beyond sex. Nicola's vocation is sex, not that she cares much about it per se; what truly interests her is the intricate art of the tease. She is the embodiment of every male fear about women. She is beautiful, intelligent, self-sufficient, disinterested, and she treats men like bugs.

To call the premise thus skeletally outlined mechanical would be to belabor the obvious. It is a mechanism, the way a Tom and Jerry escapade is a mechanism, only in this case every pratfall is informed by rich sociological context. It is a panoramic cartoon that takes in a whole world of culture and custom and speech. (Amis, who has a prodigious ear, seems almost totally devoid of a visual sense.) At its best it is wildly entertaining, and the narrator/author's conniving voice engages the reader as a crony—the jokes become inside jokes between him and us. What keeps *London Fields* from being anything more than a cartoon, however, is the complete absence of a heart.

The deadly accurate pinpointing of human weaknesses has no counterweight in acknowledgment of human value. What makes the characters funny is their shortcomings, and what makes them sympathetic is also their shortcomings. The characters all operate from the basest possible motives at all times (except for Guy, but in this, too, he is merely embodying a class joke, as his nobility itself becomes a failing). In a quick read, all this entomological skewering would merely be malicious fun, but in such a long and dense novel it eventually reveals a quality of extreme emotional parsimony, of real, deep-dish cheapness. And this is a flaw that all the cosmetic layers of literary embellishment and current-events tomfoolery cannot enoble or disguise.

LUC SANTE is the film critic for *Wigwag* and the author of *Low Life*, a book about vice in New York in the nineteenth century, which will be published next spring by Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

Stalking the Truth

By C. VANN WOODWARD

Race and History Selected Essays 1938-1988 by John Hope Franklin

(Louisiana State University Press, 450 pp., \$29.95)

Among the twenty-seven essays that John Hope Franklin chose for this book from a half century of writings, only one is overtly autobiographical. It is engagingly forthright, unpretentious, and richly informative. Given the professional and personal interests of the author and the nature of his subject, however, it would be natural to expect more information of that character. And in this expectation we are not disappointed, for an autobiographical theme underlies many of these pieces. It is unobtrusive and often understated, yet it is one of the most valuable and memorable contributions that this book has to make.

Franklin began life in an all-black village of 200 souls in Oklahoma, where the quality of life was "as low as one can imagine . . . no electricity, running water, or inside plumbing . . . no entertainment or diversion of any kind—no parks, no playgrounds, libraries, or newspapers." When John Hope was six his father went to Tulsa to open a law practice, intending to move his family there as soon as he was established. Within six months of his arrival, however, a "race riot" burned out much of the segregated Negro section of the city, including the place he had contracted to buy for a law office. He practiced in a tent for some months. His family did not join him in Tulsa for four years.

Growing up in the 1920s and 1930s, the youthful Franklin encountered racial segregation in its fullest development. Those were years when white arrogance and brutality took some of its ugliest forms. In this respect, a move from Tulsa to Nashville in 1931 to attend Fisk University did not improve the scene very much. To avoid trouble he rarely went into the city, and never alone. While he was at Fisk, a white gang took a black youth from a university-owned house on the edge of the campus and lynched him. At Harvard for graduate training, he took a room with a black family and a job washing dishes for his evening meal. Among faculty and students he found racial bias in various forms. He regarded

the course of study as "far from extraordinary," and left as soon as the minimal residence requirements for the doctoral degree were completed in 1939, since he "did not wish to be in Cambridge another day."

Franklin spent the next seventeen years teaching at black colleges in the South, mainly in North Carolina and in the District of Columbia, and doing research in archives all over the South. Coping as best he could with exclusion from hotels, restaurants, and toilets during his scholarly travels (at some archives and libraries he was even assigned segregated work quarters), he put in some of the most creative and productive years of his life, turning out a flow of articles and books on Negro history, including his fine major work, *From Slavery to Freedom*, the first of many editions of which appeared in 1947. In this book he found it necessary "to retell the story of the evolution of the people of the United States in order to place the Negro in his proper relationship and perspective."

These achievements opened opportunities that sent him northward, first as chairman of the history department of fifty-two white historians at Brooklyn College in 1956 and later to the University of Chicago in the same role. But in place of the old walls of segregation, new ones rose around him. In Brooklyn it required "hassles of more than a year" with thirty-odd realtors, numerous banks, and the help of a shrewd lawyer to find a house he was permitted to buy and to finance and to inhabit unmolested. He offers this as an instance of "the rebuffs, the indignities, or the discriminations that many black people suffer."

What effect did such experiences have upon the history he wrote? They undoubtedly sharpened his perceptions and shaped his point of view, not only in writing the history of his own people but in requiring him to revise the history of the country "in order to place the Negro in his proper relationship and perspective." But that was to correct, not to distort, history. Franklin's history is not history with a mission, or with polemics. He

was quite ready to defy the white establishment of the history profession, even as a beginner, and to correct errors and distortions—with invariable civility. But he was equally prepared to challenge and correct conventional wisdom and cherished convictions of black colleagues.

One example of the latter is his essay on the "virtually free" slaves of North Carolina. No conviction was more firmly fixed in traditional black history than the unmitigated evil of slavery. Yet here is Franklin with an essay telling us that "every institution has its lights and shadows," that many slaveholders "had sufficient humanity within themselves to treat their human chattel as human beings." State records, he finds, are "literally filled with the accounts of slaves whose bondage was hardly more than nominal," many of whom used their virtual freedom to earn good incomes. One in Chapel Hill made a good thing of writing poems and love letters for college students. Another in the same town earned so much goodwill that 309 students, the president, and many faculty of the university petitioned the legislature to grant the owner's request to free the slave without making him leave the state, as the law required.

In no sense an apology for slavery, this essay is followed by one pointing out that the institution was sustained by force and violence. We are dealing here with a historian who spares no effort in pursuit of the truth, delights in finding it even when he deplores the truth of what he has found, and never thinks of suppressing it on that account. Of several instances, the most striking is Franklin's biography in 1985 of George Washington Williams, "the first historian to write a serious, widely reviewed history of the Negro race." In an essay called "Stalking George Washington Williams," he tells of his astonishment and his elation at discovering the two-volume work of this black historian and his determination to write a biography of the man. The stalking went on for more than forty years, for the record was obscure and fragments were scattered from California to the Congo, from Belgium to Britain.

In his brief life of forty-two years (1849-1891), Williams had fought in two wars, served as pastor of major churches, and become an editor, a columnist, a legislator, and a lawyer, as well as a historian and a world traveler. It had the makings of a story of racial heroism, but Franklin was not out to make heroes. Along with his brilliant achievements, Williams also turned out to be something of an impostor who played fast and loose with the truth, with creditors, and with women.

That being established from the record, it went right into the biography, the deplorable along with the admirable.

To appreciate the costs of scholarly detachment for a black historian of Franklin's time, one has only to remember that these were years of the civil rights upheaval in all its contradictions and passions: from nonviolence to extreme violence, from racial integration to racial resegregation, from black-and-white-together to Black Power, and on to black racism, anti-Semitism, and license to hate. There came the moment when Stokely Carmichael could declare that his mission was to teach his people "how to dismantle America, how to destroy it." Another slogan had it: "No more patience. No more thought. No more reason."

"I could not have avoided being a social activist even if I wanted to," writes Franklin. Of course, there were several varieties of activism. His took the form of expert witness in court and Congress, research and writing for the NAACP legal counsel in the *Brown* case on school segregation, and participation in some of the marches and demonstrations. The varieties of activism he did not practice or endorse were the sort exemplified by Carmichael, Huey P. Newton, Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Seale, Black Muslims, and Black Panthers. With the provocations of black bigotry on one side and white bigotry on the other, it is little wonder that Franklin found that for the black historian "the task of remaining calm and objective is indeed a formidable one. There is always the temptation to pollute his scholarship with polemics, diatribes, arguments."

Of the two sources of provocation, those from the white side seem, from this account, to have been the more difficult to resist. Faced with the assumption of inferiority and an attack on their very claim to being scholars, black scholars "were drawn inexorably, irresistibly into the field that became known as Negro studies," in which they were "isolated from the assaults of the white scholars," and where they could "work relatively unmolested." This happened, for example, to W. E. B. DuBois, to Carter G. Woodson, and Alain L. Locke, all three with Harvard doctor's degrees. A biologist, for example, felt compelled to write a book titled *The Biology of the Negro*:

In moving forthrightly in this direction, what had the Negro scholar done? He had, alas, made an institution of the field of Negro studies. He had become the victim of segregation in the field of scholarship in the same way that Negroes in other fields had become victims of segregation. There

was the Negro press, the Negro church, Negro business, Negro education, and now Negro scholarship . . .

This was a tragedy. Negro scholarship had foundered on the rocks of racism. It had been detoured by principles of separatism, of segregation. It had become the victim of the view that there was some "mystique" about Negro studies, similar to the view that there was some "mystique" about Negro spirituals which required that a person possess a black skin in order to sing them. This was not scholarship; it was folklore, it was voodoo.

Another American mystique with which blacks in all walks of life had to cope was that of "ethnicity." It applied to other people more temporarily, new immigrants such as the Irish, Germans, or Italians with cultural traits that made them "happier with their own kind." But with Europeans, ethnicity was a way station that "eased the task of assimilation," and for many facilitated their drive to full citizenship:

For Negroes, however, such was not the case. . . . Negroes did, indeed, preserve their ethnicity! And as they preserved their ethnicity—all too frequently as they looked down the barrel of a policeman's pistol or a militiaman's shotgun—full citizenship seemed many light years away. They saw other ethnic groups pass them by, one by one, and take their places in the Sacred Order of the Star Spangled Banner, the American Protective Association, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—not always fully assimilated but vehemently opposed to the assimilation of Negroes. . . . This was a land where millions of black human beings whose ancestors had been here for centuries were consistently treated as pariahs and untouchables.

And so by now "ethnicity" had joined such euphemisms as "cultural pluralism" and "inner city." But "even a little child would know what ethnicity had come to mean."

This is a book packed full of hard truths that needed saying. It is our good fortune that they are said so well and in a voice that carries such authority. •

CORRESPONDENCE *continued from page 6*

out question black Americans' first choice for a national political leader, he would face an uphill battle to become one of our 100 senators in states in which he could run. But, as you say, he wouldn't have to try hard to be elected in Washington, D.C., if it became a state. All other states have white majorities and—surprise, surprise—we currently have no black senators and only one black governor.

Blacks constitute more than ten percent of the U.S. population, roughly the same as the white percentage of the pop-

ulation in South Africa. But in a system that only rewards the majority, significant minorities easily can go unrepresented. Unlike in many of the world's democracies, in the United States if representatives of a party get forty-nine percent of the vote, let alone twenty percent, the party's constituency is out of luck.

Addressing this problem would also be an important vehicle for enlivening politics in this country. Almost certainly it would improve our abysmal voter turnout, as voters would have the incentive of knowing that every vote for a credible party would count toward representation. It also would broaden the range of political debate, currently so pitifully narrow and insubstantial at election time. Needing a majority to be represented, Democrats and Republicans both strive to win over the mythical center rather than take the risk of alienating the majority and directly speaking for "special interests"—which of course as a whole make up the entire population.

ROBERT RICHIE

Olympia, Washington

Post-Orwellian criticism

To the editors:

I know it's hard to write a book that addresses both an academic and a wider intellectual audience. But why does Paul Berman, in his review of my book, *The Politics of Literary Reputation: The Making and Claiming of 'St. George' Orwell*, dismiss it as "postmodern academic fashion" ("The Business of Immortality," March 12)? Why does he present himself as a rebel and me as a faddish academic "man of the moment"? Whatever its faults, my book has nothing to do with "postmodern analysis."

Why does Berman turn my argument that institutional relations play a significant, often neglected, role in making reputations into: "everything is an institutional structure"? Of course that's vulgar. His lengthy counterargument is that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* "didn't become a masterpiece" due to historical-institutional factors; "it was one." What?! It *became* one—and only in recent decades. Reputations arise not from the intrinsic merit of one's work but from a complexity of factors. Despite its rhetorical power and impact on events, traditionally *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has not—rightly or wrongly—been considered a literary masterpiece.

Berman hopes that "soon the post-modern age will be over, and even John Rodden may feel liberated." No, I'll feel liberated if journalists like Berman let up on the tiresome academic-bashing.

JOHN RODDEN

Austin, Texas

needs to contain the right ingredients: experiment . . . distant past . . . party situation . . . like many members of generation . . . youthful indiscretion . . . deeply regret. . .

Where is the line between youthful indiscretion and adult depravity? Is it about age twenty-one? If so, the evolving standard about marijuana use is in odd contrast to the standard of recent years about alcohol consumption. Under the influence of Mothers Against Drunk Driving, the federal government has pressured the states into raising the drinking age from eighteen to twenty-one. In America, it seems, it's morally and politically acceptable to be stoned as a minor or drunk as an adult, but not the other way around.

Of course that's not really true. You can't be excused for "experimenting" with marijuana as a college kid today—only twenty years ago. Czar Bennett would like to take away the scholarships of students caught using marijuana. Massachusetts Attorney General James Shannon, age thirty-seven, recently made the boilerplate confession about past "experimentation," but now favors mandatory prison time for even casual users caught twice. He says that his attitude has now changed. Well, as the Church Lady says on *Saturday Night Live* . . . How convenient.

And what has really changed since twenty years ago except for the fact that those who were breaking the law then are making the laws now? Marijuana was just as illegal back then as it is today. And there have been no dramatic discoveries about any harmful effects of using it casually. All that has changed is the zeitgeist. Yet young lives will be ruined while older lives proceed unmolested along their placid course.

All these ex-Communist-style confessions-cum-recantations about past drug use leave a bad taste in my mouth. What I'm waiting for is some politician to announce that he used to indulge in marijuana every now and then and that—whatever he thinks about more serious drug problems—he *doesn't* especially regret it. Maybe even that what he really regrets is all the experiments he *didn't* conduct in his youth, perhaps because he was too busy plotting his scramble up the establishment heights. To have used marijuana in the 1960s and 1970s, when everyone was supposed to use marijuana, and to deplore marijuana in the 1980s and 1990s, when everyone is supposed to deplore it, is just a bit too unsurprising.

MICHAEL KINSLEY

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WASHINGTON DIARIST

Talking heads

EVERYONE IS SAYING THAT WASHINGTON is incredibly boring these days, now that we are without the thrills of war, scandal, or riots. There's no denying that the big things are happening elsewhere—in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, South Africa, Latin America—but Washington remains a place where the big things are thought about. Well, OK, not thought about but at least talked about. On the other hand, I have to admit that the most interesting things that have happened to me lately didn't happen here, but in Saddle River, New Jersey, where Richard Nixon lives, and in Madrid, where I debated the world's foremost advocate of drug legalization and survived. So this is a Washington Diarist only because Washington is where I'm writing it.

I'VE CHANGED MY MIND A LOT about Nixon. In 1973 I made it onto his White House enemies list, and it was one of the high points of my youth. This was in the days when people sought the meaning of their lives in political action. To have been in Mississippi in 1964, to have demonstrated against the Vietnam War—this was to have made a difference. And for a journalist to be singled out by Nixon—this was very heaven. Maybe I wasn't Woodward or Bernstein or I. F. Stone or Seymour Hersh, but I was part of that noble band saving humanity from evil—and, what's more, Satan noticed! Alas, it turned out that Nixon hadn't written the enemies list himself, and the list had little to do with anything real: I wasn't wiretapped, followed, or even audited. But whoever compiled it got this much right: I considered Nixon a crook and a threat to democracy, and I thought it a journalist's duty to warn people about him.

I STILL THINK NIXON REPRESENTED (though he did not begin) a menace that had to be stopped sometime: the White House's use of national security agencies and methods to thwart political foes. But my wife convinced me, after Nixon flew off to San Clemente, that he'd suffered the most terrible loss ever endured by an American politician, that he was no danger to anybody now, and that he ought to be forgiven. So I'm on speak-

ing terms with him these days, as evidenced by a ninety-minute "American Interests" TV special running on PBS May 4 that I taped at Nixon's home and office in New Jersey and for which I have just delivered a shameless plug. Nixon, however, has not yet forgiven "the media." After all these years he remains convinced that the liberal press hasn't stopped hating him since he unmasked Alger Hiss as a former Communist in 1948.

IN WHAT STRUCK ME AS A WILDLY inaccurate reading of history, Nixon wrote in his previous memoirs that "the media are far more powerful than the president in creating public awareness and public attitudes." This flies in the face of Eisenhower's assertion that the press was essentially powerless to hurt a president, and of the experience of any number of presidents—Reagan, for example—who managed to dominate public attitudes in spite of media criticism. Nixon thinks Reagan got off easy because he "was never involved in one of these . . . seminal issues," such as Vietnam. This gives Reagan no credit for violating Beltway wisdom on program cuts, social policy, defense spending, and the "evil empire"—and prevailing.

NIXON CLEARLY ENVIES PRESIDENTS who can "handle" the press—including George Bush—but he still hasn't a clue about how he might have done it differently. He even acts as though he doesn't understand how he has done it since he set himself on the road to rehabilitation. He thinks he failed by having too few press conferences. In fact, he had too many press conferences, which tended to turn into bear-baiting sessions, and too few interviews and background sessions at which he could have brought his formidable intelligence to bear on individual journalists. (He might even have convinced some of them that getting out of Vietnam too quickly was the wrong thing to do.) More fundamentally, though, he set loose a self-fulfilling process. He believed the press was his enemy, so he treated the press as an enemy, and so the press became his enemy. Paranoics have enemies, all right; they make them. And I think it was paranoia that caused Watergate: Nixon's distrust of other people was transmitted down through the administration and led naturally to the deeds that ended his presidency. At one point in our interview, he seemed to acknowledge this might be so. "It is possible," he said. "... I did not intend it to happen."

IN SPAIN, I ENCOUNTERED KID professor Ethan Nadelman of Princeton, age thirty-four, the sober successor to Harvard's Timothy Leary as America's

leading advocate of drug legalization—though not of tripping out. Nadelman and I were invited by the Spanish equivalent of the Council on Foreign Relations to have an "American-style" debate on drugs that seemed to startle Eurocrats in the audience for its lack of academic demeanor. Nadelman thinks that the costs of waging war on drugs—in money, lives, foreign policy capital, civil liberties, and urban woe—are far more onerous than the costs of a system whereby drugs (like alcohol and cigarettes) are legal, government-regulated, taxed, and subjected to warning campaigns to discourage use. I think it's inevitable that cheap, pure, available cocaine and crack would lead (as with alcohol and tobacco) to vastly increased use, abuse, and costs in auto accidents, health care spending, child abuse, lost productivity, and wasted lives. Nadelman customarily trounces police chiefs and prosecutors when he debates before U.S. college audiences. But this time our audience was made up of adult public officials from Europe and Latin America, and I think I won. Or maybe my simultaneous translator just beat his simultaneous translator. In any case, the Europeans made it clear that many countries—Italy and Spain, especially—are scared about dramatically increased heroin addiction under the current regime of decriminalization. Italy is moving to make drug possession illegal, and the EEC is at work trying to stop an incipient cocaine invasion from South America. And yet the U.S. "war" is not considered a model program by Europeans. The Latins don't like it much either, if it means alienating peasant growers of coca. There is a compromise policy available: jail traffickers, use the courts to prod users into treatment, spend lots more on education, and, in places like Peru, give land titles to peasants and build roads so that they can plant other crops and get them to market.

PERHAPS THE MOST PROVOCATIVE single discussion I've had recently, though, wasn't about drugs or Nixon, but about man's spiritual future. The subject was brought up by the head of Spain's Center for International Policy Studies, the Marques of Tamarón. Now that Marxism is a dead idea, he asked, what will replace politics as man's purpose for living? Yuppies have tried self-enrichment, fulfillment through possessions, and that doesn't work, he said. Will people turn to drugs to anesthetize themselves from boredom and despair? Actually, Nadelman and I agreed on an answer to this. The answer is religion or, rather, faith. I predict a reawakening, even in Washington.

MORTON KONDRACK

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 1990

PRESIDENT BUSH'S ENVIRONMENTAL RECORD IN BRIEF

The Administration can point to a strong and varied record of environmental action in its first year.

The President has approached environmental issues in the spirit of stewardship, balancing the need for increased environmental protection with the need for continued economic growth.

LEGISLATIVE

- * Proposed the first major rewrite to the Clean Air Act in over a decade to reduce emissions that cause acid rain, smog and air pollution. A bipartisan agreement was reached with the Senate leadership. Legislation was subsequently passed by the Senate and awaits action by the House.
- * Increased research on global climate change by 43% in 1990 and proposed an additional 57% increase to \$1 billion for 1991.
- * Proposed elevating the Environmental Protection Agency to Cabinet-level status.
- * Presented a budget which expands the EPA's operating programs by 12% and adds three quarters of a billion dollars to an aggressive effort to clean up wastes at federal facilities around the country.
- * Proposed \$450 million in spending for land acquisition as part of his "America the Beautiful" program in order to expand our parks, forests, refuges and other public lands.
- * Increased funding for Clean Coal technology.

REGULATORY

- * Banned most uses of asbestos.
- * Stopped the importation of all African ivory into this country, a move already beginning to show evidence of beneficial effects for the elephant population.
- * Proposed the cancellation of the pesticide "Alar," as well as some 40 uses of EBDC's, a family of pesticides commonly applied to food crops, and suspected by scientists of posing risks to health.

- * Ordered the development of proposals to assure that hazardous wastes are not indiscriminately exported to foreign countries, and endorsed the U.S. entry in to a U.N. convention to require environmentally sound management of exports of hazardous, infectious, and household wastes as well as municipal incinerator trash.

OTHER ACTIONS

- * Launched a program that would promote the planting of a billion new trees a year in America as part of the "America the Beautiful" initiative.
- * Proposed a worldwide phase-out of CFCs, with appropriate provision for safe substitutes, in order to protect the stratospheric ozone layer.
- * Hosted an international White House Conference on Global Change this month and offered to host the first negotiating session aimed at developing the framework for an international treaty on climate change.
- * Began efforts to achieve the goal of no-net-loss of wetlands. These include a series of public meetings on the no-net-loss policy to be held this summer.
- * Encouraged international cooperation and commitment through emphasis on environmental issues at the economic summit and bilateral meetings with allies and other world leaders over the past year.
- * Offered technical assistance to Eastern Bloc countries now trying to save national environments after years of Communist rule.
- * Began training Peace Corps volunteers in pollution prevention and reforestation techniques.
- * Started a pilot tracking program to prevent the type of medical waste wash-ups that plagued beaches around the country only two years ago.
- * Re-directed the Superfund programs toward "enforcement first," with emphasis on more permanent remedies for abandoned hazardous waste sites.
- * Taken a leading role in the creation and work of the United Nations-sponsored Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, which coordinates a long-term assessment of global change.

- * Focused public attention on the need to develop cleaner alternative fuels, an effort that has already prompted several major oil companies to begin marketing reformulated gasoline.
- * Put forward a seven-point plan for improving laws governing food safety. This plan will allow for faster action against problem pesticides and stronger penalties for misuse.

Oratory of Environmentalism Becomes the Sound of Politics

By RICHARD L. BERKE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 16 — The environment, once dismissed as a fringe cause by many politicians, has reached the forefront of American politics, with candidates for one public office after another proclaiming themselves environmentalists.

Politicians who were loyal to major corporate polluters are recasting their public postures on hazardous waste, acid rain and the stratospheric ozone layer. Republicans, who traditionally stayed clear of the environmental movement, are now battling Democrats for the "green vote," threatening to seize the issue as their own.

In Oregon, for example, Representative Denny Smith, a Republican running for re-election, last month switched his stand and declared his opposition to oil drilling off the Pacific Northwest. In Florida, Gov. Bob Martinez, a Republican who never mentioned the environment in his 1986 advertisements, opened his re-election campaign this year with a commercial that portrayed him as a dedicated environmentalist.

Following the Public's Lead

In Alabama, William J. Caba-niss, a Republican running for the United States Senate, startled the Sierra Club when he wrote a letter seeking support. D. Reid Wilson, the organization's political director, said the request was "probably the first time an Alabama Republican has been seen courting environmentalists — and a pretty good indication that times are changing."

For the most part, the politicians, many of whom will take to the streets this week for festivities leading up to the 20th anniversary on Sunday of the first Earth Day observance, are not setting the pace for Americans on the environmental issue. They are instead following the lead of the

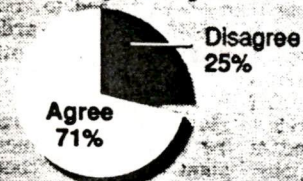
public, which feels increasingly threatened by environmental problems and, perceiving a lessened military threat from the Soviet Union, is turning its attention to other concerns, like polluted air and water.

Eighty-four percent of Americans say pollution is a serious national problem that is getting worse, a New York Times/CBS News poll reported today. Seventy-four percent said that protecting the environment is so important that requirements and standards cannot be too high, and environmental improvements must be made regardless of cost.

Continued on Page B10, Column 1

The Environment: What Is It Worth?

We must protect the environment, even if it means increased government spending and higher taxes.



We must protect the environment, even if it means jobs in the local community are lost.



Based on a New York Times/CBS News Poll of 1,515 people interviewed by telephone March 30 to April 2. Those with no answer are not shown.

New Sound of Politics: Environmental Oratory

Continued From Page A1

In 1981, 45 percent said they held that belief.

Until now, office holders have often been able to portray themselves as environmentalists based merely on general comments in support of clean air and water. When it comes to actual votes to strengthen pollution controls, which often involve increased fees on industry and possible job losses, the dedication to the environment frequently softens.

Now many political strategists believe that a second wave of environmental politics may be about to begin, as clean-air and clean-water groups, having won the politicians' verbal backing, pressure them publicly to live up to their words.

The Times/CBS poll of 1,515 adults nationwide, conducted by telephone March 30 to April 2, measured the strength of environmental sentiment. Seventy-one percent of Americans said they would be willing to pay higher taxes to clean up the environment; 56 percent said they favored protecting the environment even if it meant lost jobs in their communities. The poll has a margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points.

The Constituency Broadens

The traditional environmental constituency of conservationists and idealistic young people has grown to include working class and older Americans.

Lawmakers are following the public in concern over pollution.

The new constituency's interest is not only global, but also personal. One out of every five Americans says he or she knows someone whose health was damaged by pollution, the Times/CBS poll said.

The political response to such sentiments is reflected in the campaigns around the country this year, with the environment holding its own with crime, drugs and abortion as the overriding issue. Seeking to prove their environmental colors, candidates make sure they are photographed wearing down-filled vests and flannel shirts.

Many candidates are following the lead of President Bush, who had not been perceived as an environmentalist until he made pollution a major theme of his 1988 campaign. He talked more about the issue than did his Democratic opponent, Gov. Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts, who environmentalists said was more dedicated to the issue.

Robert M. Teeter, the Bush campaign's poll taker, said the President "just felt that it was an important issue in the country and that people thought it was important," adding that he suspected Mr. Bush "also had a feeling it was one issue that the Reagan Administration had not done much on."

The Bush campaign ran an effective television advertisement attacking Mr. Dukakis for not cleaning up Boston Harbor, which was depicted as resembling a pool of sewage. Mandy Grunwald, a media consultant for Mr. Dukakis, said that in a matter of hours, her company produced a response adver-

A Problem That's Getting Worse

How serious a problem do you think pollution is in the area where you live and in the country as a whole?

Serious, getting worse

Not so serious

Not much of a problem

In the local area

42% 29%

In the country

84% 11% 3%

Based on 1,515 telephone interviews nationwide conducted March 30-April 2

tisement which essentially said, "George Bush an environmentalist? You must be kidding!"

The advertisement never ran, aides to Mr. Dukakis said, because the candidate saw them as unnecessary: he did not think voters would believe that Mr. Bush had a better record than his on the environment.

Credit and Suspicion Mix

Despite Senate passage of the Clean Air Act last month, for which environmental groups give credit to the President, environmentalists accuse Mr. Bush of seeking to dilute the bill, and they are suspicious of his chief of staff, John H. Sununu, who says often that new environmental regulations must be measured against free market principles.

Mr. Bush, seeking to underscore his self-made image as an "environmental President," has scheduled several outdoor appearances this week, to be capped with a weekend of bonefishing in the Florida Keys. But he has still not convinced the public of his commitment.

In The Times/CBS poll, 18 percent of Americans said Mr. Bush had really made progress in protecting the environment, while 68 percent said he mainly just talked about it. Even so, people count on the President, with 57 percent saying they trust Mr. Bush to make the right decisions about the environment.

Since it is often difficult for voters to identify a strong environmental résumé, some analysts say there is room for politicians to portray themselves as more environmentalist than they really are.

"The patterns of voting this year in Congress are not really different than they have been in the past," said Samuel P. Hays, a professor of history at the University of Pittsburgh who specializes in environmental politics. "I'm skeptical that there's going to be a lot of change."

"They all want to be on the right side now," he added, but explained that behind the scenes, many lawmakers are "throwing their weight against a comprehensive Clean Air Bill."

A Call for Stronger Action

Jim Maddy, executive director of the League of Conservation Voters, a lobbying group for stronger environmental laws, said environmental groups need to be more aggressive in identifying which candidates are genuinely concerned about the environment.

"The politicians have beat us at what's supposed to be our own game," he said. "We've not moved quickly enough to set a standard, so each and every politician decides what it takes to be considered a politician who is good on the environment."

A case in point is in Illinois, where Senator Paul Simon, a Democrat, and Representative Lynn Martin, the Republican challenger for his Senate seat, are each claiming to be the friend of environmentalists.

Ms. Martin received a 60 percent rating by the League of Conservation Voters for her House votes on environmental issues in 1989, while Mr. Simon got 90 percent. But Ms. Martin insisted that she had a better record because Mr. Simon voted against the recent Clean Air Bill in the Senate and she pledged to support it when it comes to a vote in the House.

"It was the most important environmental vote of the decade," Ms. Martin said. "I think it will be very hard for sincere environmental groups to talk about him having any kind of record."

Mr. Simon pointed out that he supported amendments to strengthen the bill but said he could not vote for final passage because the legislation has a "crass regional tilt" that "unfairly penalizes" Illinois and other states that produce coal that is high in sulfur content.

'A Jill-Come-Lately'

Nevertheless, the Sierra Club is still supporting Mr. Simon. "Lynn Martin is a Jill-Come-Lately to the environment," the organization said in a news release. "She has not been a champion of the environment during her tenure in Congress."

Responding to the Sierra Club remarks, Ms. Martin said: "They prefer a Senator who voted against clean air? I doubt it."

Representative Henry A. Waxman, a California Democrat who is a leading advocate of environmental legislation, said the public's longtime concern about the issue sharpened markedly after the oil spill a year ago in Valdez, Alaska, was brought home to television viewers with nightly pictures of animals covered with oil.

"The issue has just moved higher up among those issues that people feel impatient and urgent about," Mr. Waxman said. "The public's getting pretty fed up. People are saying we need to do more in this area."

It should be no surprise that public

'Politicians have beat us at what's supposed to be our own game.'

indignation is being felt on Capitol Hill, said Senator Joseph I. Lieberman, a Connecticut Democrat. He told members of two environmental groups several days ago that his upset victory in 1988 over Senator Lowell P. Weicker Jr., a Republican, proved their political strength.

"I stand before you as the best example of what the green vote can do," he said.

A Factor in New Jersey Race

Strategists for Jim Florio, who defeated Representative Jim Courter to become Governor of New Jersey last year, say the Democratic winner's stand on the environment was a pivotal element in the race.

"There was a lot of reporting about the abortion issue having a lot of say in that race, but I think the environment was just as important," said Robert Squier, whose company produced several television advertisements that ridiculed the environmental record of Mr. Courter, a Republican.

Though not quite as incendiary an issue as abortion, the environment too transcends party lines. Of those who identified themselves as Democrats in the Times/CBS poll, 77 percent said the environment should be protected re-

gardless of the cost; so did 69 percent of Republicans.

But Democrats in Congress remain rated twice as high as Republicans in their votes on environmental issues, according to a study by the League of Conservation Voters, a nonpartisan lobbying group. This is a circumstance that Republicans are seeking to change.

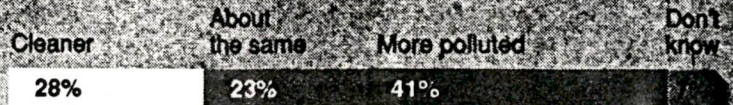
Senator Gordon J. Humphrey, a New Hampshire Republican who was elected in 1978, was for years regarded as foe of the traditional environmentalists, conservationists and young people. "Their views seemed extreme," he said, recalling "the era of the snail darter holding up construction of the Tellico Dam."

But, after he had favorable experiences on issues of concern to environmentalists, Mr. Humphrey's views have changed, and environmental groups count on his support.

"I could work with these groups," the Senator said he discovered. "I wasn't quite so suspicious of them."

The Environment and the Future

Twenty years from now, the air and water will be...



What the United States does to improve the environment...



Handling Problems

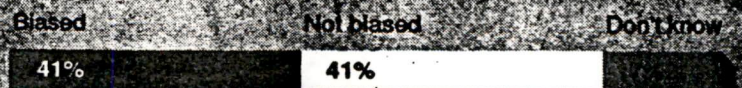
What sort of job is your state government doing in keeping the environment clean?



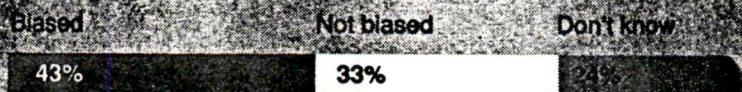
And how about the Federal Government?



Have state officials been biased in favor of industries that pollute?

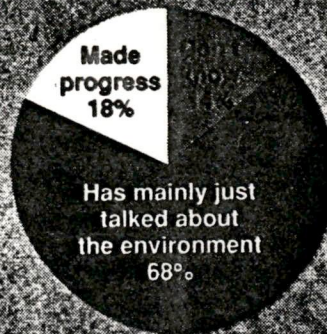


And how about officials in the Bush Administration?

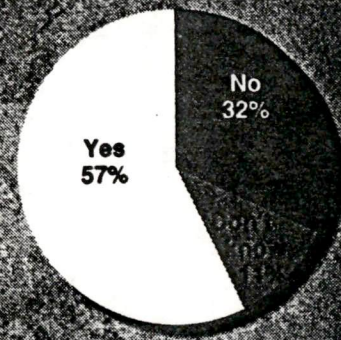


The Bush Record

So far, has George Bush really made progress in protecting the environment, or has he mainly just talked about it?



Do you trust George Bush to make the right decisions about the environment?



Based on a survey of 1,515 people interviewed by telephone March 30-April 2

The New York Times/April 17, 1990

Sununu vs. Reilly: Missing the Steak, Seeing the Sizzle

■ **Environment:** Forget the hype, the EPA chief is not being outmaneuvered by the White House chief of staff. Their clash is one of job descriptions.

By Gregg Easterbrook

WASHINGTON

The Washington pundit class loves tales of personality conflicts at senior levels. Speculating about who's knifing whom is more fun than addressing that annoyance, the issues. In this spirit, the recent, heavily hyped "clash" between White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu and Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Administrator William K. Reilly has been, to columnists and the shout-show circuit, just what the doctor ordered.

After all, there are several important environmental regulations in the works and they are, well, complicated. Proposed ecological legislation is so full of statistics, technical terms, mathematical formulas—you would practically have to read the stuff to have an opinion (unless you're booked on "The McLaughlin Group"). A clash of presidential advisers, on the other hand: What could make more fertile fields for instant punditry?

According to the conventional wisdom, Sununu is insidiously taking over Bush Administration environmental policy, hanging Reilly out to dry. Supposedly, this is because Sununu is a tree-hating anti-environmental monster and he has true access to the President, while Reilly is just a show horse. Reflecting this, a score card on insider Washington recently labeled Sununu a "walking toxic-waste dump." Meanwhile the preferred insider's catty comment about Reilly is an oblique reference to "the male model." Reilly is photogenic—can't say that of many policy types—and dresses sharply.

As is customary with conventional wisdom, the conventional wisdom about the Reilly-Sununu maneuvering is all wrong. First, though Sununu is to Reilly's political right, he has not sabotaged environmental policy. Second, Reilly has far more access to George Bush than is commonly understood—partly through personal connections. Third, a year as

EPA administrator is beginning to gray Reilly's hair (he is 50), which pretty much counts out any career as a model.

The belief that Sununu is "sabotaging" environmental legislation stems from the pundit class's horror at the thought of actually having to ponder the details of environmental initiatives. Thus, when Bush recently gave a speech on global warming to a United Nations affiliate, pundits fixated on the fact that Sununu admitted rewriting portions of the text.

The actual changes Sununu made were minor. He substituted "climate change" wherever "global warming" had appeared (some scientists consider the former phrase more precise) and struck out as premature a Reilly-backed call for consideration of a tax on emissions of carbon dioxide, the chief greenhouse gas. (Note to environmentalists: A carbon-dioxide tax would discourage use of fossil fuels and be a huge boost to nuclear power.)

But accounts of Sununu's rewrite barely mentioned the substance of the changes. They focused on the style aspects of one senior presidential adviser overruling another, and whether Reilly's star was declining.

Reports of the speech hoo-ha also skipped over the fact that Sununu did not challenge the idea that global warming is a serious prospect—that would have been true sabotage. Instead, Sununu objected to the notion that warming has been detected—which many scientists challenge, too. Similarly, when Sununu intervened last month to insert a loophole into some new wetlands regulations, the loophole got all the play; overlooked was that Sununu endorsed the regulations, which are going to make development of billions of U.S. acres far more difficult.

As recently as a few months ago, conventional wisdom was quite impressed that Reilly was a frequent visitor to the White House. In his first six months on the job he went there more than all previous EPA administrators combined. Reilly has been an animated participant in meetings of the Domestic Policy Council, despite not being a Cabinet secretary—that's slated to change as EPA is elevated to a Cabinet status—and he frequently lobbied Bush in person for environmental rules. After Sununu asserted himself, however, suddenly Reilly's access was declared all show.

A key missed clue: Reilly sees the President socially. Reilly and his wife
Please see SIZZLE, M8

Gregg Easterbrook is a contributing editor to Newsweek.

D.A. Limes 3/11/90

Sizzle

Continued from M3

have been guests at state dinners, gone to the theater with the Bushes and so on.

Reilly is on social terms with Bush partly because of a real-estate coincidence. After leaving the U.S. Senate in the early 1960s, Prescott Bush, the President's father, bought a house in Hobe Sound, Fla., a fashionable address north of Palm Beach. Near the Bush house was a home owned by Russell E. Train, a GOP Establishment figure and, until Reilly's selection, the only professional conservationist ever to head the EPA. The Bush and Train families became socially close; Train supported Bush in many campaigns.

Train was Reilly's mentor, the two worked together on many environmental projects—including the World Wildlife Fund. Reilly came to know Bush through Train, and when Bush asked Train's advice on who to pick for EPA, Train pushed for Reilly. The two hit it off—that Reilly was a Yale like Bush didn't hurt.

Bush's political quandary on the environment is that he must satisfy three constituencies: old-line Establishment Republicans of his father's cut, who are pro-conservation either through personal conviction or elitism; new-money pro-development Republicans, who are no longer reflexively anti-environment but won't abide any disruption of growth, and the general voting public, which, in 1992, may well judge Bush on whether his 1988 environmental promises are carried out.

The status of the new Clean Air Act, the most important environmental initiative in 10 years, is a gauge of how the politics of environmentalism are shaking out in the new Administration. The new act is designed to reduce urban smog, acid rain and toxic air emissions from factories dramatically.

At the very time the Washington press was going loopers over Sununu's tinkering with the global-warming speech, Reilly, White House Domestic Policy Adviser Roger B. Porter and Office of Management and Budget officer Robert E. Grady were engaged in extended negotiations aimed at heading off a potential collapse of the new Clean Air Act in the Senate.

There is already a version of the new act more or less finished in the House; Bush and most House environmentalists are on record as basically accepting it. The Senate bill, however, contained a number of provisions that White House analysts felt would lead to substantial consumer price increases but only infinitesimal ecological gains—mainly in categories where a large amount of pollution could be wiped out for an affordable price, but the final few percentage points might cost an arm and a leg.

For example, new cars emit only about 4% as much pollution as cars of 1970, when national emissions control began. Under the new act that figure will drop to about 2%, for a reasonable cost. Environmentalists were pushing for a further reduction to under 1%, which Administration analysts believed would add half again as much to the \$19-billion estimated cost.

As the Senate version of the Clean Air Act grew more expensive, word began to circulate that Bush might veto it. Perversely, this prospect was attractive to Democrats. If "the environmental President" vetoed the most important piece of environmental legislation in a decade, Democrats would have a perfect issue for the 1992 campaign.

Then last week, in a rare fit of civic responsibility, senators reached agreement with Reilly and the rest of the Administration team on a version of the bill acceptable both to Bush and most liberals.

Points of interest from the negotiations:

■ Sununu *didn't* try to slip loopholes into the new bill. He has, in fact, favored several ecological advances. Sununu is convinced acid rain is for real. As governor of New Hampshire he backed state legislation requiring a 50% cut in industrial emissions of sulfur dioxide, the chief acid-rain precursor. That bill has since been copied by many states, and a roughly 50% reduction nationally is embodied in both versions of the Clean Air Act.

■ Both environmental and industry lobbyists have expressed outrage over the Senate compromise—an indication that it does a good job of splitting the middle.

Sununu may continue to be painted as the heavy throughout the Bush Administration's environmental maneuverings. Because the President's chief of staff is a political operative, it is typical for him to be used in the bad-cop role or as a lightning rod on economic issues. (Remember Donald T. Regan?) Reilly is showing loyalty to his President by pressuring him to support dramatic environmental legislation: If Bush doesn't come through here, on one of his few specific campaign promises, there could be hell to pay in 1992.

Whatever else Sununu is, he is a political animal who understands this equation. "Sabotaging" environmental reform would only sabotage Bush's chances for reelection, and Sununu is not that stupid. □



RICHARD MILHOLLAND / for The Times

VERSTANDIG AND ASSOCIATES, INC.

1455 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W., SUITE 1180

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20004

(202) 628-4800

February 21, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN H. SUNUNU

FROM:

LEE L. VERSTANDIG *lee*

SUBJECT:

Reflections on the Department of the Environment

As you may recall, back in early July, 1988, I wrote to the then-Vice President, through Craig Fuller, recommending reasons why the Vice President might come out in favor of the creation of a Department of the Environment (I forwarded a copy of that letter to you). For whatever reasons it was decided then to hold off on endorsing such an idea, it is now clear that it's time has come and the President has been most forthright in his support of pending legislation to create such a department.

My arguments back in 1988 for the creation of such a department were in part some of the same reasons currently being aired in support of the pending legislation, including having the President's environmental spokesman on the same ministerial level with other governments, having the President's environmental spokesman both at the Cabinet table and at other policy levels at the White House, as well as given the President's commitment to be an environmental President, adding stature to EPA, internationally, in the years ahead.

One of my other principle reasons for recommending the creation of a Cabinet-level Department of the Environment was as a result of my experiences as Acting Administrator at EPA. Because EPA has been mandated since 1970 as essentially a regulatory agency, it has had rare opportunities to be pro-active or to really develop long-range environmental policy considerations. (You and I know this only too well when we worked together with NGA on the acid rain issue in 1984). The establishment as a department should provide for an Office of Policy Development which would assist the President in longer-range policy considerations which has not been the case for EPA in the past. This would provide a very essential dimension for the President.

During the past few weeks I have been concerned with the perception in the Congress, and especially among many Republicans, that the Administration is anxious to move the pending legislation (S.2006 and H.R.3847) quickly to enactment and have it signed into law by Earth Day. I was pleased to learn from Ed Rogers that this perception is not correct. While clearly enactment of such legislation on the 20th Anniversary of Earth Day would be a timely achievement for the President, my concerns are that there appears to have been very little careful thought and attention to the organization, structure and management of the proposed Department of the Environment. The pending legislation itself is vague and recent testimony before the Senate Government Operations Committee has certainly not focused on those aspects.

Given my previous association with EPA and the commitments of the President to environmental matters, I have more than a casual interest in hoping that a new Cabinet-level department would have a well thought out structure and organization which would really be able to assist the President in these important areas in the future. For those reasons, permit me to share with you some of my concerns, observations and suggestions.

The pending Senate legislation (S.2006) speaks to the establishment of not more than ten Assistant Secretaries in such a department, but lists appropriate areas of their responsibilities to include some 13 areas, many of which presently exist at EPA. Clearly, consideration should be given to the consolidation or even omission of areas in the new departmental structure. Three important areas which warrant Assistant Secretary or office-level consideration but are not included are:

o Congressional Relations

While this office has been extremely small in the past and relatively ineffective, in a department structure it will be far more important, especially if the department is to carry out prospective policy planning and coordination with the Congress.

o Business Liaison

During my tenure at EPA, given some of the problems which beset the Agency, an Office of Business Liaison was created within the Office of External Affairs which served as a link between the private sector and business interests and those necessary environmental interests and concerns within the Agency. In recent years, this office has been reduced in scope and responsibility and is now only a part of the intergovernmental operation. While ten years ago, the business community may have been major polluters and violators of environmental regulations,

today, most businesses and corporations seek to be in compliance and to interface with the appropriate Federal departments or agencies in planning how they might participate to improve the environmental life around them. Presently, it is very difficult for corporations and businesses, large and small, to communicate with EPA and especially to be able to sit at the table and discuss their role, problems and opportunities. However, more and more we are counting on them to work cooperatively in viable private/public partnerships to improve the environment and quality of life. Other countries, such as Germany, have developed a much more responsive private sector relationship with the environmental branch of government.

o Field Coordination

EPA is clearly a decentralized Federal agency which by its nature evolves much of its authority and responsibilities to the regions where the problems exist and the solutions are required. While clearly this decentralized concept should be maintained in a new department, more careful consideration should be given to the structure and coordinating responsibilities of that office vis a vis the new Secretary and the appropriate Assistant Secretaries and program areas.

In my opinion, there are several other areas which warrant further consideration in the organizational planning and management structure of the new department. They include:

o Intergovernmental Relations

While this office was established during my tenure in 1982 within the Office of External Affairs, it has been significantly downgraded in recent years. Given the increasing roles and responsibilities in environmental matters being delegated to state and local levels of government by the Congress, serious consideration should be given to the future role and importance of this office. Additionally, GAO, in their testimony before the Senate Government Operations Committee on February 8, indicated "that EPA needs to develop more effective working relationships with state and local governments, who are to a great extent responsible for carrying out federal environmental programs".

o International Activities

Clearly, given the President's commitments to the environment and the leadership that EPA has sought to date in this area, the Office of International Activities

in the new department will be most important. In the past, this office has played a minor role at EPA. During my tenure, this office was strengthened and grew under Bill Ruckelshaus and Lee Thomas. Bill Reilly has elevated the senior official in that area to that of Associate Administrator status. However, to date, this office has not yet been developed into the kind of office that would be required to assist in playing a more major leadership and supporting international role for the new department in the years ahead.

- o Given the mandate to create a Department of the Environment, there are several other offices within the Executive Branch which serve environmental concerns and might warrant consolidation consideration.

During my tenure at EPA, the Office of Enforcement and Compliance was created separate from the Office of the General Counsel, because there was clearly a need for greater responsiveness to enforcement and compliance. This required increased coordination and cooperation with other relevant departments in the Executive Branch such as Justice and Interior. It seems appropriate that consideration might now be given within the new department to transferring other offices of the Executive Branch which have coordinating responsibilities for environmental matters. These might include the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), several offices within the Department of the Interior and even the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ).

From my own experiences, it is evident that some of EPA's problems stem from poor management and organization. We would not want to see those or similar problems continue to exist under a newly-created department and thereby jeopardize the effectiveness of the department and in assisting the President in this important area. In fact, GAO, in August, 1988, produced a major management review of EPA which set forth a number of management needs which should be considered in any review and subsequent recommendations regarding a new department. They include:

- 1) better means for measuring the effectiveness of its programs;
- 2) better financial and other management information systems;
- 3) better internal controls; and
- 4) better organizational structure.

Title V of the pending legislation (S.2006) calls for the creation of a Commission which would examine the nature and scope of the department in terms of organization, management, regulation and governmental service delivery and submit its interim recommendations to the President and Congress in no later than 12

months and a final report in no later than 24 months. During the time it would take for the Commission to investigate and make even its interim report, the new department would essentially function as the old agency, but now known as a department. Consequently, the old and potential problems of management, program and policy planning and organization would be in flux at a time when the President would need the proper departmental structure and support to set forth and carry out his environmental agenda. It would seem more appropriate that if the Commission recommendations are required after enactment of the legislation, that they be completed and submitted to the President and Congress in a much shorter period of time -- say 3 to 6 months.

I hope that some of my thoughts, observations and suggestions will be helpful to you and your staff as you proceed with carrying out the President's intention to create a new Department of the Environment. Please let me know if I can be of any further assistance. This is an area in which I have a professional dedication to EPA and personal interest in assisting the President.

GOVERNOR SUNUNU'S
NEW HAMPSHIRE ENVIRONMENTAL HIGHLIGHTS

ACID RAIN

- o Created New Hampshire's Task Force on Acid Rain to recommend solutions to the acid rain problem and propose workable legislation. Brought together legislative, business and environmental (Audubon Society, Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forest) leaders.
- o Instrumental in New Hampshire passing one of the first acid rain bills in the country which imposed on itself the acid rain program we expected of others.
- o Published now famous article in Issues in Science and Technology for the National Academy of Sciences.

AIR RESOURCES

- o Enacted the inspection and maintenance program for automobiles located in congested areas of southern New Hampshire.

DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL SERVICES

(CONSOLIDATION AND COORDINATION OF STATE ENVIRONMENTAL AGENCIES)

- o Spearheaded the environmental reorganization which consolidated several totally separate boards and state agencies into one consolidated environmental service agency.
- o Revitalized the Council on Resources and Development (CORD) -- a combined organization of state boards and agencies -- to direct natural resource and environmental policy issues for state government.
- o Through CORD adopted overall policy guidance for the state for responsible growth, natural resources and environmental protection.

WATER RESOURCES

- o Proposed to the Legislature a groundwater identification program to locate and categorize all of our key groundwater resources in the state.
- o When the Legislature was unable to act, proposed by Executive Order a moratorium on docks and moorings on the lakes and great ponds as a direct action to preserve their quality and aesthetic value.

- o When EPA reduced funding for sewage treatment plants, negotiated a program for 12 cities to come into compliance with discharge requirements by utilizing primarily local and state funds.
- o Proposed and received passage of the first New Hampshire rivers protection bill which called for citizen groups within the state to monitor rivers for special protection based on each one's unique qualities. A key element of this was local participation and control over the regulatory program required to protect those unique qualities.
- o As Chairman of the Salem Planning Board, sought passage of the first wetlands-based zoning in New Hampshire and continually opposed filling in of streams and important wetlands.

NATURAL RESOURCES

- o Oversaw the formation of the Land Conservation Investment Program, which has achieved protection of 80,000 acres of land in New Hampshire.
- o Ensured that New Hampshire was able to purchase a large block of land from Diamond International. New Hampshire was the only state to purchase land for further preservation which the paper company suddenly put property on the market in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and New York.
- o Supported construction of a bypass through the Town of Conway rather than within the national forest in spite of a local referendum which indicated that more than 2/3 of the citizens demanded the forest be chosen.
- o Oversaw the successful construction of the Franconia Notch parkway which is a landmark highway involving extensive features to improve park facilities and ensure natural resource protection as well. The project has won awards for its architecture, engineering, landscaping, bicycle path and sensitivity of design.

(DICTATED BUT NOT READ)

BOND DONATELLI

I N C O R P O R A T E D

February 20, 1990

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Honorable
Governor John Sununu
Chief of Staff

FROM: Rich Bond 
Bond Donatelli, Inc.

RE: Environmental Assignment for Vice President Quayle

I want to propose a short term assignment be given to President Quayle by the President for the formulation of a Bush Agenda for the new Cabinet level EPA.

Obviously Reilly, the media and environmentalists will hate the idea. However, given the spate of recent stories that indicate Reilly and others at the EPA are willing to take on the President, you, Dick Darman and others to further "their agenda", isn't it time for the President to articulate his agenda?

In addition, you are aware of the problems the Vice President continues to experience in his public standing. Acceptance of him by the voters will be a multi-year process. Why not attempt to address two problems simultaneously by getting the Vice President involved in the issue of the '90s and also properly advance the President's agenda?

It is possible that the President will sign the new Department into law by April 22, 1990 (Earth Day). Announce that the Vice President will chair a two month review process to be composed of representatives of EPA, Energy, Interior, Transportation, the Council on Environmental Quality, and the White House. Their task will be to assemble input from Congress, the business community, the labor community, and the environmental community.

They will then issue a "Bush Blueprint" for the new Department that specifically outlines priorities and tangible goals to be achieved by a Bush Department of the Environment. This would call for a balance between environmental and economic interests while still issuing a call to all Americans for a greater environmental consciousness. Hopefully, the results will do just that, as well

as forcing Reilly back onto the team and raising the Vice President's positive ratings. In order for the Environmental head to hit the ground running, a thorough review of environmental issues should begin immediately, something akin to a transition team report.

Reaction?

He's Against Acid Rain; He's Also the Enemy, Say Many Environmentalists; He's John Sununu

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—When it comes to handling environmental issues, which of the following is the real John Sununu:

Is it the John Sununu who as governor of New Hampshire helped pass acid-rain legislation and create the state's version of the Environmental Protection Agency, and who as White House chief of staff fought for measures in the Bush administration's clean-air bill to cut smokestack emissions?

Or is it the John Sununu who championed a New Hampshire ski-resort expansion despite the concerns of regulators and environmentalists, and who in Washington has slowed the drive for attacking global warming and has become the environmental movement's chief enemy?

Mr. Sununu is both of these contradictory figures, a look at his record and a lengthy interview suggest. The chief of staff's views on the environment have become a heated topic because environmental groups have accused him—most recently in a letter to President Bush—of obstructing the president's environmental initiatives and "driving a wedge" between the president and conservationists.

Complex Mix

Mr. Sununu's environmental record is a mix of activism on some issues combined with skepticism about many stands taken by environmentalists. Unlike some conservatives, Mr. Sununu accepts the need for government action to protect the environment and has advocated spending public and private funds to meet environmental goals. But he also maintains that efforts to protect the environment shouldn't block economic development and that other government officials often don't demand sufficient scientific proof that environmental proposals are feasible before agreeing to them.

"You don't just take actions that are emotionally attuned to an environmental agenda that don't have a real net impact on the environment or that have a trivial impact at unreasonable cost to jobs," says Mr. Sununu.

He contends his views don't arise from a "pro-business" view. "The fact is that business is not the issue. Jobs are the issue. There's a subtle difference. Because if the business community doesn't find a climate in this country that they can operate in, they will leave and go someplace else. So business doesn't lose. They can do business elsewhere. What we do end up losing is American workers who lose their jobs."



John Sununu

President Bush endorsed Mr. Sununu's environmental views, praising his role in just-completed negotiations with the Senate on a clean-air bill. Mr. Bush said of Mr. Sununu's critics: "They're crazy. I say they're wrong. . . . I say take a look at this compromise in the landmark clean-air legislation."

Environmentalists and conservationists who have watched Mr. Sununu over the years generally consider him a formidable—but not implacable—force. "In a general sense, he was very good on certain issues but not somebody I would characterize as generally strong on the environment," says Stephen Blackmer, director of conservation programs at the Appalachian Mountain Club and an experienced New Hampshire environmental lobbyist.

'Tough Nut'

As New Hampshire's governor from 1982 to 1988, Mr. Sununu's most significant environmental stands were his support for tough acid-rain provisions and preservation of some scenic New Hampshire lands. And despite his current tensions with environmentalists, Mr. Sununu, an engineer by training, sometimes worked in tandem with them in those areas. "He's a tough nut to get across to," says Paul Bofinger, head of the Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests, who worked with Mr. Sununu on land preservation. But, he adds, "once you've had a chance to get to him directly, a lot of good things can happen."

But environmentalists were dismayed by Mr. Sununu's unabashed support for the Seabrook nuclear-power plant. And many were disgruntled with regulatory officials he appointed, saying the appointees favored developers who were thriving in the state's booming economy.

Mr. Sununu "was part of the '80s go-go, develop-the-state attitude," maintains Paul McEachern, a Democrat who ran against Mr. Sununu. "His idea of open space was a parking lot at K mart."

Early in his term as governor, Mr. Sununu combined several disparate agencies into a single, cabinet-level Department of Environmental Services—a move environmentalists generally applauded. He says he also became convinced that acid rain, which comes mainly from sulfur dioxide spewed out of coal-burning power plants, was a true threat to forests and waters. Equally important, Mr. Sununu says technology was available to scrub sulfur dioxide out of smokestack emissions at a "relatively small cost to society."

So he helped enact a law mandating a 50% cut in acid-rain emissions in New Hampshire, a step later copied by other states. And as head of a National Governors' Association task force, he championed a resolution calling for cutting millions of tons of emissions nationwide.

Pushing an acid-rain law in New Hampshire wasn't politically tough for Mr. Sununu, because the state, like others in the Northeast, considers itself a victim of acid of acid rain, which comes primarily from outside the state. But one big utility plant in the state was affected, and cutting emissions "cost the ratepayers money," says Ned Helme, executive director of the Alliance for Acid Rain Control, who previously

was the governors' association staff member following acid rain.

Near the end of his term, Mr. Sununu combined forces with conservationists to pass legislation creating a state lands trust—funded with \$18 million its first year—that empowers the state to buy and preserve environmentally sensitive lands. And he lined up funds so the state could buy from developers a 45,000-acre tract of remote, pristine land in northern New Hampshire.

But environmentalists remain dismayed by Mr. Sununu's staunch support for expanding a ski resort on Loon Mountain that federal regulators have decided needs further study. Mr. Sununu maintains the project is being opposed by environmentalists "not so much from a pro-environmental aspect but an anti-growth aspect." He has battled the EPA to win for states more flexibility to proceed with construction projects that take over wetlands by creating offsetting wetlands elsewhere.

In the White House, Mr. Sununu has continued advocating steps to battle acid rain. Last year, he sided with EPA chief William Reilly to include in a proposed clean-air bill requirements for a 10 million-ton cut in sulfur-dioxide emissions. And his lobbying was important in Mr. Bush's decision to insert into the bill a "cap" to keep emissions down.

But Mr. Sununu isn't similarly prepared

to combat global warming—a process under which, environmentalists and many government scientists contend, gases from burning fossil fuels are trapping heat on the earth's surface. Mr. Sununu argues that combating these gases is a far more costly proposition because it requires cutting use of coal, oil and natural gas and that scientific evidence isn't in to prove the problem is serious enough to justify such radical steps.

"If you're going to make a trillion-dollar decision, if you're going to make a decision that's going to affect a million jobs, you ought to make it on the basis of what you know and not on the basis of what your emotions may lead you to feel," he says.

So the administration is supporting a billion-dollar research budget. But Mr. Sununu recently vetoed language other officials were advocating in a presidential speech that, he says, advocated policies to "cut off the added use of coal, oil and natural gas."

Environmental groups attacked Mr. Sununu for that. But noting that he also tangled with environmental groups in New Hampshire over nuclear power and hydroelectric projects, Mr. Sununu responds: "Now I guess with this global warming I'm getting in trouble because I support coal, oil and natural gas. They'll have to tell us some day what they support."

**Entergy
Services**Entergy Services, Inc.
1776 I Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
Tel 202 785 8444

ENTERGY CORPORATION POSITION PAPER

REGARDING USE OF NAPAP VERSION II DATA

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this position paper is to explain the importance of using the National Acid Precipitation Assessment Program ("NAPAP Version II") data base to decide both the structure and limits of the acid rain title of the proposed Clean Air Act Amendments of 1989. It is critical that the Administration and Congress use the same data base in assessing whether proposals are "emissions neutral" and it is critical that the NAPAP Version II data base be used in making those decisions.

ONLY NAPAP VERSION II WILL BE RELEVANT UNDER THE LAW

The reason that NAPAP Version II should be use is two fold: First, S. 1630 specifies that the NAPAP Version II data base will be used to allocate allowances and impose civil and criminal penalties for non-compliance. As soon as the bill becomes law, no other data base (including EPA's) will be relevant.

It is absurd that the Senate's decisions about whether to adopt various proposals should depend on EPA estimates based on EPA's data base, when EPA's data base will become wholly irrelevant as soon as the proposals become law. Under S. 1630, Utilities will receive allowances according to their units' emission rates and fuel consumption, and the emission rates are defined by reference only to NAPAP Version II, not EPA's data. According to section 402(o),

"the term 'actual 1985 emission rate' for electric utility units means the actual average sulfur dioxide or nitrogen oxides emission rate in units of pounds per million Btu as reported in the NAPAP Emissions Inventory, Version 2, National Utility Reference File. For non-utility units, the term 'actual 1985 emission rate' means the annual average sulfur dioxide or nitrogen oxides emission rate in units of pounds per million Btu as reported in the NAPAP Emissions Inventory, Version 2."

Furthermore, it is patently unfair and unwise to subject the utilities to civil and criminal penalties based on NAPAP Version II when the basis of enacting the bill is EPA's data base. Under Title VI of S. 1630, utilities will be made subject to both criminal and civil penalties for not complying with the substantive provisions of Title IV dealing with acid rain. The pertinent data for determining whether the utilities are complying will be NAPAP Version II, not EPA's estimates.

NAPAP Version II is available now. It thus makes no sense to enact a bill on the basis of a different set of data and estimates. Entergy encourages the Administration and Congress to use and rely on the NAPAP Version II data in debating the proposals before Congress and to disregard the EPA data, which will have no meaning when the bill is passed.

USING NAPAP VERSION II WILL FACILITATE A QUICK COMPROMISE

Another important reason to rely on NAPAP Version II is that it should facilitate quick resolution of the problems created by relying on EPA's data. There difference in the estimated level of emissions that would be permitted under NAPAP Version II and EPA's data is between 800,000 and 1,000,000 tons. Allocating the differential in an equitable manner could eliminate major opposition to the bill as it currently is drafted.

The objective of both S. 1630 and S. 1490 is to accomplish a 10 million ton reduction in emissions from the 1980 level. Pursuant to NAPAP Version II, once the 10 million ton reduction is achieved, there should be approximately 9.7 million tons (low end estimates) of emissions permitted from the utility industry. EPA's estimate of allowable utility emissions is approximately 800,000 tons less, at 8.9 million tons (although it is noteworthy that EPA acknowledges a margin of error of $\pm 400,000$ tons). Allocating the differential to the appropriate groups of utilities would eliminate most of the opposition to either bill.

Important Senators and groups of utilities have put forth various proposals, which, if accepted, would save the electric consumers of the country billions of dollars and reduce greatly the opposition to the bills. EPA has argued that those proposals would result in less than 10 million tons of reductions. However, the cumulative effect of several leading proposals would result in an emissions increase of less than the differential between EPA's estimates and NAPAP Version II estimates.

For example, the Class of '85 proposal (February 23, 1990) would provide much needed relief to the clean utilities in the nation, yet would increase emissions by less than 200,000 tons. Similarly, a recent proposal by Senator Byrd on behalf of the utilities with emissions above 1.2 lbs/mmBtu (Byrd III, February 21, 1990) would increase emissions to the units with emission rates of above 1.2 lbs/mmBtu, but would increase emissions by about 350,000 tons annually. The combination is only 550,000 tons, which would be considered acceptable under NAPAP Version II, but not under EPA's estimates.

CONCLUSION

Congress should rely on the NAPAP Version II data base in enacting the acid rain title of the Clean Air Act Amendments to be fair to the utility industry. If the industry is to be subject to criminal and civil penalties based on compliance with NAPAP Version II data, the bill should be based on the same data. Furthermore, by properly using the allowances available under NAPAP Version II data, the sponsors of the bill can garner critical support for the bill and save electric consumers billions of dollars annually.

Bush official urges individual efforts to save environment

Providence
Journal

2/27/90

By **PETER LORD**
Journal-Bulletin Staff Writer

PROVIDENCE — President Bush's top environmental adviser said here yesterday that he believes the environment is substan-



PUBLIC AFFAIRS CONFERENCE

tially better off than it was 20 years ago when the first Earth Day helped raise the nation's environmental conscience.

Now, said the official, Michael R. Deland, chairman of President Bush's Council on Environmental Quality, it's up to individuals to make additional efforts.

"If we are to solve our domestic problems," Deland said, "if we are to become international leaders, (we) will have to change our lifestyles — rather radically."

Deland, previously the outspoken New

Turn to **DELAND**, Page A-4

Deland

Continued from Page One

England regional administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, spoke at an afternoon press conference and was the keynote speaker last night at the opening of the 10th annual Providence Journal/Brown University Public Affairs Conference, this year titled "Our Fragile Earth: Strategies for Survival."

As expected, he was asked many questions about Mr. Bush's true commitment to the environment, and the influence of the President's chief of staff, former New Hampshire Gov. John H. Sununu, who many environmentalists say opposes their cause.

Deland argued that much of the criticism of the Bush administration has been unfair.

Mr. Bush is committed to the environment, Deland said. He has doubled the staff and budget for the Council on Environmental Quality, taken steps to ban asbestos, increased financing for parks acquisitions and made commitments to study global warming, Deland said.

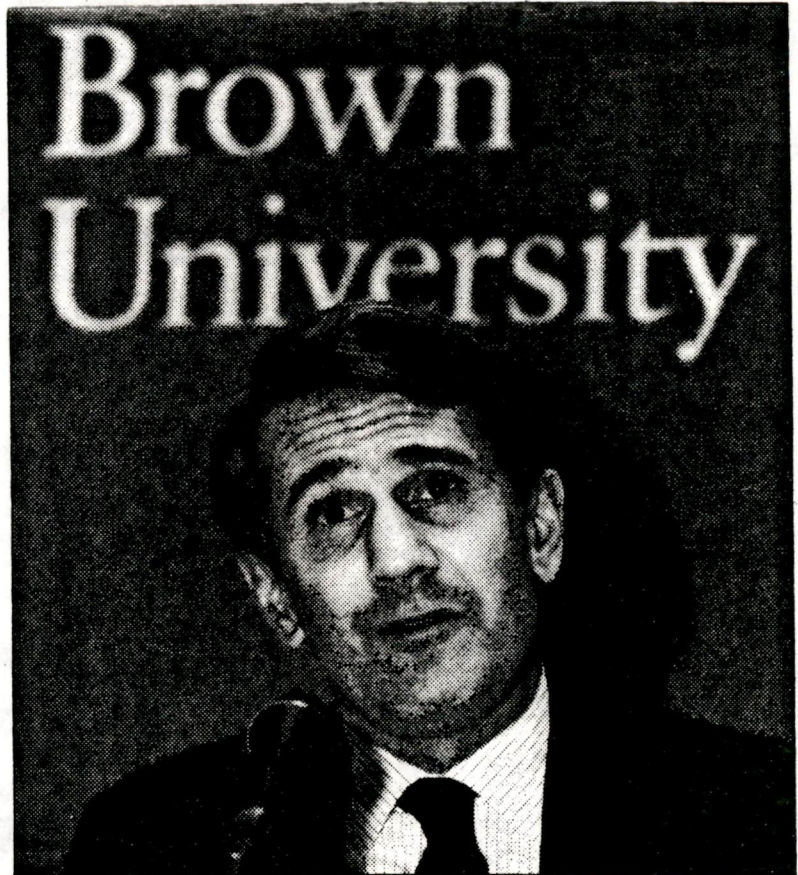
"He would like very much to be known as the environmental president, and he knows that is not a title bestowed but one that is earned," Deland said.

And Sununu isn't the negative force he's made out to be, Deland said. For example, he said, news accounts that Sununu watered down a recent major speech by Mr. Bush on global warming were simply wrong.

Deland said that as the EPA regional administrator, he clashed with Sununu on development issues. But he said he fought with most of the governors in New England on similar issues.

Sununu, he said, had a solid environmental record as New Hampshire governor, taking initiatives on toxic cleanups, acid rain and wetlands preservation.

Deland insisted he is still personally opposed to construction of the Big River Reservoir in Coventry and West Greenwich. He said a new memorandum of agreement on a national wetlands policy announced recently by the Bush administration



—Journal-Bulletin Photo by FRIEDA SQUIRES

MICHAEL R. DELAND, chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality, speaks last night at the Providence Journal/Brown University Public Affairs Conference.

would not reopen the door for Big River.

Deland delivered a letter from President and Barbara Bush to the volunteers and staff at Save the Bay, declaring them one "bright point of light for the day" — part of the President's program seeking "a thousand points of light" during his administration.

Deland said new environmental initiatives by the Bush administration will be based on better planning than in the past, when too many conflicting efforts were made to clean up one part of the environment at the expense of another. But he said past successes shouldn't be overlooked:

"We saved the bald eagle from DDT. We cut airborne lead by 97 percent, particulates by 60 percent, carbon monoxide by about 40 percent.

"We built new sewage treatment

plants to serve millions of people in hundreds of communities. Our rivers and streams, several of which literally caught fire in the 1970s, are once again fishable and swimmable. Energy use is down while economic productivity is up. We have developed not only the laws and institutions, but the scientific capability and public awareness sufficient to guarantee a much greater sensitivity to the environmental impacts of government and private sector actions.

"What's more, we have made this progress while both our population and economy have blossomed. And that's the most important lesson learned since Earth Day 1970: We've broken the presumed linkage between economic growth and pollution."

The conference will continue for seven more sessions during the next three weeks. The next session will be at 8 p.m. tomorrow at Brown's Salomon Center for Teaching. Stephen H. Schneider, head of the Interdisciplinary Climate Systems Section at the National Center for

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editorial-hope

SUNUNNEWS

Environmental organizations haven't had a really good whipping boy since former Secretary of Interior James Watt quit in 1983. But things are looking up: White House Chief of Staff John Sununu may qualify as a suitable successor for their wrath.

The National Wildlife Federation recently put out a newsletter entitled "Sununews." It carried a drawing of Sununu wielding a chain saw, along with an announcement that the newsletter would be published "each time Mr. Sununu pulls out his chief-of-staff chainsaw and cuts down progress toward strong environmental policy."

What got the environmentalists' dander up was Sununu's recent statement that "faceless bureaucrats on the environmental side" were trying to stop Americans from using coal, gas and oil. That was in response to reports that he had prevailed over Environmental Protection Agency chief William Reilly and toned down a speech by President Bush on global warming.

That soon was followed by reports that Sununu had a hand in weakening a federal agreement to protect wetlands. He also has been accused of trying to weaken clean-air legislation pending in Congress.

The Wildlife Federation and seven other environmental organizations sent a letter to Bush protesting that Sununu intervened in the three matters in ways "that not only adversely affected the environment, but also broke pledges you have made to the American public."

The White House doesn't seem particularly perturbed. Bush's press secretary, Marlin Fitzwater, responded to the letter by saying that the chief of staff prepares options for the president but "the president has made the decisions on environmental policies. They represent his (Bush's) point of view and his priorities."

There is some speculation that Bush is not unhappy that the environmentalists are after Sununu: As long as the fire is directed at his chief of staff, Bush himself is less of a target for environmentalists, whose demands often are extreme.

In any event, his critics will find Sununu a formidable opponent. He does his homework. He's also less apt than James Watt to shoot himself in the foot.

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ENVIRONMENTAL ROADBLOCK IN THE WHITE HOUSE

GEORGE BUSH may have promised to be an 'environmental president,' but John Sununu never promised he'd be an environmental chief of staff.

The powerful Sununu is emerging as the crucial anti-environmentalist in the Bush White House.

Sununu has repeatedly blocked strong regulations to fulfill Bush's campaign promise of 'no net loss' of fragile wetlands. This week, Sununu took all the punch out of a speech Bush gave on global warming.

As a presidential candidate in 1988, Bush said, 'Those who think we're powerless to do anything about the 'greenhouse effect' are forgetting about the 'White House effect' . . . We will talk about global warming.'

Bush did not literally talk about 'global warming' even once when he addressed a conference on the subject earlier this week. He spoke more circumspectly about 'global climate change.'

CHILL ON GLOBAL WARMING

And the only 'White House effect' in evidence was that of Sununu's editing pencil. He watered down a firm pledge of U.S. action that reportedly had been urged by everybody from Secretary of State James Baker to Environmental Protection Agency chief William Reilly.

'We all know that human activities are changing the atmosphere in unexpected and in unprecedented ways,' Bush said in his non-committal speech. 'Much remains to be done. Many questions remain to be answered.'

Certainly, many scientists have begun to question how much the global climate really is warming due to emissions such as carbon dioxide and some have asked whether such a troubling phenomenon exists.

But the White House battles over the environment also have an ideological cast. The combative Sununu apparently views environmentalists as lefties cloaked in green. He believes they are intent on strangling growth and undermining free markets.

The attitude was captured in comments Sununu made last Sunday on ABC's 'This Week with David Brinkley.'

'There's a little tendency by some of the faceless bureaucrats on the environmental side to try and create a policy in this country that cuts off our use of coal, oil and natural gas,' Sununu said. 'I don't think that's what this country wants. I don't think America wants not to be able to use their automobiles.'

Such comments sound less like those of the environmental president and more like the openly anti-environmentalist rhetoric of former President Reagan and Governor Deukmejian.

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IDLE BASES NEED A CLEAN SWEEP

CLEANING UP pollution takes more than words, however eloquent the words may be. And lately, with John Sununu, the White House chief of staff, standing between the speech writers and the president, even the words don't have the ring they once did.

Sununu intervened before President Bush delivered a talk about global warming. A call for action in the original draft was replaced by a proposal to study the matter further. A second example became public when Sununu sharply reduced the scope of an agreement to protect wetlands.

Most recently, Governor Cecil Andrus of Idaho, who banned oil drilling beneath 750,000 acres off the California coast while he was President Carter's secretary of the interior, protested that Bush's plans to clean up pollution on military bases and weapons plants are far too modest.

"IF YOU MAKE a mess, you clean it up," Andrus said, speaking for the National Governors Association. "We're saying that goes for the federal government as well as private citizens."

The problem is especially urgent now, when the administration is seeking to close dozens of military bases, including six in the Bay Area. If bases are cleaned up, they can be converted to civilian uses and become assets for the community and the local economy.

But if the federal government fails to restore the properties adequately, abandoned bases may instead become sources of blight and despair.



NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION NEWS

Ed Rogers

PUBLIC AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT, 1400 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036-2266 (202) 797-6850

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
February 21, 1990

FOR MORE INFORMATION, CONTACT:
Charles Miller (print), 202-797-6853
Phil Kavits (broadcast), 202-797-6852

ENVIRONMENTALISTS BLAST SUNUNU IN LETTER TO BUSH

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- Several leading environmental organizations today delivered to President Bush a letter that sharply criticizes White House advisor John Sununu's role in weakening the Administration's environmental policy.

On three separate occasions within the last two weeks, according to the groups, Sununu became personally involved in major environmental policy decisions, and in each case his involvement led to decisions that will harm the environment and violate the President's pledges to the American public.

These decisions include changes in a speech on global warming that will result in continued federal inaction and delay; active efforts to sidetrack an important agreement between two federal agencies on wetlands protection; and ongoing efforts to weaken the President's proposed legislation on clean air.

-more-

In the letter, the groups requested "an emergency meeting" with the President to clarify the Administration's policies on the environment and to "chart a consistent environmental course for your Administration that your advisors and the public can both understand and enthusiastically support."

Joining the National Wildlife Federation (NWF) in sending the letter were the National Audubon Society, Defenders of Wildlife, the Environmental Policy Institute/Friends of the Earth, the Izaak Walton League, the Natural Resources Defense Council, the Sierra Club, and the Wilderness Society.

"Either Gov. Sununu is marching to a different drummer on the President's stated environmental goals, or he is undercutting these goals with the President's approval," said NWF President Jay Hair. "In either case, we urgently need to see the President to straighten out the inconsistencies and clear the air."

The National Wildlife Federation is the nation's largest conservation organization, with more than 5.6 million members and supporters and 52 affiliate organizations nationwide. A private, not-for-profit organization, the Federation was founded in 1936.

February 21, 1990

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Over the past two weeks, your Chief of Staff, John Sununu, has personally intervened in three major anti-environmental actions. In each case, Governor Sununu's activities led directly to environmental policy statements by your Administration, which not only adversely affected the environment, but also broke pledges you have made to the American public. Governor Sununu is reported by the New York Times to have said he "sees it as his mission to prevent both (you) and Mr. Reilly from being led astray"

The direct, personal involvement of your Chief of Staff in reversing your pledges is driving a wedge between you and conservationists. As a result, serious questions are being raised about the direction of environmental policy under your Administration.

As the leaders of the country's major environmental organizations, we request an emergency meeting with you to clarify the direction in which you are headed on the environment.

The specific issues needing clarification in which the Chief of Staff was personally involved include:

- * Global Warming. Your speech to the Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change on February 5, edited by Governor Sununu, reverses your campaign pledge to "use the White House effect to deal with the Greenhouse Effect". Instead of promising action and world leadership in solving this global atmospheric crisis, your speech outlined a plan of more U.S. research but raised philosophical objections to real action. Your Press Secretary, Mr. Fitzwater, is quoted in The Washington Times as saying you have changed your mind about action.

- * Wetlands Protection. All environmentalists were heartened by your campaign pledge to end the dramatic destruction of wetlands by implementing a governmental policy of "no net loss" for these biological treasures. For over a year the Domestic Policy Council had responsibility for implementing the policy but took no action. When the Army Corps of Engineers and the Environmental Protection Agency proposed a joint agreement as

The Honorable George Bush
February 21, 1990
Page 2

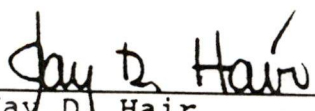
their first step in implementing the "no net loss" policy, Governor Sununu forced such radical revisions that the final document actually weakens wetlands protection. The delay by the Domestic Policy Council, coupled with the step backward on the Memorandum of Agreement, raises questions about the commitment of your Administration to deliver on your original promise.

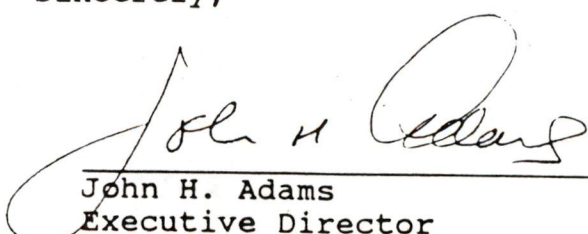
* Clean Air. In ongoing negotiations with leaders of the Senate Environment Committee, your negotiators have consistently undercut the pledge you made in announcing your Clean Air bill last summer to "guarantee" clean air for every American. This past week, apparently at the direction of Governor Sununu, your negotiators specifically insisted on weakening changes to the pending Clean Air bill which would abandon your goal and, in several cases, even weaken existing law.

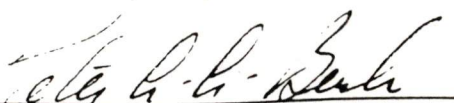
In each of these areas, Mr. President, you have articulated laudable environmental goals, but it appears your Chief of Staff is not committed to meeting them. Our organizations have promised to work with you to achieve the goals you set and to give you the credit you deserve for establishing them and following through until they are met. But we cannot make good on our promise if Mr. Sununu takes it upon himself to implement policies that contradict the goals you have set.

We hope that an urgent meeting would help to clear the air, and to chart a consistent environmental course for your Administration that your advisors and the public can both understand and enthusiastically support.

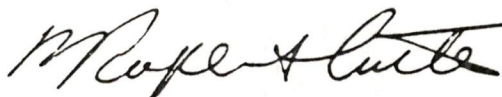
Sincerely,

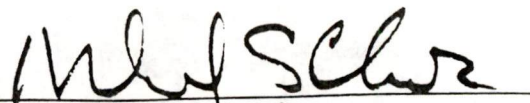

Jay D. Hair
President
National Wildlife Federation

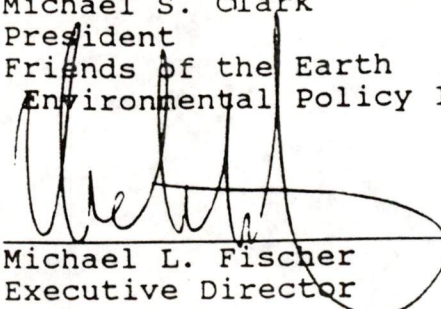

John H. Adams
Executive Director
Natural Resources Defense
Council


Peter A. A. Berle
President
National Audubon Society


George T. Frampton, Jr.
President
The Wilderness Society


M. Rupert Cutler
President
Defenders of Wildlife


Michael S. Clark
President
Friends of the Earth
Environmental Policy Inst.


Michael L. Fischer
Executive Director
Sierra Club


Jack Lorenz
Executive Director
The Izaak Walton League of
America

Sununews



It's Darth Vader...It's Dr. No...It's James Watt...

No. It's John H. Sununu, White House Chief of Staff and environmentalists' chief White House worry.

Lately, Mr. Sununu has so often been the topic of bad news breaking on the Bush Administration's environmental policy that he has earned the dubious distinction of having a news dispatch created to incorporate his name.

"Sununews" will be distributed each time Mr. Sununu pulls out his Chief-of-Staff chain saw and cuts down progress toward strong environmental policy.

Based on his recent record, there should be plenty to print. And in the interest of fairness, "Sununews" will also highlight steps Mr. Sununu takes toward improved environmental protection.

Mr. Sununu has been doing his destructive meddling in so many issues lately that this first issue of "Sununews" could not contain them all. So a fact sheet accompanies this introduction.

Following releases will focus on a single misdeed by perhaps the most powerful man in the White House other than the President himself.



NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION 1400 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036-2266

FACTS ON WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF JOHN SUNUNU

* **CLEAN AIR:** At Mr. Sununu's direction, White House negotiators are attempting to weaken amendments to the Clean Air Act, and in some cases even weaken existing law. They have made it clear when it comes to health and the environment the Administration will not budge toward a tougher law. This directly conflicts with President Bush's pledge to "guarantee" every American cleaner air when he announced his Clean Air bill last summer. As early as last fall, Mr. Sununu told a House subcommittee he didn't object to an amendment to weaken the President's proposal for alternative motor fuels, which the White House had described as the "most innovative and far-reaching component" of its clean air bill.

* **GLOBAL WARMING:** Mr. Sununu resists EPA Administrator William Reilly's goal for the President to take the international lead in combatting an accelerated greenhouse effect. While the President promised to use the "White House effect" to combat the greenhouse effect, Mr. Sununu is pushing for more inaction by urging continued research rather than constructive steps. That weakened position ended up in the President's February 5 speech on global warming to the Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change. This revealed just how much power Mr. Sununu wields, considering the President's chief science and environmental advisors urged the President to move forward decisively to combat global warming.

* **WETLANDS:** Mr. Sununu spearheaded the weakening of an unprecedented wetlands protection agreement announced late last year between the Army Corps of Engineers and the Environmental Protection Agency. The original agreement would have prevented or required mitigation of wetlands destruction. Sununu intervened on behalf of the oil industry, which is particularly interested in developing Alaska's tundra wetlands. The resulting agreement contains loopholes exposing wetlands nationwide to continued destruction. This directly conflicts with the President's stated goal of "no net wetlands loss."

* **TURTLE EXCLUDER DEVICES (TEDs):** Although Mr. Sununu played no known direct role in Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher's decision to delay TEDs implementation, the Chief of Staff made it clear he was sympathetic with fishermen and industry. In fact, he met with Gulf Coast congress members to hear their objections to TEDs, but he refused to meet with environmentalists. The TEDs regulation requires shrimpers to use turtle excluder devices to prevent endangered sea turtles from getting trapped and killed in shrimp nets.

* **PHILOSOPHY:** While the United States desperately needs a national energy policy to move it away from a dependence on fossil fuels, Mr. Sununu is an outspoken advocate for the oil and gas industry. In a recent sweeping overstatement, he said: "There is a little tendency by some of the faceless bureaucrats on the environmental side to try and create a policy in this country that cuts off our use of coal, oil and natural gas. I don't think that is what this country wants."

OPINION

Swamp killer

Sununu's push for Big Oil

ONE OF THE CLICHES George Bush developed during his campaign toward the White House was that he would be "the environmental president." Environmental groups challenged that possibility, given his record, and two actions this week are buoying environmentalists' fears.

At the urging of his chief of staff, John Sununu, Mr. Bush has allowed federal guidelines on wetlands protection to be eviscerated for the sake of the oil companies who want to continue to destroy Alaskan tundra to build oil fields. The entire tundra is technically wetlands.

Meanwhile, a provision of the Clean Air Act expressing the obligation of the Environmental Protection Agency to protect clean air in order to protect public health has been changed to indicate the EPA may do so if it wishes. Again, the guts have been removed from the law.

Mr. Bush is making a strong statement here, as strong a statement as Ronald Reagan made when his EPA changed the rules allowing the burning of high-sulfur coal, essentially giving birth to a generation of acid rain. Mr. Bush is telling the nation that his administration finds the needs of giant corporations more compelling than the general health and well-being of Americans.

These drastic changes in federal intent are taking place against an entirely different state backdrop. State legislatures and environmental protection departments are deepening their commitment to the purity of water and air. Local governments are taking on the roles once held by the federal government simply because the EPA is, like during the ominous Anne Gorsuch administration, doing the opposite of what it is meant to do.

While Mr. Sununu's dirty work was at the urging of Alaskan oil interests, it effects any project that needs EPA wetlands review. Under the original agreement, a developer who wanted to fill wetlands had to choose the least environmentally damaging area to work in, had to keep damage to a minimum, and had to repair or create wetlands to compensate for what had been destroyed. Under Mr. Sununu's agreement adds a disclaimer, saying none of the above need be done "where there is a high proportion of land which is wetlands."

What rot. Every swamp is a high proportion of wetlands because it is wetlands. Maybe there aren't many wetlands in New Hampshire, Mr. Sununu's home before he went to live with the devil.

The nation fills a half-million acres of wetlands year, according to the Department of the Interior. Since 1620, 150 million acres of wetlands have been destroyed, a full 60 percent of what was here before the European invasion and representing an area the size of Texas.

It is long past time for the rape of the land and air to stop. If Mr. Bush and John "Exxon" Sununu indicate the potential damage "the environmental president" can do, what is it going to take to undo their work?

ENVIRONMENT

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CRITICS SAY BUSH BLOWING SMOKE ON*ENVIRONMENT*

Four weeks ago, as a sign of the importance he attaches to environmental concerns, President Bush endorsed elevating the Environmental Protection Agency to Cabinet rank.

But since then, he has repeatedly undercut his EPA administrator, career conservationist William*Reilly,*by siding with advisers such as Chief of Staff John*Sununu*who are concerned more with economics than Earth Day.

As a result, the Bush administration seems to be pulling back from some of the president's most sweeping environmental promises in favor of largely symbolic gestures, such as an "America the Beautiful" program of planting a billion trees a year.

By offering at best half-measures on sensitive issues such as global warming and wetlands protection, Bush is opening himself and the Republican Party to criticism on an issue-the*environment-that*has broad grass-roots interest and growing political weight. In one sign of the political stakes, the GOP gubernatorial candidates in California and Florida have bluntly warned Bush, a onetime oilman, that their election chances will be hurt this year if he decides to allow new oil drilling off the coasts of their states.

"Being the 'environmental president' will take more than speeches and symbolism," said lawyer Richard Ayres, chairman of the National Clean Air Coalition, an environmental group critical of Bush's clean-air proposals.

Until recently, environmentalists have been slow and somewhat reluctant to criticize Bush, crediting him with showing a recognition of environmental concerns that was lacking during the eight years of*anti-environment*policies and appointments under former President Ronald Reagan.

Bush's selection of*Reilly,*former president of the Conservation Foundation and World Wildlife Fund, was widely acclaimed by environmentalists,

as was his choice of veteran EPA official Michael Deland to head a newly revived White House Council on Environmental Quality.

*Reilly*scored some early victories, such as halting a Colorado dam project that threatened the wetland habitat of endangered whooping cranes. He also persuaded Bush to join an international effort to phase out production of ozone-depleting chlorofluorocarbons by the end of the century, and won more manpower to clean up toxic-waste dumps.

And Bush has proposed raising federal spending on the*environment*by \$2 billion in the next fiscal year, although the size of the increase is deceptive. Much of the additional money would finance the cleanup of government nuclear weapons plants and develop the manned space station Bush wants for research on a variety of subjects, including global climate changes.

The administration's actions have been marred by indecision, hesitation and infighting among Bush's advisers over high-profile issues such as global warming, wetlands protection and new clean-air laws.

On environmental issues such as these, which carry the biggest economic stakes,*Reilly*has been challenged and often overruled by a powerful group of White House advisers including*Sununu,*budget director Richard Darman and chief economist Michael Boskin, who see increased environmental regulation as

a burden on business and potential threat to economic growth.

Darman reportedly considers the EPA chief a political lightweight, and in one interview called him a "global rock star." And Boskin has sparred with *Reilly* about whether the U.S. should support the idea of an international

accord to stabilize carbon dioxide emissions, asserting that the enormous costs of stabilization cannot be justified without better scientific proof of global warming.

Just as *Sununu* has become the lightning rod for environmentalists' criticism of the president's policies, *Reilly* has reportedly angered some conservative members of the administration with his forceful advocacy.

"He is seen by colleagues as the enemy within, the Trojan Horse of an environmental movement determined to make up for the lost Reagan years," conservative political columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak wrote last week.

Reilly does not deny he sometimes gets "yanked back" if he carries his environmental advocacy too far, but he maintains that overall "we've won far more than we have lost."

"If you're going to engage, as we are, in some of the most divisive and difficult issues of the day, you have to be prepared for vigorous debates and differences," *Reilly* said last week. "You have to be prepared also sometimes to get less than you might like."

In recent days, *Reilly* has suffered a succession of setbacks that have raised questions about who has Bush's ear on the environment.*

Sununu intervened to tone down what *Reilly* had hoped would be a strong presidential statement on global warming. And, in response to Alaskan oil interests, he weakened a proposed federal accord, negotiated by *Reilly*, that embodied Bush's campaign pledge to ensure "no net loss" of wetlands, the

dwindling areas of swamps and marshes that provide vital breeding grounds for fish and waterfowl.

Sununu also has emerged as the administration's most powerful behind-the-scenes figure in the tough, closed-door negotiations with Senate leaders on clean-air legislation, even though it will be up to *Reilly* as EPA chief to implement whatever Congress enacts.

"If John *Sununu* says no, it doesn't happen," said Sharon Newsome, vice president of the 5.6 million-member National Wildlife Federation.

Bush came into office declaring that he would use the "White House effect" to rally international action against the "greenhouse effect," the feared warming of the planet as a result of the buildup of carbon dioxide and other gases from burning fossil fuels.

To that end, *Reilly* and some of the president's other aides, such as science adviser Allan Bromley and Secretary of State James A. Baker III, wanted the president to take a strong stand in a speech to a United Nations panel of climate experts meeting in Washington earlier this month.

But *Sununu* wanted to emphasize the scientific uncertainties and to warn against the high economic costs of rushing to act, which is what Bush ended up telling the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. And, the following day, the U.S. blocked efforts by several Western European governments to endorse a goal of stabilizing carbon dioxide emissions by the year 2000.

Industry groups applauded such caution, but the speech deeply disappointed environmentalists.

"The president and this administration are dragging their feet, moving like molasses, when sure, steady leadership is needed," complained Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.), one of the Senate's leading advocates for action on global warming.

In clean-air negotiations, *Sununu* is considered the force behind the administration's hard line against provisions of the proposed Senate legislation that the White House considers too costly. The administration is

also backing away from Bush's own proposal to require that millions of cars powered by alternative fuels be sold in the nation's smoggiest areas.

The mandated phasing-in of cars powered by fuels such as methanol or natural gas was a centerpiece of Bush's clean-air proposal last summer, and administration officials said they envisioned the use of up to a million such vehicles annually by 1997. It would be an attempt to "reconcile the automobile to the*environment."*

But responding to pressure from the auto and petroleum industries, the administration no longer considers mandatory production of alternative-fuel cars an essential part of clean-air legislation. Instead, the administration is proposing that "reformulated" gasoline, which also cuts pollution, be encouraged.

CAPTION: GRAPHIC: (Illustration by) Don Wright/Palm Beach Post.

PHOTO: (John)*Sununu.*

PHOTO: (William)*Reilly.*

Who's Environment Czar, E.P.A.'s Chief or Sununu?

3/9/90

By MAUREEN DOWD
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14 — As the nation's defense recedes as an overriding issue and the environment becomes a more important one for Republican candidates, the White House chief of staff's role is being watched with alarm by some environmentalists and with concern by some Republican strategists and officials.

Although unwilling to criticize President Bush publicly, these Republicans worry that with important decisions looming on offshore drilling and the Clean Air Act, Mr. Bush seems to be relying increasingly on the advice of John H. Sununu, the chief of staff, who is a mechanical engineer by train-

ing and an environmental skeptic by temperament.

Environmental lobbyists and organization leaders are also alarmed because Mr. Sununu has asserted his influence at the expense of William K. Reilly, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, whose appointment was hailed as a sign that Mr. Bush was serious about his campaign pledge to be "the environmental President."

Political Motives Charged

Mr. Sununu, who is strongly supported by the business wing of his party and by many other senior aides, dismisses criticism of his role as "pure politics," and says the environmental movement is conducting an orchestrated offensive to scuttle Mr. Bush's portrayal of himself as an environmentalist.

"The President has a commitment to moving forward on the environment," Mr. Sununu said, "but he wants to do it in such a way that we don't make irreversible moves without knowing the benefits and negative impacts of each move."

Both Mr. Sununu and Mr. Reilly deny that there is personal animosity between them, but people familiar with the relationship say it is a set-up for conflict.

Mr. Sununu treats Mr. Reilly cordially, officials say, but is fearful that the former head of the World Wildlife Fund and the Conservation Foundation could be in-

fluenced by advocates of extreme positions, both from environmental groups and from inside his agency.

Mr. Reilly has taken his licks from Mr. Sununu on the theory that, as long as he has Mr. Bush's ear, he should get as much as he can for his environmental constituency. Mr. Reilly is also said by officials close to him to fear that Mr. Sununu, if his blunt intrusions go unchecked, could tarnish Mr. Bush's chances for a distinguished environmental record.

Mr. Reilly worries that the responsibility for making good on Mr. Bush's campaign promises rests on his shoulders, those close to him say. But some environmentalists suggest that Mr. Reilly runs the risk of seeming to be a patsy for Mr. Sununu if he mistakes access for influence.

Mr. Reilly was bested twice by Mr. Sununu last week, first when the chief of staff softened the President's speech on global warming and later when he weakened an agreement between the environmental agency and the Army Corps of Engineers to protect wetlands.

Mr. Reilly said he has come out of the scrapes "O.K." and that the Administration was moving forward on its goals, despite the howls from environmentalists and his old allies denouncing Mr. Sununu as "Dr. No" and "the new James Watt," Ronald Reagan's Secretary of the Interior.

List of Gains Cited

"The Bush team has put E.P.A. into the starting lineup and we frequently get hits," he said. "In other Administrations, the agency has been a bench warmer."

As "hits," Mr. Reilly's aides point to the total phasing-out of chlorofluorocarbons, air pollutants thought to damage the protective ozone layer of the atmosphere; a ban on asbestos, which is linked to cancer; additional enforcement officers for hazardous waste cleanup; the 57 percent increase in the 1991 budget for global warming research, and the 12 percent increase in



The New York Times/Paul Rosefro

John H. Sununu

the Environmental Protection Agency's budget.

They also say Mr. Reilly's achievements should be viewed in comparison with the record of the Reagan Administration, rather than in the context of "rhetorical battles" with Mr. Sununu that represent minor setbacks.

Indeed, worried that President Bush might be offended by news reports of friction on the global warming issue, Mr. Reilly made a point of riding in the limousine with the President when he went to make his speech on the subject last week. Mr. Sununu was in the car as well and the two men assured Mr. Bush they were both happy with the speech, which was denounced by some environmentalists and by scientists and diplomats from Europe as too tepid.

Many White House officials support Mr. Sununu, saying he needs to keep an eye on Mr. Reilly. "Reilly has been captured by his bureaucracy," one official said. "He was already native and he's gone more native."

In a column in The Washington Post today, Rowland Evans and Robert Novak suggested that Administration officials are growing more suspicious that Mr. Reilly may be privately feeding complaints in the press that the President has scaled back on environmental commitments.

"With Reilly soon to get Cabinet status, he is seen by colleagues as the enemy within — the Trojan Horse of an environmental movement determined to make up for the lost Reagan years," the columnists wrote.

Environmentalists' Fears

Mr. Reilly's long-time supporters among the environmentalists, however, disagree and say they are beginning to fear that he has been too easily subdued. They fret that Mr. Sununu has tied Mr. Reilly's hands and that the environmental chief has become more concerned with his White House access and the planned Cabinet status for his job than with fiercely battling for the cause.

"He's into his chauffeur-driven car and the Cabinet perks game," complained one environmental lobbyist.

Mr. Reilly is trying to reassure his friends that, despite the dust-ups with Mr. Sununu, he believes that the President has his "heart is in the right place," that he is the sort of man who actually asks how the Brazilian rain forests are doing.

"One way of looking at it is that it is flattering to have the chief of staff's attention," said an E.P.A. official enjoying what he called "the rarefied air" of access to the highest levels of the Administration.

Administration supporters of Mr. Reilly say that he has the iron will and Ivy League charm to counteract Mr. Sununu's influence with the President. They point out that he maneuvered his

way into the trip last summer to the Paris economic summit conference, where he grew much closer to Mr. Bush, a fellow Yale University graduate, and that the President has taken Mr. Reilly and his wife to the theater.

White House officials insist the clash between Mr. Sununu and Mr. Reilly is gentlemanly and rooted in their differing perspectives. As a veteran of the environmental movement, Mr. Reilly fears that Mr. Sununu will tarnish Mr. Bush's credentials if the chief of staff continues to hold sway in such a blunt manner, officials say.

Mr. Sununu believes that Mr. Reilly is a well-intentioned and loyal administrator who deserves a fair chance to in-

On Reilly's side: Iron will and Ivy League charm, his backers say.

fluence the President. But Mr. Sununu said he also sees it as his mission to prevent both Mr. Bush and Mr. Reilly from being led astray by extremists within environmental agency.

How Sununu Sees His Role

Explaining why he is now helping formulate policy rather than merely executing it, Mr. Sununu said he has a deep distrust of the E.P.A. bureaucrats "who forget that it is Bill Reilly and the President who make policy, not some folks deep down within the system who are not answerable to the American public."

Mr. Sununu said that when advisers are not in consensus on a policy matter, he does not prevent Mr. Reilly or other cabinet officials from meeting Mr. Bush individually if they want to register a dissenting opinion.

As a former Texas oil man, Mr. Bush wants to pay attention to economic consequences. He may also prefer the mild conflicts between the men. He likes having advisers on one side appealing to his moderate, good-government impulses and another side appealing to his hard-ball political side. That way, the President can split the difference and feel that he has satisfied his decent impulses while protecting his conservative political base.

"Sununu's the lightning rod so that the President can stay above the fray," said one White House official.

Some environmentalists took as another bad omen this week the White House withdrawal of the appointment of a respected lawyer, Dan Reicher, as deputy general counsel of the White

House Council on Environmental Quality.

Although the chairman of the council, Michael Deland, took responsibility for the withdrawal, saying he had not realized what a "persistent critic" of the Administration Mr. Reicher was, some environmentalists suggested that White House pressure had been brought to bear, and that the affair served as another example of Mr. Sununu's influence with the President.

The chief of staff made his stance on the environment clear from the beginning. After the worst oil spill in the nation's history in Valdez, Alaska, last March, Mr. Sununu chided the press for focusing on the oil that was spilled rather than "the bulk of the oil that was kept on the ship."

A Worry for Republicans

But while Mr. Sununu's position may warm the heart of the traditional business wing of the Republican Party, the party is also working to maintain its new-found appeal on an issue that has become increasingly important to younger voters. Some party analysts believe that, while Mr. Sununu sees himself as protecting the President from extreme treaties or regulations, his success may squander hard-won gains among these voters.

Some in the Bush inner circle also suggest that the former New Hampshire Governor has a bad case of what one humorously termed "chief executiveitis."

The chief of staff loves to "strut his stuff," as one person who knows him puts it, and he can do that in scientific areas. Administration officials say Mr. Sununu enjoys nothing more than using his engineering and computer expertise to "go into orbit," debunking the predictions of imperfect computer models that forecast a severe threat from global warming.

The traditional role of the chief of staff is as a non-ideological coordinator and "honest broker" for the presentation of different views to the President and to execute the President's decisions.

But by becoming a policy formulator with strong conservative views on issues like abortion and the environment, Mr. Sununu may be setting himself up as someone "you have to get on your side," as one Bush insider puts it.

"What is really unfair is that Bush has put in a person as his chief of staff who is not a natural member of the Administration on environmental issues — he is the most aggressive advocate of an extreme position," said J. Michael McCliskey, the chairman of the Sierra Club.

Mr. Sununu is unrepentant. "Folks inside the White House think I'm being constructive," he said. "So it doesn't matter what the perception is on the outside."

Sununu linked to ski lobby

By Robert Braile
SPECIAL TO THE GLOBE
and Stephen Kurkjian
GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON - While skiing the Colorado slopes late last year, the White House chief of staff, John H. Sununu, gave his longtime friend and ski area developer, Philip T. Gravink, some "candid advice" on how to change federal laws blocking further expansion of his New Hampshire ski area into the White Mountain National Forest.

No one knows for sure what that advice was. That it was offered is made clear in a Dec. 30, 1989, letter, obtained by the Globe, from Gravink to Sununu, the former New Hampshire governor. It is also evident that the United Ski Industries Association, of which Gravink is a member, has since launched an effort to lobby Congress for changes in a major federal environmental law to make it easier for ski areas to expand on public lands.

Sununu previously told reporters that he never offered assistance to Gravink, president of Loon Mountain ski resort, on how to break the federal delay in considering Loon's application for expansion onto 930 acres of federal forest land.

But the Dec. 30 letter - sent several weeks after the two men, their wives and others were together for a ski vacation in Colorado - is explicit. "I was very pleased with your candid advice," Gravink wrote. He went on to say that he and two other ski area developers would meet shortly to discuss the issue of expansion into federal lands. "We hope to commence implementation of those ideas," Gravink wrote.

In an interview last week, Gravink said the essence of Sununu's advice was, "You guys have got to start getting more political."

The communication between Sununu and Gravink came at a time when environmentalists, including some in Sununu's own Republican Party, are worried that his prodevelop-

ment leanings on the White House may impinge on Bush's longed-for image as "the environmental president."

Sununu declined to be interviewed about his discussion with Gravink. However, a White House deputy to Sununu said his advice consisted of telling Gravink to join with several other ski owners seeking similar expansions nationwide to seek a change in the federal law designed to limit the environmental impact from such expansions.

"Someone is saying, 'We're having a problem with the federal government. What should we do?' And Sununu is saying, 'Write your congressman.' There is nothing sinister about that," said Edward M. Rogers, Sununu's chief assistant.

In the same letter, Gravink alleged that the Environmental Protection Agency had "heightened its campaign as the leader of the opposition" to the \$27 million expansion project. Sununu apparently took Gravink's charge seriously. The Globe has learned he later directed the EPA to respond.

Rogers defended that action as well, saying Sununu often asked federal agencies to explain how they have handled complaints that have come to his attention.

Forest Service seeks consistency

The disclosure of the letter comes as the US Forest Service is working to ensure that its decision at Loon Mountain will be consistent with decisions at four other ski areas - in Oregon, California, Washington and Colorado - near national forests. The same issue is involved in each case: whether ski areas' expansion alternatives have been adequately considered before the federal government allows encroachment into the national forests.

Environmentalists interviewed about the letter and subsequent events said they are concerned that Sununu, who favored the Loon Mountain expansion as governor, may be tilting the federal bureaucracy to rule in favor of Gravink's position.

Christian W. Ballantyne, a Sierra Club official familiar with ski area development,

said, "The fact that John Sununu would urge people to seek a change in the rules because they can't win on the merits we find very troubling. This administration seeks to do things behind closed doors, without the input of the public or environmental groups, and that is not the way you protect the environment."

The controversy focuses on the 1969 National Environmental Policy Act and the review process set up to ensure minimal adverse environmental impact from ski area expansion. The US Forest Service, which is responsible for reviewing the applications, tentatively approved Loon's 1986 application last year.

EPA sought reconsideration

But the EPA, concerned over the project's effect on the water supply in the nearby town of Lincoln, prevailed on the Forest Service for much of last year to reconsider. The EPA said the Forest Service had not adequately considered other ways of expanding skiing.

The Forest Service conceded last month it had not fully considered alternatives to Loon and that its tentative approval would be withdrawn. The alternatives now facing Loon are to press Congress to amend the law as it relates to the review process or to persuade the EPA and the Forest Service to withdraw their objections.

One environmental official for the administration expressed doubt that Sununu had sought to exert pressure on the EPA to change its position. However, the official skirted the question as to whether it was proper for Sununu to ask the EPA to defend itself against the charge that it was blocking the expansion, when he has a personal interest in the controversy.

"If you were sitting in a Government 101 class you might say it's better left to the professionals who deal with it every day," the official said. But, the official said, "you know that the real world does not work as the Kennedy School indicates."

Shift on Warming Sought

Sununu Presses Revisions of Bush Speech

By Michael Weiskopf
Washington Post Staff Writer

Overriding the objections of top administration officials, White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu has ordered major revisions in a speech President Bush will deliver Monday on global warming, toning down remarks designed to underscore the seriousness of the problem, administration sources said yesterday.

The original outline envisioned the speech as the first comprehensive presentation of U.S. initiatives in response to the global-warming threat, establishing Bush as the world leader on the issue, sources said.

Instead, a draft of the speech—parts of which Sununu is said to have written—circulating within the administration shifts the focus to the uncertainties of predicting that world temperatures will increase significantly because of heat-trapping gases, sources said. They cautioned, however, that the speech is subject to change over the weekend.

The original outline presented to Sununu this week was endorsed by Secretary of State James A. Baker III, Energy Secretary James D. Watkins, Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William K. Reilly and D. Allan Bromley, White House science adviser.

Their recommendation for what Bush should say at a meeting here Monday of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) marked the first consensus among top officials responsible for international environmental policy.

Bush, who spoke of the global warming threat as far back as his presidential campaign, proposed this week in his budget message that \$1 billion be spent on climate-change research in the next fiscal year.

And, while the administration has rejected more radical proposals by some European nations, Bush has promised to host the first session to negotiate a framework convention on global warming and permitted U.S. officials to sign a declaration by environmental ministers in the

Netherlands last fall calling for stabilization of global warming gases in the atmosphere.

The outline of Bush's speech presented to Sununu recommended that he emphasize these steps.

Nearly all of them have come in response to criticism by environmentalists and members of Congress and only after bitter fighting in the administration, giving the impression that Bush lacks a cohesive strategy on the issue.

Sununu has been the leading opponent of proposals to curb global warming gases produced chiefly by the burning of coal and oil. An engineer by training, he is said to question reliability of rough computer models projecting temperature rises of at least 4 degrees by the year 2050, and he fears the economic impact of shifting from energy resources used since the industrial revolution.

Reilly has pushed hardest for policy responses to the global warming threat, putting him at odds with Sununu. Twice last year, Reilly sought to stake out a U.S. leadership role at IPCC meetings but was rebuffed.

But in the current imbroglio with Sununu, Reilly was joined by other key administration officials, such as Watkins who have been less publicly identified with strong concerns about global warming.

Those officials, sources said, hoped Bush would stake out for the first time an assertive U.S. position

on global warming in his speech to the IPCC, which was set up in 1988 by the U.N. Environmental Program and World Meteorological Organization to study causes and effects of and best responses to global warming. But Sununu reacted angrily to the outline, initially editing out all but the section on scientific uncertainties when he received it early this week, sources said.

Sununu "raised questions whether politics was outdistancing the science," one official said.

At a Domestic Policy Council meeting Wednesday, Sununu appeared to soften his opposition after arguments by Reilly, Bromley and officials from the Energy and State departments, sources said.

But when a draft was circulated by a White House speechwriter late Thursday, the officials discovered that the focus had shifted to doubts about the science of global warming.

Spokesmen for the White House and EPA said the speech was still in the review process and had no comment.

Staff writer Thomas W. Lippman contributed to this report.

Bush Pledges Research on Global Warming

Speech to U.N.-Sponsored Panel Endorses No Proposed Remedies

By Michael Weisskopf
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush yesterday promised aggressive U.S. research efforts on global warming but stopped short of the endorsement of remedies that his top environmental advisers had urged.

In an address to a meeting of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) here, Bush referred to the "uncertainty" of global warming projections that are largely accepted by the scientific community and emphasized the need for "reconciling of environ-

mental protections to the continued benefits of economic development."

"Wherever possible, we believe that market mechanisms should be applied and that our policies must be consistent with economic growth and free market principles in all countries," he said.

Bush's remarks to the U.N.-sponsored panel, his most comprehensive yet on global warming, followed a policy dispute within the administration. Secretary of State James A. Baker III, Energy Secretary James D. Watkins and Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William K. Reilly had urged

Bush to use the speech to seize a leadership role and bring cohesiveness to a U.S. policy that critics say has been marred by hesitation and inconsistency.

But the advisers ran into opposition from White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu. Administration sources said Sununu first approved a speech reflecting his concern that scientific projections of global warming are too uncertain to justify measures to curb the burning of fossil fuels, a practice blamed for trapping solar radiation and heating the Earth.

Yesterday's address represented a compromise enabling Reilly, the most outspoken advocate of global warming initiatives, to praise the president for being the first head of state to address the IPCC. Reilly called Bush's policies "enormously constructive."

In the speech, Bush acknowledged the threat of global warming, saying that "human activities are changing the atmosphere in unexpected and unprecedented ways." He renewed his commitment to the IPCC, which was set up by the United Nations to propose remedies. And he cited U.S. efforts to research the problem, including his budget proposal last week for \$1 billion to study climate change.

The president said the proposal "reflects our determination to improve our understanding of the science of climate change." Research, he said, would "reduce the uncertainty" of projections and "seek hard data, accurate models, and new ways to improve the science and determine how best to meet these tremendous challenges."

But Bush failed to reaffirm past U.S. support for such concrete measures urged by European nations as a freeze on the worldwide level of emissions of carbon dioxide—the principal global warming gas produced by the burning of coal. Last November, the U.S. delegation to a Dutch conference of environmental ministers endorsed the freeze and a proposed study of a 20 percent cut in emissions of carbon dioxide.

Critics charged that Bush's focus on research instead of energy conservation did not match his campaign promise to use the "White House effect" to combat the "greenhouse effect" or the statement at last July's economic summit, signed by Bush, saying that "dramatic action is necessary to save the Earth."

"Some may be tempted to exploit legitimate concerns for political positioning," Bush said in defense of his approach. "Our responsibility is to maintain the quality of our approach, our commitment to sound science and an open mind to policy options."

But environmentalists and some members of Congress said the president missed a key opportunity to assume a leadership role on a problem considered by many scientists to be the world's greatest threat.

Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (D-Tenn.) accused the president and administration of "dragging their feet, moving like molasses when sure, steady leadership is needed."

The World Wildlife Fund, which Reilly headed before taking over the EPA, issued a statement saying that Bush "failed to address the issues" before the IPCC. "It demonstrates the current inability of the U.S. administration to face the substantive issues of climate change, leaving the president with nothing but generalities to offer."

White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater, responding to criticism that the speech offered nothing new, said Bush "doesn't think it's time for a call to arms. No, he thinks it's time for a call to research to find out more about it."

Staff writer David Hoffman contributed to this report.

Sununu Say
 By STEPHEN ENGELBERG
 Special to The New York Times
 WASHINGTON, Feb. 4 — The House chief of staff, John H. Sununu, acknowledged today that he had a forthcoming Presidential speech on global warming and insisted that changes reflected President Bush's views on the issue.
 Some officials in the State Energy Department and at the Environmental Protection Agency urged Mr. Bush to take a stand in his speech, which is scheduled for delivery Monday, on the global warming. Many scientists have said the heat trapped in

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ENVIRONMENT/CHIEF OF STAFF

Brokaw reports that American environmental groups have been taking stock of President Bush's promises in their area, and they're not very happy. Today they opened an offensive. They went directly after the President's chief of staff.

NBC's John Cochran: Environmentalists who last year were encouraged by George Bush's promises to save our forests, our wildlife, our streams and our lungs today warned the self-proclaimed Environmental President is rapidly losing that title because of Chief of Staff Sununu. Today, ten environmental groups targeted Sununu as Environmental Enemy Number One.

(Jay Hair, president, National Wildlife Federation: "We think that Mr. Sununu is clearly not carrying out the President's stated public policies.")

Environmentalists today began publishing "Sunu-News," a chronicle of his crimes, real or imagined, against the environment.

(TV Coverage: Newsletter with a caricature of a smiling, chainsaw-wielding John Sununu on masthead.)

First, Sununu was accused of weakening Bush's campaign promise to protect all wetlands. Environmentalists say Sununu intervened on behalf of the oil industry, which wants to develop Alaska's tundra wetlands.

(Jay Hair: "Well, he did it at the behest of the oil and gas industry, primarily for Alaska, but the exceptions basically now provide inappropriate protection for wetlands nationwide.")

On global warming too President Bush is increasingly sharing Sununu's view that economic interests be balanced against environmental concerns. Bush disappointed scientists who hoped his environmental adviser, William Reilly, would persuade him that industrial and auto pollution are causing dangerous climate changes.

(Chief of Staff Sununu, on "This Week with David Brinkley, Feb. 4: "There's a little tendency by some of the faceless bureaucrats on the environmental side to try and create a policy in this country that cuts off our use of coal, oil and natural gas.")

Environmentalists say Sununu is largely responsible for watering down the White House's Clean Air Bill.

(Tom Jorling, New York Department of Environment: "It would, very simply, pull the rug on the efforts of the states to achieve healthful air.")

An environmental activist slated for a White House job this month didn't get it after being told he was too critical of the Administration.

(Don Reicher, Natural Resources Defense Council: "I do think that there are some people inside the Administration who want to do the right thing; it's just that they are being blocked by people like Mr. Sununu.")

The White House insists that it is the President, not Sununu, who controls environmental policy. Still, the White House is perfectly happy for the environmentalists to aim their heavy artillery at Sununu instead of his boss. (NBC-2)

EXXON/ALASKA SPILL

Brokaw reports that federal officials announced today Exxon will be returning to Prince William Sound in Alaska. Exxon agreed that additional cleanup work is necessary. (NBC-3)

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Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

264/91/3

Bill Reilly: Living Dangerously

Tension was high when a senior-level White House meeting last week was interrupted by environmental chief William Reilly taking a call from a reporter who wanted a comment about the Bush administration's protection of wetlands. "No," his colleagues heard Reilly say, "I don't have anything on that—yet." The "yet" sounded ominous. It reinforced suspicions that political appointee Reilly, not faceless bureaucrats in his Environmental Protection Agency, feeds complaints that President Bush broke his commitments by softening wetlands policy.

The way Reilly is considered inside the administration is unique. While the Bush team's internal disagreements are probably less pronounced than in previous administrations, its chief environmentalist is something special. With Reilly soon to get Cabinet status, he is seen by colleagues as the enemy within—the Trojan Horse of an environmental movement determined to make up for the lost Reagan years.

The intensity of the language used about Reilly by his peers is extraordinary, as shown by this

description by a Cabinet member: "He favors either a radical, unilateral shutdown of the U.S. economy or a global regulatory regime. He does not accept economic reality and does not accept scientific reality."

There is no sign at all that the president shares those views. His selection of Reilly, who commanded worldwide respect as head of the Conservation Foundation, to run the EPA symbolizes Bush's desire to display the difference from Ronald Reagan. Nothing done by Reilly has yet stirred vocal displeasure from a president who normally insists on loyalty and teamwork.

The White House public line is that while Reilly has dissented from the president on clean air, wetlands and global warming, he has been a good soldier. The static, according to this official view, comes from civil servants at EPA. "Baloney," responds a Cabinet member. "It's not the bureaucrats. It's Reilly."

Such complaints began before the Bush administration had barely settled in. The president's men blamed Reilly for leaks targeting Budget Director

Richard Darman as the evil spirit polluting clean air. Nor did Reilly placidly accept marching orders. He insisted on participating in the economic summit's environmental discussions in Paris last summer, though he was not supposed to go. "Reilly shot his way in," a Bush aide told us.

Behind this style is a profound philosophical difference between the self-styled environmental president and his future secretary of the environment. Bush has made clear he will not protect the environment at the cost of the economy. He has laid down a marker of how much economic loss he will tolerate in a clean air bill, promising to veto anything crossing that line. Reilly will not even consider this trade-off.

William Ruckelshaus, a much-praised EPA chief in two Republican administrations, often disagreed with Reagan policy but always was willing to consider economic consequences. According to his inside critics, Reilly isn't.

Behind him is the well-financed environmental lobby using the news media to immobilize a foe—as

it did Darman last year. Darman has handed off the chore of protecting the economy to White House Chief of Staff John Sununu, who is now under fire for softening the administration's positions on global warming and wetlands. Conceivably, a bloodied Sununu may have to call back Darman in an environmental tag-team tactic.

To Darman, Sununu and economic adviser Michael Boskin, no mere difference in policy is at stake, but the American economy. Backed by Secretary of State James A. Baker III, Reilly favors an internationalization of handling global warming. To Cabinet critics, this poses the greatest threat to U.S. control of its own wealth since the Reagan administration staved off a global law of the sea.

George Bush is on the sensible, conservative side of this as he is on most issues. That he endangers his policies by appointing and now promoting Bill Reilly as a symbol of environmental sincerity is an exercise in the art of living dangerously at the White House.

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WARREN BROOKES 253/910

Reilly's high-risk Clean Air strategy

Whatever else they may say of him, Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William Reilly is a gutsy high-risk player. At the moment, though, that strategy may be backfiring.

Last week, even as he was thwarted in his attempt to get President Bush too far ahead of real science on global warming, he was pushing his administration into no-win negotiations with Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, who is in his own deep trouble on Clean Air. But that failed last Thursday when the White House pulled the plug to avoid mutiny from Senate Republicans.

From the beginning, Mr. Reilly has driven his own administration to the outer policy limits with a much

more costly bill than either science or economics could justify, betting that his congressional environmental allies would produce a still more costly and extreme bill to make his own positions look "sensible."

When the Senate Environment Committee passed its own green monster (S 1630) out of committee with a unanimous vote last October, it looked like Mr. Reilly's high-risk strategy was right on track.

As the cost estimates of S 1630 shot past \$50 billion-\$100 billion, Mr. Mitchell lost enough votes to make cloture impossible, while the \$20 billion-\$40 billion Bush bill suddenly seemed "rational."

But, in the meantime Republicans and some Democrats were increasingly unhappy even with the Bush bill. On Jan. 25 a delegation of seven Republican senators, including both Minority Leader Robert Dole and

Whip Alan Simpson, were invited to the White House and convinced by the president to help write a whole new bill as a substitute amendment to the thoroughly discredited S 1630.

Over the next four days, White House and Senate aides hammered out this substitute, which not only corrected the major flaws in S 1630, but dealt with some of the worst features of the Bush bill. On Jan. 29, that new document was sent to Mr. Reilly, who must have seen it as much a potential loss to his own policies as it was a serious embarrassment for his good friend Mr. Mitchell.

The next day White House aides were suddenly advised by Mr. Dole of a Republican caucus on the Hill to discuss clean-air strategy, a caucus Mr. Reilly is said to have requested.

At the last minute, Mr. Dole also scheduled a preliminary meeting for Mr. Reilly and Domestic Policy Adviser Roger Porter with Mr. Mitchell, where Mr. Mitchell indicated he already knew of the amendment strategy and warned against it in favor of negotiations with him.

At the caucus, Mr. Reilly reportedly urged Republicans to take Mr. Mitchell up on that approach. The next day the White House learned to its dismay the amendment strategy had been scuttled in favor of immediate negotiations in Mr. Mitchell's office. Some administration officials think Mr. Reilly's need to rescue Mr. Mitchell meshed too nicely with Mr. Dole's need to leverage him.

Over the next week, Mr. Reilly, his deputy administrator for air, William Rosenberg, along with three White House representatives — Roger Porter, Office of Management and Budget specialist on the environment Robert Grady, and presidential counsel C. Boyden Gray — sat at the other end of a negotiating table from Mr. Mitchell. He was flanked by Environmental Subcommittee Chairman Max Baucus, and "green" Republicans, John Chafee of Rhode Island and Dave Durenberger of Minnesota.

Other Republican senators were invited to sit as sideline participants in the process, but the negotiating ball was carried primarily by the EPA and Mr. Grady, who quickly engineered "agreements" on both air toxics and stationary source issues.

But, by the third day of negotiations, when it became apparent the Republicans were still being pushed back toward the original S 1630 with only a few substantive changes, Sen. Steve Symms of Idaho publicly quit the process, and by last Thursday Mr. Porter was being criticized within the White House by OMB Director Richard Darman for "giving away the store."

Aides were particularly incensed at being "snookered" over the issue of "residual risk" on the Air Toxics agreement. Under the Senate bill, the EPA administrator would be forced to shut down any industrial plant, which after having used maximum-available control technology (MACT) could still not assure that the most exposed individual (MEI) would not face a risk of more than 1 in a million.

This would be extreme even if Congress and the EPA allowed a rational risk assessment of the average exposure of the average real person living in the plant vicinity. Instead, under MEI, the risk "model" is a theoretical individual assumed to be living at the plant gate, 24 hours a day, outdoors for 70 years. That model overstates real risk by 100-1,000 times and puts nearly every major industrial plant at immediate risk of closure.

During the negotiations former EPA staffer and now aide to Mr. Durenberger Jimmy Powell worked out with the EPA representatives new wording that seemed to imply abandonment of the MEI principle in favor of "maximum exposed actual person." But White House specialists realized this was mostly cosmetic.

"You still have to assume that individual is fully exposed 24 hours a day 365 days a year for 70 years," one White House aide told us.

The Air Toxics portion of S 1630 was uniformly agreed to be the most costly (the Congressional Research Service had pegged it at \$64 billion) in part because of this impossible risk standard.

So, last Thursday morning Mr. Porter was instructed to slow down negotiations. Thursday evening, Messrs. Mitchell, Baucus and EPA personnel attempted to put the best face on things, suggesting they were "close to agreement" and could finish the process after the recess. But few think the odds are very good.

For the second time in two weeks, Mr. Reilly's high-risk strategy had backfired, decreasing the chances of consensus on this massively costly and scientifically flimsy bill.

White House Aides Overshadow EPA Chief

Conservatives in Administration Taking Lead in Shaping Environmental Policy

By Michael Weisskopf
Washington Post Staff Writer

During particularly difficult moments in the long hours of complex negotiating with Senate leaders last week on provisions of the clean air bill, Bush administration officials would leave the room to call White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu.

The negotiators—aides to Sununu and Budget Director Richard G. Darman—showed little deference to the man sitting next to them in the Capitol conference room who has responsibility to implement whatever law Congress eventually enacts, Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William K. Reilly.

The secondary role that Reilly plays in the negotiations over revising the Clean Air Act, the nation's flagship environmental statute, is one indication of the ascendancy of cost-conscious conservatives within the administration in shaping—some critics say derailing—President Bush's most important environmental programs.

And, as illustrated by Sununu's decisions in the last 10 days to weaken an agreement to preserve the nation's dwindling wetlands and tone down a Bush speech on the dangers of global warming, the group is overruling Reilly with increasing frequency.

Reilly, to be sure, is an influential and assertive spokesman for environmental interests. As EPA chief, he has strengthened enforcement of toxic waste laws, banned dangerous pesticides, blocked plans to build a Colorado dam in an environmentally sensitive area and persuaded Bush—albeit belatedly—to support European pleas for a global warming convention and phaseout of ozone-depleting chemicals.

But on policies aimed at the most threatening environmental dangers—not coincidentally the policies that pose the greatest threat to economic growth—Reilly often finds himself outflanked, leading critics to question who is in charge of environmental policy.

"As advocates for the environment, we will get out beyond others and occasionally get yanked back," Reilly said yesterday. "But we've won more than we've lost in this administration."

In contrast to President Ronald Reagan, who was often hostile to the environment, Bush has stressed its importance. He calls himself the "environmental president," named Reilly the first professional conservationist to head the EPA and made a series of promises during the presidential campaign and in his first months in office. Among them were a policy of "no net loss" of wetlands, the use of the "White House effect" to combat the "greenhouse effect" and a program of alternative fuels for automobiles to fight smog.

In practice, however, the administration has often pulled back from its rhetoric, eschewing tough decisions in favor of relatively inexpensive, symbolic gestures, such as support for elevating the EPA to a Cabinet-level department and lumping existing conservation programs under a new, catchy name—"America the Beautiful."

Reilly has been the principal casualty of

what one environmentalist calls the administration's "bait-and-switch" approach to environmental policy.

From the beginning, he has clashed with Sununu, a nuclear engineer by training, and Darman, who view environmental regulation as a political fad and undue burden on industry.

Darman is said to have a personal dislike for Reilly, calling him in one interview a "global rock star."

Although Michael R. Deland, chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, was expected to back Reilly in internal administration debates, he has been "missing in action," according to an administration official.

Reilly's most public clash with Sununu came last October as a House subcommittee voted on an alternative motor fuels proposal that the White House had touted a few months earlier as the "most innovative and far-reaching component" of its clean air bill.

During the subcommittee vote, the administration's chief sponsor, Rep. Norman F. Lent (R-N.Y.), announced that Sununu had called to say he did not object to an amendment to weaken the initiative that was strongly opposed by oil and auto companies. But Reilly called Rep. Henry A. Waxman (D-Calif.) with the opposite message.

In the recent dispute over wetlands, Reilly fought for an agreement between the EPA and the Army Corps of Engineers setting forth rules protecting wetlands in line with Bush's "no net loss" promise.

But Sununu, who had fought with the EPA over wetlands policy in New Hampshire, argued that the agreement placed too many restrictions on developers, and overruled him. The document was modified to create some exceptions to the wetlands rules.

On global warming, Reilly has consistently sought to have Bush assume a leadership role on what many scientists consider the greatest threat to the planet. But Sununu, who questions the scientific projections, has resisted.

Even when Reilly was joined by two Cabinet members and the president's science adviser in urging Bush to underline the dangers of global warming in a speech last week, Sununu deleted key points. The speech emphasized the need for more research.

Sununu, acknowledging the dispute on a television news show, said he was merely stopping a move by "faceless bureaucrats to try to create a policy in this country that cuts off our use of coal, oil and natural gas."

Asked yesterday if Sununu had been referring to EPA officials, Reilly said: "EPA has not been shy. We're rarely accused of being faceless."

Staff writer John Lancaster contributed to this report.

US GEORGE BUSH SPEECH *ENVIRONMENT*

B O S T O N G L O B E

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SCIENTISTS URGE ACTION ON CLIMATE

As the Bush administration prepares to host United Nations-sponsored talks on global warming next week in Washington, many of the nation's leading

scientists yesterday sent an appeal to the White House urging strong US leadership in finding solutions. The administration has been criticized by environmental groups and by European environmental officials, who say it has been slowing efforts to address the problem.

"Actions to curb the introduction of greenhouse gases . . . must be initiated immediately," said a statement entitled the "Appeal by American Scientists to Prevent Global Warming," which carried the signatures 49 Nobel laureates and 700 members of the National Academy of Sciences.

"The large number of prominent scientists signing this appeal should remove any doubt that global warming is taken seriously in the upper echelons of the scientific community," said Henry Kendall, a physicist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and chairman of the Union of Concerned Scientists.

Meanwhile, the president in his State of the Union address this week announced a major tree-planting program without mentioning its link to global warming. Bush did mention the G word in relation to research.

Since growing trees absorb carbon dioxide, the leading greenhouse gas, this program, which will plant 10 billion trees over the next decade, could offset an estimated two to five percent of US carbon dioxide emissions. As presented by the President, however, the object is to keep America "clean" and "beautiful for generations to come."

MAINE COULD OPEN DAM FOR SALMON

If Gov. John McKernan of Maine carries through on his promise to breach the Edwards Dam on the Kennebec River at Augusta, it will mark the first time in the nation's history that an operating hydroelectric facility has been removed for environmental reasons.

In his State of the State address last week, McKernan announced that the state will acquire and breach the 2 megawatt dam to allow free passage for salmon, shad and other migratory fish.

The idea of removing the Edwards Dam, the first dam that fish encounter on their migration up the Kennebec, has gained widespread support among sportsmen and environmentalists, according to John Echeverria of American Rivers Inc., a national conservation group.

As dozens of dams in New England will come up for federal relicensing in the next few years, Echeverria noted, his group will be fighting to see that the use of rivers for generating power is balanced against their use for fishing and recreation. Current operating practices at many dams cause precipitous water level drops and dry river beds.

WETLANDS POLICY IS STILL PENDING

WILL PRESIDENT BUSH stand behind his campaign pledge to back a no-net-loss policy on the nation's besieged wetlands, or will the development interests prevail?

Late Tuesday, the White House again delayed the implementation of an

agreement between the federal Environmental Protection Agency and the Army Corps of Engineers that would set out guidelines for such a policy. The guidelines were originally supposed to go into effect in mid-December.

Those following the battle within the administration say that the EPA administrator, William*Reilly,*and the White House chief of staff, John*Sununu,*reportedly wrangled for three hours at a meeting on Tuesday evening but reached no compromise that*Reilly*felt he could endorse.

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MARY MATALIN
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

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EPA articles.

cc: Ed Rogers

THE DAILY NEWS OF LOS ANGELES

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ENVIRONMENTALISTS FEAR *SUNUNU'S* IMPACT
Skeptical chief of staff seen as influencing Bush at expense
of EPA's *Reilly*

As the nation's defense recedes as an overriding issue and the *environment* becomes a more important one for Republican candidates, the White House chief of staff's role is being watched with alarm by some environmentalists and with concern by some Republican strategists and officials.

Although unwilling to criticize President Bush publicly, these Republicans worry that with important decisions looming on offshore drilling and the Clean Air Act, Bush seems to be relying increasingly on the advice of John H. *Sununu*, the chief of staff who is a mechanical engineer by training and an environmental skeptic by temperament.

Environmental lobbyists and organization leaders are also alarmed because *Sununu* has asserted his influence at the expense of William K. *Reilly*, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency whose appointment was hailed as a sign that Bush was serious about his campaign pledge to be "the environmental president."

Sununu, who is strongly supported by the business wing of his party and by many other senior aides, dismisses criticism of his role as "pure politics," and says the environmental movement is conducting an orchestrated offensive to scuttle Bush's portrayal of himself as an environmentalist.

"The president has a commitment to moving forward on the *environment*," *Sununu* said, "but he wants to do it in such a way that we don't make irreversible moves without knowing the benefits and negative impacts of each move."

Both *Sununu* and *Reilly* deny that there is personal animosity between them, but people familiar with the relationship say it is a set-up for conflict.

Sununu treats *Reilly* cordially, officials say, but is fearful that the former head of the World Wildlife Fund and the Conservation Foundation could be influenced by advocates of extreme positions, both from environmental groups and from inside his agency.

Reilly has taken his licks from *Sununu* on the theory that, as long as he has Bush's ear, he should get as much as he can for his environmental constituency. *Reilly* is also said by officials close to him to fear that

Sununu, if his blunt intrusions go unchecked, could tarnish Bush's chances for a distinguished environmental record.

Reilly worries that the responsibility for making good on Bush's campaign promises rests on his shoulders, those close to him say. But some environmentalists suggest that *Reilly* runs the risk of seeming to be a patsy for *Sununu* if he mistakes access for influence.

Reilly was bested twice by *Sununu* last week, first when the chief of staff softened the president's speech on global warming and later when he weakened an agreement between the environmental agency and the Army Corps of Engineers to protect wetlands.

*Reilly*said he has come out of the scrapes ''OK'' and that the administration was moving forward on its goals, despite the howls from environmentalists and his old allies denouncing*Sununu*as ''Dr. No'' and ''the new James Watt,'' Ronald Reagan's secretary of the interior.

''The Bush team has put EPA into the starting lineup and we frequently get hits,'' he said. ''In other administrations, the agency has been a bench warmer.''

As ''hits,''*Reilly's*aides point to the total phasing-out of chlorofluorocarbons, air pollutants thought to damage the protective ozone layer of the atmosphere; a ban on asbestos, which is linked to cancer; additional enforcement officers for hazardous waste cleanup; the 57 percent increase in the 1991 budget for global warming research, and the 12 percent increase in the Environmental Protection Agency's budget.

They also say*Reilly's*achievements should be viewed in comparison with the record of the Reagan administration, rather than in the context of ''rhetorical battles'' with*Sununu*that represent minor setbacks.

Indeed, worried that Bush might be offended by news reports of friction on the global warming issue,*Reilly*made a point of riding in the limousine with the president when he went to make his speech on the subject last week.

*Sununu*was in the car as well and the two men assured Bush they were both happy with the speech, which was denounced by some environmentalists and by scientists and diplomats from Europe as too tepid.

Many White House officials support*Sununu,*saying he needs to keep an eye on*Reilly.*''Reilly*has been captured by his bureaucracy,'' one official said. ''He was already native and he's gone more native.''

In a column in The Washington Post Wednesday, Rowland Evans and Robert Novak suggested that administration officials are growing more suspicious that*Reilly*may be privately feeding complaints in the press that the president has scaled back on environmental commitments.

''With*Reilly*soon to get Cabinet status, he is seen by colleagues as the enemy within - the Trojan Horse of an environmental movement determined to make up for the lost Reagan years,'' the columnists wrote.

*Reilly's*longtime supporters among the environmentalists, however, disagree and say they are beginning to fear that he has been too easily subdued.

They fret that*Sununu*has tied*Reilly's*hands and that the environmental chief has become more concerned with his White House access and the planned Cabinet status for his job than with fiercely battling for the cause.

''He's into his chauffeur-driven car and the Cabinet perks game,'' complained one environmental lobbyist.

*Reilly*is trying to reassure his friends that, despite the dust-ups with*Sununu,*he believes that the president's ''heart is in the right place,'' that he is the sort of man who actually asks how the Brazilian rain forests are doing.

''One way of looking at it is that it is flattering to have the chief of staff's attention,'' said an EPA official enjoying what he called ''the rarefied air'' of access to the highest levels of the administration.

Administration supporters of*Reilly*say that he has the iron will and Ivy League charm to counteract*Sununu's*influence with the president.

They point out that he maneuvered his way into the trip last summer to the Paris economic summit conference, where he grew much closer to Bush, a fellow Yale University graduate, and that the president has taken*Reilly*and his wife to the theater.

White House officials insist the clash between*Sununu*and*Reilly*is gentlemanly and rooted in their differing perspectives.

CAPTION: photo: EPA Director William K.*Reilly,*left, and White House Chief of Staff John H.*Sununu*often take opposite sides on environmental

issues.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

IDEOLOGICAL WAR TO WIN BUSH'S EAR ON THE*ENVIRONMENT*

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THE GOOD AND THE BAD

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*SUNUNU*2, *REILLY*0

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SYMBOLIC RIDE

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A PUSHOVER?

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GENTLEMEN'S DISAGREEMENT

White House officials insist that the clash between*Sununu*and*Reilly*is gentlemanly and rooted in their differing perspectives. As a veteran of the environmental movement,*Reilly*fears that*Sununu*will tarnish Bush's credentials if the chief of staff continues to hold sway in such a blunt manner, officials say.

*Sununu*believes that*Reilly*is a well-intentioned and loyal administrator who deserves a fair chance to influence the president. But*Sununu*said he also sees it as his mission to prevent both Bush and*Reilly*from being led astray by extremists within environmental agency.

Explaining why he is now helping formulate policy rather than merely executing it,*Sununu*said he has a deep distrust of the EPA bureaucrats "who forget that it is Bill*Reilly*and the president who make policy, not some folks deep down within the system who are not answerable to the American public."

*Sununu*said that when advisers are not in consensus on a policy matter, he does not prevent*Reilly*or other cabinet officials from meeting Bush individually if they want to register a dissenting opinion.

As a former Texas oil man, Bush wants to pay attention to economic consequences. He may also prefer the mild conflicts between the men. He likes

having advisers on one side appealing to his moderate, good-government impulses and another side appealing to his hard-ball political side.

BOTH SIDES WIN

That way, the president can split the difference and feel that he has satisfied his decent impulses while protecting his conservative political base.

*''Sununu's*the lightning rod so that the president can stay above the fray,'' said one White House official.

The chief of staff made his stance on the*environment*clear from the beginning. After the worst oil spill in the nation's history in Valdez, Alaska, last March,*Sununu*chided the press for focusing on the oil that was spilled rather than ''the bulk of the oil that was kept on the ship.''

But while*Sununu's*position may warm the heart of the traditional business wing of the Republican Party, the party is also working to maintain its new-found appeal on an issue that has become increasingly important to younger voters.

Some party analysts believe that, although*Sununu*sees himself as protecting the president from extreme treaties or regulations, his success may squander hard-won gains among these voters.

Some in the Bush inner circle also suggest that the former New Hampshire governor has a bad case of what one humorously termed ''chief executive-itis.''

The chief of staff loves to ''strut his stuff,'' as one person who knows him puts it, and he can do that in scientific areas. Administration officials say*Sununu*enjoys nothing more than using his engineering and computer expertise to ''go into orbit,'' debunking the predictions of imperfect computer models that forecast a severe threat from global warming.

The traditional role of the chief of staff is as a nonideological coordinator and ''honest broker'' for the presentation of different views to the president and to execute the president's decisions.

CAPTION: JOHN*SUNUNU*/ He won two battles last week

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DISTRUST OF AIDE DEEPENS
ENVIRONMENTALISTS UPSET AT*SUNUNU*

WASHINGTON -- The level of distrust between White House chief of staff John H.*Sununu*and environmental advocates inside and outside the administration has deepened in the wake of reports that*Sununu*weakened two environmental plans as they were about to land on President Bush's desk.

*Sununu,*who was viewed with strong suspicion by the environmental lobby throughout his first year at the White House because of his pro-development record as New Hampshire's governor, appeared to be justifying their fears.

This month,*Sununu*has been accused of toning down the final draft of a speech Bush was to give on global warming and altering a federal agreement to protect the nation's wetlands.

*Sununu*refused to comment about the charges, but others in the administration said that, at least on the charge that he had toned down Bush's speech on global warming,*Sununu*was being wrongly accused.

Environmental activists were not assuaged by those denials, however, saying*Sununu*has given them no indication that he is sensitive to their concerns or that he is willing to forsake economic opportunities to preserve the*environment.*

On the wetlands agreement, a last-minute addition in the plan's wording is expected to, in effect, allow development in Alaska, where officials had feared that the new policy would impair development.

During White House meetings on the agreement,*Sununu*had sided with the Alaskan officials who had sought a provision waiving the wetland development restrictions in states with a "high proportion" of wetlands. Although absent from the draft proposal signed by the Environmental Protection Agency and Army Corps of Engineers in November, the Alaskan-favored provision was in the new policy issued last Wednesday.

The last-minute provision was seen by some as*Sununu's*handiwork.

Beyond the negative impact the stories generate for Bush and the supportive image he has tried to project on environmental issues, the controversies may indicate the first public policy rift within the top levels

of the administration. During his first year in office, Bush has been successful in keeping Cabinet-level recriminations to a minimum with his warnings to advisers that he views it as an act of disloyalty if they try to subvert a proposed policy by leaking its contents to the media.

But*Sununu,*reliable sources said, was furious that details about the global warming speech and wetlands agreement were leaked to the media. He trained his stare on EPA administrator William K.*Reilly.*Reilly*denied being responsible for stories on*Sununu's*conservative influence on White House environmental policy.

*Sununu,*an engineer by training, is expected to continue exerting his influence on Bush. "If*Reilly*wants to leak to reporters from the Times or the Post" that*Sununu*"has been watering down his proposals, then there's no way we can stop him," said one*Sununu*ally. "But rest assured"*Sununu*is not "going to be afraid of speaking his mind and exercising his

responsibilities as chief of staff.''

That a controversy should erupt over*Sununu's*role in handling environmental matters was hardly a surprise to those who knew him in New Hampshire.

During his six-year term as governor,*Sununu's*pro-development sentiments were well-known. While he was praised for assembling all agencies that dealt with the*environment*into a single agency, he was said to be more motivated by the need to establish centralized management than he was to create a strong, environmentally conscious agency of government.

*Sununu*was an ardent backer of the Seabrook nuclear power plant. He urged increased construction of vacation condominiums, thinking that their owners spent more money and created more construction jobs in the state than visitors who stopped at tourist attractions and then went home.

NAME: james d. watkins
ORGANIZATION: energy department
ENHANCEMENT: cover-story age
SUBJECT: Cabinet officers; Nuclear waste management; Pollution control
and abatement

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WHITE HOUSE AIDES OVERSHADOW EPA CHIEF
CONSERVATIVES IN ADMINISTRATION TAKING LEAD IN SHAPING ENVIRONMENTAL
POLICY

During particularly difficult moments in the long hours of complex negotiating with Senate leaders last week on provisions of the clean air bill, Bush administration officials would leave the room to call White House Chief of Staff John H.*Sununu.*

The negotiators-aides to*Sununu*and Budget Director Richard G. Darman-showed little deference to the man sitting next to them in the Capitol conference room who has responsibility to implement whatever law Congress eventually enacts, Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William K.*Reilly.*

The secondary role that*Reilly*plays in the negotiations over revising the Clean Air Act, the nation's flagship environmental statute, is one indication of the ascendancy of cost-conscious conservatives within the administration in shaping-some critics say derailing-President Bush's most important environmental programs.

And, as illustrated by*Sununu's*decisions in the last 10 days to weaken an agreement to preserve the nation's dwindling wetlands and tone down a Bush speech on the dangers of global warming, the group is overruling*Reilly*with increasing frequency.

*Reilly,*to be sure, is an influential and assertive spokesman for environmental interests. As EPA chief, he has strengthened enforcement of toxic waste laws, banned dangerous pesticides, blocked plans to build a Colorado dam in an environmentally sensitive area and persuaded Bush-albeit belatedly-to support European pleas for a global warming convention and phaseout of ozone-depleting chemicals.

But on policies aimed at the most threatening environmental dangers-not coincidentally the policies that pose the greatest threat to economic growth-*Reilly*often finds himself outflanked, leading critics to question who is in charge of environmental policy.

"As advocates for the*environment,*we will get out beyond others and occasionally get yanked back,"*Reilly*said yesterday. "But we've won more than we've lost in this administration."

In contrast to President Ronald Reagan, who was often hostile to the
*environment,*Bush has stressed its importance. He calls himself the "environmental president," named*Reilly*the first professional conservationist to head the EPA and made a series of promises during the presidential campaign and in his first months in office. Among them were a policy of "no net loss" of wetlands, the use of the "White House effect" to

combat the "greenhouse effect" and a program of alternative fuels for automobiles to fight smog.

In practice, however, the administration has often pulled back from its rhetoric, eschewing tough decisions in favor of relatively inexpensive, symbolic gestures, such as support for elevating the EPA to a Cabinet-level department and lumping existing conservation programs under a new, catchy name-"America the Beautiful."

*Reilly*has been the principal casualty of what one environmentalist calls the administration's "bait-and-switch" approach to environmental policy.

From the beginning, he has clashed with *Sununu*, a nuclear engineer by training, and Darman, who view environmental regulation as a political fad and undue burden on industry.

Darman is said to have a personal dislike for *Reilly*, calling him in one interview a "global rock star."

Although Michael R. Deland, chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, was expected to back *Reilly* in internal administration debates, he has been "missing in action," according to an administration official.

Reilly's most public clash with *Sununu* came last October as a House

subcommittee voted on an alternative motor fuels proposal that the White House had touted a few months earlier as the "most innovative and far-reaching component" of its clean air bill.

During the subcommittee vote, the administration's chief sponsor, Rep. Norman F. Lent (R-N.Y.), announced that *Sununu* had called to say he did not object to an amendment to weaken the initiative that was strongly opposed by oil and auto companies. But *Reilly* called Rep. Henry A. Waxman (D-Calif.) with the opposite message.

In the recent dispute over wetlands, *Reilly* fought for an agreement between the EPA and the Army Corps of Engineers setting forth rules protecting wetlands in line with Bush's "no net loss" promise.

But *Sununu*, who had fought with the EPA over wetlands policy in New Hampshire, argued that the agreement placed too many restrictions on developers, and overruled him. The document was modified to create some exceptions to the wetlands rules.

On global warming, *Reilly* has consistently sought to have Bush assume a leadership role on what many scientists consider the greatest threat to the planet. But *Sununu*, who questions the scientific projections, has resisted.

Even when *Reilly* was joined by two Cabinet members and the president's science adviser in urging Bush to underline the dangers of global warming in a speech last week, *Sununu* deleted key points. The speech emphasized the need for more research.

Sununu, acknowledging the dispute on a television news show, said he was merely stopping a move by "faceless bureaucrats to try to create a policy in this country that cuts off our use of coal, oil and natural gas."

Asked yesterday if *Sununu* had been referring to EPA officials, *Reilly* said: "EPA has not been shy. We're rarely accused of being faceless."

Staff writer John Lancaster contributed to this report.

WARREN BROOKES 253/910

Reilly's high-risk Clean Air strategy

Whatever else they may say of him, Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William Reilly is a gutsy high-risk player. At the moment, though, that strategy may be backfiring.

Last week, even as he was thwarted in his attempt to get President Bush too far ahead of real science on global warming, he was pushing his administration into no-win negotiations with Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, who is in his own deep trouble on Clean Air. But that failed last Thursday when the White House pulled the plug to avoid mutiny from Senate Republicans.

From the beginning, Mr. Reilly has driven his own administration to the outer policy limits with a much

more costly bill than either science or economics could justify, betting that his congressional environmental allies would produce a still more costly and extreme bill to make his own positions look "sensible."

When the Senate Environment Committee passed its own green monster (S 1630) out of committee with a unanimous vote last October, it looked like Mr. Reilly's high-risk strategy was right on track.

As the cost estimates of S 1630 shot past \$50 billion-\$100 billion, Mr. Mitchell lost enough votes to make cloture impossible, while the \$20 billion-\$40 billion Bush bill suddenly seemed "rational."

But, in the meantime Republicans and some Democrats were increasingly unhappy even with the Bush bill. On Jan. 25 a delegation of seven Republican senators, including both Minority Leader Robert Dole and

Whip Alan Simpson, were invited to the White House and convinced by the president to help write a whole new bill as a substitute amendment to the thoroughly discredited S 1630.

Over the next four days, White House and Senate aides hammered out this substitute, which not only corrected the major flaws in S 1630, but dealt with some of the worst features of the Bush bill. On Jan. 29, that new document was sent to Mr. Reilly, who must have seen it as much a potential loss to his own policies as it was a serious embarrassment for his good friend Mr. Mitchell.

The next day White House aides were suddenly advised by Mr. Dole of a Republican caucus on the Hill to discuss clean-air strategy, a caucus Mr. Reilly is said to have requested.

At the last minute, Mr. Dole also scheduled a preliminary meeting for Mr. Reilly and Domestic Policy Adviser Roger Porter with Mr. Mitchell, where Mr. Mitchell indicated he already knew of the amendment strategy and warned against it in favor of negotiations with him.

At the caucus, Mr. Reilly reportedly urged Republicans to take Mr. Mitchell up on that approach. The next day the White House learned to its dismay the amendment strategy had been scuttled in favor of immediate negotiations in Mr. Mitchell's office. Some administration officials think Mr. Reilly's need to rescue Mr. Mitchell meshed too nicely with Mr. Dole's need to leverage him.

Over the next week, Mr. Reilly, his deputy administrator for air, William Rosenberg, along with three White House representatives — Roger Porter, Office of Management and Budget specialist on the environment Robert Grady, and presidential counsel C. Boyden Gray — sat at the other end of a negotiating table from Mr. Mitchell. He was flanked by Environmental Subcommittee Chairman Max Baucus, and "green" Republicans, John Chafee of Rhode Island and Dave Durenberger of Minnesota.

Other Republican senators were invited to sit as sideline participants in the process, but the negotiating ball was carried primarily by the EPA and Mr. Grady, who quickly engineered "agreements" on both air toxics and stationary source issues.

But, by the third day of negotiations, when it became apparent the Republicans were still being pushed back toward the original S 1630 with only a few substantive changes, Sen. Steve Symms of Idaho publicly quit the process, and by last Thursday Mr. Porter was being criticized within the White House by OMB Director Richard Darman for "giving away the store."

Aides were particularly incensed at being "snookered" over the issue of "residual risk" on the Air Toxics agreement. Under the Senate bill, the EPA administrator would be forced to shut down any industrial plant, which after having used maximum-available control technology (MACT) could still not assure that the most exposed individual (MEI) would not face a risk of more than 1 in a million.

This would be extreme even if Congress and the EPA allowed a rational risk assessment of the average exposure of the average real person living in the plant vicinity. Instead, under MEI, the risk "model" is a theoretical individual assumed to be living at the plant gate, 24 hours a day, outdoors for 70 years. That model overstates real risk by 100-1,000 times and puts nearly every major industrial plant at immediate risk of closure.

During the negotiations former EPA staffer and now aide to Mr. Durenberger Jimmy Powell worked out with the EPA representatives new wording that seemed to imply abandonment of the MEI principle in favor of "maximum exposed actual person." But White House specialists realized this was mostly cosmetic.

"You still have to assume that individual is fully exposed 24 hours a day 365 days a year for 70 years," one White House aide told us.

The Air Toxics portion of S 1630 was uniformly agreed to be the most costly (the Congressional Research Service had pegged it at \$64 billion) in part because of this impossible risk standard.

So, last Thursday morning Mr. Porter was instructed to slow down negotiations. Thursday evening, Messrs. Mitchell, Baucus and EPA personnel attempted to put the best face on things, suggesting they were "close to agreement" and could finish the process after the recess. But few think the odds are very good.

For the second time in two weeks, Mr. Reilly's high-risk strategy had backfired, decreasing the chances of consensus on this massively costly and scientifically flimsy bill.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

264/91/3

Bill Reilly: Living Dangerously

Tension was high when a senior-level White House meeting last week was interrupted by environmental chief William Reilly taking a call from a reporter who wanted a comment about the Bush administration's protection of wetlands. "No," his colleagues heard Reilly say, "I don't have anything on that—yet." The "yet" sounded ominous. It reinforced suspicions that political appointee Reilly, not faceless bureaucrats in his Environmental Protection Agency, feeds complaints that President Bush broke his commitments by softening wetlands policy.

The way Reilly is considered inside the administration is unique. While the Bush team's internal disagreements are probably less pronounced than in previous administrations, its chief environmentalist is something special. With Reilly soon to get Cabinet status, he is seen by colleagues as the enemy within—the Trojan Horse of an environmental movement determined to make up for the lost Reagan years.

The intensity of the language used about Reilly by his peers is extraordinary, as shown by this

description by a Cabinet member: "He favors either a radical, unilateral shutdown of the U.S. economy or a global regulatory regime. He does not accept economic reality and does not accept scientific reality."

There is no sign at all that the president shares those views. His selection of Reilly, who commanded worldwide respect as head of the Conservation Foundation, to run the EPA symbolizes Bush's desire to display the difference from Ronald Reagan. Nothing done by Reilly has yet stirred vocal displeasure from a president who normally insists on loyalty and teamwork.

The White House public line is that while Reilly has dissented from the president on clean air, wetlands and global warming, he has been a good soldier. The static, according to this official view, comes from civil servants at EPA. "Baloney," responds a Cabinet member. "It's not the bureaucrats. It's Reilly."

Such complaints began before the Bush administration had barely settled in. The president's men blamed Reilly for leaks targeting Budget Director

Richard Darman as the evil spirit polluting clean air. Nor did Reilly placidly accept marching orders. He insisted on participating in the economic summit's environmental discussions in Paris last summer, though he was not supposed to go. "Reilly shot his way in," a Bush aide told us.

Behind this style is a profound philosophical difference between the self-styled environmental president and his future secretary of the environment. Bush has made clear he will not protect the environment at the cost of the economy. He has laid down a marker of how much economic loss he will tolerate in a clean air bill, promising to veto anything crossing that line. Reilly will not even consider this trade-off.

William Ruckelshaus, a much-praised EPA chief in two Republican administrations, often disagreed with Reagan policy but always was willing to consider economic consequences. According to his inside critics, Reilly isn't.

Behind him is the well-financed environmental lobby using the news media to immobilize a foe—as

it did Darman last year. Darman has handed off the chore of protecting the economy to White House Chief of Staff John Sununu, who is now under fire for softening the administration's positions on global warming and wetlands. Conceivably, a bloodied Sununu may have to call back Darman in an environmental tag-team tactic.

To Darman, Sununu and economic adviser Michael Boskin, no mere difference in policy is at stake, but the American economy. Backed by Secretary of State James A. Baker III, Reilly favors an internationalization of handling global warming. To Cabinet critics, this poses the greatest threat to U.S. control of its own wealth since the Reagan administration staved off a global law of the sea.

George Bush is on the sensible, conservative side of this as he is on most issues. That he endangers his policies by appointing and now promoting Bill Reilly as a symbol of environmental sincerity is an exercise in the art of living dangerously at the White House.

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Shift on Warming Sought

Sununu Presses Revisions of Bush Speech

By Michael Weiskopf
Washington Post Staff Writer

Overriding the objections of top administration officials, White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu has ordered major revisions in a speech President Bush will deliver Monday on global warming, toning down remarks designed to underscore the seriousness of the problem, administration sources said yesterday.

The original outline envisioned the speech as the first comprehensive presentation of U.S. initiatives in response to the global-warming threat, establishing Bush as the world leader on the issue, sources said.

Instead, a draft of the speech—parts of which Sununu is said to have written—circulating within the administration shifts the focus to the uncertainties of predicting that world temperatures will in-

crease significantly because of heat-trapping gases, sources said. They cautioned, however, that the speech is subject to change over the weekend.

The original outline presented to Sununu this week was endorsed by Secretary of State James A. Baker III, Energy Secretary James D. Watkins, Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William K. Reilly and D. Allan Bromley, White House science adviser.

Their recommendation for what Bush should say at a meeting here Monday of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) marked the first consensus among top officials responsible for international environmental policy.

Bush, who spoke of the global warming threat as far back as his presidential campaign, proposed this week in his budget message that \$1 billion be spent on climate-change research in the next fiscal year.

And, while the administration has rejected more radical proposals by some European nations, Bush has promised to host the first session to negotiate a framework convention on global warming and permitted U.S. officials to sign a declaration by environmental ministers in the

Netherlands last fall calling for stabilization of global warming gases in the atmosphere.

The outline of Bush's speech presented to Sununu recommended that he emphasize these steps.

Nearly all of them have come in response to criticism by environmentalists and members of Congress and only after bitter fighting in the administration, giving the impression that Bush lacks a cohesive strategy on the issue.

Sununu has been the leading opponent of proposals to curb global warming gases produced chiefly by the burning of coal and oil. An engineer by training, he is said to question reliability of rough computer models projecting temperature rises of at least 4 degrees by the year 2050, and he fears the economic impact of shifting from energy resources used since the industrial revolution.

Reilly has pushed hardest for policy responses to the global warming threat, putting him at odds with Sununu. Twice last year, Reilly sought to stake out a U.S. leadership role at IPCC meetings but was rebuffed.

But in the current imbroglio with Sununu, Reilly was joined by other key administration officials, such as Watkins who have been less publicly identified with strong concerns about global warming.

Those officials, sources said, hoped Bush would stake out for the first time an assertive U.S. position

on global warming in his speech to the IPCC, which was set up in 1988 by the U.N. Environmental Program and World Meteorological Organization to study causes and effects of and best responses to global warming. But Sununu reacted angrily to the outline, initially editing out all but the section on scientific uncertainties when he received it early this week, sources said.

Sununu "raised questions whether politics was outdistancing the science," one official said.

At a Domestic Policy Council meeting Wednesday, Sununu appeared to soften his opposition after arguments by Reilly, Bromley and officials from the Energy and State departments, sources said.

But when a draft was circulated by a White House speechwriter late Thursday, the officials discovered that the focus had shifted to doubts about the science of global warming.

Spokesmen for the White House and EPA said the speech was still in the review process and had no comment.

Staff writer Thomas W. Lippman contributed to this report.

Bush Pledges Research on Global Warming

Speech to U.N.-Sponsored Panel Endorses No Proposed Remedies

By Michael Weisskopf
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush yesterday promised aggressive U.S. research efforts on global warming but stopped short of the endorsement of remedies that his top environmental advisers had urged.

In an address to a meeting of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) here, Bush referred to the "uncertainty" of global warming projections that are largely accepted by the scientific community and emphasized the need for "reconciling of environ-

mental protections to the continued benefits of economic development."

"Wherever possible, we believe that market mechanisms should be applied and that our policies must be consistent with economic growth and free market principles in all countries," he said.

Bush's remarks to the U.N.-sponsored panel, his most comprehensive yet on global warming, followed a policy dispute within the administration. Secretary of State James A. Baker III, Energy Secretary James D. Watkins and Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William K. Reilly had urged

Bush to use the speech to seize a leadership role and bring cohesiveness to a U.S. policy that critics say has been marred by hesitation and inconsistency.

But the advisers ran into opposition from White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu. Administration sources said Sununu first approved a speech reflecting his concern that scientific projections of global warming are too uncertain to justify measures to curb the burning of fossil fuels, a practice blamed for trapping solar radiation and heating the Earth.

Yesterday's address represented a compromise enabling Reilly, the most outspoken advocate of global warming initiatives, to praise the president for being the first head of state to address the IPCC. Reilly called Bush's policies "enormously constructive."

In the speech, Bush acknowledged the threat of global warming, saying that "human activities are changing the atmosphere in unexpected and unprecedented ways." He renewed his commitment to the IPCC, which was set up by the United Nations to propose remedies. And he cited U.S. efforts to research the problem, including his budget proposal last week for \$1 billion to study climate change.

The president said the proposal "reflects our determination to improve our understanding of the science of climate change." Research, he said, would "reduce the uncertainty" of projections and "seek hard data, accurate models, and new ways to improve the science and determine how best to meet these tremendous challenges."

But Bush failed to reaffirm past U.S. support for such concrete measures urged by European nations as a freeze on the worldwide level of emissions of carbon dioxide—the principal global warming gas produced by the burning of coal. Last November, the U.S. delegation to a Dutch conference of environmental ministers endorsed the freeze and a proposed study of a 20 percent cut in emissions of carbon dioxide.

Critics charged that Bush's focus on research instead of energy conservation did not match his campaign promise to use the "White House effect" to combat the "greenhouse effect" or the statement at last July's economic summit, signed by Bush, saying that "dramatic action is necessary to save the Earth."

"Some may be tempted to exploit legitimate concerns for political positioning," Bush said in defense of his approach. "Our responsibility is to maintain the quality of our approach, our commitment to sound science and an open mind to policy options."

But environmentalists and some members of Congress said the president missed a key opportunity to assume a leadership role on a problem considered by many scientists to be the world's greatest threat.

Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (D-Tenn.) accused the president and administration of "dragging their feet, moving like molasses when sure, steady leadership is needed."

The World Wildlife Fund, which Reilly headed before taking over the EPA, issued a statement saying that Bush "failed to address the issues" before the IPCC. "It demonstrates the current inability of the U.S. administration to face the substantive issues of climate change, leaving the president with nothing but generalities to offer."

White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater, responding to criticism that the speech offered nothing new, said Bush "doesn't think it's time for a call to arms. No, he thinks it's time for a call to research to find out more about it."

Staff writer David Hoffman contributed to this report.

Who's Environment Czar, E.P.A.'s Chief or Sununu?

3/91p/p

By MAUREEN DOWD
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14 — As the nation's defense recedes as an overriding issue and the environment becomes a more important one for Republican candidates, the White House chief of staff's role is being watched with alarm by some environmentalists and with concern by some Republican strategists and officials.

Although unwilling to criticize President Bush publicly, these Republicans worry that with important decisions looming on offshore drilling and the Clean Air Act, Mr. Bush seems to be relying increasingly on the advice of John H. Sununu, the chief of staff, who is a mechanical engineer by train-

ing and an environmental skeptic by temperament.

Environmental lobbyists and organization leaders are also alarmed because Mr. Sununu has asserted his influence at the expense of William K. Reilly, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, whose appointment was hailed as a sign that Mr. Bush was serious about his campaign pledge to be "the environmental President."

Political Motives Charged

Mr. Sununu, who is strongly supported by the business wing of his party and by many other senior aides, dismisses criticism of his role as "pure politics," and says the environmental movement is conducting an orchestrated offensive to scuttle Mr. Bush's portrayal of himself as an environmentalist.

"The President has a commitment to moving forward on the environment," Mr. Sununu said, "but he wants to do it in such a way that we don't make irreversible moves without knowing the benefits and negative impacts of each move."

Both Mr. Sununu and Mr. Reilly deny that there is personal animosity between them, but people familiar with the relationship say it is a set-up for conflict.

Mr. Sununu treats Mr. Reilly cordially, officials say, but is fearful that the former head of the World Wildlife Fund and the Conservation Foundation could be in-

fluenced by advocates of extreme positions, both from environmental groups and from inside his agency.

Mr. Reilly has taken his licks from Mr. Sununu on the theory that, as long as he has Mr. Bush's ear, he should get as much as he can for his environmental constituency. Mr. Reilly is also said by officials close to him to fear that Mr. Sununu, if his blunt intrusions go unchecked, could tarnish Mr. Bush's chances for a distinguished environmental record.

Mr. Reilly worries that the responsibility for making good on Mr. Bush's campaign promises rests on his shoulders, those close to him say. But some environmentalists suggest that Mr. Reilly runs the risk of seeming to be a patsy for Mr. Sununu if he mistakes access for influence.

Mr. Reilly was bested twice by Mr. Sununu last week, first when the chief of staff softened the President's speech on global warming and later when he weakened an agreement between the environmental agency and the Army Corps of Engineers to protect wetlands.

Mr. Reilly said he has come out of the scrapes "O.K." and that the Administration was moving forward on its goals, despite the howls from environmentalists and his old allies denouncing Mr. Sununu as "Dr. No" and "the new James Watt," Ronald Reagan's Secretary of the Interior.

List of Gains Cited

"The Bush team has put E.P.A. into the starting lineup and we frequently get hits," he said. "In other Administrations, the agency has been a bench warmer."

As "hits," Mr. Reilly's aides point to the total phasing-out of chlorofluorocarbons, air pollutants thought to damage the protective ozone layer of the atmosphere; a ban on asbestos, which is linked to cancer; additional enforcement officers for hazardous waste cleanup; the 57 percent increase in the 1991 budget for global warming research, and the 12 percent increase in,



The New York Times/Paul Hosefro

John H. Sununu

the Environmental Protection Agency's budget.

They also say Mr. Reilly's achievements should be viewed in comparison with the record of the Reagan Administration, rather than in the context of "rhetorical battles" with Mr. Sununu that represent minor setbacks.

Indeed, worried that President Bush might be offended by news reports of friction on the global warming issue, Mr. Reilly made a point of riding in the limousine with the President when he went to make his speech on the subject last week. Mr. Sununu was in the car as well and the two men assured Mr. Bush they were both happy with the speech, which was denounced by some environmentalists and by scientists and diplomats from Europe as too tepid.

Many White House officials support Mr. Sununu, saying he needs to keep an eye on Mr. Reilly. "Reilly has been captured by his bureaucracy," one official said. "He was already native and he's gone more native."

In a column in The Washington Post today, Rowland Evans and Robert Novak suggested that Administration officials are growing more suspicious that Mr. Reilly may be privately feeding complaints in the press that the President has scaled back on environmental commitments.

"With Reilly soon to get Cabinet status, he is seen by colleagues as the enemy within — the Trojan Horse of an environmental movement determined to make up for the lost Reagan years," the columnists wrote.

Environmentalists' Fears

Mr. Reilly's long-time supporters among the environmentalists, however, disagree and say they are beginning to fear that he has been too easily subdued. They fret that Mr. Sununu has tied Mr. Reilly's hands and that the environmental chief has become more concerned with his White House access and the planned Cabinet status for his job than with fiercely battling for the cause.

"He's into his chauffeur-driven car and the Cabinet perks game," complained one environmental lobbyist.

Mr. Reilly is trying to reassure his friends that, despite the dust-ups with Mr. Sununu, he believes that the President has his "heart in the right place," that he is the sort of man who actually asks how the Brazilian rain forests are doing.

"One way of looking at it is that it is flattering to have the chief of staff's attention," said an E.P.A. official enjoying what he called "the rarefied air" of access to the highest levels of the Administration.

Administration supporters of Mr. Reilly say that he has the iron will and Ivy League charm to counteract Mr. Sununu's influence with the President. They point out that he maneuvered his

way into the trip last summer to the Paris economic summit conference, where he grew much closer to Mr. Bush, a fellow Yale University graduate, and that the President has taken Mr. Reilly and his wife to the theater.

White House officials insist the clash between Mr. Sununu and Mr. Reilly is gentlemanly and rooted in their differing perspectives. As a veteran of the environmental movement, Mr. Reilly fears that Mr. Sununu will tarnish Mr. Bush's credentials if the chief of staff continues to hold sway in such a blunt manner, officials say.

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fluence the President. But Mr. Sununu said he also sees it as his mission to prevent both Mr. Bush and Mr. Reilly from being led astray by extremists within environmental agency.

How Sununu Sees His Role

Explaining why he is now helping formulate policy rather than merely executing it, Mr. Sununu said he has a deep distrust of the E.P.A. bureaucrats "who forget that it is Bill Reilly and the President who make policy, not some folks deep down within the system who are not answerable to the American public."

Mr. Sununu said that when advisers are not in consensus on a policy matter, he does not prevent Mr. Reilly or other cabinet officials from meeting Mr. Bush individually if they want to register a dissenting opinion.

As a former Texas oil man, Mr. Bush wants to pay attention to economic consequences. He may also prefer the mild conflicts between the men. He likes having advisers on one side appealing to his moderate, good-government impulses and another side appealing to his hard-ball political side. That way, the President can split the difference and feel that he has satisfied his decent impulses while protecting his conservative political base.

"Sununu's the lightning rod so that the President can stay above the fray," said one White House official.

Some environmentalists took as another bad omen this week the White House withdrawal of the appointment of a respected lawyer, Dan Reicher, as deputy general counsel of the White

House Council on Environmental Quality.

Although the chairman of the council, Michael Deland, took responsibility for the withdrawal, saying he had not realized what a "persistent critic" of the Administration Mr. Reicher was, some environmentalists suggested that White House pressure had been brought to bear, and that the affair served as another example of Mr. Sununu's influence with the President.

The chief of staff made his stance on the environment clear from the beginning. After the worst oil spill in the nation's history in Valdez, Alaska, last March, Mr. Sununu chided the press for focusing on the oil that was spilled rather than "the bulk of the oil that was kept on the ship."

A Worry for Republicans

But while Mr. Sununu's position may warm the heart of the traditional business wing of the Republican Party, the party is also working to maintain its new-found appeal on an issue that has become increasingly important to younger voters. Some party analysts believe that, while Mr. Sununu sees himself as protecting the President from extreme treaties or regulations, his success may squander hard-won gains among these voters.

Some in the Bush inner circle also suggest that the former New Hampshire Governor has a bad case of what one humorously termed "chief executive-itis."

The chief of staff loves to "strut his stuff," as one person who knows him puts it, and he can do that in scientific areas. Administration officials say Mr. Sununu enjoys nothing more than using his engineering and computer expertise to "go into orbit," debunking the predictions of imperfect computer models that forecast a severe threat from global warming.

The traditional role of the chief of staff is as a non-ideological coordinator and "honest broker" for the presentation of different views to the President and to execute the President's decisions.

But by becoming a policy formulator with strong conservative views on issues like abortion and the environment, Mr. Sununu may be setting himself up as someone "you have to get on your side," as one Bush insider puts it.

"What is really unfair is that Bush has put in a person as his chief of staff who is not a natural member of the Administration on environmental issues — he is the most aggressive advocate of an extreme position," said J. Michael McCloskey, the chairman of the Sierra Club.

Mr. Sununu is unrepentant. "Folks inside the White House think I'm being constructive," he said. "So it doesn't matter what the perception is on the outside."

Sununu linked to ski lobby

By Robert Bralle
SPECIAL TO THE GLOBE
and Stephen Kurkjian
GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON - While skiing the Colorado slopes late last year, the White House chief of staff, John H. Sununu, gave his longtime friend and ski area developer, Philip T. Gravink, some "candid advice" on how to change federal laws blocking further expansion of his New Hampshire ski area into the White Mountain National Forest.

No one knows for sure what that advice was. That it was offered is made clear in a Dec. 30, 1989, letter, obtained by the Globe, from Gravink to Sununu, the former New Hampshire governor. It is also evident that the United Ski Industries Association, of which Gravink is a member, has since launched an effort to lobby Congress for changes in a major federal environmental law to make it easier for ski areas to expand on public lands.

Sununu previously told reporters that he never offered assistance to Gravink, president of Loon Mountain ski resort, on how to break the federal delay in considering Loon's application for expansion onto 930 acres of federal forest land.

But the Dec. 30 letter - sent several weeks after the two men, their wives and others were together for a ski vacation in Colorado - is explicit. "I was very pleased with your candid advice," Gravink wrote. He went on to say that he and two other ski area developers would meet shortly to discuss the issue of expansion into federal lands. "We hope to commence implementation of those ideas," Gravink wrote.

In an interview last week, Gravink said the essence of Sununu's advice was, "You guys have got to start getting more political."

The communication between Sununu and Gravink came at a time when environmentalists, including some in Sununu's own Republican Party, are worried that his prodevelop-

ment leanings on the White House may impinge on Bush's longed-for image as "the environmental president."

Sununu declined to be interviewed about his discussion with Gravink. However, a White House deputy to Sununu said his advice consisted of telling Gravink to join with several other ski owners seeking similar expansions nationwide to seek a change in the federal law designed to limit the environmental impact from such expansions.

"Someone is saying, 'We're having a problem with the federal government. What should we do?' And Sununu is saying, 'Write your congressman.' There is nothing sinister about that," said Edward M. Rogers, Sununu's chief assistant.

In the same letter, Gravink alleged that the Environmental Protection Agency had "heightened its campaign as the leader of the opposition" to the \$27 million expansion project. Sununu apparently took Gravink's charge seriously. The Globe has learned he later directed the EPA to respond.

Rogers defended that action as well, saying Sununu often asked federal agencies to explain how they have handled complaints that have come to his attention.

Forest Service seeks consistency

The disclosure of the letter comes as the US Forest Service is working to ensure that its decision at Loon Mountain will be consistent with decisions at four other ski areas - in Oregon, California, Washington and Colorado - near national forests. The same issue is involved in each case: whether ski areas' expansion alternatives have been adequately considered before the federal government allows encroachment into the national forests.

Environmentalists interviewed about the letter and subsequent events said they are concerned that Sununu, who favored the Loon Mountain expansion as governor, may be tilting the federal bureaucracy to rule in favor of Gravink's position.

Christian W. Ballantyne, a Sierra Club official familiar with ski area development,

said, "The fact that John Sununu would urge people to seek a change in the rules because they can't win on the merits we find very troubling. This administration seeks to do things behind closed doors, without the input of the public or environmental groups, and that is not the way you protect the environment."

The controversy focuses on the 1969 National Environmental Policy Act and the review process set up to ensure minimal adverse environmental impact from ski area expansion. The US Forest Service, which is responsible for reviewing the applications, tentatively approved Loon's 1986 application last year.

EPA sought reconsideration

But the EPA, concerned over the project's effect on the water supply in the nearby town of Lincoln, prevailed on the Forest Service for much of last year to reconsider. The EPA said the Forest Service had not adequately considered other ways of expanding skiing.

The Forest Service conceded last month it had not fully considered alternatives to Loon and that its tentative approval would be withdrawn. The alternatives now facing Loon are to press Congress to amend the law as it relates to the review process or to persuade the EPA and the Forest Service to withdraw their objections.

One environmental official for the administration expressed doubt that Sununu had sought to exert pressure on the EPA to change its position. However, the official skirted the question as to whether it was proper for Sununu to ask the EPA to defend itself against the charge that it was blocking the expansion, when he has a personal interest in the controversy.

"If you were sitting in a Government 101 class you might say it's better left to the professionals who deal with it every day," the official said. But, the official said, "you know that the real world does not work as the Kennedy School indicates."

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^Despite denials, environmentalists see Sununu's hand in setbacks<
(HAS TRIM)

By Stephen Kurkjian
Boston Globe

WASHINGTON _ The level of distrust between White House chief of staff John H. Sununu and environmental advocates inside and outside the administration has deepened in the wake of reports that Sununu weakened two environmental plans as they were about to land on President Bush's desk.

Sununu, who was viewed with strong suspicion by the environmental lobby throughout his first year at the White House because of his pro-development record as New Hampshire's governor, appeared to be justifying their fears.

Within recent days, Sununu has been accused of toning down the final draft of a speech Bush was to give on global warming and altering a federal agreement to protect the nation's wetlands.

Sununu refused to comment about the charges, but others in the administration said that, at least on the charge that he had toned down Bush's speech on global warming, Sununu was being wrongly accused.

Environmental activists were not assuaged by those denials, however, saying Sununu has given them no indication that he is sensitive to their concerns or that he is willing to forsake economic opportunities to preserve the environment.

On the wetlands agreement, a last-minute addition in the plan's wording is expected to, in effect, allow development in Alaska, where officials had feared that the new policy would impair development. During White House meetings on the agreement, Sununu had sided with the Alaskan officials who had sought a provision waiving the wetland development restrictions in states with a "high proportion" of wetlands. Although absent from the draft proposal signed by the Environmental Protection Agency and Army Corps of Engineers in November, the Alaskan-favored provision was in the new policy issued last Wednesday.

The last-minute provision was seen by some as Sununu's handiwork.

Beyond the negative impact the stories generate for Bush and the supportive image he has tried to project on environmental issues, the controversies may indicate the first public policy rift within the top levels of the administration. During his first year in office, Bush has been successful in keeping Cabinet-level recriminations to a minimum with his warnings to advisers that he views it as an act of disloyalty if they try to subvert a proposed policy by leaking its contents to the media.

But Sununu, reliable sources said, was furious that details about the global warming speech and wetlands agreement were leaked to the media. He trained his stare on EPA administrator William K. Reilly. Reilly denied being responsible for stories on Sununu's conservative influence on White House environmental policy.

Sununu, an engineer by training, is expected to continue exerting his influence on Bush. "If Reilly wants to leak to reporters from the Times or the Post" that Sununu "has been watering down his proposals, then there's no way we can stop him," said one Sununu ally. "But rest assured" Sununu is not "going to be afraid of speaking his mind and exercising his responsibilities as chief of staff."

That a controversy should erupt over Sununu's role in handling environmental matters was hardly a surprise to those who knew him in New Hampshire. During his six-year term as governor, Sununu's pro-development sentiments were well-known. While he was praised for assembling all agencies that dealt with the environment into a single agency, he was said to be more motivated by the need to establish centralized management than he was to create a strong, environmentally conscious agency of government.

Sununu was an ardent backer of the Seabrook nuclear power plant. He urged increased construction of vacation condominiums, believing that their owners spent more money and created more construction jobs in the state than visitors who stopped at tourist attractions and then went home.

(EDITORS: NEXT 3 GRAFS OPTIONAL)

When the Army Corps of Engineers objected to the four-lane expansion of Route 101, an east-west highway, because it might endanger federally protected wetlands, Sununu gave the colonel in charge a piece of his mind. When a group of senior business leaders, most of them Republicans, suggested that better planning might help control growth, Sununu gave them a public tongue-lashing, equating "statewide planning" to socialism.

State wildlife and environmental officials began to question the environmental impact of a planned expansion of the Loon Mountain ski resort in the White Mountains, but Sununu ordered them to be silent until the state had a unified position. That he has moved to Washington has not diminished Sununu's interest in the project: On a ski trip to New Hampshire last month he told a reporter that he felt continued delays in the construction were unnecessary, and that he would not hesitate to pick up the phone and say so.

"As committed as we are to the environment, appropriate ways of balancing that with well-done, environmentally safe growth should be allowed," Sununu said. "From what I know, Loon Mountain falls into that category."

(END OPTIONAL TRIM)

Tipping the scales on the side of economics may win friends among developers, but polls have indicated it may hurt Bush politically. Public opinion polls have shown an increasing sensitivity toward proenvironment positions, and some Republicans have begun to wonder whether Sununu may ultimately be on the wrong side of the political issue.

"At this time he is taking the position that we cannot overreact, but we have to keep a balance that is equally favorable to those favoring growth" and "to those favoring protection of the environment," said one Republican who has briefed Sununu on environmental issues.

Asked whether Sununu's position would tend to hurt Bush politically, the Republican said, "I think" Sununu "is being shown public opinion polls that show he is on the wrong side."

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THE HIGHWAY DEVELOPMENT AND CONSTRUCTION ACT OF 1966 (HDC) WAS THE FIRST FEDERAL LAW TO PROVIDE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF INTERSTATE HIGHWAYS. THE ACT WAS PASSED BY THE 89TH CONGRESS AND SIGNED BY PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY. THE ACT AUTHORIZED THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE 90 PERCENT OF THE COST OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF INTERSTATE HIGHWAYS. THE ACT ALSO AUTHORIZED THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE 50 PERCENT OF THE COST OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF OTHER TYPES OF HIGHWAYS. THE ACT WAS A MAJOR STEP IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL INTERSTATE HIGHWAY SYSTEM.

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San Francisco Chronicle

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1990

LARRY LIEBERT

Environmental Roadblock In the White House

Washington

GEORGE BUSH may have promised to be an "environmental president," but John Sununu never promised he'd be an environmental chief of staff.

The powerful Sununu is emerging as the crucial anti-environmentalist in the Bush White House.

Sununu has repeatedly blocked strong regulations to fulfill Bush's campaign promise of "no net loss" of fragile wetlands. This week, Sununu took all the punch out of a speech Bush gave on global warming.

As a presidential candidate in 1988, Bush said, "Those who think we're powerless to do anything about the 'greenhouse effect' are forgetting about the 'White House effect' . . . We will talk about global warming."

Bush did not literally talk about "global warming" even once when he addressed a conference on the subject earlier this week. He spoke more circumspectly about "global climate change."

Chill on Global Warming

And the only "White House effect" in evidence was that of Sununu's editing pencil. He watered down a firm pledge of U.S. action that reportedly had been urged by everybody from Secretary of State James Baker to Environmental Protection Agency chief William Reilly.

"We all know that human activities are changing the atmosphere in unexpected and in unprecedented ways," Bush said in his non-committal speech. "Much remains to be done. Many questions remain to be answered."

Certainly, many scientists have begun to question how much the global climate really is warming due to emissions such as carbon dioxide and some have asked whether such a troubling phenomenon exists.

But the White House battles over the environment also have an ideological cast. The combative Sununu apparently views environmentalists as lefties cloaked in green. He believes they are intent on strangling growth and undermining free markets.

The attitude was captured in comments Sununu made last Sunday on ABC's "This Week

with David Brinkley."

"There's a little tendency by some of the faceless bureaucrats on the environmental side to try and create a policy in this country that cuts off our use of coal, oil and natural gas," Sununu said. "I don't think that's what this country wants. I don't think America wants not to be able to use their automobiles."

Such comments sound less like those of the environmental president and more like the openly anti-environmentalist rhetoric of former President Reagan and Governor Deukmejian.

Political Notebook:

Juggling economic and environmental concerns adeptly, Republican Representative Tom Campbell of Stanford was the only member of Congress who received perfect scores for last year in legislative ratings by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the League of Conservation Voters.

It's a neat trick that he is unlikely to repeat. The two groups often conflict and Campbell eventually will have to decide which to disappoint.

New York's Democratic Governor Mario Cuomo had this canny observation about Bush's purported support for a constitutional amendment to ban abortions:

"Has he ever given one to Congress?" Cuomo asked on CNN. "If he's for a constitutional amendment, why haven't we seen it? When he was for a constitutional amendment on flag-burning, you saw that instantly did you not? Why haven't we seen one? I'll tell you why not. Because they don't intend to do one. They just talked about it."

Who's Environment Czar, E.P.A.'s Chief or Sununu?

By MAUREEN DOWD

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14 — As the nation's defense recedes as an overriding issue and the environment becomes a more important one for Republican candidates, the White House chief of staff's role is being watched with alarm by some environmentalists and with concern by some Republican strategists and officials.

Although unwilling to criticize President Bush publicly, these Republicans worry that with important decisions looming on offshore drilling and the Clean Air Act, Mr. Bush seems to be relying increasingly on the advice of John H. Sununu, the chief of staff, who is a mechanical engineer by train-

ing and an environmental skeptic by temperament.

Environmental lobbyists and organization leaders are also alarmed because Mr. Sununu has asserted his influence at the expense of William K. Reilly, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, whose appointment was hailed as a sign that Mr. Bush was serious about his campaign pledge to be "the environmental President."

Political Motives Charged

Mr. Sununu, who is strongly supported by the business wing of his party and by many other senior aides, dismisses criticism of his role as "pure politics," and says the environmental movement is conducting an orchestrated offensive to scuttle Mr. Bush's portrayal of himself as an environmentalist.

"The President has a commitment to moving forward on the environment," Mr. Sununu said, "but he wants to do it in such a way that we don't make irreversible moves without knowing the benefits and negative impacts of each move."

Both Mr. Sununu and Mr. Reilly deny that there is personal animosity between them, but people familiar with the relationship say it is a set-up for conflict.

Mr. Sununu treats Mr. Reilly cordially, officials say, but is fearful that the former head of the World Wildlife Fund and the Conservation Foundation could be in-



The New York Times/Paul Hosefros

John H. Sununu

Continued on Page B16, Column 4

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1990

Sununu Role on Environment Is Debated

Continued From Page A1

fluenced by advocates of extreme positions, both from environmental groups and from inside his agency.

Mr. Reilly has taken his licks from Mr. Sununu on the theory that, as long as he has Mr. Bush's ear, he should get as much as he can for his environmental constituency. Mr. Reilly is also said by officials close to him to fear that Mr. Sununu, if his blunt intrusions go unchecked, could tarnish Mr. Bush's chances for a distinguished environmental record.

Mr. Reilly worries that the responsibility for making good on Mr. Bush's campaign promises rests on his shoulders, those close to him say. But some environmentalists suggest that Mr. Reilly runs the risk of seeming to be a patsy for Mr. Sununu if he mistakes access for influence.

Mr. Reilly was bested twice by Mr. Sununu last week, first when the chief of staff softened the President's speech on global warming and later when he weakened an agreement between the environmental agency and the Army Corps of Engineers to protect wetlands.

Mr. Reilly said he has come out of the scrapes "O.K." and that the Administration was moving forward on its goals, despite the howls from environmentalists and his old allies denouncing Mr. Sununu as "Dr. No" and "the new James Watt," Ronald Reagan's Secretary of the Interior.

List of Gains Cited

"The Bush team has put E.P.A. into the starting lineup and we frequently get hits," he said. "In other Administrations, the agency has been a bench warmer."

As "hits," Mr. Reilly's aides point to the total phasing-out of chlorofluorocarbons, air pollutants thought to damage the protective ozone layer of the atmosphere; a ban on asbestos, which is linked to cancer; additional enforcement officers for hazardous waste cleanup; the 57 percent increase in the 1991 budget for global warming research, and the 12 percent increase in the Environmental Protection Agency's budget.

They also say Mr. Reilly's achievements should be viewed in comparison with the record of the Reagan Administration, rather than in the context of "rhetorical battles" with Mr. Sununu that represent minor setbacks.



The New York Times

As the environment becomes a more vital issue, the role of John H. Sununu, White House chief of staff, left, is watched with alarm by many environmentalists. Mr. Sununu, a mechanical engineer by training and an environmental skeptic by temperament, has asserted his influence at the expense of William K. Reilly, the Environmental Protection Agency head. Mr. Sununu sat with him at a recent meeting.

Indeed, worried that President Bush might be offended by news reports of friction on the global warming issue, Mr. Reilly made a point of riding in the limousine with the President when he went to make his speech on the subject last week. Mr. Sununu was in the car as well and the two men assured Mr. Bush they were both happy with the speech, which was denounced by some environmentalists and by scientists and diplomats from Europe as too tepid.

Many White House officials support Mr. Sununu, saying he needs to keep an eye on Mr. Reilly. "Reilly has been captured by his bureaucracy," one official said. "He was already native and he's gone more native."

In a column in *The Washington Post* today, Rowland Evans and Robert Novak suggested that Administration officials are growing more suspicious that Mr. Reilly may be privately feeding complaints in the press that the President has scaled back on environmental commitments.

"With Reilly soon to get Cabinet status, he is seen by colleagues as the enemy within — the Trojan Horse of an environmental movement determined to make up for the lost Reagan years," the columnists wrote.

Environmentalists' Fears

Mr. Reilly's long-time supporters among the environmentalists, however, disagree and say they are beginning to fear that he has been too easily subdued. They fret that Mr. Sununu has tied Mr. Reilly's hands and that the environmental chief has become more concerned with his White House access and the planned Cabinet status for his job than with fiercely battling for the cause.

"He's into his chauffeur-driven car and the Cabinet perks game," complained one environmental lobbyist.

Mr. Reilly is trying to reassure his friends that, despite the dust-ups with Mr. Sununu, he believes that the President has his "heart is in the right place," that he is the sort of man who actually asks how the Brazilian rain forests are doing.

"One way of looking at it is that it is flattering to have the chief of staff's attention," said an E.P.A. official enjoying what he called "the rarefied air" of access to the highest levels of the Administration.

Administration supporters of Mr. Reilly say that he has the iron will and Ivy League charm to counteract Mr. Sununu's influence with the President. They point out that he maneuvered his

way into the trip last summer to the Paris economic summit conference, where he grew much closer to Mr. Bush, a fellow Yale University graduate, and that the President has taken Mr. Reilly and his wife to the theater.

White House officials insist the clash between Mr. Sununu and Mr. Reilly is gentlemanly and rooted in their differing perspectives. As a veteran of the environmental movement, Mr. Reilly fears that Mr. Sununu will tarnish Mr. Bush's credentials if the chief of staff continues to hold sway in such a blunt manner, officials say.

Mr. Sununu believes that Mr. Reilly is a well-intentioned and loyal administrator who deserves a fair chance to in-

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How Sununu Sees His Role

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Some environmentalists took as another bad omen this week the White House withdrawal of the appointment of a respected lawyer, Dan Reicher, as deputy general counsel of the White

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Although the chairman of the council, Michael Deland, took responsibility for the withdrawal, saying he had not realized what a "persistent critic" of the Administration Mr. Reicher was, some environmentalists suggested that White House pressure had been brought to bear, and that the affair served as another example of Mr. Sununu's influence with the President.

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A Worry for Republicans

But while Mr. Sununu's position may warm the heart of the traditional business wing of the Republican Party, the party is also working to maintain its new-found appeal on an issue that has become increasingly important to younger voters. Some party analysts believe that, while Mr. Sununu sees himself as protecting the President from extreme treaties or regulations, his success may squander hard-won gains among these voters.

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Political Motives Charged

Mr. Sununu, who is strongly supported by the business wing of his party and by many other senior aides, dismisses criticism of his role as "pure politics," and says the environmental movement is conducting an orchestrated offensive to scuttle Mr. Bush's portrayal of himself as an environmentalist.

"The President has a commitment to moving forward on the environment," Mr. Sununu said, "but he wants to do it in such a way that we don't make irreversible moves without knowing the benefits and negative impacts of each move."

Both Mr. Sununu and Mr. Reilly deny that there is personal animosity between them, but people familiar with the relationship say it is a set-up for conflict.

Mr. Sununu treats Mr. Reilly cordially, officials say, but is fearful that the former head of the World Wildlife Fund and the Conservation Foundation could be in-



The New York Times/Paul Hosefros

John H. Sununu

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Sununu Role on Environment Is Debated

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fluenced by advocates of extreme positions, both from environmental groups and from inside his agency.

Mr. Reilly has taken his licks from Mr. Sununu on the theory that, as long as he has Mr. Bush's ear, he should get as much as he can for his environmental constituency. Mr. Reilly is also said by officials close to him to fear that Mr. Sununu, if his blunt intrusions go unchecked, could tarnish Mr. Bush's chances for a distinguished environmental record.

Mr. Reilly worries that the responsibility for making good on Mr. Bush's campaign promises rests on his shoulders, those close to him say. But some environmentalists suggest that Mr. Reilly runs the risk of seeming to be a patsy for Mr. Sununu if he mistakes access for influence.

Mr. Reilly was bested twice by Mr. Sununu last week, first when the chief of staff softened the President's speech on global warming and later when he weakened an agreement between the environmental agency and the Army Corps of Engineers to protect wetlands.

Mr. Reilly said he has come out of the scrapes "O.K." and that the Administration was moving forward on its goals, despite the howls from environmentalists and his old allies denouncing Mr. Sununu as "Dr. No" and "the new James Watt," Ronald Reagan's Secretary of the Interior.

List of Gains Cited

"The Bush team has put E.P.A. into the starting lineup and we frequently get hits," he said. "In other Administrations, the agency has been a bench warmer."

As "hits," Mr. Reilly's aides point to the total phasing-out of chlorofluorocarbons, air pollutants thought to damage the protective ozone layer of the atmosphere; a ban on asbestos, which is linked to cancer; additional enforcement officers for hazardous waste cleanup; the 57 percent increase in the 1991 budget for global warming research, and the 12 percent increase in the Environmental Protection Agency's budget.

They also say Mr. Reilly's achievements should be viewed in comparison with the record of the Reagan Administration, rather than in the context of "rhetorical battles" with Mr. Sununu that represent minor setbacks.



The New York Times

As the environment becomes a more vital issue, the role of John H. Sununu, White House chief of staff, left, is watched with alarm by many environmentalists. Mr. Sununu, a mechanical engineer by training and an environmental skeptic by temperament, has asserted his influence at the expense of William K. Reilly, the Environmental Protection Agency head. Mr. Sununu sat with him at a recent meeting.

Indeed, worried that President Bush might be offended by news reports of friction on the global warming issue, Mr. Reilly made a point of riding in the limousine with the President when he went to make his speech on the subject last week. Mr. Sununu was in the car as well and the two men assured Mr. Bush they were both happy with the speech, which was denounced by some environmentalists and by scientists and diplomats from Europe as too tepid.

Many White House officials support Mr. Sununu, saying he needs to keep an eye on Mr. Reilly. "Reilly has been captured by his bureaucracy," one official said. "He was already native and he's gone more native."

In a column in *The Washington Post* today, Rowland Evans and Robert Novak suggested that Administration officials are growing more suspicious that Mr. Reilly may be privately feeding complaints in the press that the President has scaled back on environmental commitments.

"With Reilly soon to get Cabinet status, he is seen by colleagues as the enemy within — the Trojan Horse of an environmental movement determined to make up for the lost Reagan years," the columnists wrote.

Environmentalists' Fears

Mr. Reilly's long-time supporters among the environmentalists, however, disagree and say they are beginning to fear that he has been too easily subdued. They fret that Mr. Sununu has tied Mr. Reilly's hands and that the environmental chief has become more concerned with his White House access and the planned Cabinet status for his job than with fiercely battling for the cause.

"He's into his chauffeur-driven car and the Cabinet perks game," complained one environmental lobbyist.

Mr. Reilly is trying to reassure his friends that, despite the dust-ups with Mr. Sununu, he believes that the President has his "heart is in the right place," that he is the sort of man who actually asks how the Brazilian rain forests are doing.

"One way of looking at it is that it is flattering to have the chief of staff's attention," said an E.P.A. official enjoying what he called "the rarefied air" of access to the highest levels of the Administration.

Administration supporters of Mr. Reilly say that he has the iron will and Ivy League charm to counteract Mr. Sununu's influence with the President. They point out that he maneuvered his

way into the trip last summer to the Paris economic summit conference, where he grew much closer to Mr. Bush, a fellow Yale University graduate, and that the President has taken Mr. Reilly and his wife to the theater.

White House officials insist the clash between Mr. Sununu and Mr. Reilly is gentlemanly and rooted in their differing perspectives. As a veteran of the environmental movement, Mr. Reilly fears that Mr. Sununu will tarnish Mr. Bush's credentials if the chief of staff continues to hold sway in such a blunt manner, officials say.

Mr. Sununu believes that Mr. Reilly is a well-intentioned and loyal administrator who deserves a fair chance to in-

On Reilly's side: Iron will and Ivy League charm, his backers say.

fluence the President. But Mr. Sununu said he also sees it as his mission to prevent both Mr. Bush and Mr. Reilly from being led astray by extremists within environmental agency.

How Sununu Sees His Role

Explaining why he is now helping formulate policy rather than merely executing it, Mr. Sununu said he has a deep distrust of the E.P.A. bureaucrats "who forget that it is Bill Reilly and the President who make policy, not some folks deep down within the system who are not answerable to the American public."

Mr. Sununu said that when advisers are not in consensus on a policy matter, he does not prevent Mr. Reilly or other cabinet officials from meeting Mr. Bush individually if they want to register a dissenting opinion.

As a former Texas oil man, Mr. Bush wants to pay attention to economic consequences. He may also prefer the mild conflicts between the men. He likes having advisers on one side appealing to his moderate, good-government impulses and another side appealing to his hard-ball political side. That way, the President can split the difference and feel that he has satisfied his decent impulses while protecting his conservative political base.

"Sununu's the lightning rod so that the President can stay above the fray," said one White House official.

Some environmentalists took as another bad omen this week the White House withdrawal of the appointment of a respected lawyer, Dan Reicher, as deputy general counsel of the White

House Council on Environmental Quality.

Although the chairman of the council, Michael Deland, took responsibility for the withdrawal, saying he had not realized what a "persistent critic" of the Administration Mr. Reicher was, some environmentalists suggested that White House pressure had been brought to bear, and that the affair served as another example of Mr. Sununu's influence with the President.

The chief of staff made his stance on the environment clear from the beginning. After the worst oil spill in the nation's history in Valdez, Alaska, last March, Mr. Sununu chided the press for focusing on the oil that was spilled rather than "the bulk of the oil that was kept on the ship."

A Worry for Republicans

But while Mr. Sununu's position may warm the heart of the traditional business wing of the Republican Party, the party is also working to maintain its new-found appeal on an issue that has become increasingly important to younger voters. Some party analysts believe that, while Mr. Sununu sees himself as protecting the President from extreme treaties or regulations, his success may squander hard-won gains among these voters.

Some in the Bush inner circle also suggest that the former New Hampshire Governor has a bad case of what one humorously termed "chief executive-itis."

The chief of staff loves to "strut his stuff," as one person who knows him puts it, and he can do that in scientific areas. Administration officials say Mr. Sununu enjoys nothing more than using his engineering and computer expertise to "go into orbit," debunking the predictions of imperfect computer models that forecast a severe threat from global warming.

The traditional role of the chief of staff is as a non-ideological coordinator and "honest broker" for the presentation of different views to the President and to execute the President's decisions.

But by becoming a policy formulator with strong conservative views on issues like abortion and the environment, Mr. Sununu may be setting himself up as someone "you have to get on your side," as one Bush insider puts it.

"What is really unfair is that Bush has put in a person as his chief of staff who is not a natural member of the Administration on environmental issues. He is the most aggressive advocate of an extreme position," said J. Michael McCloskey, the chairman of the Sierra Club.

Mr. Sununu is unrepentant. "Folks inside the White House think I'm being constructive," he said. "So it doesn't matter what the perception is on the outside."