oil at a more reasonable capacity, we will still depend on foreign sources. Hence, we need to apply continued pressure on OPEC to moderate their supply manipulations.

It would also help if we would stop applying trade sanctions so freely. The U.S. is currently enforcing sanctions against countries with over 10 percent of world oil production and 16 percent of estimated oil resources.

Mistake 2: Encouraging the Use of Natural Gas, Discouraging Production. Natural gas has become popular because it is invisible, odorless, and clean-burning. Its use has been encouraged in areas ranging from home heating to electricity-generating plants. Over the past decade, however, access to U.S. natural gas reserves has become more difficult. Of the 382 trillion cubic feet of natural gas reserves in the Rocky Mountains, for instance, about 137 TCF have been put off limits for environmentalist reasons.

Examples of increased restrictions on natural gas development in the Clinton administration include the Forest Service moratorium on new road construction and the new national monuments designated under the Antiquities Act. With a few executive orders, and no involvement from Congress, millions of acres have been locked away. Federal agencies have also used an expansive interpretation of the Endangered Species Act to delay and deny exploration permits. In one fell swoop in October 1999, President Clinton effectively put 20 percent of our national forests—more than 40 million additional acres—in a "don't touch" lock box.

Mistake Number 3: No New Refineries. As well as getting oil out of the ground, U.S. companies need to turn it into consumer products in their refineries. At 96 percent of capacity, U.S. refinery utilization is now dangerously tight. Over half of our refineries have closed over the past 20 years, none have been built, and total capacity has declined from 19 to 16 million barrels per day.

Refinery construction has been halted by environmental and aesthetic concerns; rectifying this mistake will be a vital challenge for the new administration. Even if we continue to rely on oil imports from abroad, we still need our own refineries, so NIMBY (not in my back yard) forces must be moderated.

Mistake Number 4: Different Regional Gasoline Reformulations. Environmental Protection Agency regulations now mandate different forms of gasoline in different regions. This makes it much harder to shift supplies around to match consumer demand. Pipelines have to carry different batches. Separate tankers are needed. Storage has become expensive and complicated.

This makes it harder for companies to respond to shortages of gasoline. If all gasoline were the same, a shortage in, say, the Midwest could lead to shipments from the South. But with the Midwest required to use a special type of reformulated gasoline in the summer, other supplies cannot be brought in. Instead, the price simply rises.

Some of the fuel requirements come at little regulatory benefit and substantial cost. For instance, in 2000, the EPA was attempting to reduce the sulfur in diesel fuel by 97 percent, whereas a 90 percent reduction would be far less costly and achieve the same level of emissions reduction. The higher standard comes at a cost of $4 billion, which discourages refineries from producing diesel fuel.

Another example is the federal oxygenate requirement for gasoline. Refiners meet this by adding the chemical MTBE to their fuel. This makes gasoline more costly and difficult to manufacture—and with no change in air quality. Even the EPA's Blue Ribbon Panel on Oxygenates agrees that the regulation should be eliminated. Now the EPA wants to replace MTBE with other chemicals, without a serious study re-evaluating the need for an oxygenate mandate in the first place.

Mistake Number 5: Imposing Costly Regulations That Go Beyond the Clean Air Act. After a 1993 proposal to tax fossil fuels failed in Congress, the Clinton administration chose to use environmental regulations to try to limit fossil fuel use. The 1990 Clean Air Act had given the EPA flexibility in setting and attaining air standards, a power the agency used to go far beyond anything mandated by the Act. This hurt both energy producers and consumers.

The EPA has *not* taken advantage language permitting it to consider energy effects in drafting emissions regulations. In a 1998 rule the agency demanded that nitrogen oxide emissions in the eastern U.S. be reduced by 85 percent. This will cost utilities $14 billion and increase power generation costs in the area by roughly $3 billion per year. Another rule imposes burdensome emissions-reduction demands on utilities when they maintain and modernize their equipment. This means the EPA is ironically encouraging plants to stick with older, less efficient technology, rather than risk the government's wrath.

Mistake Number 6: Signing the Kyoto Protocol. Scientific warnings in the 1970s of a coming ice age have more recently changed to alarms about global warming. In response, the Clinton administration agreed in 1997 to the U.N.-sponsored Kyoto Protocol, which would require us by 2010 to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to 7 percent below their 1990 levels. This treaty, if ratified by the Senate, could cost the economy $450 billion annually, with gasoline rising 66 cents a gallon and residential energy costs jumping 83 percent.

The U.S. would also be hurt in another way. Since approximately 130 developing countries (including China, India, Indonesia, and Brazil) have refused to sign the treaty and are exempt from its requirements, many U.S. industries would move production abroad to these locales.

More generally, the Kyoto goals are unattainable without doing serious damage to our standard of living. Although the treaty is unlikely to be ratified in today's Congress, it is important that the United States avoid moving toward its goals.

Over the last year the U.S. has experienced a number of serious energy shortages and a rash of higher prices for energy. Unless we reverse some of the mistakes outlined above, those unhappy events will continue. We're bearing the fruit of our previous leaders' decisions. With a new President, perhaps it's time to think things through again.

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Flashback

TO KNOW NOTHING OF WHAT HAPPENED BEFORE YOU WERE BORN IS TO REMAIN EVER A CHILD—*Cicero*

Why Spring Ahead?

Before visiting slumberland on the evening of March 31, Americans will advance their timepieces by one hour and rewind the familiar ritual of Daylight Savings Time: spring ahead, fall back.

An extra hour of daylight on spring and summer nights: Who other than the odd crank could possibly oppose such beneficial clock-tinkering? One such crank was the Canadian novelist Robertson Davies, whose grumpy alter ego Samuel Marchbanks wrote, "I object to being told that I am saving daylight when I am doing nothing of the kind. I even object to the implication that I am wasting something valuable if I stay in bed after the sun has risen. As an admirer of moonlight I resent the bossy insistence of those who want to reduce my time for enjoying it. At the back of the Daylight Saving scheme I detect the boney, blue-fingered hand of Puritanism, eager to push people into bed earlier, and get them up earlier, to make them healthy, wealthy, and wise in spite of themselves."

Marchbanks was an acute detective. Benjamin Franklin, Mr. Healthy, Wealthy, and Wise himself, proposed a forerunner of Daylight Savings Time in a whimsical 1784 essay.

Through most of American history, men and women lived and loved and died on local time, pegged to the transit of the sun. Towns and cities kept their own time, and if the sun's position meant 12:15 in Rochester was 12:09 in Buffalo, so what?

Ah, but the trains must run on time.... Idiosyncratic local timekeeping was the bane of the rail barons. For them, decentralized chronometry was an evil worse than the Dalton Gang. So on November 18, 1883—"the day of two noons"—railroads and countless municipalities synchronized their collective watches all at once: Standard time was born.

Pockets of fierce resistance to standard time were found in flinty New England and across such states as Ohio, Kentucky, and Michigan. In *Keeping Watch: A History of American Time*, Michael O'Malley found that the standard-time holdouts were not "silly, backward, and provincial." Rather, what "each found puzzling, saddening, or infuriating was the assumption that time was arbitrary, changeable, susceptible to the whims of the railroads or defined by mere commercial expediency. Surely the world ran by higher priorities than railroad scheduling."

Surely it did not, editorialized *Railway Age*: "Why should any other places, big or small, be allowed to retain the obsolete fashion? Local time must go."

It went, in time, but the battle was rejoined in 1918, when the tribunes of Progress and Efficiency, led by Woodrow Wilson, imposed Daylight Savings Time. The stated purpose was to conserve coal in wartime. Farmers protested mightily, and Congress repealed DST at war's end, overriding Wilson's veto. (The farmer's "life and methods are more easily adjusted, I venture to think, than are those of the manufacturer and the merchant," Wilson lectured smugly.)

The 1919 repeal of DST marked the last victory for nature's steady tick. An Illinois congressman called the DST battle "a contest between the golf stick and hoe," as daylight-craving recreationists were pitted against farmers, rustics, and other sundialing sticks-in-the-mud. A Minnesota congressman called Daylight Savings Time the "pet of the professional class, the semi-leisure class, the man of the golf club and the amateur gardener, the sojourner at the suburban summer resort."

TOWNS USED TO KEEP THEIR OWN TIME, PEGGED TO THE TRANSIT OF THE SUN. SO 12:15 IN ROCHESTER WAS 12:09 IN BUFFALO.

Golf was the bogeyman of the time traditionalists. O'Malley writes that the game "symbolized the utter decadence that underlay the daylight saving movement." (The decadence lobby split when movie interests later campaigned against DST.)

World War II brought nationwide year-round Daylight Savings Time, but in the postwar years springing ahead was left to states and localities. This produced diversity, which also goes under the name confusion, until the Uniform Time Act of 1966 whipped recalcitrants into line. (Arizona, Hawaii, and parts of Indiana still refuse to adopt Daylight Savings Time, with no apparent damage to the republic.) Fittingly, the Department of Transportation administers time laws. The primary consideration in any request for transferring a locale to a different time zone is the "convenience of commerce."

So as we skip a predawn hour on this April Fool's Day, ask yourself a foolish question: Is it noon because of the sun's place in the sky, or is it noon because Washington says it is?

—Bill Kauffman

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