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enberg'

difficult to comprehend what man did. He distributed thouof Swedish passports, housed Jews in buildings he bedecked wedish flags. He threatened, bribed, haggled.

arched up to the very deathnatched Jews from under the f guards. He faced down the including Adolf Eichmann, ineer of death.

bin Wallenberg," he said, genews, fiercely to German and ian Nazis.

aved thousands upon thou-There was suddenly in this Swede a power of compassion oduced a strength beyond him-

inderstanding.
January 1945 Wallenberg
I over to the victorious Red
to get help. A Soviet general
lately sent a routine dispatch
ng Moscow he was with them.
isappeared. Two years later
ssians said he had never been
oviet Union. But in 1957, faced
orld pressure for Wallenberg,
emlin said yes, he had been in
jails but died 10 years earlier
the doctors and wardens inwere dead too and the body

tussians so far have refused to in the face of documented evihat he was seen in prisons of it Gulag for years. Some explace the last sighting in the s, others say he was alive in 70's. Kati Marton, the journd novelist, tells the story best llenberg," published by Ranuse and Ballantine.

use and Ballantine.

[uest goes on. Swedish officials inging it up with Soviet leadhing. Representative Tom LanCalifornia, whose wife was a
Budapest and owes her life to
perg, has collected 110 House
res for an appeal to Mr. Gorbaear round, committees meet.

did the Russians keep him? At rhaps they thought he was a ent, then that he would be use-hostage. Then his very exist-came a state embarrassment, dden deep. The only people to it is all understandable are ho have themselves wandered amense insanity of the Gulag. Kremlin there is a living link aberg. Andrei A. Gromyko, a foreign Minister, signed that 957 saying that he was dead arefully chose words that impat the finding could be in Mr. Gromyko now is Presishe Soviet Union. He knows.

Ir. Gorbachev knows and can world whether Wallenberg s. And if Wallenberg does not, bachev can say in what manar and cell the Swede of the ed. It is important for all peonow, particularly Russians.

d Debt: olution

necessary to meet repayment es. Money intended for conn of ports or power plants diverted for political purr to placate the military with expenditures or to replenish 's private bank account.

er than continued lending immercial banks, these counced credit and technical reof new multinational agentat specialize in economic ment. The World Bank and ternational Monetary Fund ot designed as development agencies, and they have not ccessful in assisting countries ting sound development pro-New, broader agencies would ble not only of providing guidd imposing discipline but also uld monitor a government's

development plan.
e such loans and technical adre provided, however, develountries and their creditors
eed to work together to elimimountains of debt that contie their fates together. These
nents should weigh carefully
ing advantages they might semaking their creditor banks
partners in local public and

enterprise. In return, the



Act Now to Plug The Ozone Layer

By Michael Oppenheimer and Daniel Dudek

Strange events in Antarctica, straight out of science fiction, have grabbed the attention of scientists and world leaders. The stratosphere's ozone layer, which screens living things from damaging ultraviolet rays, has been thinning dramatically during the southern spring—the beginning of what some scientists suspect is a worldwide decay of the Earth's ozone covering.

Against the haze of scientific uncertainty that surrounds this seasonal "hole" in the atmosphere, one question stands out clearly: Can governments take coordinated action to protect the stratosphere and avert the risk to life on Earth?

Ozone, a special form of oxygen, reaches high concentrations 12 miles above the Earth, where it long had appeared immune from human intervention. But the emission of industrial chemicals, particularly so-called chlorofluorocarbons, was identified as a threat to ozone in the early 1970's. Chlorofluorocarbons stay intact until they drift into the stratosphere, where they disintegrate. Their fragments destroy ozone, and less ozone means more ultraviolet radiation reaching the Earth.

The consequences of even modest increases of ultraviolet rays are disturbing. Such radiation causes both malignant and nonmalignant skin cancer. Continuation of the existing global emission levels of chlorofluorocarbons could result in an additional 1.4 million cases of skin cancer in less than 40 years in the United States alone. By the year 2075, 40 million Americans would be affected, and fatalities could exceed 800,000, according to a study conducted by the Environmental Protection Agency.

Occular impairment, damage to the immune system and increased air pollution are all triggered by increased ultraviolet radiation. In addition, millions of dollars of damage to

Chemical emissions are rising.

crops, forests and building materials would be inflicted yearly.

Even a partial catalogue of these horrors was sufficient to spur Congress to ban chlorofluorocarbons in aerosol spray cans in 1978. That caused a temporary decline in emissions. Most European countries, by

available within five years. Severely limiting the supply of chlorofluorocarbons would provide an incentive to developalternatives. The E.P.A., which soon plans to issue strict guidelines for limiting the use of chlorofluorocarbons, should hold the industry to a five-year schedule for near-total elimination of emissions. The United States could set the pace for all countries to develop alternatives.

The ozone layer cannot be saved without international cooperation. Some two dozen countries have been discussing limitations of chlorofluorocarbons in a desultory fashion since 1980, but recent reports from Antarctica seem to have shaken most of them from general indifference to the problem. The European Community should now join the United States in phasing out emissions of chlorofluorocarbons over five years. Gradual ozone loss has been a sufficient reason to act. The foreboding ozone hole over Antarctica adds a note of urgency.

ESSAY William Safire

Better the Contras

Washington

The official McGovernite villain
of 1987 has emerged at the head
of the Nicaraguan resistance.
He is Adolfo Calero, described by
Newsweek as a "political boss" who
has taken charge of the contras "only
two months after he was forced out
by the advocates of democracy and
civilian control."

In months to come, we can expect to see him denounced in the halls of Congress as a Somoza stooge, a would-be corrupt dictator and Mr. Not-Niceguy. Whom dovish gods would destroy, they first drive batty. The contras have been jerked

The contras have been jerked around for years by Congress. First we authorized money for bandages, knowing it to be the precursor to arms; then the doves ended that humanitarian aid, forcing the contras to Ollie North's off-budget grab bag. Congress later went along with military aid to counter Communism in Central America, only to threaten to cut it off entirely now that the Reagan Administration is weakened.

Why the flip-flopping? A swing group in Congress knows why the Communists have not succeeded in subverting El Salvador: it is only because Soviet-backed Cubans and Sandinistas have their hands full with the contras in Nicaragua. If Congress collapsed the contra movement (in the same callous manner as the Shah, with our approval, sold out the rebelling Kurds in Iraq in the early 70's), Communism would surely resume its expansion on our continent.

That is why we see our policy swingvoters coming up with the cynical notion of using the contras as our bargaining chip. The Republican senatorial swingers — Cohen, Kassebaum and Rudman — have warned the President that in the coming showdown, they will vote to withdraw all aid unless a negotiated settlement is pressed.

Sounds high-minded; but what would such settlement entail? A New York Times editorial laid out the goals: (1) a Sandinista promise to refrain from importing Soviet and Cuban bases, advisers and missiles; (2) a promise not to launch takeovers across Nicaraguan borders; (3) a promise to behave on human rights, and maybe even allow a tame opposition party to function.

The Nicaraguan Communists have made and broken such promises before; in return for a fresh set of promises, the bargaining chippers would betray the Nicaraguan resistance. That would not only invite the subversion of El Salvador, but would send an unmistakable message of U.S. irresolution to any indigenous anti-Communist force depending on us in Angola or Afghanistan.

The weakness in that sellout plan is laid out in the Times editorial: "[The President] could rightfully ask his critics to support the use of force should the Sandinistas betray their security promises."

Fat chance. Project ahead to a Gary Hart administration, with the Nicaraguan resistance disbanded forever and Dictator Ortega's Managua in lockstep with Havana and Moscow. In go a few medium-range missiles, capable of taking out Miami and Houston, which Managua will vehemently deny importing lately. Does anybody seriously foresee President Hart dispatching U.S. ships to blockade Nicaragua and bombers to destroy the installations and kill the Soviet advisers?

Or put yourself in a more hawkish administration. President Kemp goes on television to denounce the subversion of Honduras and El Salvador by Nicaraguan-sponsored guerrillas,

A negotiated settlement won't work.

cites the great negotiated compromise of 1987 and asks Congress for a formal declaration of war. Democrats in Congress, joined by Cohen-Kassebaum-Rudman swingers, would instantly choke up: War? Send in the Marines to an endless quagmire to protect a few corrupt dictators? What are you, some kind of jingo nut?

A small but real war is now being waged in Central America. On one side are the Communists (or Marxists, or Sandinistas, or agrarian reformers), and in the front lines on the other side are the crew of less-thanlovable contras led by Adolfo Calero. The Communist side is not in this war to settle, though it will readily sign a list of promises while the bone is in its throat; as always, Communists will carry their revolution as far as opposition weakness permits.

If our side does not win this war with the contras, we are going to have to stop Communist expansion with another force. That would mean the North Americanization of the war. Are most of the doves and swing voters really ready for that? I think not. When double-crossed, as history suggests they will be, their severity will turn out to be a chimera. The rest of the nation will be hard pressed to deliver on their threats.

Voices in the wilderness?

In recent months, three separate and authoritative reports—by the Department of Energy, the National Petroleum Council, and the American Petroleum Institute-all reached similar conclusions. And all three sounded similar warningswarnings of the sort we have been voicing in this space and elsewhere for the past year. We've argued, as did the reports, that America may have to pay a stiff price tomorrow for the benefits of low-cost oil today. We've argued, as did the reports, that the U.S. should take whatever reasonable steps possible to encourage production of America's domestic energy resources. And we concluded that unless government acted now, the 1990s could bring a replay of the 1970s, with its "oil shocks," "energy crises," and spiraling prices.

DOE, the NPC, and the API all noted that U.S. oil demand has been rising, and production has been falling. During 1986, Americans used about 500,000 barrels of oil more each day than they did the year before. Imports climbed by about a million barrels a day. Last year, Americans imported a net 32 percent of the oil they used. For perspective, at the time of the 1973 crisis, the net import level was 35 percent, and in 1979 it was 43 percent.

The reports mentioned several options for America, without making firm recommendations. We'd like to go further, and reiterate

the natural gas being sold today is still under price controls. Decontrol would give the petroleum industry a lift. The current natural gas surplus will disappear well before the oil glut, but many easy-to-produce gas resources are being neglected. Given the proper incentive, they would be produced—without triggering major price bikes

• Repeal the "windfall profits" tax. It isn't producing any revenue now anyhow, since oil is selling below its trigger prices. Repeal would signal the domestic industry that if it invests in exploration and production, it will get to keep a fairer share of any future rewards. Similarly, Congress should realize that the oil industry simply can't afford to be singled out for any more special taxes like the Superfund levy, which calls for a handful of industries to shoulder a society-wide problem.

● Continue filling the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. It's an excellent insurance policy—and like most insurance, we hope we'll never need it, but it's nice to know it's there. Besides, America bought a lot of oil for the SPR at \$30 a barrel, and at today's prices the government can take advantage of a relative bargain.

Open up federal lands for petroleum exploration. We've been saying for well over 10 years now that oil and gas production and a clean environment are not mutually exclusive. The waDonager of Dubek 4/18

Jeeing prob in met-terms is good rather than command of control terms. -- all agree. → Why two SA on exten of time for domestic relember sched. > also all see trade implic's. Neld differ on how much time for long term reducts, the enviros's know it has to be in yes. > Mut based issues = Plexibility is adv to implementation. I opens opp for fiture changes. Movement toward regulation - wood stove - truck of car compliance

-> alliance & Enviro's are meeting. 4 yet what to do in the face of uncertainty - each have come out diff, indus saying lin produc capac of eng's saying need lots immed reducts. reduc. nec. to stabilize :. Shoot for this reduce in 5 yrs.

2) - Orlont's - - public that substit's available needs for 5 yrs.

mvir's -- Need strong signal to adapt strong incentives. A Prepared to see CFC-22 as part of the solution. MoHi-party - moHt-variable Problem"

-) Mention that CFCs are very small element of the products containing CFCs

U.S. Flows carbons producers = 2/3 will's producers.

produce Consumption contain Variables made with

View of Int'l skgot's

* The Europeans have begun to take

the U.S. Serioisly which they

didn't b-4. -- it's b/e we're

sticking to position that has

brought them around.

Trade Provision
Vienna.

Trade Provision

Long the strengthened be in ament
form which exert little leverage
over the most likely cheaters to
who cover flow products.

13) -- Can be Closed of Recycled as a matter of process.
Largues for inclusion.

Delay They are Willing to Delay Int'l Process

2 EPA is doing all they can

What are SIC Coles?

| Benedick |

- Wirth, - Tripp of - EPA rep.

atmospherics Good

-no confrontation, except for NGOs

- Chairman's mtg w/

-smaller -- gp developed this (w/1 rep from many countries)

@ Chem's 11, 12, 113 [114 + 115] Halons not in now of not in the mandat of Soviets insisted

(2) Timing Entry into force (1988) auto-freeze 2 yrs aft entry (1990) auto-2000 & 2 yrs aft. (1992)

[A) 6 yrs tater of entry 2 3000 if simple majority confirm (1994)]

[B) Add'l 30% 8 yrs aft entry force inless 2/3 (1996)]

Beyond this, mtgs to decide further reduce [up to virtual elim -- not substits availab]

N60's

-on warpoth, gave away everything - Sprodley & Smith sabotaged

-gave away 95%.

- took away automatic

NOAA - unhappy ble too strong

Int - understood,

-best that all be done

DWill there be an options paper? Ladvice & not bring to DPC for decia. Process -> OSTP on the planning ap. = Richard S- Coverage Je 19-UNEP Mts - Will probbly result in Tig Gov'g Conf. mandate to incl halons. June 29-30 - The next major mtg. June 19-- due response on Chaviman's text. U.S. assoc w/ chem coverage -- full chemical coverage. -> Eof briefing from seps on delegate as to what us is associal w/.

- Has shed not push the DRC to come up - What say? 1) Come up of pointing Dey 175 & "its under y 3) Exclain -> (Tolba = going to testify 1) St. Dot. -- going to chairman to art if this part of higs can be delayed or conducted delly ble in middle negot's Bened Benedick Int'l Treaty only = no domestic Lee Thomas Colio Midway thru, been good process. Dots left to be done - issues Marty (3) reviewing results
(4) All the progresse
(5) offensive the trot defensive John (2) -> 3 DPC will decide b- to protocol is signed Lave's 60 =

Having DPC develop position who be: > Impractical
> Negatively affects negotiating process b/c
There not received badde @most in next 2 when before remaining shed Cabinet Council highlighter in - hert int'l negot's it we project Will go to the Cong Lask for Selay as fallback, private briefing. -- elements of uncert'y Testimony mtg

5:00 - Debriefing

Deve -- facil'r. / getting issues + options

1 Formula

3 LOC's

Aerosolo

Use of

11 + 12 from 1958-85

8.8 Kg/capita EC/-cumplature use total
11.6 Kg/capita US. livided by pop.

All CFC use Cumulative

13.7/hg/EC 26/kg/cp. US

EC arrent use.

Rimani W10 Reatric's U.S. CFC use well increase 295000 net tons \Rightarrow 473,000 netric 295000 net tons \Rightarrow 473,000 netric folia wt'll freeze (by ozone depletion pot'l of CFC II, 12 & 113)

Condition Signif. p 1's of CFCs in SI (0-3yrs)

LI (7yrs +) Cpt's 4x's.

[Freeze of adjusted production at 86 levels.]

Starting in 1988.

[Analysis out to yz 2000]

*Reason p is T'g is that substit's are
not going to be available to meet the demand.

(If substits were available at t'd p, then
p who go down.

P wand, since there is a fixed ant of 11,124113

of no substit's = P will go up.

Pt = No way to have substit's in these timetrames.

These pt's will provide incen's to develop substit's.

-> Cost to society = [aggregate of p 1's X ofthe palmed by medicin]

-> Wealth Transfer = 3-4 billion dollars. (p 1 x remaining atty)

Thrus yr. 2000 cumulative.)

CHEMICAL SUBSTIT'S

Wk'a on: CFG 123 (for 11) (123 looks best for 11) CFC 134a (for 12) (134a looks best for 12)

> No process devent whe on these. Not currently consid'd substitis.

assuming b-4 com'l availab, long process (7-10 yrs)

L'pelot plant

tax studies Start new com'l facil's

> Toxicity studies are the factor that can't be compressed; these have not started. ant mot to test is not availab tests are very expensive & need certainty it will be whable.

Halocarbons - not producing, want committent

Need to force downt of tech? - No.

alliance = freeze is the way to go.

Industry > (Not going to oppose the freeze)
on adjusted production.

This who provide suffic incen's
to lev substit's as quick as
any odd't reduc's wild
encourage.

Why haven't tox test started?

Cinitial scaping is inexpensive, then very expensive the discussions until Dec '86 had not soldified to suggest a freeze was definite enriff. to commit the millions of finec.

Lipot'l Br low yield of very large waste stream.

Lipot'l be hazardons blc will be hazardons blc will get other fluorocarbons.

Lipot will get other fluorocarbons.

Lipot for for bldg a plant of it's always a gamble. blc devents in pol or in tech. dd make it ineconomical.

Tooker Reductions regid oft 10 yrs ? moving from their 7-10 what pot I regative effects? } yr-silvitident.

Lit is chilling effect on industry.

and shift again. " 22 is not a viable substitute.

- Onot suffic incen now to invest the loge sums to devalts. Which have most pot'l. Frances
- 2 not dr whether these alto will pass muster + won't know until X \$ + x yrs.
- 3 if they are OK, then > reduce is not too painful.
- (9) if they do not wk, then a reduce who have to come from other means besides substit's.
 - -we need to know this into, the sooner the better
 - this discovery who redirect the reg. decis
 - or if the regid reduce is for enoth away in time it is not incrementally costly.

Refrig's 4 room a/c's: 12 (10-90 yr life)

-life time of product offected
by various factors.

-costly 4 long process to eval alt.

re reliability.

[In foam for insolation

complex experiments of lots tests to see it new product will work.

Ex: New compressor - re-design + testing cost \$100 million.

[?] Is it possible technologically to reclaim refrigerant?

- not sure.

- auto indus -- may have to reclasign yof the same car.

Room A/C's 22 -- sealed system

The Time

10 yr LT Planning

Don't Want a Number on the Horizon B/c-
- it wild have an inpact on planning
of all levels 4 direct many

Carp. decisions - and -
- a lot can happen in 10 yrs -- and

- they cld prove not the best decisions.

econ'lly, - and -
- gort may cha its mind anyway.

A/C -- larger 512ea... Use 22 -- no Substit +11+12 availab. \$43 million to do compressor in necent re-design of product.

> Centrifugals use thousands of tons of 2011/12 (These units an condition large bldgs) (1000 lbs or 400-500 599)

- 22 not adaptable to log chillers ... looking at substits
- log centrifugal chillers lifetime = 50 yrs.
- they are containable (for loge systems, the containing is economical.

- Home A/C = 70% = 200 CFC 22 - can A/c & refreg's = 12 use
there's 22 in large bldgs (centring chillers) -12 + 11 (11 is containable for log units economically of is the most agrous to ozone) -12 is what escapes

of → Not much pot'l to move to 22 in A/C busin. (yet options ox

134a has the ultimate pot'l to substit for 12 = 62% (that in a/c)

* 123 has pot'l to substit for 77% of 1 (uses. (that in foam)

Rigid Foam (CFCs provide insulating value)

- -> reduced CFCs emitted in mfr to <5% of the final product cost who be greatly affected by I's CFC costs.
- -) use of 123 wld & insulation value by 30% or if alt becomes available, 2-5 yrs to see if it will where

The rigid frams are convent Inexpen

for conetrue.

pot'l T in honoung costs ble

the same moul pot'l will be
larger physically reg'g re-design

of door-jams, etc. /or/ less insulating pot'l

is T'd ENERGY tosts

33% new resid'l use CFC frams

> 56% use CFC frams in com'l flat roofs

> 42% CFC frams in farm bldg

+ 80% side wall

CMA + Rasmussen stulies for emissions.

3 30% resd'I reinsul.

Prob = Not agree that emissions = USE

Follow

rigid blowing fram = elmost all 11

This

UP 1416 + 123 = Pot'l Alt's.

Lyapor pressure

conductivity

L many other factor affecting

the framing

L flammab

L tox

L soluble (they are ?)

L strength (frams well collapse)

[2-5 yrs from time alt is devid regid for applications teating.

Plexible Foams -- prob'ly won't be a beg

preb (123 & 14/6 shed
wh to.)

Polystyrene Foam -- uses 12; lifetime = 20 yrs

25 plants

In world

7 plants in U.S. the lifetime of the product.

-142 b may be an alt.

but lim'd availab. now.

-124 & 133a unknown.

Polyethylene Foam -- uses 1/4; no substit.

Expendable Polystylene - uses 1/ b/c low

Granuals flammab; no suitable

(packing agents) replacements.

[recapture of recycle of CFC by

The reprigeration coils]

113 is the solvent of choice, other solvents are bad actors; 113 = nontoxic, non abrosive of nonreactive.

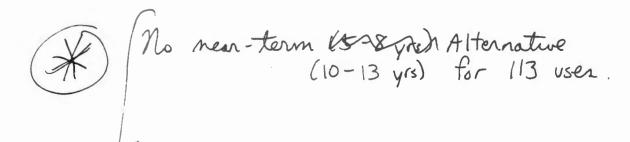
& wild need these qualities in any substi

-> Other solvents have left (i.e. TCE) b/c ofther probs.

of have poorer quality in semi-conductors.

-> 113 is responsib for 1'd speed in semi-conductor

that are miniaturized.



-> 132b is the closest alt, yet it wild not be svitable ble it's too rigorous of strong.

- Currently surveying for substits.

- 113 is expensive - it is selected anyway; of price T's wild not affect the demand

Recepture of Recycle

The maximum now = 85%; yet now

degreasers

The recepture is probbly > like

today

50%. I will not be able to

aget the add't 50% economically

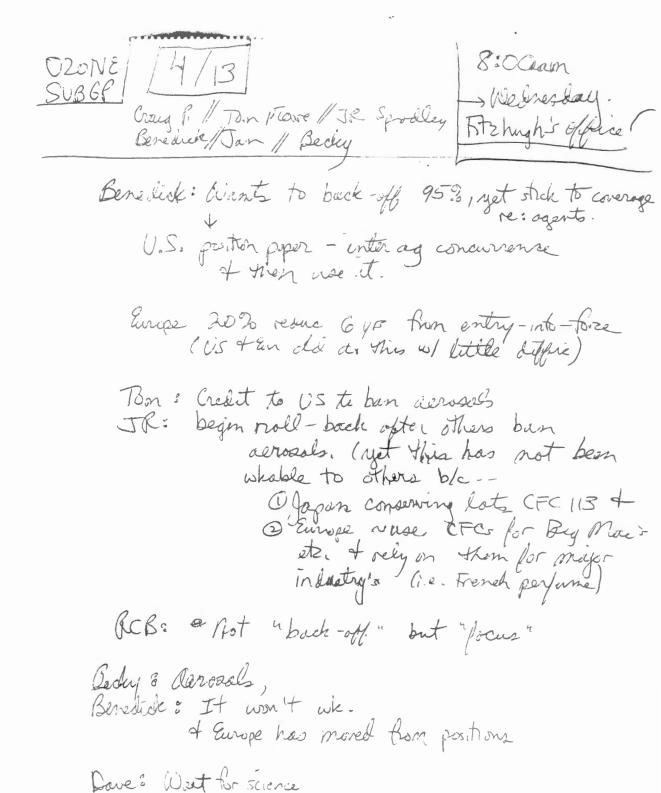
today.

Auto Indus

-use 113 in depreasing computer parts same status as indus.

- 11 in foam blowing; Isohung it water blown foam (2-5 yrs away)

- Mobile A/c3 - 22 will v who ble wild redesign in fittire. Lrecharge



Jan: of the 4-5 veriables morbell - o's Sind prior tize:

O agents covered a countries covered

(3) trade

(9) Then, the amt reduc

Wallace - S St. Dept remarks NSC / re organe /

Des 2:00 pm Alhance 5:00 pm Dorager

wed ?

Indus Gut Dran Indus
Drahy Gut Got Drahs etc.
Drahy Gut Drahs Gut

Panning Eval action.

Small Gp. - It's often - Dave Gibbons - Jan Marie
- Backy Dunlop
- Rendick

Change I the resoure I more - i than t's to do anything

The How to bring it to the DPC process?

Think throw the process. he'll add
what shell
what shell

The April December of the DPC gotting involved.

For Amil Ostich to prior

Opleased to see other countries moving.

Pres. will be very results of Apr. negot's.

3 ENKE Why gp mtg ond next wh.

[2/6/85] EPA, ICF (WRI attended)

Pop princetions -- how accurate? -- how impt to models accuracy?

ICF = GNP + pop both impt., w/ GNP more impt.

accurate in the ST.

Ex: Cerraus -- Intil -- 1st 5 counts were not acc 4 reget it at until 6th.

Steve & Nobody believes we can predict pop +GNP in LT * yet this will not inprove in the near-med term nec for lecismkers.

What is the degree of confidence - how much uncertainty shed we inform our principals of?

*Assump's = absence growth. I mitations / emissions limitations of it.

Assump's That new products will require as much cores as previous,

There is a handout = 'g that fit tech chy's will limit growth.

Irving *- Yet ept's "what if" scenarios in corp

This factor.

Get bank table of emissions for 12 + 113

* equivalent of 6 yrs of emissions in the bank"

?= formula using to negot. an int'l agreent?
= (adjusted production) (also, - recycling / clastime)

BASIS FOR US Position

SAB used the 2 charts of CFC 12 saying

read & 85% to stabilize concent.

- 3 chy N2O descrip to say it internacts w/cFCs in troposphere to 1 ozaro.

20 models better pays Theory in Policy.

*Supports polluter De tonly is where control variables. most of pollution is,

but also where pollution is occurring

Effects vary with latitude.

(4 both ways:

1 > Depletion north yet

2 depletion in lower latitude
brings in > UVB.

De Canio Thow can DPC process 4 formulate regotiating options.

- orude estimi-

- benefit eatins much > than cost eatings

- crop yield (spee)

- global warming (spee)

- cancero (can assign (£) is not che how doing it

- deaths #'s to)

- alliance # 1 billion

- how to 2000

- for freeze.

- no control | mill

- deaths / 88 yrs.

- constant | mill

- deaths / 88 yrs.

- constant | con

- active agent is ultraviolet flux.

- Shild we use the DPC or the Circ 175 process?

-> Need policy allowing forhassessmt.

Dr. Johnson -- Think it shed go to DPC.