

# ECOLOGUE

Newsletter of the Environmental Communication Commission

Fall 2000

## *Environmental Communication at NCA*

The Environmental Communication Commission will be sponsoring several panels at the 86th Annual Convention of the National Communication Association in Seattle from November 8-12, 2000.

Jean Retzinger, Vice Chair of the ECC, wishes to thank everyone who submitted completed papers or panel proposals to the Environmental Communication Commission. ECC received 21 papers and 9 panel proposals for consideration.

All five of our reviewers read and rated each

**See ECC-sponsored panels, back page.**

of the papers (in a blind review) and ranked each of the panel proposals. Jean created two panels from the top-scoring papers and submitted these along with the top-ranking panel proposals. ECC submitted 8 panels in total (one of these was co-sponsored with the Theatre Division) to James Applegate, the First Vice President of NCA. All eight of our panels were

accepted. A total of 42 individuals will be presenting their research in these ECC-sponsored panels and 7 others will be participating as panel chairs or respondents.

This newsletter only lists panels and programs sponsored by the Environmental Communication Commission. For a complete list of panels at the conference, including related presentations in the rhetoric of science, consult the National Communication Association web page: [www.natcom.org](http://www.natcom.org)

### *From The Editor*

Welcome to the Fall 2000 issue of Ecologue! This issue features a schedule of the panels sponsored by the Environmental Communication Commission at the National Communication Association annual convention in Seattle in November.

In addition, this issue includes articles on environmental issues in the 2000 presidential campaign, including the full text of speeches from Gov. George W. Bush and Vice President Al Gore on energy and the environment.

There was an enthusiastic response to the course modules from Star Muir and James Cantrill in the last issue, so I have included a new course module in this issue. I encourage environmental communication instructors to submit their own course modules, so that they may be included in future issues.

ECC president Judith Hendry has contributed an essay on the scope of environmental communication, starting on page 7.

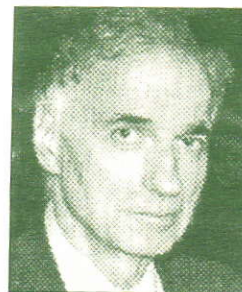
If you would like to be added to the mailing list, or if you have any questions about the newsletter or the Commission, contact the editor: Dr. Terence Check, Communication Department, St. John's University, Collegeville, MN 56321, (320) 363-2027, [tcheck@csb-sju.edu](mailto:tcheck@csb-sju.edu)

## *Environmental Rhetoric in Presidential Politics*

*By Terence Check*

For environmental communication educators and scholars interested in campaign 2000, here is a list of important environmental speeches and events from the presidential campaign. Most of the information is from the *New York Times*, and a citation is included from the national edition of the newspaper. If C-SPAN telecast the speech, an identification number and price is included. Scholars can purchase C-SPAN video from the Purdue University Public Affairs Video Archives, 1-800-277-2698.

**4/3/00:** As part of an effort to co-opt traditional Democratic issues, Gov. George W. Bush announced detailed environmental proposals in a speech in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Bush announced a plan to clean up abandoned industrial sites known as brown-fields. "Every environmental issue confronts us with a duty to be good stewards," said Bush. "As we use nature's gifts, we must do so wisely. Prosperity will mean little if we leave future generations a world of polluted air, toxic lakes and rivers and vanished forests." (NYT 4/4/00, A12)



*Green Party presidential Candidate Ralph Nader has energized many young voters.*

**5/30/00:** In a speech in Milwaukee, Vice President Al Gore pledged to prohibit logging and road building on 43 million acres of undeveloped national forests. "If I am entrusted with the presidency, it will be a national priority to preserve these roadless areas as they are, no ifs, ands or

butts about it," exclaimed Gore. "No more destructive development and exploitation. And just so I'm crystal clear about it, no new road building and no timber sales in the roadless areas of our national forests. Period." In the speech, Gore also stated his opposition to oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) in Alaska. (NYT 5/31/00, A1)

**6/9/00:** In Richland, Washington, Al Gore announced President Clinton's designation of the Hanford Reach as a national monument. The area is one of the most important salmon spawning beds in the world. (NYT 6/10/00, A11)

**6/21/00:** The *New York Times* reports that the rising price of gasoline is quickly becoming a campaign issue in the presidential race. The Democrats

**See Green Politics, next page**



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## Green Politics (from cover page)

are trying to tie Texas Governor George W. Bush with big oil interests, while the Republicans are blaming the Clinton administration for a lack of a coherent energy policy. (NYT 6/22/00, A1)

**6/25/00:** Consumer advocate Ralph Nader accepted the presidential nomination of the Green Party in a speech in Denver, Colorado. Nader sharply criticized the Democratic and Republican candidates, calling them "drab and dreary" choices whose policies reflect the influence of corporations. (NYT 6/26/00, A14) [C-SPAN ID# 157789, \$49.95]

**6/27/00:** In Philadelphia, Al Gore unveiled a \$125 billion energy plan that included a number of tax breaks for businesses that invested in more efficient sources of energy. Speaking of his commitment to environmental issues, Gore said, "I know these challenges are not easy. And for me, they have never been without controversy. But my commitment to the environment has always run deeper than politics. We have to do what's right for our earth because it is the moral thing to do" (NYT 6/28/00, A20). [C-SPAN ID# 157936, \$29.95]

**6/28/00:** In a speech in Blacklick, Ohio, Al Gore announced a series of tax credits designed to encourage consumers to purchase energy-efficient technologies. Gore announced that he would provide tax credits of up to \$6,000 for buying energy-efficient cars and up to \$2,000 for buying houses that meet energy-saving standards. Other incentives included a tax credit of up to \$1,000 for buying solar water heating systems and \$2000 for solar electricity systems. (NYT 6/29/00, A23)

**6/28/00:** Campaigning in Cleveland, Ohio, George W. Bush tried to blunt criticism about his connections to the oil industry by suggesting that it was really Gore who was a friend of big oil. Bush pointed to Gore proposal that would give a tax incentive to industries for deep-water drilling in search of natural gas. The Gore campaign responded that increased natural gas production would lower America's dependence on foreign oil. (NYT 6/29/00, A23)

**6/29/00:** In a speech in Chicago, Al Gore proposed to spend \$25 billion over 10 years to improve mass transportation, including light rail systems. The Vice President also made it clear in a subsequent news conference that his proposals were not like those of former President Jimmy Carter, who urged Americans to use less energy in the 1970s. "I reject the idea that in order to have a clean environment and reduce our dependence on foreign oil, we all have to put

on hair shirts and turn off the air conditioners and swelter inside and feel good that we're doing our duty for the environment," Gore said. (NYT 6/30/00, A16)

**6/29/00:** In a breakfast with reporters in Washington D.C., Green Party presidential candidate Ralph Nader sharply criticized the Clinton/Gore administration for allowing oil company mergers in recent years, saying that had set the stage for rising energy costs. Nader labeled Al Gore "an environmental imposter" and a "gee-whiz techno twit" who had abandoned the poor and working class in favor of corporate interests. Nader also criticized George W. Bush, calling him "the corporate welfare king of all presidential candidates" (NYT 6/30/00, A16).

**6/29/00:** Several *New York Times* readers respond to articles about Ralph Nader's presidential bid. One reader claims that Nader's effort "demonstrates more genuine respect for the intent of the American electoral process than either of the major-party campaigns." Another reader asserts that Nader could deliver the election to Bush, "damaging progressive interests for a generation" (A30).

**6/30/00:** A *New York Times* editorial criticizes Green Party

presidential candidate Ralph Nader for "engaging in a self-indulgent exercise that will distract voters from the clear-cut choice" of Gore and Bush (A26).

**7/1/00:** Several *New York Times* readers respond to a recent editorial criticizing Ralph Nader's decision to run for president. One of them, Richard W. Rosenblitt of Philadelphia, writes, "Mr. Nader provides an important public service, because there is nothing that politicians and those wielding power fear more than intelligent and informed citizens" (A28).

**7/4/00:** Responding to the *New York Times* editorial that criticized his presidential candidacy, Ralph Nader writes in a letter to the editor: "If my candidacy as the Green Party's nominee for president subtracts more from Mr. Gore, it is because the Democratic Party under this administration has become little more than a corporate shadow of its former self" (A18).

**7/19/00:** The Clinton administration announced that it would postpone by at least five years a plan that could have led to the breaching of four dams on the Snake River in Washington State. The dams interrupt the migratory path of wild salmon, but also generate enormous electricity in this swing political state. Gov. George W. Bush has declared his opposition

to any beaching of the dams, while Gore has avoided discussing the issue on the campaign trail. (NYT 7/20/00, A1)

**7/24/00:** At an event in Grand Rapids, Michigan, Vice President Al Gore received the endorsement of the Sierra Club. "If we fail to elect Al Gore, if George Bush becomes president, we could face a very different America," said Dr. Robert Cox, the president of the Sierra Club and a member of the Environmental Communication Commission. "We could face what the people of Texas face now: air pollution, water pollution, toxic waste, record numbers of violations of our clean-air and clean-water standards, environmental laws unenforced, and corporate polluters unchecked and out of control." (NYT 7/25/00, A18)

**8/3/00:** George W. Bush accepts the Republican nomination for president. Near the end of the speech, Bush states, "Corporations are responsible — to treat their workers fairly, and leave the air and waters clean." [C-SPAN ID# 158606, \$49.95]

**8/10/00:** Saying that Ralph Nader is "irresponsible," Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., writes in an editorial in the *New York Times* that the Green Party "could torpedo efforts to address the nation's most important environmental challenges" by siphoning votes away from Al Gore. Kennedy argues that environmentalists who join Nader's "personal crusade risk marginalizing the conservation movement" (A23).

**8/12/00:** Ralph Nader unveiled his first television commercial this week, a takeoff on the Mastercard "priceless" advertising campaign. The text of the advertisement reads, "Grilled tenderloin for fund-raiser: \$1,000 a plate. Campaign ads filled with half-truths: \$10 million. Promises to special interest groups: over \$10 billion. Finding out the truth: priceless. There are some things money can't buy. Without Ralph Nader in the presidential debates, the truth will come in last. Find out how you can help. Go to votenader.com. Vote Ralph Nader for president." On August 16, Mastercard files a copyright lawsuit against Nader, but Nader wins the court challenge, arguing successfully that the advertisement is a spoof.

**8/17/00:** Accepting the Democratic nomination for president, Al Gore states in a speech in Los Angeles, "I stand here tonight as my own man." Gore mentions the need to fight global warming, but he spends little time discussing environmental issues in the speech. [C-SPAN ID# 158849, \$39.95]

**8/24/00:** Three natural resource commissioners, all appointees of George W. Bush, said today that climate change was a serious problem and that Texas would look at ways to cut its emissions of greenhouse gases. Texas produces more greenhouse gases from the burning of fossil

*Nader calls Gore  
"an environmental  
imposter," and a  
"gee-whiz techno  
twit."*

fuels than any other state. (NYT 8/24/00, A18)

**9/1/00:** Ralph Nader made several stops in New York today, including a tour of the New York Stock Exchange, which he called the "bastion of global capitalism on welfare." He criticized both Gore and Bush for taking contributions from General Electric, a company he criticized for polluting the Hudson River. (NYT 9/1/00, A17)

**9/4/00:** Although it had seriously considered endorsing Green Party candidate Ralph Nader, the environmental group Friends of the Earth today endorsed Al Gore for president. "We're looking at the reality here," said Brent Blackwelder, president of Friends of the Earth. "In the United States, third parties do not get elected to the presidency." Friends of the Earth had endorsed Bill Bradley in the Democratic primaries.

**9/5/00:** Ralph Nader today supported those people who want to grow industrial hemp, by criticizing federal raids and seizures of the crop.

**9/8/00:** In a speech in Santa Fe, New Mexico, Ralph Nader called for the legalization of marijuana. "We do not send alcoholics to jail in this country," Nader said. "Over 500,000 people are in our jails who are nonviolent drug users."

**9/13/00:** A Zogby poll shows that 58.7 percent of Americans want Ralph Nader to be included in upcoming presidential debates. The Commission on Presidential Debates has excluded Nader from these events, citing a rule that a candidate must receive 15 percent in public opinion polls to be worthy of inclusion in the debates. Nader argues that the 15 percent threshold is unfair because young people are rarely included in national polling.

**9/13/00:** Speaking in Monroe, Washington, George W. Bush questioned Gore's commitment to the environment by claiming that the Clinton administration had neglected the upkeep of national parks. In his speech, Bush called for spending an additional \$3.75 billion to improve and maintain national parks. (NYT, 9/14/00, A19)[C-SPAN ID# 159208, \$29.95]

**9/21/00:** Al Gore delivered a speech on energy policy in Hollywood, Maryland, and called for a release of some oil from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. [C-SPAN ID# 159362, \$29.95]

**9/22/00:** A day after Gore's proposal to tap into the nation's strategic oil stockpile, President Clinton ordered the release of 30 million barrels of oil from the emergency reserve.

**9/22/00:** Ralph Nader held a rally in Minneapolis that attracted 12,000 supporters. It is one of several "super rallies" held across the country for the Green Party presidential candidate. [available from C-SPAN, ID# 159322, \$39.95]

**9/29/00:** In a speech in Saginaw, Michigan, George W. Bush criticized Al Gore's approach to energy and called for oil drilling in the Arctic

National Wildlife Refuge. [C-SPAN ID# 159527, \$29.95] (see text, p. 3)

**9/29/00:** Canceling his previous plans for the day, Al Gore quickly responded to Bush's energy speech by delivering a speech at the Naturalist Audubon Society in Chevy Chase, Maryland. Gore criticized Bush's proposal for drilling in ANWR. [C-SPAN ID# 159509, \$29.95] (see text, p. 5)

**10/3/00:** The first presidential debate takes place in Boston. In the debate, George W. Bush called for oil drilling in "a small part of Alaska," while Gore opposed drilling, saying that oil companies should not be allowed to ruin "the environmental treasures of our country."

**10/3/00:** Officials from the Commission on Presidential Debates and three uniformed police prevented Ralph Nader from attending the presidential debate, even though he had obtained a ticket for the event.

**10/5/00:** Joseph Lieberman and Dick Cheney participated in the vice-presidential debate. Saying that the Republicans favor a "balanced approach" to energy and the environment, Cheney called for oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. In his response, Lieberman called ANWR "one of the most beautiful, pristine places that the Good Lord has created on earth," and instead called for the development of energy efficient technologies.

**10/11/00:** Bush and Gore meet in the second presidential debate, and devote 11 minutes to a discussion of environmental issues. Gore expresses concern over global warming and criticizes the Texas Governor's environmental record. Bush emphasizes local decision making.

**10/12/00:** In Odessa, Texas, Joseph Lieberman delivers a speech critical of Bush's record on the environment. "The record here shows Governor Bush has failed to lead," says Lieberman. ●

### **In energy speech, Bush criticizes Gore**

*The following is a transcript of Gov. George W. Bush's speech on energy in Saginaw, Michigan, delivered September 29, 2000.*

Everywhere I travel this country I have found that Americans are becoming more and more worried about energy. Motorists are concerned about what they have to pay at the pump. Homeowners, especially here in the Midwest

and the Northeast, are worried about the cost of heating their homes this winter. In California and elsewhere, small business owners and families alike are seeing their electricity bills skyrocket. In Michigan and in other states, the hardships are real and they are growing. Many people here heat your homes with natural gas and propane. Today at the wellhead, natural gas costs twice as much as it did last year. And affordable energy is vital to Michigan's great economy, with its automobile manufacturing base and growing high tech sector.

The situation is critical for our nation. President Clinton warns of a possible recession. His fears could be well placed. See, our nation has had three recessions in the last generation, and each one of them tied to an energy shock. After seven and a half years in office, and four months before departing, Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore have

begun to grasp a problem that has been years in the making. His administration tries to take credit for our economy, but they seem to have forgotten what makes it run. Even today in our new high tech economy, America runs on oil and gas and coal gained from the earth and water behind our dams. In fact, the new economy has made us more reliant on these sources of energy.

Six years ago, many Americans had never even used the Internet. Today, many are and we think of our new economy as quite and far removed from the Industrial Age. And in some ways it is. Yet today the equipment needed to power the Internet consumes 8 percent of all the electricity produced in the United States. Over half of that electricity comes from the burning of coal, and about 15 percent comes from natural gas. Our nation uses about 20 million barrels of oil a day, and the need grows daily. No matter how advanced our economy may be, no matter how sophisticated our equipment becomes, for the foreseeable future, we will still depend on fossil fuels.

Against this background, our country has a great and urgent need for a comprehensive energy policy with leadership from the President himself. Without a long-term strategy to ensure steady and reliable supplies of energy, we put at risk our economy and the way of life it supports. Today America has no energy policy, as the Secretary of Energy himself reminded us recently. He admitted the Clinton/Gore administration "was caught napping" — his words — when fuel prices began to rise. This is a good description and it's taken an election to wake him up. Since this administration took office, America's need

*"In the United States, third parties do not get elected to the presidency," says the president of a leading environmental group.*

for oil has increased by 14%. Over the same period, our imports of foreign oil have increased by more than a third. Never before has our country been more dependent on foreign supplies. Today we import 56% of our oil. In twenty years, on our current path, that figure could be as high as two-thirds. Meanwhile, our own production of crude oil is at the lowest level in fifty years, and our refining capacity has not kept pace with demand. Let me put it plainly, oil consumption is increasing, our production is dropping, our imports of foreign oil are skyrocketing, and this administration has failed to act. As a result, America, more than ever, is at the mercy of foreign governments and cartels, at the mercy of big foreign oil.

On the Clinton/Gore watch, the American government has lost credibility with OPEC nations, including our Gulf War allies. We fought a war in defense of some of these countries, and today our standing with them is low, our needs are ignored. On the Clinton/Gore watch, Saddam Hussein's Iraq has become a major supplier of oil to America. This means that one of our worst international enemies is gaining more and more control over our nation's economic future. Now, just weeks before an election, this administration in a calculated political move, has decided to tap crude oil from the strategic petroleum reserve. Their plan calls for the release of 30 million barrels, about 36 hours worth of consumption in the United States economy. At best, we nearly swap slightly lower prices before the election for higher prices after November 7th. But releasing oil from the strategic petroleum reserve also leaves our country even more vulnerable to foreign suppliers, including Saddam Hussein. Every barrel of strategic reserve we release today for political reasons, is one less barrel we have for threats to our nation's security. The strategic reserve is meant for a foreign war, or a major disruption in supplying, not for national elections. It's a petroleum reserve, not a political reserve.

This administration's neglect of oil has been compounded by its neglect of natural gas. Millions of businesses and homes rely on natural gas. Michigan is the sixth largest consumer of natural gas. The administration claims to support it because natural gas burns clean, but this administration has restricted natural gas exploration, despite the fact that our nation is rich in natural gas. And the administration has made it harder to deliver natural gas to line some of the nation's biggest pipeline projects, projects that provide power and heating to the Midwest and

the Northeast. My opponent says that he's for natural gas, he just doesn't like people to find it or move it to where it's needed. Even as they pay for more gas and oil, many Americans, especially in California, are facing record high electric bills and brownouts. Our new economy is demanding more electricity, and we are having a hard time keeping up.

Our nation needs more sources of power, yet the administration is consistently hostile to our existing sources of power. They overburden our coal industry with regulations and litigation. Hydroelectric power provides over a quarter of electricity for California, but the Vice President refuses to tell us whether he'll breach dams and shut down this clean source of power. The administration seems never to have concerned itself with the domestic energy supply, except to tax, regulate and therefore, diminish it. The Vice President likes electric cars; he just doesn't like making electricity. In speeches he calls autoworkers his friends. In his book, he declares the engines they make an enemy.

This is the record of seven and a half years, a record of inattention, misplaced priorities and last minute ploys. It will fall to the next administration to repair this damage and reverse this course.

We must begin where the need is greatest, and provide immediate assistance to those least able to afford heating oil. Congress provided 600 million in emergency funds for crises just like the one we face today. But 155 million of these funds remain unspent and they should be released. The President should provide this money to those who need it.

For the future, I am also proposing that any federal royalties collected from oil and gas above certain price thresholds would be dedicated to provide help to low-income Americans. We must make sure that short-term supply problems do not adversely affect Americans, and threaten this nation's economy. In the future, to ensure that heating oil supplies are available when needed, I support a home heating oil reserve. This reserve will blunt the impact of future shortages, temporary increasing supplying in times of need. And when those stocks fall short, I will require the Department of Energy to notify Congress and to make specific recommendations. In the future, no administration should be caught napping when our supplies are low. These steps will help consumers confront an urgent short-term need, but our goal is not just to manage the crisis, it is to avoid a crisis in the future. Our nation must actively build its

long-term energy security.

First, I will make energy security a priority of my foreign policy. I will use the tools of diplomacy to increase the flow of crude oil from foreign suppliers. I will rebuild America's influence and credibility with the members of OPEC and with the nations of the Persian Gulf. Many of those relationships have faltered in recent years. I would remind our friends in the Persian Gulf that our relationships are not merely commercial, but strategic. They may own the oil, but America offers its protection. In the end, it's America that protects the peace; America that safeguards their independence. I will build strong relationships with energy producing countries in our own hemisphere. I will invite the governments of Canada and Mexico to join in developing a North American energy policy, a policy rooted in the principles of free trade and the free flow of energy across our borders. I will also support energy exploration in non-OPEC nations — places like the Caspian Sea Basin and western and southern Africa, to help diversify the world's energy resources.

Secondly, I will encourage more energy exploration and production here at home, while protecting the environment. We should open a small fraction of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge for responsible oil and gas exploration, exploration that will be environmentally sound. The Vice President says that he would rather protect this refuge than gain the energy, but this is a false choice. We can do both, taking out energy and leaving only footprints. Critics of increased exploration and production ignore the remarkable technological advances in the last ten years that have dramatically decreased the environmental impact of oil and gas exploration.

With the same concerns in mind, I will ask the Department of Energy, working with leading environmental and conservation groups to identify other federal lands that can be open to sound exploration for oil and natural gas. And I'll support new pipelines — gas pipelines are essential to America's energy future, and we must build them without sacrificing the environment or public health or safety. Within these parameters, we will require federal agencies to streamline the regulatory process for pipeline approval, which in some cases has taken over three years. We must also expand our refining capacity by addressing regulatory hurdles. The oil that we pump from the ground cannot be put into our cars or furnaces. First it has to be refined, and today every refinery in America is running flat out. Unless we expand our refinery capacity, we'll be relying more and more on foreign countries to provide us with gasoline and heating oil.

Third, to keep pace with America's growing

*Critics of oil exploration and drilling "ignore the remarkable technological advances in the last ten years," says the Texas Governor.*

demands, I will promote the production of electricity. Our country has abundant supplies of coal. If we can overcome the environmental challenges of coal-fire plants, we will be much closer to energy security. Already there is progress. Overall emission from these plants are down by one-third since 1970. To build on that progress, my administration will commit \$2 billion over the next decade to fund research into clean coal technologies.

Another environmentally sensible source of electric power is the hydroelectric dam, which is clean and reliable and provides low cost energy. In the Pacific Northwest, I made it clear to the citizens up there, I oppose breaching those dams. I know the human beings and fish can coexist peacefully. I support the deregulation of electricity, which we have done successfully in my state of Texas. This provides more choice and competition to the benefit of the consumer. We are now meeting increasing demand; competition will keep a downward pressure on prices. Other states are also deregulating their markets, but the federal government sometimes slows the process. Federal deregulation would make electricity more reliable and promote competition, and I support it.

Fourth, to enhance American's long-term energy security, we must continue developing renewable sources of energy. The deregulation law I signed in Texas requires the production of two thousand megawatts of new renewable energy by the year 2009. Texas will soon be the largest market for renewable energy in America. Promoting renewal energy is a goal all America should share. And when we open the Alaskan reserve to exploration, I will dedicate up front funds from energy companies called bid bonuses to be earmarked for basic research into alternative energy sources such as solar and wind and biomass. And I will propose investing every dollar of the production royalties from ANWR to conservation efforts. If estimates are born out, this could provide hundreds of millions of dollars in conservation resources every year.

Fifth, we must promote electricity and renewable energy — we will also work to make our air cleaner. With the help of Congress, environmental groups in industry, we will require all power plants to meet clean air standards in order to reduce emissions of sulfur dioxide, nitrogen oxide, mercury and carbon dioxide within a reasonable period of time. And we will provide market-based incentives such as emissions trading to help industry achieve the required reductions. In Texas, we passed one of the toughest laws in the nation to clean up so-called grandfathered utilities under the Clean Air Act. My opponent calls for voluntary reductions in such emissions. In Texas, I think that we have

done it better, with mandatory reductions and I believe the nation can do better as well. I believe that we can develop our natural resources and protect our environment. I believe in the promise of renewable energy, but I also recognize that renewable energy represents less than 4% of our energy needs. As governor of Texas, I've required some of the most significant increases in renewable energy in the country, but I recognize we still must rely on other sources. So America must have an energy policy that plans for the future, but meets the needs of today. Here as elsewhere voters have a clear choice. Here as elsewhere the contrast is stark. My plan opens the door to more energy to fuel a growing economy and a new economy. We take the path of exploration in innovation and national self-reliance.

He takes a different path, and in a long Washington career he supported higher energy taxes and higher energy prices, more regulation and more central controls. In 1993, my opponent cast a tie-breaking vote in the Senate to raise gasoline taxes. He's proud of his vote, and everything he's done to place limits on energy. That year he even wanted a greater tax, the so-called BTU tax. One that his own administration figured would cost the typical consumer \$320 a year. All this comes from a certain view of the world. You see, he believes that consumption of energy is the problem and must be discouraged by taxes and regulations. It helps explain why he's never made energy production a priority. It is the reason he views American oil producers as adversaries and the automobile as a threat. These arguments are familiar; we've heard them since, at least, the 1970's. And at the end of the decade came an answer. In the face of another energy crisis, and at the end of another administration, here is what Ronald Reagan had to say: "America must get to work producing more energy. Large amounts of oil and natural gas lie beneath our land, untouched because the present administration seems to believe that the American people would rather see more regulations, more taxes, more control than more energy. Our problems are acute and chronic, yet all we hear from those in positions of leadership are the same tired proposals for more government tinkering, more meddling and more control. Can anyone look at the record of this administration and say, well done?" Then it was Ronald Reagan running for president in 1980, today we might ask the same question about the present administration. They have had seven and a half years

to develop a sound energy policy. They have had every chance to avoid the situation that confronts us today, and now they have nothing but excuses and bad ideas and as the clock runs out, one last ploy — opening the strategic reserve. We are paying a steep price for seven and a half years without an energy policy. Americans are concerned about the staying power of our prosperity, and more immediately, they are concerned about paying their bills in the winter to come, but before the cold of December comes November and one day of decisions. On Election Day we can put our country on a new and better course. Thank you very much. ●

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### **Responding to Bush, Gore speaks on energy and environment**

*The following is a transcript of Vice President Al Gore's address to the Audubon Naturalist Society in Chevy Chase, MD, on September 29, 2000:*

I came here today to talk about a subject that is very near and dear to my heart. Yesterday I talked about the responsible choices we have to make on the

economy, about the need to choose the hard right over the easy wrong so we can build a strong and growing economy for the long haul. Today I want to focus on the right and responsible way to make sure America has a clean, secure and affordable energy future while protecting the environment for generations to come. They are not at odds with one another. For me this issue has always been fundamental. I believe that pollution should never be the price of prosperity. I believe that we don't have to degrade our environment in order to secure our energy future, and that is one of the most important differences in this election. The other side now proposes to misuse high oil prices as an excuse to let oil companies invade precious, national treasures like the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. If you entrust me with the presidency, I will not let that happen. I will fight for consumers who deserve a reliable, affordable supply of energy. And I will fight for all Americans who deserve to have our environment protected against those who will set the oil companies loose in the most beautiful, fragile parts of our nation. Our opponent would have us choose between a clean environment and energy security. That is a false and outdated choice. We can achieve both if we make responsible decisions.

Today we have the greatest chance in our life-

*"I will fight for all Americans who deserve to have our environment protected" against big oil companies, says Gore.*

times to create the America of our ideals, to make sure the prosperity and riches not just to the few, but all our families. We have a chance to create and sell to the world, the new technologies that will give us a healthier, stronger more prosperous planet. Like new technologies like cleaner cars and trucks that can go eighty miles per gallon. That's the future we can have, but we'll never get there if we're weighed down by old-fashioned energy policies and held back by those who want to put short-term profits over the long-term interest of our economy and our families.

Last week, crude oil prices reached a ten-year high. If you drove an automobile here today, then you know what that means for the price of gasoline. If you are one of the families now starting to stock up on home heating oil for the winter, then you are facing a double squeeze. And the significance of a sudden, sharp, increase in oil prices goes beyond even this to the strength of our entire economy. A spike in oil prices can have the potential to set off inflationary pressures, lead to slower growth and impose high production costs on business. Strong economic leadership demands swift and decisive action to deal with emerging threats to our prosperity, even when that action is controversial. The fact is oil company profits have more than doubled while consumers have paid much more at the pump, and businesses have paid much more just to stay in business.

Several months ago, I called for an investigation on oil company pricing in the Midwest. Last week I called on the oil companies to behave more responsibly. I called on OPEC nations to honor their agreements and increase oil production as they had promised to do. And I called for a series of national measures in the short-term, because families who have to heat their homes this winter can't wait for the long-term. Last week, I urged Congress to create a permanent home heating oil reserve to provide continuing help in our coldest regions. I'm asking Congress to increase annual heating assistance for low-income families. And I supported a series of oil swaps from our nation's strategic petroleum reserve. Companies that receive oil now from the reserve will return that amount and more to the reserve at a later date. The nation will have greater oil supplies now, and our national reserve will have even more oil in the years ahead.

I was criticized for this policy, but I've become convinced that waiting had not worked and inaction was no longer an option. And any political heat that was generated is a lot less important than the heat families need this win-

ter. And there are now signs that we are making some progress. Oil prices in the last week have fallen by six dollars a barrel, about 20%. And the economic ministers of the G7, the world's major industrial nations, have formally welcomed this policy for its contribution to the stability of the global economy. So I believe these short-term measures are vital, but I believe they represent a first step — the beginning, not the end of a continuing and essential effort to achieve real long-term energy independence.

The simple fact is that, if we take a hard look at this, we can realize we don't have to except a future of old engines and old power plants that waste too much energy and cause too much pollution, making our air less healthy and our climate less stable. We don't have to build our lives around a fuel source that is distant, uncertain and too easily manipulated. We can take charge of our own future, and if we do things right, if we make responsible choices, if we invest in the job creating, environment protecting technology of the future, then we can have cleaner air, more reliable energy and a more prosperous economy all at the same time, with millions of new jobs for Americans, building the technologies of the future and selling them here and around the world. And I tell you, it's a future worth fighting for and I will fight for that future. We don't have to give in; we can seize control of our own destiny in this nation. And that is why over three months ago I proposed an energy security and environment trust, a dramatic new commitment to clean energy and energy independence.

You know that there is more than one kind of national debt. I've called for paying off our national debt and balancing the budget and paying the debt down every year, and as I said in yesterday's speech, completely paying it off by 2012. But there's more than one kind of national debt. Pollution and energy dependence are also borrowing from future generations. We should no more saddle our children and grandchildren with the cost of cleaning up our pollution and paying for short-sighted energy policies than we should saddle them with the burden of paying our budget deficits. So, let's give new incentives to industry to transform dirty old power plants into modern clean sources of energy. Let's say to inventors and entrepreneurs in the private sector, if you invest in new technologies that clean up the environment, America will invest in you. Let's make sure that America leads in the global market for new energy technology expected to reach a market of ten trillion dollars in the next

two decades. And in that way, we really can create good jobs and reduce our dependence on both big oil and imported oil.

Let's keep working with Detroit to bring cleaner cars, trucks and SUV's and buses to the streets of our cities, to showrooms and streets around the world. You know, we're just a few short years away from revolutionizing the automobile industry. This is a multi-hundred billion-dollar opportunity. We have to take it and not leave it to others. In the developing world, there are crowded, megacities with millions of people that are wanting higher standards of living, wanting cars and wanting refrigerators and air conditioners, and yet they live with levels of pollution that are far worse than anything that we see here in the United States. And so the market in those places for new technologies that can raise their standards of living, and at the same time reduce their pollution, that market is huge and it's growing. The Japanese and others have been gearing up to try to get that market. We ought to get that market, so let's provide incentives to our companies and let's provide targeted tax cuts for Americans to help families buy those eighty mile a gallon cars the minute they roll into the showrooms, and start getting the economies of scale and give our industries the market to start getting out in front of the rest of the world. And let's invest in light rail and mass transit to reduce our dependence on gasoline and give families more choices on about how to commute between home and work.

I welcome your reaction here, but I know that these are not always the easiest investment for a nation to make because, let's face it, we don't always see the benefits right away. But we have the ability as a free self-governing people to see our own options for the future and make intelligent choices that are right for our children and grandchildren. The hard right is always better than the easy wrong, and when it comes to energy and the environment, the hard right choice means not just opening up our environmental treasures for exploitation by oil companies, it means investing in the technologies of the future to give ourselves more options to use less energy and create less pollution. It just seems to me that this is the choice we ought to make. And you know, recent events powerfully remind us that we have to think now about the future. We have to be willing to make hard choices now because that's the only path to a cleaner, stronger more prosperous America in the years ahead. And there is a real difference in this election on this issue, a difference as clear as the difference on economic policy.

Yesterday I discussed the other side's tax plan, and just to share with you one point, their

*The market for new environmental technologies is vast and expanding, says Gore.*

plan spends \$665 billion on a tax cut for the wealthiest one percent of Americans, and would wreck our good economy in the process. They spend more money for a tax cut just for the wealthiest one percent than all of the new investments they propose in healthcare, education, prescription drugs, and national defense combined. My friends, those are wrong priorities. I don't believe we should mortgage our economic future for anyone's short-term gain, especially not for those who already have the most. We ought to be looking out for the people who have the hardest time paying the bills and making car payments and mortgage payments and paying for home heating oil and gasoline.

And we need to make the same kind of responsible choices on energy and the environment. Here too the contrast is stark and clear. The plan the other side has proposed would not only endanger our environment, it would not even begin to meet our short-term energy needs, much less than our long-term needs. Drilling for oil in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, one of our greatest national treasures, is bad environmental policy and bad energy policy. Framed by the majestic Brooks Range, the Brooks Mountain Range, this area is one of the last places where our land is preserved as it once was. The area is fragile; it would take years and years of development, which would cause decades of environmental damage, just to reap a few months of increased oil supply. I oppose it, and I will oppose any plan that would drill for oil in the wrong places and degrade our irreplaceable, natural heritage. That is the wrong approach.

We face a fundamental choice on the environment and on energy policy in this election. My plan helps families afford gas and home heating oil for the short-term. It invests in cleaner technology and energy independence for the long-term; it can give us greater and more reliable energy supply, it protects the environment and helps reverse the tide of global warming, an effort that is essential to the fabric of life itself. You know that the climate balance, upon which our civilization depends in many respects, is at risk if we keep on doing what we're doing now. And that's another reason why we have to have alternative sources of energy and develop our own sources including renewable sources and new technology that will burn less energy, more efficiently with less pollution. Now here is the bottom line on the other side's plan. No real action to bring oil prices down now, no real investment in new environmental technology, no real prospect of freeing ourselves from dependence on big oil and foreign oil, and the clear, unmistakable agenda that would sacrifice the environment for short-sighted and short-term

energy policies, and would not even wield a single drop of additional oil for years and years to come. Now some people might support that, but I don't. And I don't think that the American people do, and I don't think that they'll buy that line of argument.

I feel really strongly about this, I've been committed to a clean environment and real energy independence for all of my public service. Since the time that I held some of the first hearings on cleaning up toxic waste in our communities, and joined in some of the earliest fights to reverse global warming. Ever since then, I have been there in the fight against the pollution of the environment and short-sighted exploitation of resources and energy policies that make us dependent on big oil and foreign oil. And I want to tell you this, when it comes to clean air and clean water, when it comes to protecting our wilderness and forests and wildlife, when it comes to choosing consumers over polluters, I have never given up, I've never backed down and I never will. I'm running for President to fight for you, to fight for your families, to fight for your future, to fight for the country that we know that our children and grandchildren deserve. After

all, the presidency isn't a popularity contest. Sometimes you have to be willing to spend your popularity. Sometimes you have to be willing to do what is difficult or unpopular in order to make sure that we do what's right. Sometimes you have to think not just about the next thirty-nine days, but the next thirty-nine years and beyond that. If you entrust me with the presidency, I've said it before and I'll say it again, I know I won't always be the most exciting politician, but I will work for you every single day and work for a cleaner, stronger more prosperous world. I will fight with all my energy for real energy independence for Americans, and I'll never let you down. Thank you and God bless you. Let's win this fight. ●

**IF A TREE FALLS IN THE FOREST AND NOBODY IS THERE TO HEAR IT, DOES IT FALL UNDER THE PURVIEW OF ENVIRONMENTAL COMMUNICATION?: TOWARD ESTABLISHING DEFINITIONAL ANCHORS**

*By Judith Hendry*

Several months ago, I put out a call on the COCE list (now called the Environmental

Communication Network or ECN) asking for an answer to the question, "In 50 words or less, what is the study of environmental communication?" In view of the wide range of research interests represented in this rich field of inquiry, I was not surprised to find discrepancies among the numerous responses I received from cyber colleagues concerning how we view what it is that we do. Yet, as Kuhn suggests, "... knowledge, like language, is intrinsically the common property of a group or else nothing at all." In keeping with this sentiment, I believe that it is important for us to identify the "common properties" of environmental scholars — a formidable task and one which I will not presume to take on single-handedly. I offer these observations merely as an invitation to the dialogue.

*Identifying the "common properties" of environmental communication scholars is formidable, says the ECC president.*

My purpose is not to confine the scope of our teaching and research by offering definitional constraints. Rather, I offer an argument for, what I believe, are the fundamental anchor points of our field of inquiry. It is my hope that these "anchors" will serve to contain, rather than constrain the community of scholars working in this expansive and multi-directional field.

The responses I received revealed discrepancies that fell mainly within two broad categories: the scope of the inquiry and the purpose of the inquiry. With regards to scope, Delicath suggests that the study of environmental communication "concerns any and all communication that addresses the environment (natural or built). Likewise, Zarcadoolas suggests that the study of environmental communication is an examination of "the ways in which we represent our natural and built environments."

Jaehne points out the dilemma created by the inclusion of "built environments" in the scope of the inquiry when he states, "All human moments are lived (waged) in multi-layered surroundings and, perforce, environmental communication would have to account for all of them." Since everything in the universe is either "natural" or "built," we are faced with a ubiquitous and unwieldy scope of inquiry. I suggest that our definitional anchor is the "natural environment" and that our research examines the "built environments" only as they pertain to the natural world and human's relationship to it.

This is all well and good, but it begs the question, what is the nature of nature? Jaehne throws us for an epistemological loop when he suggests that "maybe environmental communication is nothing more (or less) than, per Burke, a hyper-

troph of the scenic element in all communication situations." He includes for our reference an article in the June 28 *Chronicle of Higher Education* in which historian, Otis Graham, is quoted: "Whether people are there to interpret it or not, nature plays by certain rules. These rules provide an antidote to the divisive and insular world of postmodern theory and establish a stronghold of realism within the humanities awash in epistemological angst."

While one cannot deny the "realism" of nature's inscrutable rules, I suggest that it is the symbolic representation of these rules that provides our link to the communication discipline. As such, the fundamental premise grounding our research is that the way in which we communicate about the environment influences, and to a large degree, determines our perception of the natural world which, in turn, influences or determines our relationship to the natural world. While the rules of nature are not dependent on human interpretation, interpretation is the *raison d'être* of environmental communication — ours is the realm of the symbolic. By anchoring the definition to the symbolic representation of the natural world, we place ourselves firmly within the boundaries of the communication discipline and all of the contexts in which communication occurs — mass mediated, organizational, small group, intercultural, etc.

Another discrepancy that was revealed through the responses I received has to do with the goal of environmental communication scholars. Goshorn points out the inherent contradictions within and across definitions with regards to the "ostensibly objective nature of the definitions on the one hand, and the normative, and thereby exclusive intent that sooner or later outs itself in most of them ... which support a particular (if unspecified) range of pro-environmental practices and outcomes." I suggest that claiming an "exclusive intent" is not necessarily problematic as long as we are definitionally anchored to the established goals of research in any discipline — understanding, prediction, and/or control. The nature of the research and the methodology employed is a function of its underlying goals, some of which are inherently normative and prescriptive (like rhetorical criticism, for instance). Anchoring ourselves to these commonly accepted research objectives allows the individual the freedom to choose the advocacy or problem-solving application of this knowledge. I would caution, however, that we keep in mind that researcher's conclusions will

inevitably reflect the activist's biases.

Based on these abbreviated thoughts and the responses I received from colleagues, I offer these definitional anchors as the common property of our community of scholars (in 50 words, more or less):

*Environmental communication examines the ways in which the natural world is symbolically represented and how this, in turn, influences the meanings and values we ascribe to the natural world, for the purpose of advancing our knowledge and understanding of the communication process and its role in the construction of human's relationship to the natural world.*

I look forward to continuing the dialogue. ●

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### Environmental Rhetoric: A Course Module

*A rhetorical perspective for teaching a course in Environmental Communication.*

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#### CONTEXT

This module is based on an upper division undergraduate course in Environmental Rhetoric taught at a small liberal arts college. The course attracts Communication students looking to complete degree requirements, Environmental Studies students hoping to complete their minor, and other interested students. The course is discussion-based with 25 students.

#### OBJECTIVES

I have three main goals for this course: First, I want to enhance critical thinking by empowering students to become better "consumers" of persuasive environmental messages in society. My second goal is to enhance student awareness of environmental issues. Finally, I want to improve the ability of students to take action if they choose. This is accomplished by improving writing, research, discussion, speaking and advocacy skills.

#### KEY CONCEPTS/RESOURCES

For each category, I list articles about the topic and the primary texts I discuss in class. In some cases, I also include citations for background reading on the topic an instructor might find useful when preparing a lecture or discussion.

**I. History.** I start with a very brief overview of major events in 20th Century American environmental history, so students are at least familiar

with key events, personalities, and controversies.

— Sale, Kirkpatrick. *The Green Revolution: The American Environmental Movement 1962-1992*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1993. This is a good, short overview.

**II. Defining the Environment.** This section of the course examines the roles of language in shaping environmental belief and action.

— Cronon, William. "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature." *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*. Ed. William Cronon. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996. 69-90.

Primary texts studied: Robert Redford speech on the environment before the National Press Club, 1990; Dan Quayle speech on Environment before Economic Club of Detroit, August 28, 1992. (Both speeches are available through the C-SPAN archives at Purdue University, 1-800-277-2698).

**III. Rhetorical Theory and Analysis.** This section of the course examines several rhetorical theories and applies them to current environmental controversies and debates.

#### A. Metaphor.

— Gore, Al. *Earth In The Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992, especially the chapter that compares civilization to a "dysfunctional family".

Primary texts: In addition to a section of Gore's book, the class watches the exchange on the environment from the 1992 Vice Presidential debate between Gore, Quayle, and Stockdale, and discusses why Gore did not use the "dysfunctional family" metaphor in the debate.

#### B. Narrative.

— Slater, Candace. "Amazonia as Edenic Narrative." *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*. Ed. William Cronon. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996. 114-131.

Primary texts: Carson, Rachel. "A Fable for Tomorrow." *Silent Spring*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962. 1-3.

#### C. Sublime Response.

— Oravec, Christine. "John Muir, Yosemite, and the Sublime Response: A Study in the Rhetoric of Preservationism." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 67 (1981): 245-58.

Primary texts: "John Muir Advocates Wilderness Preservation, 1912." *Major Problems in American Environmental History*. Ed. Carolyn Merchant. Lexington, Mass: D.C. Heath and Company, 1993. 391-94.

#### D. Locus of the Irreparable.

— Cox, J. Robert. "The Die Is Cast: Topical and Ontological Dimensions of the Locus of the Irreparable." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 68(1982): 227-239.

Primary texts: I use the debate over Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) when discussing the irreparable. I use recent direct mail from an environmental group to illustrate the theory. Another good source: Kohm, Lenny. "Why is the Arctic Refuge Still Unprotected?" *Earth First! Journal* 21 Dec. 1994: 27. To examine how oil industry proponents respond to irreparable appeals, see: Murkowski, Frank H. Statement before the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources. U.S. Senate. *National Energy Security Act of 1991, Title IX*. March 12, 1991. Washington: GPO, 1991. 72-78; and "Oil and Caribou Can Mix," an editorial in the same hearings on p.85.

#### E. Ideographs.

— Moore, Mark P. "The Cigarette As Representational Ideograph in the Debate Over Environmental Tobacco Smoke." *Communication Monographs* 64 (March 1996): 47-64.

— Primary texts: Current cigarette ads and old TV ads from the 1960s.

#### F. Apocalyptic Rhetoric.

I usually discuss the theory in class. Good background reading: O'Leary, Stephen. *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric*. New York: Oxford UP, 1994; and Darsey, James. *The Prophetic Tradition and Radical Rhetoric in America*. New York: New York UP, 1997. A shorter piece is Brummett, Barry. "Premillennial Apocalyptic as a Rhetorical Genre." *Central States Speech Journal* 35 (Summer 1984): 84-93, though O'Leary's work remains the best on this topic.

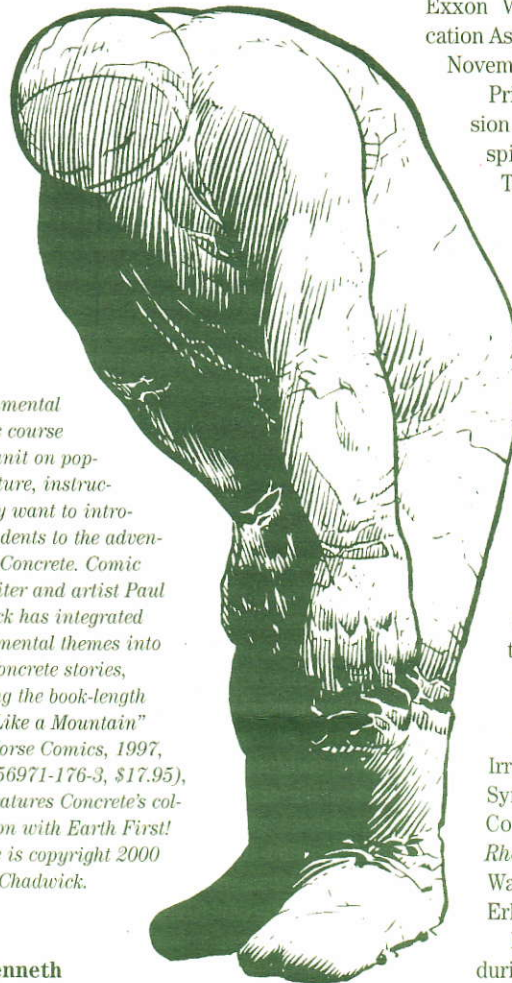
Primary text: Paul R. Ehrlich. "Eco-Catastrophe!" *The Environmental Handbook*. Ed. Garrett DeBell. NY: Ballentine, 1970. 161-76.

#### G. Environmental Jeremiad.

I discuss this theory in class. Background reading: Opie, John, and Norbert Elliot. "Tracking the Elusive Jeremiad: The Rhetorical Character of American Environmental Discourse." *The Symbolic Earth*. Eds. James G. Cantrill and Christine L. Oravec. Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1996. 9-37.

— Sarewitz, Daniel, and Roger Pielke, Jr. "Breaking the Global Warming Gridlock." *The Atlantic Monthly* (July 2000): 55-64. Very relevant to rhetorical studies, since the authors argue that the current framing of global warming has fostered inaction.

Primary text: Clinton, William J. "Remarks During a Discussion on Climate Change, July 24, 1997." *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* 33.30 (1997): 1116-18.



In an *Environmental Rhetoric* course with a unit on popular culture, instructors may want to introduce students to the adventures of Concrete. Comic book writer and artist Paul Chadwick has integrated environmental themes into many Concrete stories, including the book-length "Think Like a Mountain" (Dark Horse Comics, 1997, ISBN 1-56971-176-3, \$17.95), which features Concrete's collaboration with Earth First! Concrete is copyright 2000 by Paul Chadwick.

#### H. Kenneth Burke's Dramatism and the Principle of Perfection.

1. **Mortification.** I summarize the theory in class. Good background: Burke, or for a good summary: Gusfield, Joseph R. "The Bridge Over Separated Lands." *The Legacy of Kenneth Burke*. Eds. Herbert W. Simons and Trevor Melia. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989. 28-54. For a summary of Carter's rhetoric: Check, Terence. "The Moral Equivalent of War: Jimmy Carter's Use of Metaphor and Mortification in the Energy Speech of April 18, 1977." *Argument at Century's End: Reflecting on the Past and Envisioning the Future*. Ed. Thomas Hollihan. Annandale, CA: National Communication Association, 2000. 403-410.

Primary text: Carter, Jimmy. "The Energy Problem, April 18, 1977." *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Jimmy Carter 1977 Book I*. Washington: GPO, 1977. 656-662.

2. **Scapegoating.** Again, I summarize the theory in class. For background on scapegoating and the Exxon oil spill: Check, Terence. "The Scapegoating of Joseph Hazelwood: Public Punishment, Symbolic Atonement, and the Exxon Valdez Oil Spill." National Communication Association Convention. Chicago, Illinois. November 22, 1997.

Primary texts: The class watches television news coverage of the Exxon Valdez oil spill, available from the Vanderbilt Television News Archive.

Since mortification and scapegoating are prominent characteristics of environmental discourse, I sometimes use another example in class — usually recycling, because it is something that students have experience with. John Tierney's controversial article, "Recycling is Garbage," from the June 30, 1996, *New York Times Magazine* (p.24+) is excellent. Tierney takes the position that recycling is a largely symbolic activity that alleviates public guilt. Environmental groups have criticized the evidence that Tierney uses to support his claims.

#### 3. Synecdoche.

— Moore, Mark P. "Constructing Irreconcilable Conflict: The Function of Synecdoche in the Spotted Owl Controversy." *Landmark Essays on Rhetoric and the Environment*. Ed. Craig Waddell. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998. 145-163.

Primary texts: Evans, Brock. Testimony during Joint Hearings before the Subcommittee on Forests, Family Farms, and Energy of the Committee on Agriculture and the Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. U.S. House of Representatives. *Management of Old Growth Forests of the Pacific Northwest*. June 20, 1989. Washington: GPO, 1989. 211-224; and Flanigan, George and Rhonda. Letter published in the same hearings on p. 423.

I. **Social Movements.** There are many case studies, but I like using animal rights.

— Olson, Kathryn M., and G. Thomas Goodnight, "Entanglements of Consumption, Cruelty, Privacy, and Fashion: The Social Controversy Over Fur." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 80 (1994): 249-76. The beginning of this article may be too dense for undergraduates, but the discussion of anti-fur rhetoric is excellent.

Primary texts: Brochures and direct mail

from the Humane Society of the United States. Friends of Animals also sells videos, and I usually show one of these in class.

### J. Corporate Environmental Apologia.

Background reading: Ware, B.L., and Wil A. Linkugel. They Spoke In Defense of Themselves: On The Generic Criticism of Apologia." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* (October 1973): 273-83.

— Hearit, Keith Michael. "Mistakes Were Made: Organizations, Apologia, and Crises of Social Legitimacy." *Communication Studies* 46 (Spring 1995): 1-17. The author examines two case studies of corporate apologia — one of them is Exxon's full page advertisement after the Valdez oil spill.

Primary texts: Rawl, L.G. "An Open Letter to the Public." Advertisement. *Washington Post* 3 Apr. 1989; and Rawl, L.G. Testimony before the Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation. U.S. Senate. *Exxon Oil Spill*. April 6, 1989. Washington: GPO, 1989. 47-67.

### K. Advertising.

— Bignell, Jonathan. "Signs and Myths," and "Advertisements." *Media Semiotics: An Introduction*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997. 5-55.

— Goldman, Robert, and Stephen Papson. "Green Marketing and the Commodity Self." *Sign Wars: The Cluttered Landscape of Advertising*. New York: The Guilford Press, 1996. 187-215.

— Meister, Mark. "Sustainable Development' in Visual Imagery: Rhetorical Function in the Jeep Cherokee." *Communication Quarterly* 45.3 (1997): 223-234.

Primary texts: print and television advertisements with environmental themes. Other video: "Advertising and the End of the World," and "Affluenza."

### L. Corporate Greenwashing.

Background Reading: Helvar, David. "The Big Green Spin Machine." *Amicus Journal* (Summer 1996): 13-21; Stauber, John, and Sheldon Rampton. *Toxic Sludge Is Good For You! Lies, Damn Lies and the Public Relations Industry*. Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1995; Karliner, Joshua. *The Corporate Planet*. SF: Sierra Club Books, 1997.

Primary text: "Scientists and the Alaska Oil Spill," a video produced by Exxon and sent to schools.

## M. News Coverage of the Environment.

### 1. Coverage of Environmental Issues.

— Karlsberg, Michael. "News and Conflict." *Alternatives* 23:1 (Winter 1997): 22-27. Also for background and examples, see: Carmody, Kevin. "It's a Jungle Out There: Environmental Journalism in an Age of Backlash." *Columbia Journalism Review* (May-June 1995): 40-45; Ruben, Barbara. "Back Talk." *Environmental Action* (Winter 1994): 11-16; Mark Hertsgaard. "Covering The World; Ignoring The Earth." *Greenpeace* (March/April 1990): 14-18.

Primary texts: network news coverage of whales trapped in ice, 1989; spotted owl; Exxon oil spill, all available from the Vanderbilt Television News Archive.

### 2. News Coverage of Radical Environmental Movements.

— DeLuca, Kevin Michael. *Image Politics: The New Rhetoric of Environmental Activism*. New York: Guilford Press, 1999. (especially pgs. 101-118, the analysis of the ABC News segment, "War in the Woods")

Primary texts: "War in the Woods" story, network news stories about Julia "Butterfly" Hill; network news coverage of the Vail arson, all available from the Vanderbilt Television News Archive; Gabriel, Trip. "If a Tree Falls in the Forest, They Hear It." *New York Times Magazine* 4 Nov. 1990: 34+ (story about Earth First!); Sullivan, Robert. "The Face of Eco-Terrorism." *New York Times Magazine* 20 Dec. 1998: 46-49. (story about the spokesperson for the environmental group responsible for the Vail fires).

### 3. Editorial Cartoons.

— Bostdorff, Denise M. "Making Light of James Watt: A Burkean Approach to the Form and Attitude of Political Cartoons." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 73 (February 1987).

## N. Environmental Rhetoric and Popular Culture.

### 1. Cartoons and Comic Books.

— Muir, Star A. "Visual Argument for Social Ends: Captain Planet and the Integration of Environmental Values." Paper presented at the 1993 Speech Communication Association convention. Miami, Florida.

— Faust, W.M. "Comics and How to Read Them." *Journal of Popular Culture* 5.1 (1971): 194-202.

Primary texts: episode of "Captain Planet";

Chadwick, Paul. *Concrete: Think Like a Mountain*. Milwaukie, OR: Dark Horse Comics, 1997. (Book length comic-book adventure featuring a superhero who joins Earth First! to prevent logging in the Pacific Northwest.)

### 2. Television.

Watch "Darkness Falls," an episode of "The X-Files" about extraterrestrial bugs unleashed by careless loggers in the Pacific Northwest.

### 3. Film.

Watch an environmentally-themed feature film, such as "Medicine Man" or "Silent Running".

## APPLICATIONS/EXERCISES/ ASSIGNMENTS

**1. Speech Analysis.** Students write an analysis paper. Selected Environmental Speeches for Textual Analysis (in addition to the speeches listed above):

— Bush, George. "Address to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil." *Public Papers of the President*. July 12, 1992. Washington: GPO, 1993. 924-26.

— Bush, George. "Remarks to Burrill Lumber Employees in Medford, Oregon." *Public Papers of the President*. September 14, 1992. Washington: GPO, 1993. 1558-61.

— Kennedy, Edward M. "Address Before the Yale Political Union, April 22, 1970." *Congressional Record* 30 Apr. 1970: 13633-35.

— Mondale, Walter. "Environment: The Commitment For Survival." *Congressional Record* 6 May 1970: 14311-12.

— Muskie, Edmund S. "A Whole Society." *Congressional Record* 15 May 1970: 15706-07.

— Muskie, Edmund S. "Environmental Crises and the Future of Man." *Congressional Record* 4 Feb. 1970: 2390-92.

— Muskie, Edmund S. "Power of Environmental Conscience." *Congressional Record* 15 May 1970: 15705-06.

— Muskie, Edmund S. "The Environment: Can Man Prosper and Survive?" *Congressional Record* 17 Feb. 1970: 3527-28.

**2. Advertisement Analysis.** Students select a print or television advertisement with an environmental theme and write a research paper about the ad.

**3. Environmental Advocacy Letter.** Students are assigned an environmental topic and must write a four page "direct mail" or "advocacy" letter similar to the letters that environmental organizations mail to their members. In

addition to the letter, students write a statement justifying rhetorical choices made in the letter.

**4. Comparison of Environmental and Anti-Environmental Organizations.** Students select at least one "environmental" organization and at least one "anti-environmental" organization and compare the arguments and appeals of each group. To obtain a list of these organizations, consult various internet directories, such as: The Amazing Environmental Organization Web Directory (<http://www.webdirectory.com/>); The Envirolink Library of Organizations (<http://www.envirolink.org/elib/organizations.html>), and the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise Wise Use Links (<http://www.cdfc.org/network.html>).

**5. Debate.** Students participate in a debate on an environmental topic, such as drilling for oil in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

#### NOTES

The topics, readings, and assignments listed above are suggestions based on what I have done in the past, but there are too many to implement in just one semester. Pick and choose what works for you. ●

### **CECS announces call for papers for 6th biennial conference on communication and environment.**

The Center for Environmental Communication Studies (CECS) and the Department of Communication at the University of Cincinnati have announced the call for papers for the 6th Biennial Conference on Communication and Environment, to be held in Cincinnati from July 27-31, 2001. The deadline for receipt of submissions is March 1, 2001. The conference theme is, "Communication and Public Participation in Environmental Decision Making: Advances in Theory and Practice."

The Center for Environmental Communication Studies has tentatively secured the Kingsgate Conference Center on UC's campus as the conference venue. Details concerning costs of lodging and registration should be available by the NCA convention. Dr. Depoe has tentatively secured Dr. Robert Bullard of Clark Atlanta University and the Environmental Justice Resource Center as the conference keynote speaker. He will be addressing the conference on Saturday evening the 28th, with the general public also invited.

The purpose of this conference is to bring together environmental communication schol-

ars, environmental and community activists, and environmental decision makers who are concerned with informed and empowered public involvement in environmental matters. According to the Center's webpage, the organizers hope the conference "will serve as an opportunity to establish a dialogue between communication and other scholars interested in environmental matters, and further the discussion of the relationship between academic research and public policy, and between scholarly activity and public activism."

Scholars are invited to submit papers and panel proposals that contribute to the theory and practice of public participation in environmental decision making. For purposes of this conference, both "public participation" and "environmental decision making" are broadly conceived. "Public participation" includes a broad range of communicative practices aimed at voicing public opinion, influencing decision making, and/or shaping environmental policy. Such practices are undertaken by a variety of individuals and groups, including elected officials, government agencies, scientific and technical "experts," citizens, activists, academics, social movement organizations, corporations, public relations firms, and policy research institutes (think tanks).

"Environmental decision-making" includes deliberation over and enactment of governmental laws and policies; development and enforcement of regulatory actions; and a host of related activities by governmental and non-governmental actors in personal, public, and institutional contexts. Applied, critical, and theoretical explorations of the constraints on and possibilities for public involvement; the strategies and tactics of public advocacy; and the impact of public participation on environmental decision making in local, national, or global environmental controversies are welcome.

In keeping with the tradition of the previous five Conferences on Communication and the Environment, papers and panel proposals that are not related to the 2001 Conference theme are also welcome.

#### **POSSIBLE AREAS OF INQUIRY**

A number of possible areas of inquiry are suggested by the Conference theme, including, but not limited to: The Values, Mechanisms, and Practices of Democratic Public Participation; Social Movement Communication and Public Participation; Public Communication Campaigns; and Academic Research and Public Activism. For

more details about these categories, consult the CECS webpage at <[www.uc.edu/cecs](http://www.uc.edu/cecs)>

Four copies of papers or panel proposals should be mailed to: Steve Depoe, Director, Center for Environmental Communication Studies, University of Cincinnati, ML # 0184 Cincinnati, OH 45221. The deadline for receipt of Conference submissions is March 1, 2001.

The CECS webpage lists these submission protocols:

1. We will accept completed papers on the Conference theme, panel proposals on the Conference theme, completed papers not on the Conference theme, and thematic panel proposals on a non-Conference theme. Abstracts will not be considered for inclusion in the Conference.

2. Anyone wishing to have their essay considered for publication in the anticipated Conference book must submit a completed paper by the March 1, 2001 deadline.

3. Papers should be submitted with a cover page that includes the title of the manuscript, the author's name and affiliation, and contact information. A second separate page should include the title and a one paragraph abstract of no more than 200 words.

Manuscripts should be typed and double-spaced with notes and references on separate sheets, immediately following the text. Manuscripts should be no longer than 7,500 words (including text and references).

4. All panel proposals must include: a rationale for the panel and a one-page abstract of each paper, along with a commitment of each participant to attend the conference if the panel is accepted. Any panel that involves a respondent must include a rationale for including a respondent.

5. Only completed papers submitted at the beginning of the conference will be published in the conference proceedings. Participants must submit two hard copies, and an appropriately formatted computer diskette copy, of the manuscript at the start of the conference. Papers accepted for publication in the Conference Proceedings must follow the APA style manual (4th Ed., 1994). We reserve the right to omit papers not conforming to final manuscript guidelines (which authors will receive with notifications of acceptance).

For more information about the 2001 Conference on Communication and Environment, contact one of the following individuals: Steve Depoe (513) 556-4449, [depoe@uc.edu](mailto:depoe@uc.edu), or John Delicath (513) 556-4442 [delicajw@email.uc.edu](mailto:delicajw@email.uc.edu) ●

*Scholars are invited to submit papers and panel proposals that contribute to the theory and practice of public participation in environmental decision making.*

## ECC Sponsored Panels

### Engaging Environmental Conflict: Communication Perspectives.

Wednesday, November 8, 8:00-4:45 p.m.  
Room 430, 4th Floor, Sheraton  
Sponsor: Seminar Series  
Leaders: Gregg B. Walker, Oregon State University, and Susan L. Senecah, SUNY.

### Critical Engagements: Analyzing Environmental Rhetorics And Politics.

Thursday, November 9, 12:30 p.m.-1:45 p.m.  
Room 213, Second Floor, WSCTC  
Chair: Marie A. Mater, Houston Baptist University.  
"Recovering the Erotic and Ecological 'Roots' of Herbert Marcuse's Critical Theory: A 'New' Basis for Liberatory Praxis." Lincoln J. Houde, University of Utah.  
"The Politics of an Environmental Political Style: Decorum, Action, and Technology." Mark Meister, North Dakota State University.  
"The Atom and the Alchemist: The Rhetorical Construction of the Mystery of Radiation." Judith Hendry, University of New Mexico.  
"Enos A. Mills, Father of Rocky Mountain National Park: Nature Guide or Prophetic Persuader." Bruce J. Weaver, Albion College.  
Alienation and Reconciliation in Environmental Discourse: A Critical Reading of Al Gore's Earth in the Balance." Robert Hinrichs, University of Minnesota.  
Respondent: Marie A. Mater, Houston Baptist University.

### Environmental Communication Commission Business Meeting.

Thursday, November 9, 2:00-3:15 p.m.  
Room 213, 2nd Floor, WSCTC

### Top Papers In Environmental Communication.

Friday, November 10, 8:00 a.m.-9:15 a.m.  
Room 213, Second floor, WSCTC  
Chair: Jean P. Retzinger, University of California, Berkeley.  
"The Limits to Politics: International Environmentalism, the American Presidency, and the Call for Transcendent Discourse." Martin Carcasson, Texas A & M University.  
"Cyborgs for Earthly Survival!: Implications of Donna J. Haraway's Post-Humanist Turn for Environmental Communication Studies." Lincoln J. Houde, University of Utah.  
"Over Forty Years in Short Pants: Marginalizing Labor Environmentalists." Monica Madaus, University of Indiana.  
"Reading Conservation of Columbia Basin Fish: A Philosophical/Rhetorical Approach to Understanding a Federal Vision for Recovery of Pacific Salmon." Amanda Graham, University of Washington.  
"Local Media and Citizen Engagement: A Case Study of a Solid Waste Facility Proposal." Diane Nicodemus, University of Pittsburgh, Johnstown.  
Respondent: Mark Meisner, State University of New York, Syracuse.

### The Engaged Scholar: Translating Environmental Communication Research Into Activism

Friday, November 10, 9:30 a.m.-10:45 a.m.  
Room 213, Second Floor, WSCTC

Linda Andrews, University of South Florida.  
John W. Delicath, University of Cincinnati.  
Hollis Glaser, University of Nebraska, Omaha.  
Jennifer Good, Cornell University.  
Jim Hausenauer, California State University, Northridge.  
Judith Hendry, University of New Mexico.  
Ann Jabro, Robert Morris College.

### Engaging Atomic Institutions: Public Participation And Communication Scholarship In The Post-Cold War Nuclear Clean-Up Part 1: Communication Scholarship.

Friday, November 10, 3:30 p.m.-4:45 p.m.  
Room 304, Third floor, WSCTC  
Note: This is the first of two consecutive sessions, to be held in the same location.  
Chair: William J. Kinsella, Lewis and Clark College.  
"The Politics and Poetics of the Hanford History Project." Bryan C. Taylor, University of Colorado, Boulder, Brian Freer, York University.  
"A Semiotic Approach to Understanding the Narratives of Environmental Controversy: The Fernald Radium Case." Jennifer Duffield Hamilton, University of Cincinnati.  
"Civic Discovery or Civic Co-optation? Revisiting the Fernald Citizens Advisory Board." Stephen P. Depoe, University of Cincinnati.  
"Hegemonic Fluctuations in Department of Energy Site-Specific Advisory Boards: Implications for Policy and Board Functioning." James R. Hallmark, West Texas A&M University.  
"Observer, Participant/Observer, of Activist: The Ethical Tensions of Being and Engaged Environmental Communication Scholar." Maribeth S. Metzler, Miami University.

### Engaging Atomic Institutions: Public Participation And Communication Scholarship In The Post-Cold War Nuclear Clean Up Part II: Stakeholder/Scholar Dialog.

Friday, November 10, 5:00-6:15 p.m.  
Room 304, 3rd Floor, WSCTC  
Sponsor: Engaged Discipline Series  
Chair: William J. Kinsella, Lewis and Clark College.  
Stakeholders associated with the U.S. Department of Energy's Hanford Reservation located near Richland, Washington, will engage with communication scholars to discuss public participation in the post-cold-war cleanup of the nuclear weapons complex. Participants will discuss how communication scholarship and practice can contribute to participatory democracy, help balance competing interests, and foster organizational success in the Hanford cleanup effort. The conversation will begin with stakeholder position statements and responses to Part I presentations by communication scholars, and will continue with a discussion among stakeholders and NCA members.

### Performing For The Earth: Artists Set The Stage For "Mother Nature".

Saturday, November 11, 8:00 a.m.-9:15 a.m.  
Room 607, Sixth floor, WSCTC  
Co-Sponsored with the Theatre Division of NCA  
Chair: Sharon Ammen, St Mary-of-the-Woods College  
"Theme Show Use in Awakening Earth Literacy." Sharon Ammen, St. Mary-of-the Woods College.

"Holding the Center: Greenpeace Performance in the 1990's." Tessa Carr, University of Texas, Austin.  
"IT'S THE PEAKS! — A Performance to Save a Mountain's Soul." Lea J. Parker, Northern Arizona University.  
"Earth Mama: Helping Heal the Planet One Song at a Time." Joyce Rouse, Rouse House LLC.  
"Building the Earth Community through the Performing Arts." Elaine Schatzline-Behr, Indiana State University.  
Respondent: Jean P. Retzinger, University of California, Berkeley

### Contested Wilderness: Rhetorical Engagements With The Deconstruction Of Nature, Environmental Justice And The Ecological Sciences.

Saturday, November 11, 11:00 a.m.-12:15 p.m.  
Room 603, Sixth floor, WSCTC  
Chair: Christine L. Oravec, University of Utah  
"Thoreau, Wilderness, Civil Society and 'The Great New Wilderness Debate.'" Peter K. Bsumek, James Madison University.  
"What Is the Script in Prescriptive National Park Legislation?" Kirk W. Junker, Queen's University of Belfast and Dublin City University.  
"Rhetorical Traction: The Exploration of Policy Contradictions Regarding Motorized Access to Wilderness." Steven J. Schwarze, Augustana College.  
"Perceived Injustice in Collaborative Conservation." Jonathon I. Lange, Southern Oregon University.  
"A Wilderness Manifesto." Kevin M. DeLuca, University of Georgia.  
Respondent: Christine L. Oravec, University of Utah.

### Engaging In Seattle: Critical Reflections On the WTO Conference and Protests.

Saturday, November 11, 3:30 p.m.-4:45 p.m.  
Room 308, Third floor, WSCTC  
Chair: Stephen P. Depoe, University of Cincinnati.  
"A Eulogy for the Washington Consensus? Strategic Discourse in American Think Tanks." Amos Tevelow, University of Pittsburgh.  
"The Spectacle in Seattle: Portents and Possibilities for Environmental Activism." Kevin DeLuca, University of Georgia, Jennifer Peebles, University of Washington.  
"Media Representations of the WTO as Environmental Threat." Dennis Jaehne, Alex Kramer, and Sarah Chan, San Jose State University.  
"Spin Seattle: Social Movement and Mass Media Coverage of the WTO Protests." John W. Delicath, University of Cincinnati.  
Respondent: Stephen P. Depoe, University of Cincinnati.

### Native Americans And The Environment: Topics, Issues, Approaches.

Sunday, November 12, 9:30 a.m.-10:45 a.m.  
Room 307, Third floor, WSCTC  
Chair: Lesley Di Mare, Arizona State University, West.  
Donal Carbaugh, University of Massachusetts.  
Tracy Lee Clarke, University of Utah.  
Judith Hendry, University of New Mexico.  
Richard Morris, Arizona State University, West.  
Richard Rogers, Northern Arizona State University.  
Michael Salvador, Washington State University.