TENNESSEE CITIZENS for WILDERNESS PLANNING

NEWSLETTER NO. 165 **October 5, 1988**

This number of the TCWP NEWSLETTER is devoted exclusviely to information about candidates in the November 8 election. We urge you strongly to vote (are you registered?) and to consider the candidates' record and/or positions on environmental issues.

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1. THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE

A. The Record

The highly respected, non-partisan League of Conservation Voters (LCV) has generated Candidate Report Cards that summarize the records of Bush and Dukakis. They make interesting reading, and you will find them enclosed with this mailing. Dukakis rated an overall grade of B (range A- to C for different subcategories), while Bush rated D+ (range B+ to F). The LCV (whose board of directors includes prominent representatives of most of the national environmental organizations) has endorsed Dukakis for President as have several national groups, including Environmental Action and Friends of the Earth.

B. Expressed Positions

Both candidates have written position papers on the environment, of which TCWP has copies. Below, we are reproducing, side by side, statements on those issues we believe to be of greatest importance to TCWP members. Because of space limitations, we have omitted lengthy sections on toxics, pollution, public health, agricultural land, environmental leadership, air quality, etc. If you want to see the complete statements, send a self-addressed, stamped (45¢) envelope.

In the excerpts below, anything enclosed by quotation marks is reproduced from the candidate's own statement; any other sources are stated in parens. Hint: look for specifics vs generalities in what the candidates say.

Bush

Public Lands

"Wise stewardship of [federal] lands is an obligation of the federal government to the American people. Our national parks must be made readily accessible to the American public but also must be protected and enhanced for generations to come. Our multiple use lands, including our national forests, are both playgrounds for Americans outdoors and important sources of timber, minerals, water, food and habitat for wildlife. These lands are an integral part of every American's birthright and a part of the heritage that unites Americans from Maine to California." "A prime opportunity lies in developing a network of greenways in our urban centers linking our local, state and federal recreation sites."

Dukakis

Public Lands

Promises to:

- "Implement the central recommendations of the President's Commission on Americans outdoors." [Editor's note: this includes establishment of a dedicated trust fund for parklands acquisition, establishment of a network of greenways, protection of rivers, etc. See NL156 ¶8A.]
- "Act aggressively to preserve endangered species.
- Halt below-cost timber sales in national forests.
- Direct the Forest Service to...protect old growth forests.
- [Conserve] wilderness area...and fragile wildlife habitats.
- End public lands giveaway."

Record as Governor of Massachusetts:

"I launched the largest open space acquisition program in the history of Mass....the sixth smallest state in area now has one of the largest state park systems in the nation."

Arctic National Wildlife Refuge
Supports oil and gas exploration and development within the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (Sierra Club).

Wetlands
"Much important wetlands can be preserved -- and indeed retrieved -- by reducing marginal crop acreage in imaginative ways that do not penalize the farmer. The same is true of drilling acreage in the Gulf Coast -- incentives can be structured to permit drilling and protect and even enhance the relevant wetlands."

Energy
Would like to see domestic oil production accelerated. "We cannot say that we want more domestic oil but always drill in someone else's area... you have to take into consideration environmental concerns and then try prudently to do what is necessary for the energy base of this country." Bush supports tax assistance to spur oil exploration, nuclear power, and coal development. (Sierra Club) "We must accelerate the elimination of regulatory and other barriers to the ability of ...cleaner energy sources and other innovations to compete in the marketplace."

Recycling: waste reduction
Has not addressed this issue.

Coastal areas
Concerning oil-lease sale #91 off the California coast, Envtl and Energy Conf., Floor Brief, 8/10/88, states: "Bush...announced two days before the Republican Primary that he would like to see the sale delayed at least until the next administration was in office. Bush's announcement contradicted 8 years of administration efforts to open the California coastline to leasing. ...James Watt planned to lease more than a billion acres of offshore lands..."

International Environmental Issues
"Protection of the stratospheric ozone layer and controls over pollution of the oceans...require actions by all nations, not just the U.S. We can and should continue to demonstrate international leadership in protecting the environment and should provide lesser developed nations with technical assistance in the pollution control field. At the same time, we should act to discourage any nation from unfairly competing with American businesses by a conscious decision to forego appropriate pollution controls."

Arctic National Wildlife Refuge
"I will work with Congress to designate the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge a Wilderness Area."

Wetlands
"We must not only protect existing wetlands, but restore part of the vast endowment of wetlands that America has lost. I support strong enforcement of the wetlands protection provisions of the Clean Water Act, the cornerstone of an effective national policy on wetlands management."

Energy
"Today America has no energy policy... my national energy program will include:
- Energy efficiency and conservation: they are the most cost-effective and easiest-to-implement ways to enhance our energy security.
- Vigorous support for alternative and renewable technologies, including ethanol, solar, wind and small hydro-electric plants.
- Increased emphasis on natural gas, 'clean coal,' methanol, geothermal and other cleaner resources of which we have sizable domestic supplies."

Recycling: waste reduction
"I will...encourage source reduction and recycling on a national level and assist states and regions to establish stable national markets for recycled material." Supported Massachusetts bottle bill.

Coastal areas
- "I will continue to oppose offshore drilling in critical environmental areas ..., as I did for Georges Bank off the New England coast" (See LCV Report Card,Ed.)
- "We must expedite clean-up of our estuaries and harbors through EPA's bay and estuary program." (Editor's note: the pollution in Boston Harbor, often mentioned by Bush, is attributed by environmental groups to the fact that Bush's Task Force on Regulatory Relief made it possible for polluters to continue dumping, unrestrained by regulations.)

International Environmental Issues
"I will immediately call for an international environmental and conservation summit to bring together world leaders to confront these urgent problems [acid rain, greenhouse effect, ozone depletion, tropical-rain-forest destruction, ocean pollution.]
I would immediately rescind the current administration's misguided Mexico City Policy, which forbids private organizations receiving Agency for Intl Devt funding from providing a full range of family planning services to families who need them. Uncontrolled population growth... contributes to desertification, deforestation... and the destruction of ...habitat. America should help solve, not exacerbate, these problems."

2. THE U.S.SENATORIAL RACE

A. The Record

The following summarizes Sen. Sasser's recent record on environmental matters. Pertinent NEWSLETTER references are in parenthesis.

1. Worked consistently and hard for wilderness designation of a major portion of the Gt. Smoky Mtns National Park [132/1A, 135/2, 139/7, 143/4A, 153/3A, 154/1A, 156/1, 157/1A, 158/1A, 162/1, 164/1B].

2. Was instrumental in introducing and passing wilderness bills for both the southern and northern portions of the Cherokee Natl Forest in Tennessee [132/1B. 133/4A, 135/3, 136/6, 138/2, 151/1A, 152/1].

3. After hiking in the Cherokee NF with USFS officials, protested repeatedly that the Management Plan put too much emphasis on clear-cutting and road building. When environmental groups (including TCWP) appealed the Plan, he worked effectively behind the scenes to obtain a good settlement [141/1, 147/9, 149/4B].

4. Repeatedly urged US Forest Service to immediately protect (through Declaratin of taking) a tract on Grassy Ridge (Roan Highlands) whose owners were bulldozing it. Inserted report language in an appropriations bill directing USFS to acquire full tract [150/2, 151/1B, 153/4D].

5. Attempted to cut USFS' inflated road-construction budget [145/9B, 151/1C].

6. In 1983 and 1984, actively (and successfully) supported appropriation of $1 million and $0.5 million, respectively, for land acquisition for the Obed National Wild and Scenic River [129/2, 130/1A, 131/2A, 132/2A, 136/1A, 137/2A, 138/1]. Subsequently, urged Natl Park Service to speed up Obed WSR land acquisition [144/3A].

7. In 1986, by filibustering, he forced restoration of Abandoned Mine Lands funds that were being withheld by the Office of Surface Mining (OSM). This brought $4 million into Tennessee for reclamation of orphan mines that posed a threat to public health and safety [149/5B, 153/5D, 158/5B].

8. Urged OSM director to maintain quality of ground-water resource when ruling on citizen petition to declare Rock Creek watershed unsuitable for coal mining [153/5A].

9. Strongly supported thorough review of Rith Energy Co.'s "toxic-materials-handling plan" for mining the Sewanee coal seam [164/3F].

10. Won passage of legislation to provide TVA $2 million to clean up water quality in the Tennessee River. Opposed slashes in TVA non-power budget [156/6B, 158/6C].

11. Criticized TVA Board for failing to make selection of Environmental Quality director open to public participation [159/4A].

12. Joined efforts to clean up the Pigeon River. Prompted EPA to do dioxin and other testing in Tennessee communities on the river [157/3B].

13. Co-sponsored Endangered Species Act reauthorization [158/8C, 160/8B, 163/7E].

14. Won passage of language that nullifies DOE's decision to locate the MRS in Oak Ridge. Instrumental in establishing a review commission to reevaluate the need for and feasibility of the MRS.

15. Secured seed money for the creation of a greenway along North Chickamauga Creek.

B. Expressed Positions

During the spring of this year, the Sierra Club sent a questionnaire to incumbent Senator Jim Sasser and to his Republican opponent, Bill Anderson. Sasser submitted his responses in time for the May 15 deadline, but nothing was received from Anderson. On August 18, TCWP wrote to Anderson, enclosing another copy of the questionnaire which, we said, "was earlier sent by the Sierra Club to Sen. Sasser and the responses to which we plan to publicize prior to the election...[We] would like you, too, to be able to respond." TCWP has not received an answer.

The Sierra Club questionnaire asked respondents to indicate their position by checking one of multiple choices ["Work for," "Support," "Consider," "Oppose," "Work against"], and invited them to include more detailed statements if they wished. Below, we give both the checked responses and the longer answers provided by Sen. Sasser.

1. Reauthorization of the Clean Air Act including provisions to reduce acid rain by reducing sulfur emissions by at least 12 million tons per year.
   Short Answer: "Consider"
   "During my time in the Senate, I have supported efforts to improve the Clean Air Act...[A]ll parties would agree that there is a definite link between the emissions of certain pollutants and the acidity of rainfall in many areas of the country and the world. It will be important to pass a clean air bill which provides a workable solution to the problem of acid rain while addressing the economic concerns of all involved."

2. Legislation to protect the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge from oil and gas development by giving it wilderness protection.
   Short Answer: "Consider"
   "In my opinion, the value of wilderness to our country is far underestimated...[F]uture development in our remaining wilderness areas must be considered very cautiously. The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge is an area of great pristine value and certainly needs to be protected. The question remains as to whether oil and gas development in the area would destroy the wilderness value of the refuge. We have seen the impact of Prudhoe Bay, and the estimates of production from ANWR are still being debated. I will continue to consider the possibility of protecting the entire area with wilderness protection."

3. The building of new nuclear power plants in Tennessee.
   Short Answer: "Oppose"

4. Legislation to protect the pristine quality of air in and around national parks and wilderness areas.
   Short Answer: "Support"
   "I am quite concerned about the air quality problems which have been reported in the Great Smoky Mountains and throughout Tennessee. Several years ago I testified before a House of Representatives Subcommittee on the problems being experienced in the Smokies and our other National Parks from air pollution. I remain committed to enacting legislation which will reduce pollutants emitted into our atmosphere that ultimately devastate our forests, streams, and lakes."

5. Expanded budgets for the EPA, Fish and Wildlife Service and National Park Service.
   Short Answer: "Work for"
   "As a leading member of Senate Budget Committee, I have placed priority on items in the budget that allow for greater protection of our natural resources....We still have bountiful lands and resources available in the United Stated, and it is very important that these areas are well managed for future generations. I will continue to support measures in the budget to ensure adequate funding to achieve this goal."

6. Designation of 465,000 acres of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park as Wilderness.
   Short Answer: "Work for"
   "Since I entered the Senate in 1977, I have been the leading sponsor of wilderness designation for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. The Smokies remains one of the most scenic areas in the eastern United States and is also the most visited Park in the country. Balancing these two conflicting characteristics is difficult, but I believe that it can be done with the appropriate protection. I am hopeful that we will see the Senate pass my Smokies wilderness legislation in the 100th Congress. I am continuing to work towards that end and have made it one of my top priorities for the remainder of the year."

7. Creation of a special commission (or similar action) to establish a national energy policy aimed at promoting national security and industrial competitiveness via efficient energy use (conservation) and renewable energy sources.
   Short Answer: "Support"
   "I agree that there is currently no national energy policy. If one were to be put in place, high priority should be placed on conservation and renewable sources of energy. I am interested in the idea of a special commission to carry out this function. During my service in the Senate, I have fought to increase the funding to support efforts concerning renewable energy sources and for energy conservation. As a member of the Senate Energy and Water Development Appropriations Subcommittee, I will continue to work towards an energy policy which looks to future needs and clean and efficient sources of energy."

8. Reduction of the Forest Service budget for building new roads.
   Short Answer: "Work for"

"During the 1986 appropriations process, I used my position on the Senate Appropriations Committee to see that requests for increased timbering and road building were not allowed. I have experienced first hand in the Cherokee National Forest what occurs when a management plan is controlled by efforts for extensive clearcutting and roadbuilding. In addition to the environmental impact, Forest Service timber practices of the past have led to major revenue losses, ultimately paid for by the taxpayers. While we've made progress in modifying the management plan for the Cherokee, I intend to focus on the Forest Service's new roads budget throughout the rest of the country, as well."

9. Ensuring that nominees for boards, commissions and other positions of concerns to environmentalists are not supported or confirmed without discussing their views with environmental groups.
Short Answer: "Support"
"I feel that those in a position to make decisions affecting our environment must be very aware of the impacts of their decisions. Therefore, it is important that these individuals have the proper background and understanding of the issues which they will consider. Part of this process should involve scrutiny by those constituencies which they will serve..."

10. Increasing EPA's funding level for its operating budget.
Short Answer: "Support"
"With efforts to improve on our production, use and disposal of pesticides, toxics, waste and other chemicals, it will be important that the Environmental Protection Agency has the necessary funding to ensure these activities are carried out safely. The recent amendments of the Superfund and current consideration of FIFRA will provide a specific focus for the EPA."

3. U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE RACES

A. The Record of Incumbents

In the following table, the numbers at the top refer to issues (most of them close to home) discussed in past TCWP Newsletters. These issues are described below, together with the meaning of +/- symbols and the Newsletter reference (e.g., 160/10B stands for NL160 ¶10B); our thanks to Martha Katelle for looking up many of these references, also for ¶2A and 4 of this NL.

The second table lists League of Conservation Voters scores for national environmental issues.

1. **Obed.** Worked for (++) or supported (+)appropriations for land acquisition, $1M in 1983/$0.5M in 1984 [129/2, 130/1A, 131/2A, 132/2A, 136/1A, 137/2A, 138/1]. Urged Park Service to speed up acquisition [144/3A].

2. **Big South Fork.** Urged Corps of Engineers repeatedly to give high priority to acquiring remaining BSFNRRA lands("deferred areas") [149/2A, 153/1].

3. **Smokies Wilderness.** Initially (++) or subsequently (+) co-sponsored (1983 and/or 1987) bills to designate a major portion of the Park as wilderness [135/2, 141/6A, 156/1].

4. **Cherokee National Forest.** Introduced (++) or supported (+) wilderness bills for the southern portion [132/1B, 133/4A, 138/2] / northern portion [151/1A, 152/1].

5. **National Guard training range.** Successfully opposed use of 119,000-acre area between Fall Creek Falls and Savage Gulf for tank, artillery, and helicopter training [148/1]. Opposed use of wildlife preserve near Tullahoma for similar National Guard range [162/2F].

6. **Stripmine Reclamation.** Active in getting Office of Surface Mining to release Abandoned Mine Lands Funds for Tennessee [149/5B]. Supported restoration of Rural Abandoned Minelands funding [153/5D].

7. **Stripmine control.** Supported citizens petition to declare Rock Creek watershed unsuitable for coal mining [153/5A]. Maintained strong support for thorough review of plan for handling toxic materials generated in mining Sewanee coal seam [164/3F].

8. **TVA.** Heads House TVA caucus [154/4C]. Strongly urged TVA to set very strict standards for phosphate mining [154/4H].

9. **National wilderness and wildlife.** Co-sponsored HR39, which would designate the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge as wilderness (++) [160/10B, 163/7F]; or co-sponsored a bill that would open the Refuge to oil leasing (- -) [163/7F, 164/6G].

10. **Other national issues.** Actively involved in trying to break Clean Air stalemate (++) [163/7G]. Supported national billboard control (+); opposed it (- -) [153/9G]. Actively supporting bills to make federal agencies comply with environmental laws [164/6J].

Distr.	Incumbent	Performance on issue No. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Quillen (R)	/+/		+	/++						/ - /
3	Lloyd (D)	++/++/		++	+/			+/	+/	- -	/ - /
4	Cooper (D)	++/++/+	++	++	+/+	++/+	+/+	/+	/+	++	++/+/++
5	Clement (D)	*	*	*	*	*	*			- -	
6	Gordon (D)	*		+							
7	Sundquist (R)	+/ /			++						/ - /
9	Ford (D)	+/+/			+/					++	

*Not in the Congress at that time.

District	Candidates	
	Democrat	Republican
1	Sidney Smith	Jim Quillen
2	Dudley Taylor	John Duncan, Jr.
3	Marilyn Lloyd	Harold Coker
4	Jim Cooper	--
5	Bob Clement	--
6	Bart Gordon	Wallace Embry
7	Ken Bloodworth	Don Sundquist
8	John Tanner	Ed Bryant
9	Harold Ford	--

The Sierra Club has endorsed Gordon, Tanner, Ford, Cooper.

Incumbent	League of Conservation Voters Scores			
	1985/86	1985	1984	1983
Quillen	10	17	11	6
Lloyd	22	26	21	33
Cooper	69	75	73	91
Clement	--	--	--	--
Gordon	43	42	--	--
Sundquist	26	42	25	30
Ford	72	75	81	57

For 1985/86 the national average was 50 (Dem 64; Rep 31). Cooper and Ford exceeded the average.

B. Questionnaire Responses

TCWP mailed the following questionnaire to all 15 candidates on Aug. 15. By presstime, only 3 responses (Smith, D, Embry, R and Tanner,D) had been received (that's 38% of non-incumbents; we didn't really expect the incumbents to return the questionnaire). The respondents' answers are given following each question.

1. A bill that would designate 467,000 acres of the Gt. Smoky Mountains National Park as wilderness passed the U. S. House of Representatives in 1987 but has been delayed in the Senate. Should the bill have to be re-introduced in 1989, would you co-sponsor it?
   Smith: "Yes"
   Embry: "Yes"
   Tanner: "Yes"

2. The Big South Fork National River & Recreation Area (the major part of which lies in Tennessee, with part in Kentucky) was authorized by Act of Congress in 1974. At 125,000 acres, it will be the largest unit of the National Park System east of the Mississippi to have been designated in many years. Some of the most scenic portions of the designated Area have, however, not yet been acquired and are jeopardized by possible destructive developments. Would you actively work for appropriation of the funds needed to complete the BSFNRRA?
   Smith: "Yes"
   Embry: "Need more information"
   Tanner: "Yes"

3. The Obed is the only National Wild & Scenic River in our State, and one of only three in the Southeast. It was designated by the Congress in 1976, but only about half of the gorge is protected to date. If Congressional action or encouragement is needed to protect more of this magnificent river, would you actively support such action?
   Smith: "Yes"
   Embry: "Yes"
   Tanner: "Yes"

4. While TVA's electric-power activities are self-sustaining, Congressional appropriations are needed for the agency's non-power budget. In the following incomplete list of TVA activities, mark (√) the ones you consider important and would therefore vote to appropriate funding to:
   _water-quality protection (**Smith** "√"; **Embry**: "EPA job" **Tanner**: "√")
   _management of public lands surrounding TVA reservoirs (**Smith** "√"; **Embry**: "√" **Tanner**: "√")
   _economic development (Tanner "√")
   _reduction in air pollutants generated by power plants (**Smith** "√"; **Embry**: "√, should be part of power bill")
   Tanner "√, " " " " ")

5. The backlog of U.S. lands already identified to be in need of protection but not yet acquired is overwhelming. A bill under consideration by the present Congress (HR 4127/S 2199)) would create an endowed self-sustaining fund that would provide about $1 billion annually for federal, state, and local land acquisition for parklands, wildlife protection, and outdoor recreation. If the bill must be re-introduced in 1989, would you co-sponsor it?
   Smith: "Yes"
   Embry: "Need to study"
   Tanner: "Undecided"

6. The mission of the U.S. Forest Service (USFS) is to manage its holdings for multiple use as wildlife habitat, for outdoor recreation, for water-quality protection, and for timber supply. Do you feel the USFS has stressed timber supply at the expense of other values?
   Smith: "Needs more study
   Embry: "In some cases"
   Tanner: "Not sufficiently informed"

7. Do you feel the USA needs an energy policy?
   Smith: "Yes"
   Embry: "Yes"
   Tanner: "Yes"

   Among the following energy sources, which do you think should be encouraged through Congressional action:

   _oil & gas
   _conservation (energy efficiency)
   _solar
   _coal
   _nuclear

   Smith: checked conservation and solar. "If we ever find a safe way to dispose of nuclear waste, it might become the practical energy source.

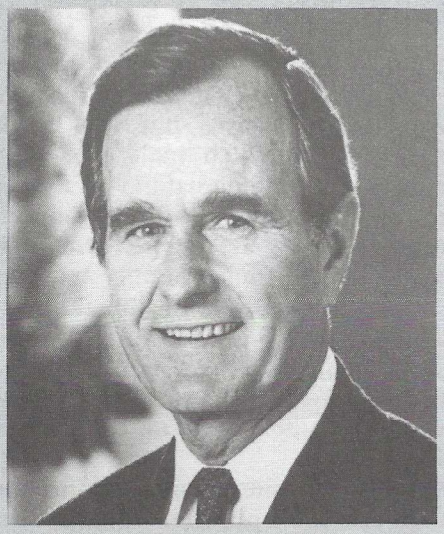
   Embry: Checked conservation, solar, nuclear.
   Tanner: Checked conservation and solar.

8. Recent instances of political interference with the National Park Service (NPS) have led to the introduction of a bill to give NPS independent authority. HR 3964 would make the NPS director a presidential appointee with a fixed 5-year term, and would establish a Review Board that would report to Congress annually on park needs and issues. If this bill must be reintroduced in 1989, would you co-sponsor it?
   Smith: "No". I have little faith in presidential appointees."
   Embry: "No"
   Tanner: "Not sufficiently informed to comment"

4. TENNESSEE LEGISLATURE

Below, we list favorable and unfavorable mention of state legislators in NEWSLETTERS dated January 1985 - August 1988, inclusive. Where there are multiple listings, * designates leadership role. (Note: not all persons listed below are candidates in this election.) Based on the record, the Sierra Club has endorsed Jan Bushing (D) and John Chiles (R).

FAVORABLE MENTION	UNFAVORABLE MENTION
Radnor Lake Natural Area addition (won) Reps. Bushing and Chiles; Sen. Henry [156/2B]	
House Mtn. Natural Area acquisition (won) Rep. Atchley [156/2B]	
Shelby Farms Forest Natural Area designation (won) Rep. Kernell [156/2B, 161/3A] Sen. Cohen [161/3A]	
Surface-owner's relief (won) Reps. Herron, Coffey [156/2E] Sens. Dunavant and C. Moore [156/2E]	
Regulation of under-2-acre stripmines (won) Rep. Burnett [156/2F]	
Oil & gas regulations (won) Reps.*Burnett, Bushing, Chiles, Jared, Severance [156/2C, 157/5B] Sens. *Dunavant, Henry, McNally, Greer [156/2C, 157/5B], Koella [147/1A]	Reps. Duer [148/4C, 156/2C], Severance [156/2C]
Recycling (no action) Rep. J. K. Davis [162/2B]	
Ground water (no action) Rep. J. K. Davis [162/2B]	
Bedrock-blasting prohibition (no action) Rep. Yelton; Sen. C. Moore [162/2B]	
Rare Plant Protection (won in weaker form) *Sen. D. Henry [141/3B] *Rep. Cobb [140/2]	
Billboard removal (no action) Sens. Atchley, Cohen [147/1C] Reps. McNally, Scruggs, May [147/1C]	Speaker McWherter [148/4E, 147/1C
Wetlands acquisition funds (won) Rep. Byrd; Sen. Richardson [147/1E] Reps. McNally, Scruggs, Severance, May, Peroulis, Drew [148/4A]	
Soil conservation and related issues (won) Rep. Byrd; Sen. Richardson [147/1E]	
Eastern State Wildlife Management Area, Knox Cy. (withdrawn) Reps. Severance, Peroulas, Scruggs, J. Davis [147/1F]	Rep. Severance
Surface owners' relief re mineral rights (lost) Sens. Burks, Koella, Longley, Moore; Reps. Crain, Covington, Hillis, Jared, Kernell [147/1G]	Rep. J. Cross [148/4C]
Abandoned mine state reclamation funds (won) Sen. Albright [147/1H]	



League of Conservation Voters

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE REPORT CARD

Vice-President George Bush

GRADES

Budget and Regulations	F
Clean Air & Acid Rain	D–
Water Pollution & Toxics	F
Energy	D+
Public Lands & Wildlife	B+
Water Resources, Coasts & Land Use	D+
OVERALL GRADE	**D+**

For most of his career, George Bush has served under various Presidents with little opportunity to formulate his own environmental policies. As a candidate, he has refused to complete the LCV questionnaire indicating his own positions. The following is a summary of his statements and record on key issues.

BUDGET AND REGULATIONS

When President Reagan was elected, Bush was selected to be Chairman of the Presidential Task Force on Regulatory Relief, which set the tone for the Reagan administration's attitude toward all environmental laws. One of its first recommendations gave the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) veto power over environmental regulations. The result was disastrous.

Bush's legal counsel, Boyden Gray, sent out hundreds of letters asking industry leaders for a hit list of regulations they would like to see weakened or abolished. Bush then announced the new Administration was going to drastically revise EPA programs for pesticide registration, the entire program for regulating hazardous wastes, the requirements for notification and pre-market testing of potentially toxic substances, and various air pollution regulations. In every case, the proposed regulations turned out to be weaker than the old ones.

Under OMB's direction, the EPA delayed its pretreatment requirements for industrial toxic chemicals, which were being dumped into municipal sewage treatment plants. Bush instructed the EPA to "consider relaxing or rescinding the entire phasedown rule" for lead in gasoline.

Some of Bush's ideas proposed in the Task Force do have merit. It often does make sense for pollution control laws to set performance standards rather than mandating the use of a specific technology. All too often, however, the Task Force formulations meant a de facto weakening of existing standards. The Task Force also praises as "reform" an effort by the Army Engineers to weaken its program to restrict the dredging and filling of wetlands.

The best thing Bush has done as Vice President was to lobby energetically for the creation of the Aquatic Resources Trust Fund to restore declining populations of sport fisheries. An avid sportsman, Bush is generally more sympathetic on the traditional land and wildlife conservation issues than on health issues. He did support the Montreal international protocol on ozone depletion, which was an important first step, but which doesn't go nearly far enough. Bush endorses the soil conservation provisions in the 1985 farm bill.

CLEAN AIR AND ACID RAIN

Bush was Chairman of the Presidential Task Force on Regulatory Relief, which launched a major assault on clean air laws. On April 6, 1981, the Task Force announced a hit list of 34 federal regulations it wanted to investigate and/or modify to oblige the auto industry. The shopping list was based primarily on a letter from General Motors.

In its 1983 report the Bush Task Force praised EPA for removing "unnecessary burdens on consumers and on the auto industry resulting from environmental standards," for a two year delay of the diesel particulate standard for cars and light duty trucks, for delaying its 1984 hydrocarbon and carbon monoxide standards for heavy duty trucks, and for delaying nitrogen oxide emission limits for post-1984 model year engines.

The Task Force also cited as "regulatory improvements" the delays and reductions in auto testing requirements which are important for implantation of clean air laws. The Task Force urged EPA to base its emissions standards on fleetwide averages, rather than individual vehicles, which meant a de facto weakening of standards. The OMB also cut back EPA's budget for implementing whatever standards could not be weakened.

Bush's legal counsel, Boyden Gray, lobbied against strengthening amendments to the Clean Air Act in Congress. But Gray does deserve credit for being more accessible than most Reagan Administration officials, and for being on the side of the angels during a struggle over the Administration's position in the international negotiations about the depletion of the earth's ozone layer.

Bush also chairs the Interagency Task Force on Alternative Fuels, which is promoting the use of ethanol from corn and methanol from coal and natural gas. Most environmentalists agree that, on the balance, ethanol and natural gas methanol can be good options which show promise as one strategy for controlling carbon monoxide and ozone levels. Methanol from coal is definitely a bad idea. It would create severe environmental problems from toxic residues, and it would put much more carbon dioxide into the global atmosphere than most other fuels, thus adding to the greenhouse effect.

WATER POLLUTION AND TOXICS

Bush's Task Force on Regulatory Relief targeted many regulations restricting toxic chemicals as well. In March 1981, Bush announced a continued freeze on the entire system of controlling hazardous wastes. EPA was forced to abandon a program it had worked four years to create.

In August, 1981, Bush announced a similar attack on the entire pesticide registration program while at the same time, EPA had registered over 200 pesticides on the basis of testing done by a company known for falsifying data. The Task Force argued a policy of quicker and easier approval for pesticides. EPA obliged but the vast majority of pesticides still have never been adequately tested for health hazards.

The record on water pollution is not much better. In its 1983 report, the Task Force claims that EPA's iron and steel effluent guidelines are an example of how OMB oversight has "improved rulemaking" by making it "more responsive to environment concerns." Environmentalists remember it differently, saying that OMB delayed these regulations for almost three years.

The Bush Task Force and OMB suspended indefinitely the pretreatment standards for industrial toxins which are dumped into city sewage systems.

In general Bush would prefer to create financial incentives for pollution control rather than imposing regulations, but he has never pushed any comprehensive package which could substitute for the regulations he has attacked.

ENERGY

George Bush has repeatedly promoted energy production over energy conservation. His Task Force fought successfully to repeal performance standards for the weatherization of new buildings, and to repeal the Residential Conservation Service, which provided free energy saving audits for homeowners.

Bush's Task Force also tried to repeal the Corporate Average Fuel Economy standards for cars. When Congress didn't agree to that, the Reagan Administration rolled back the standards from 27.5 miles per gallon to 26 mpg—the lowest they could go without new legislation.

As founder of an offshore drilling company, Bush is expected to favor aggressive oil development off our coasts. He is also a fan of nuclear power. In 1980 he called it "essential" and has indicated that he supports a proposed rule change at the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to deprive states of the power to block new nuclear plants by refusing to approve evacuation plans. Bush endorses keeping low limits on liability for nuclear accidents.

PUBLIC LANDS AND WILDLIFE

As a Congressman Bush introduced the first and largest bill to create a 150,000 acre Big Thicket National Park in east Texas. It was not in his district, but Bush helped to lay the groundwork for the bill which finally passed in 1973. The Big Thicket is an outstanding natural area including many ecosystems and supporting 300 species of birds. In the 1970s it was under heavy logging pressure. In 1970, Bush also voted against the Timber Supply Act, which would have increased logging in the national forests.

As a candidate in 1980, however, Bush supported statutory "release" language to block future consideration of potential wilderness areas, and criticized the Carter Administration for setting aside 40 million acres for wildlife refuges in Alaska.

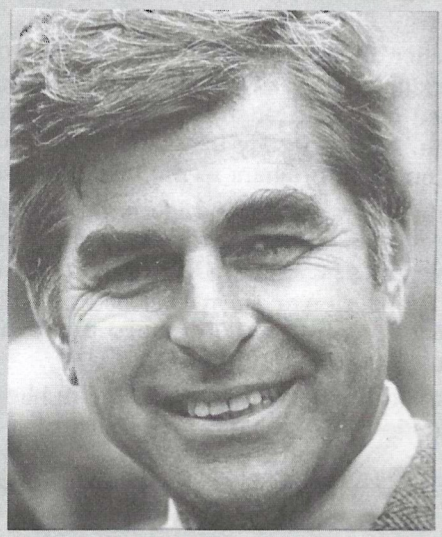
As Vice President Bush presumably supports the Reagan Administration's public lands policies, although there is no record of his Task Force playing a role in this area. Bush, however, played a positive role by lobbying energetically for the Wallop-Breaux Aquatic Resources Trust Fund, which seeks to restore declining fish populations through grants for research, habitat purchase and management.

WATER RESOURCES AND PRIVATE LANDS

In 1970 as a House member Bush led a floor fight against the channelization of Buffalo Bayou in his district in Texas, calling it a waste of tax dollars and a threat to the river's natural beauty. This was much appreciated by local conservationists; but since that time, Bush's role on water development issues has been more negative.

As a candidate in 1980 he criticized President Carter's water project hit list, saying that "while water projects in the East are sometimes regarded as pork barrel, this generalization is inappropriate in the arid West."

In its 1983 report the Bush Task Force praises as "reform" the revised Army Corps of Engineers regulations to weaken wetlands protection under Section 404 of the Clean Water Act. The new regulations removed almost 50% of all wetlands from the protection provided by permit requirements for dredging and filling. Only after a lawsuit by environmentalists did the Reagan Administration finally change them again in 1984.



League of Conservation Voters

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE REPORT CARD

Governor Michael Dukakis

GRADES

Budget and Appointments	C
Clean Air & Acid Rain	B
Toxics, Water Pollution, & Solid Waste	C+
Energy	A–
Public Lands	B+
Coast & Water Management	B
OVERALL GRADE	**B**

Dukakis has repeatedly told the voters, "Look at my record in Massachusetts." If he can run the state so well, he argues, then he can run the nation. Massachusetts environmentalists have mixed feelings, but on the balance their verdict is favorable.

BUDGET & APPOINTMENTS

Dukakis deserves praise for some excellent environmental policies. He fought in the courts to protect the New England coast from offshore oil drilling. He has blocked the startup of the Seabrook nuclear power plant by refusing to accept inadequate evacuation plans. He led the effort in the New England Governor's Conference to find a workable national solution to acid rain and supported a bill in the state legislature as well. He started important programs to protect prime farm land and open space, including a $500 million bond issue last fall. He supported measures to improve water resource management and opposed needless river diversions. He lobbied for the Administrative Penalties law to help the state go after toxic polluters, and is now working to implement an ambitious hazardous waste cleanup program. He helped pioneer an energy efficiency law for appliances which set the standard for the nation. His public health department has banned several cancer causing pesticides which are still permitted elsewhere.

Despite the good intentions and good policies, Massachusetts environmentalists were often frustrated with Governor Dukakis in his second term. For one thing, it sometimes took a strenuous campaign to force Governor Dukakis to take a strong stand and achieve the kind of results described above. But the more serious problem has been implementation. The Governor's implementation of environmental programs was considered only fair, largely because of a few weak appointments to key environmental positions, fear of antagonizing business, and a failure to give his environmental program enough funding in his budget recommendations.

AIR POLLUTION, CLIMATE, ACID RAIN

Several years ago, Dukakis showed fine leadership in getting the New England Governor's Conference to address the problem of acid rain. In an effort to break the impasse in Congress, they crafted a national acid rain control strategy in which all regions involved would share the costs. This was the first time New England political leaders suggested that their own states should help pay for midwestern pollution control.

As a candidate, Dukakis says he supports a 12 million ton reduction in sulfur dioxide emissions. But Dukakis is also a board member of an institute and group of Governors (put together by Governor Sununu of New Hampshire) that developed a compromise proposal on acid rain which laid the groundwork for the Proxmire bill opposed by environmentalists. It calls for only a 10 million rather than a 12 million ton reduction. Dukakis supported a Massachusetts state law imposing a 30% reduction in state emissions contributing to acid rain.

On other clean air issues, Dukakis supported a statewide testing and maintenance program for automobile emissions, and environmentalists report that implementation has been fairly good. The implementation for stationary sources, however, has been much worse. Several times the Dukakis administration has delayed or failed to enforce emission standards for big incinerators and industrial polluters.

As a Presidential candidate Dukakis has pledged to phase out substances which are linked to global warming and climate change. He says he would also "prohibit imports of priority list substances, and of products manufactured using such substances" unless the exporting nations had programs at least as stringent as the U.S.

WATER POLLUTION, TOXICS, SOLID WASTE

Dukakis gets high marks for a strong and successful lobbying effort to pass the Administrative Penalties Act, which makes it easier for the state to penalize polluters without having to go to court. This was considered crucial to take the delay out of enforcement and to deter polluters. Enforcement has already improved as a result.

The Dukakis administration's Department of Public Health was one of the first in the nation to ban several cancer causing toxic pesticides, including EDB, Alar, Alarchlor, and Chlordane. The primary responsibility for regulating

pesticides, however, lies with the Department of Food and Agriculture, which is much more reluctant to restrict pesticides but which does have a small integrated pest management program to reduce the need for pesticide use. Dukakis testified in Congress against any federal pre-emption of stronger state standards and laws on pesticides.

Dukakis took a bad position, however, on the Massachusetts Right to Know Law. Such laws are supposed to give workers and communities the right to know when they are exposed to toxic chemicals. Governor Dukakis insisted on amendments which said, in effect, "you have the right to know, but you don't have the right to tell anyone else."

The first state superfund law to clean up hazardous waste passed in 1983 with the Governor's support. The original law contained no deadlines or standards for cleanup, but these were later imposed by voters in a referendum organized by an environmental group. After some hesitation, Dukakis endorsed the referendum and has done his best to implement it.

Dukakis has announced a goal of recycling 25% of the state's solid waste "in the near future" and burning no more than 50%. But there is still a big gap between this policy and the actual allocation of state resources. Environmentalists hope, however, that under a new solid waste law passed with the Governor's support, up to 25% of solid wastes may be recycled through five regional recycling centers.

ENERGY

Governor Dukakis won applause from nuclear critics nationwide when he blocked the opening of the Seabrook nuclear power plant in New Hampshire by refusing to approve an evacuation plan. Dukakis has fought repeatedly to stop oil leasing off the New England coast.

In addition to fighting destruction energy development schemes, Dukakis has supported renewable sources and energy conservation. He has actively promoted solar energy as part of a larger economic development program to bring new high technology industries to Massachusetts. He persuaded the legislature to spend $10 million on a new Photovoltaic Center for a major research and development effort. He is promoting cogeneration also. The Fund for Renewable Energy and the Environment recently ranked Massachusetts third in the nation for its renewable energy programs.

Dukakis initiated a state law setting energy efficiency standards for appliances, and lobbied the U.S. Congress to keep these strong standards in a federal law. The State Energy Office has written some good energy conservation policies for utilities, but the Department of Public Utilities hasn't really pushed them.

As a Presidential candidate, Dukakis has opposed any tax on gasoline or imported oil (environmentalists favor the former, but not necessarily the latter). Nor is Dukakis willing to impose a mandatory auto fuel efficiency standard of 50 mpg. Instead he advocates stronger public support for high speed rail transit.

PUBLIC LAND AND LAND USE

Governor Dukakis has supported several innovative programs to preserve land and open space. The first was a system to preserve prime agriculture land by buying up development rights to keep land in farming. About 20,000 acres have been saved this way, most of them in Dukakis's first term. The program later ran out of money and has only recently been funded again.

In 1987, after a major campaign by conservationists, the Governor introduced a big $258 million bond issue to buy up land and helped push it through the legislature, where it grew to $500 million. He can rightly boast that this is "the largest open space acquisition program in the history of the nation."

Dukakis doesn't rate quite so high in the management of state forests. Environmentalists complain about logging and about the Governor's persistent effort to put a road through Wendell state forest, along a steep river bed. Dukakis recently reversed his decision on this and dropped the road and an alternative route has been found.

Dukakis took good positions on all the public lands and agriculture questions on the LCV questionnaire.

WATER RESOURCES, COASTLINE, WETLANDS

Perhaps the most important thing Governor Dukakis has ever done for Massachusetts is to block offshore oil drilling off Georges Bank. Twice Dukakis fought in the courts to stop federal oil lease sales on the Outer Continental Shelf, and he won. This has protected one of the richest fisheries in the nation, the source of 17% of our food fish, 40,000 jobs and over $1 billion a year from the fishery along—not to mention tourism, which is the second largest industry in the state.

In his first term, Dukakis put together a strong coastal zone management program. Like other programs, it has since suffered funding cuts, but it will benefit from a share of the money in the new land acquisition bond. The Dukakis administration recently wrote some tough new Tidelands regulations to provide better public access to beaches and waterfronts.

In his first term, Dukakis also put in place an impressive wetlands protection program, with tough new restrictions on dredging and filling. But this program has been only poorly enforced in the second term, because funding has not kept up with growing development pressures.

The Governor's water resource policies have been excellent. He has resisted political pressure for river basin transfers and insisted that cities like Brockton learn to practice water conservation instead. Dukakis has supported several other important laws to improve water management.