

New Energy *for* America

Jobs, Security & Prosperity
for the 21st Century



Presented by



C E R E S



Union of
Concerned
Scientists



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July 28, 2004
Boston, Massachusetts

Acknowledgments

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Foreword

On July 28, 2004, an exceptional group of leaders from labor, government, business, and the environmental community came together to call for a national investment in and commitment to a clean-energy economy—an economy that will preserve and expand high-quality, U.S.-based jobs, reduce our dependence on oil, and work to slow global warming. In front of a lively audience of 600 people gathered in downtown Boston, these leaders called for the unleashing of U.S. innovation that will drive the “new energy” economy we know is critical to our future.

The event succeeded in raising the visibility and level of understanding of the argument that investing in clean energy technologies is critical not only to creating good jobs—jobs that cannot be outsourced—but also to improving public health and the environment. In the following

pages, you will read excerpts of the compelling remarks made by event participants—remarks we hope will be echoed throughout the national conversation this year and beyond.

As these speakers suggest, the new energy economy is about jobs, it is about national security, it is about public health, and it is about the future of the planet we leave for our children. Our hope is that this event and the ensuing national conversation will inspire national action.

We thank all the participants for recognizing the importance of this work and assuming a leadership role. We also want to give special thanks to Senate Democratic Leader Tom Daschle and House Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi, who served as honorary co-chairs of the event.

KEVIN KNOBLOCH

President, Union of Concerned Scientists

BRACKEN HENDRICKS

Executive Director, Apollo Alliance

MINDY LUBBER

Executive Director, Ceres

DAN RUBEN

Executive Director, Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Conventions



Event moderator:

STEVE CURWOOD

National Public Radio

“*We’re here today for a discussion about clean energy with an all-star cast.*”

Welcome! We’re here for a discussion about clean energy with an all-star cast. We’ve got some of the smartest people on this issue on this dais, and what I want to talk about today and what I think this town meeting is all about is: what else do you do in Boston but have a revolution?

In fact, just outside the window here is where they dumped the tea—we are at the heart of the American Revolution. Now, the folks that did the Revolution were a group of people who’ve come to be known as Yankees. It’s the name of a pretty amazing concept and important values of our country. I’m talking about Yankee ingenuity.

Yankees were cheap in a smart way, and they were efficient in a smart way. I’m a beneficiary of that: I live in a 1755 farmhouse. This house has geothermal heating and cooling. The building is amazingly efficient. What’s happened? What have we lost?

The Yankees—the folks who put together this Revolution, put together this democracy, and thought smart about energy use—got replaced by a crowd that seems to think more is better; the more and more we use, the better and better it is. So we keep burning and burning, and now we’re on a path to destruction, literally, for the planet. And at a competitive disadvantage—the Europeans use half the amount of energy we do. We could double the size of this economy if we had a European-scale use of energy. And that’s just on conservation alone.

So today’s discussion is really going to be on the question of how we can bring that spirit of Yankee ingenuity to the revolution that is coming—actually, that is under way today—and how we are moving toward a clean energy economy.

JOHN SWEENEY

President, AFL-CIO

“A bold commitment to energy independence is a recipe for growth and prosperity.”



Not too far back in time, there was plenty of work for Americans because we led the way on every new industrial and technological transition. We powered rural houses and strung telephone lines; we put cars on the road and planes in the sky. We laid the rails and built the highways and bridges, and taught people in other countries how to do that too, and we thereby created millions of new jobs. We played catch-up in space and put the first man on the moon, then we pioneered the Internet and paved the information highway—nothing stopped us and there was plenty to do: building a nation, building a new kind of economy.

It happened because of choices—choices made by our leaders, who envisioned a strong nation and made decisions to invest in that future, in innovation and infrastructure, in science, in education, and support for workers. These were all policy choices that made our economy strong and created the largest middle class, the strongest democracy, and the most competitive economy that the world had ever known.

We used to export products, not jobs. There’s a sign on the bridge crossing the Delaware River in northern New Jersey that says, “Trenton Makes, The World Takes,” and when it went up nearly 50 years ago, it was a reminder of where we stood, which was astride the global marketplace.

Today, half of that slogan could be wiped out, leaving only “The World Takes,” which is what has happened to manufacturing jobs in Trenton as well as all across the country. We’re facing the biggest jobs crisis in our history and it, too, is a result of policy choices of our leaders. God didn’t decide to abandon American workers and encourage multinational corporations to scour the world in search of cheaper and cheaper labor—those decisions were made by misguided mortals.

Today, a dangerous ideology of deregulation and privatization and rollbacks of protections for workers, consumers, and the environment are making our nation weaker by not keeping and creating good jobs here at home. In fact, we’re replacing full-time, full-benefit, high-wage

jobs—manufacturing jobs; engineering jobs; information jobs; real, long-lasting jobs with benefits that people and families can depend on—with part-time, no-benefit, low-wage jobs.

It's a failure of leadership not to recognize that there are solutions available, and to let so many Americans sit idle while there is so much to develop and so much to build.

Our automobile companies should be leading the way on hybrids and other technologies, not buying the patents from Japan and letting foreign companies take over the market. Coal companies, power companies, manufacturing plants—all of them need new, more efficient technologies. New policies are needed to make sure American businesses lead the way in finding cleaner and safer ways to power our country. We should be building renewable energy, solar panels, and windmills, and installing those solutions everywhere.

What we need to do is to protect American workers in our traditional industrial base by moving that base into the future and securing the next generation of manufacturing jobs. Businesses will take care of themselves; they'll do what they need to do to survive. Consumers will get what they need from competitors, foreign or otherwise. Those who will be hurt by our failure of leadership are the workers and their communities—workers who can't follow their jobs overseas.

Technological change is a given, but our policy response is a question of vision and leadership. We need leaders to set public policies that make America stronger and more prosperous by putting people to work here at home, rather than selling off the long-term interest of our economy to the highest bidder.

Energy independence is one place where we can move in another direction and focus not only on jobs and the economy, but also on national security, our use of oil and how that distorts our commitment to democracy, and the deepening concerns over the health of our communities and our environment.

Clearly, strong labor markets, stable communities, a healthy environment, and national security through energy security are all in the best interests of the American people.

Government's role is to set the goals for the nation and then direct our energies and our investments toward achieving them; to send signals to companies that innovation will be rewarded; to invest in our own infrastructure; to decide to make our country safer and stronger and vibrant again; to move our money and our know-how into building those solutions.

A bold commitment to energy independence is a recipe for growth and prosperity. These are jobs that can't be outsourced: retooling our factories, building new infrastructure, and creating stronger local markets for goods and labor. When we make that commitment, we can once again create jobs that last—jobs that are about a real future for America's working families. Thank you.

MARIA CANTWELL

U.S. Senator, Washington State

“*We can be the drivers in an energy economy that could create as many as three million new jobs.*”



Steve Curwood: It's said that about one out of every six dollars in the U.S. economy touches energy, and that when we make a conversion to clean energy, this will be a bigger change in our economy, in fact, than what information technology has done—it will have a bigger economic footprint. The Internet and computer technology was absolutely driven by government investment. What should be the proper role of the federal government in moving to the new clean-energy economy?

Sen. Cantwell: The Information Age and the jobs that were created are just a glimpse of what energy efficiency could deliver to a global economy, and how America could play a leadership role in capturing that, and taking advantage of it from the job creation end of things.

What people don't realize is that DARPA Net, which was founded in 1969—the actual forerunner of the investment that led to the creation of the Internet and later the commercialization of

that technology into the Internet—was a government investment. And that investment did yield great successes for us.

Now, when you think about just the efficiencies of the energy system and what we could get out of it, that's a pretty big goal and is something that we want to set our sights on. The challenge, I think, is that, just as with Internet technology, just because the technology exists today, it doesn't mean that the business models exist, or that the markets exist for those technologies. The thing that I found working at an Internet software company is that sometimes as much as 25 years can pass from the introduction of the technology [before] the actual solution can be available for the business models, the marketing, the education.

I think part of our challenge is to figure out how the United States can play a role in helping to create what will be the international standards. Why should we let the rest of the world or the European community set these standards? The

Internet and what ended up becoming the World Wide Web and Mosaic was basically American technology, and that gave us huge advantages.

So that's what's at stake for us, and I think that it's a huge opportunity and it's something that we ought to try to convince our fellow Americans that it's worth the investment. This isn't just about coming up with a goal for renewables for the next few years of saying, "Let's set our sights on 10 or 15 percent"—something, by the way, that we're having huge trouble getting passed in the United

States Congress—but to say to Americans instead, "Let's capitalize on this investment so we can be the drivers in an energy economy that could create as many as three million new jobs in America."

If we don't take that advantage, I guarantee you that the Europeans or some other country will take that advantage, and we will be catching up to their standards and to their international issues of interoperability.

Dan Ruben, executive director of the Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Conventions, which brought environmental best practices to the Democratic and Republican national conventions.



U.S. Senator Maria Cantwell with Tom Downey, chairman of the Downey McGrath Group, former member of Congress from New York, and a longtime advocate of clean energy policies.

ED RENDELL*Governor, Pennsylvania*

“*We do have to invest; the government does have a role to play.*”



Steve Curwood: You come from a state that relies a lot on coal in your economy. How can clean energy be used to revitalize manufacturing, to move forward with the next phase of a coal-based economy?

Gov. Rendell: One of the things I’ve found in my time in government is that ideas that are ahead of their time—ideas that are difficult in isolation to get adopted—the way you can do it is with linkage. And I think the linkage here is somewhat self-evident. You heard it from John Sweeney, and you heard it from Senator Cantwell: the linkage is economic development. Jobs. Capital investment. We’re never going to win the battle on the environmental issues. If we wait to win those battles, it will be too late.

But we have two things going for us that Americans feel very emotional about. One is jobs—good jobs that cannot be exported, good jobs that cannot be outsourced. And if we build

this energy independence, those jobs will be good-paying jobs, and they can only be done and filled here, number one. And I think the estimate that Senator Cantwell gave, about three million new jobs, is a good estimate. I think it can grow beyond that.

Second, we can link energy independence to political independence. No American soldier should die fighting to protect Arab oil. And you know and I know that our foreign policy is impacted, dictated, whatever verb you want to put, because of our need for Arab oil.

So, let’s seize the moment. We’ve got those two great drivers: economic development—the need for homegrown, good-paying jobs—and the ability to say we’re going to produce our own energy. We’re truly going to be not only energy-independent, but politically independent as well.

How do we do it? We do have to invest; the government does have a role to play.

We're a small state in Pennsylvania, obviously, compared to the federal government, but we're putting tens of millions of dollars aside in a program called Energy Harvest. That money is available to help fund, at various stages of the development, new alternative-energy companies.

We've put together in our economic stimulus program 620 million dollars in venture capital. A lot of that money is going to be targeted to workable new energy technologies, because I want Pennsylvania to be the leader in the world. I think we can be because of what used to be a dirty word but is no longer a dirty word—it is becoming cleaner ever still: C-O-A-L.

And we have an opportunity: if we can develop clean coal technology—and we're on our

way in Pennsylvania—we have enough coal in the United States of America to take care of almost a century of needs, to light and heat our homes and fuel our cars—almost a century's worth!

And we've got to do it! We can't wait! Time is running out! Go on eBay and look at the bartering for spots on the hybrid car lists—people are paying 500 dollars and 1,000 dollars to move up and gain a spot on those lists. And where are the hybrid cars being made? Japan and Korea. We're missing out on a great opportunity to improve our environment, to create jobs, and create energy independence.

The time to act is now. This golden opportunity that's right there for us—you can almost reach out and touch it.

Bracken Hendricks, executive director of the Apollo Alliance, a coalition of labor, environmental, business, urban, and faith communities that support good jobs and energy independence through a clean energy future.



U.S. Representative Mark Udall of Colorado, a nationally recognized leader in promoting a balanced national energy plan, with environmental leader Maggie Fox, deputy director of the Sierra Club.



JOHN BALDACCI

Governor, Maine

“*The more energy we use, the less money we have to spend.*”



Steve Curwood: The sign going into Maine says, “The way life’s supposed to be.” Tell me—why was it important to you to set up an Office of Energy Security and Independence, and what else are you doing at the state level in Maine?

Gov. Baldacci: Thank you very much for the opportunity to be here amongst this august body, and recognize that this is a tremendous opportunity to start another revolution in terms of our energy independence and our economic independence, in providing better-paying jobs and opportunities not only in our state, but in the country.

Well, in Maine we needed to promote job growth and development. Energy efficiency, energy technology, and renewables was a field in which there was plenty of opportunity but few players.

We’ve permitted a wind project in northern Maine; we’ve seen our Calpine partners, who have now switched from nuclear towards natural gas; and we’ve begun a global warming process with stakeholders within our state—recognizing that

it isn’t being done at the federal level, we need to again “act locally and think globally.” And hopefully Maine can in a small way send a ripple across the boundaries of our state.

But frankly, we did it because of the budget. The more energy we use, the less money we have to spend, and it’s Yankee ingenuity that stretches those dollars. So [it is] with our vehicle fleet purchases (an incentive toward purchases of hybrids). Making sure that our new Governor Baxter Building is now green-certified in its development (it’s going to use less energy, cost less money). And during the last bump-up in the energy prices, we were able to sustain our fleets without any changes in operation because of the conservation techniques we put in place. So if we can, through our University of Maine—and we’ve committed resources to do research and development in this field—we can actually not only save money but create economies and economic development and job opportunities.



DICK DURBIN

U.S. Senator, Illinois

“ *I don't think the market is going to drive us to the solution. I think we need leadership.* ”

Steve Curwood: You come from a state with a strong manufacturing base; this is a high priority for you. How we can hang onto these jobs—no, how can we add even more jobs—in this sector as we make this conversion?

Sen. Durbin: If we're in a conversation about energy independence, then we ought to take a look at the use of the fuel that we're importing: 60 percent of the oil imported into the United States is used in the transportation sector; 40 percent by cars, SUVs, and trucks. So if we are going to lessen the dependence, we either take the solution of drilling in ANWR, which I reject, or we start talking about smarter vehicles in America. Now, let's look at those numbers as well.

Why did Honda and Toyota beat us to the punch with hybrid vehicles? In the year 2003, 43,000 vehicles—hybrid vehicles—[were] sold by Honda and Toyota, and [there is a] long waiting

list. They anticipate 100,000 will be sold this year, and in three years, it's up to 500,000.

The newest entry into the conversation about hybrid vehicles is Ford. I know, because my wife wants a new car. We decided we weren't going to get an SUV. We wanted to buy American and we wanted something that was fuel-efficient. Try to find it!

Well, it turned out, here comes the Ford Escape hybrid—thank goodness! And I called my local Ford dealer in Springfield, Illinois, and say: “Sign me up!” He said, “For what?” I said, “The Ford Escape hybrid,” and he said, “We don't have any information on that.” Why? Because they're going to produce 20,000 of them. Thirty-four thousand people have already gone online asking about this vehicle. We are dipping our toe in the water when it comes to putting together more fuel-efficient vehicles.

We have to get honest about this. There are two ways to force American consumers into an appetite for fuel-efficient vehicles, and clearly, there's already some appetite out there. One is an increase in the cost of gasoline, and we saw that recently when, as the cost of gasoline went up, the interest of consumers in fuel-efficient vehicles went up. But there's a downside to raising the cost of gasoline: it's inflationary; it hurts working families the most; businesses that depend on vehicles end up paying higher prices.

There's another way. We discovered it in 1975: we established standards for improving the fuel efficiency of vehicles. Now there were loopholes in those standards—there were loopholes that they drove SUVs through. But when we started the conversation in '75, the average fuel efficiency was 14 miles a gallon. Ten years later, 28 miles a gallon. Today, 20 miles a gallon. The trend is going in the wrong direction.

We need to accept the obvious: if China can see the need for fuel efficiency in vehicles in their economy, we should be able to see the need in our economy!

We need [the] leadership of business and labor [to] come together and say, "We're going to set a national goal. We're going to use the ingenuity and technology already available to make these more fuel-efficient vehicles, we're going to hit the goals, and we're not going to create loopholes for Hummers and SUVs!"

And the last point I'll make more directly to your question: I don't think the market is going to drive us to the solution. I think we need leadership—political leadership. I understand when United Auto Workers is nervous about this conversation. I understand it completely. But once we set the national goal and move ourselves forward, clearly we're going to find ourselves creating the vehicles that consume less oil, and being less dependent on overseas oil. Thank you.

Mindy Lubber, executive director of Ceres, closed the event by drawing the connection between clean energy and the economy, public health, and national security.





HILDA L. SOLIS

U.S. Representative, California

“*I’m hoping that people will really take the time to think about the changes we need.*”

Steve Curwood: You’ve been listening to this discussion; what of this do you want to take back to your constituents? What of this makes sense for the people in East L.A.?

Rep. Solis: I look at this audience—I don’t, quite frankly, see my community represented here, and that’s one thing that concerns me—that we have to educate them; we have to tell them there are other avenues to get better jobs. Most are struggling right now at minimum wage, or just barely making it. They don’t see the fact that they can possibly get into new high-technological jobs unless there’s an investment made in their education.

This administration has taken away a lot of the opportunities for research in health and environment, and to me, those two issues go hand in hand. They’re not separate, they’re one. We have the highest rates of asthma in my district. We have three water tables that are heavily contaminated.

We want relief, we want the American dream; we are willing to sacrifice to do that, but we have to have the appropriate tools.

Believe me, there are many hard-working people in my community, many from the labor community. Many new immigrants who are actually going to help power this country, who are now striving to start small businesses, but they have to be told how they can also conserve and invest in new technologies to make their businesses work, and they’re willing to learn. So invite them [to] the table, have discussions with them, recruit and mentor new leaders who look like us—so they can also be at the table.

We want a cleaner America. Most people in my district came to this country for a better tomorrow, for a better American dream, for a piece of that apple pie. And they’re willing to send their children to go fight our wars, believe it or not, and when they come home, they’re

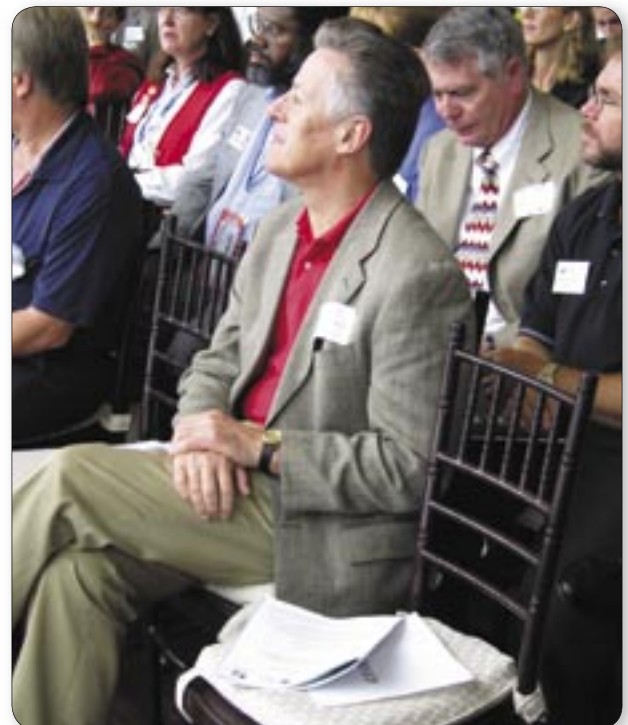
faced with the same level of pollution that hasn't changed in 20 years. Those kinds of things need to be addressed—not just for people of color but for people who live in Virginia, people who live in Miami, people who live in Utah, Washington State, that are now seeing a changing face, a changing demographic in our country.

I am proud to have been part of a movement in California years back when we had a Democratic governor there who signed into law the first piece of legislation regarding environmental justice. But we don't have the teeth to go far enough to really implement it, and while the Clinton administration had previously signed an executive order to that effect, we have not put sufficient funding in EPA to help us monitor what we are doing.

It doesn't say, "Don't take jobs away." It says, "Do better planning. Be smart. Smart growth. Use other technologies so that we don't have to go back into those communities that have several things going against them already. Let's balance the playing field." And that's really where I'm coming from, and I'm hoping that people will really take time to think about the changes that we do need. Most of the folks I represent ride on the bus. They need public transportation, they need clean air, they need relief, they need parks.

So I'm hoping we can work collectively with the environmental communities, with the labor communities, and with all those who want to see a better future for our economy and our children. So thank you very much, and I'm very, very delighted to be a part of this. Thank you.

As governor of New Jersey and a member of Congress, James Florio built a strong record as an authority on environmental and energy issues.





LEO GERARD

President, United Steelworkers of America

*“The moment is upon us
and we need to seize it.”*

Let me start off by saying that in the Steelworkers Union, we decided to be co-founders of the Apollo Alliance because a number of us thought it was tremendously important to be publicly seen as speaking against the false promise—and the false promise, as we called it, is to continually put before industrial workers and building trades workers that we had to make a choice between good jobs and a clean environment. We believe this is a false choice.

The Steelworkers Union held our first environmental conference in 1969. We thought that cleaning up the environment was sexy before everyone else did. And the reason that we thought that is that you need to remember that bad environmental policy starts in the plant and then works its way out to the community.

The Apollo Alliance includes the Industrial Union Council of the AFL-CIO, which includes

many industrial unions, but to mention a few: the United Mine Workers, the autoworkers, the machinists, the steelworkers, and the IBEW. The reason we're in that Alliance is because we truly believe that if we put the technology to work for us, we can create good, sustainable jobs and we can develop energy independence.

The challenge for us is to be able to get the message out and to be able to leverage government. Senator Cantwell said a while ago: an investment in the kind of projects that the Apollo Alliance is promoting would create close to three and a half million high-quality, family-supporting union jobs over the next 10 years while we get rid of some of the pollution that we've got. But first we've got to get rid of some of the pollution in Washington. If we were to reduce our dependency on fossil fuels by 15 percent, that would give us all a billion extra dollars to pay teachers and give kids better class sizes.

We use enough energy in United States water and wastewater treatment plants that it consumes three percent of America's energy. That's more energy than is consumed in America's pulp and paper industry. So if we were to invest in the greening of those facilities and energy efficiency, those savings could be used. If we were to develop new energy regulations in our appliance industry, that would create 120,000 new jobs. The fact of the matter is that if we make the investments in clean coal, we've got enough coal to supply America's needs for a hundred years.

When President Kennedy decided that he was setting a goal and setting a vision, he dreamed big and set a timetable to put a man on the moon. America's creativity and energy and commitment and pride were put on the line, and he met that goal ahead of schedule.

We need to dream big again, and we need to set a goal of energy independence within 10

years and we need to have America's labor movement [be] part of that discussion and debate. The unions that make up the Apollo Alliance represent in excess of 10 million unionized workers in this country—the people who brought you the weekend.

Let me quote someone, and again, if my governor was here, I would say I totally agree with him—that the moment is upon us and we need to seize it. This is the time for us to talk about energy independence as both a security issue and a jobs issue. This person that I want to quote says, "Renewable energy resources are important because they're entirely under our control. No foreign government can embargo them, no terrorist can seize or control them, and no American soldier will have to risk his or her life to protect them."

Kevin Knobloch, president of the Union of Concerned Scientists, welcomed attendees and called for a national, intensive investment in clean energy technologies that will preserve and expand high-quality jobs.





JAY INSLEE

U.S. Representative, Washington State

“ This is the continuation of Ben Franklin’s spirit of innovation. ”

Steve Curwood: How would this investment really help our national security and what are the steps that we need to take to get there?

Rep. Inslee: Why is this a security risk? The answer is pretty obvious: although we consume 25 percent of the world’s oil, we have only three percent of the oil reserves. Our economy is overly dependent on oil, forcing a warped foreign policy. I believe that no American son or daughter should have to die for oil.

There are other non-obvious but equally important reasons why our addiction to oil is a security risk.

We should never, ever allow the House of Saud to play “pussy-foot” with al-Qaeda, a terrorist organization, but this has happened because we’re addicted to oil, and Saudi Arabia is by far the world’s largest oil owner and producer.

We also have to realize that the security costs to Americans of our addiction to Middle East oil makes the real price of oil close to five dollars

a gallon. The sad fact is, a large percentage of our defense budget, up to a third by some estimates, is dedicated to protecting our oil wells in the Mid-East. That’s 175 billion dollars divided by three—you do the math. Oil costs us about five dollars a gallon already for what we pay in taxes. American taxpayers in the next decade should not have to pay that hidden oil tax. This does not include the costs to society of the pollution generated from the overuse of oil.

Our security risk is also our sacrifice of liberty to the overdependence on oil. There are tyrannical regimes in the Mid-East, including one essentially in Saudi Arabia, which make it difficult for us in helping to further the Mid-East’s destiny of being a land of liberty because we can’t afford to rock the boat. Let’s free ourselves from oil so that we can free ourselves to bring liberty to the peoples of this world. That’s our destiny and we ought to do it.

So those are the three non-obvious reasons why our addiction to oil is a security risk.

Now how are we going to break the addiction to oil? We have to realize it is an achievable goal. We've got to tell ourselves that this is very doable, and it's doable for a couple reasons.

First, Americans respond to a message that goes to the heart of America. And there are two fundamental American values: we love liberty and we love innovation. We are the world's best inventors. We have American inventors who are going to invent the next generation of solar, wind, wave power, geothermal, [and] efficiency [technologies], and high-fuel-economy cars in this country. This is the continuation of Ben Franklin's spirit of innovation.

Second, this technology is already operating in the real world. A couple of examples: The

largest wind project in the world is a project called Stateline, on the border of Oregon and Washington. Stateline powers over 70,000 households with clean wind power. We're proud of that in Washington State, and we want to make sure it happens everywhere. In Hawaii, the Navy is now doing tests on a promising new wave energy technology, which is being developed by an American company, to generate renewable energy using the power of the ocean.

Politically, developing our own alternative energies is dynamite. It is dynamite because it answers not one problem, but three. It breaks our addiction to Middle East oil, thereby increasing national security. It solves global warming. And it will create millions of new well-paid jobs.



More than 600 people were on hand at the New Energy for America event.



CAROL BROWNER

*Principal, Albright Group, and
EPA Administrator (1993-2001)*

*“ We do not have to choose
between a healthy economy
and a clean environment. ”*

Steve Curwood: We want a clean environment. We want jobs. We want a healthy economy. We want to stop the juggernaut of global warming. We want to protect the people in the coal fields. We want it all. How do we do it?

Carol Browner: Well, the good news is we can do it. I spent eight years as part of an administration committed to protecting public health. We set the toughest pollution standards ever in this country, including air pollution standards, smog, soot, taking sulfur out of diesel fuel, setting the first-ever emissions standards on SUVs, and cleaning up hundreds and hundreds of toxic waste sites. These initiatives were designed to prevent tens of thousands of premature deaths each year, all while growing the economy and balancing the budget.

We do not have to choose between a healthy economy and a clean environment. Often when we talk about energy independence and fuel

efficiency, we forget that they are really about breathing cleaner air. We will live in cleaner communities. So this discussion isn't simply about security and jobs, it is also about our health.

We face, in this country and in the world, the single greatest public health and environmental challenge we have ever faced, despite all that we have done to date, and that is the challenge of global warming and climate change. This generation may well leave to the next generation a problem that, quite frankly, they cannot solve.

As we think about our energy future, we must address the challenge of climate change and global warming and become the world's leaders. We have an administration in Washington right now who has never met a public health or environmental regulation they like and we are all suffering because of that.

And so, in closing, I just want to talk about one other role of government. We've heard about the idea that we should invest in technologies, but government can also regulate, and sometimes people don't like to say that. But we have a proud history in this country of setting tough public health and environmental standards. And you know what happens when we set them? Good old American ingenuity and innovation—we rise to

the occasion. Every single time we've set a pollution standard or pollution regulation in this country, guess what? Once we set it and we put our minds to it, we found solutions that were cheaper than anyone could have guessed and faster than anyone could have hoped for.

We can do this. We can use the government's power of investment, but we can also use the government's power of regulation.

Tim Wirth, president of the United Nations Foundation and the Better World Fund, was an early pioneer of creative, market-based solutions to environmental problems such as air pollution and global climate change during his years as a U.S. senator and representative from Colorado.





CECIL ROBERTS

President, United Mine Workers of America

“*Can't we find a way to burn the coal that's in this nation cleanly?*”

I want to point out one thing, if I might, about some of the things that have divided us and then talk about what I believe should unite us. But let me just suggest to you today this issue of national defense. I was having a conversation upstairs before this program started and I asked someone a lot smarter than me, “How far is Saudi Arabia from the United States?” And someone said it was 6,000 miles or more. But that’s where we get most of our energy. Well, the people I represent aren’t 6,000 miles away. They’re in West Virginia and southwestern Pennsylvania, eastern Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana—hardest-working people in the world and they’ve made a tremendous sacrifice to this nation already.

And I just want to mention a couple things. One hundred thousand coal miners have given their lives in the last century for this nation’s energy. Another 100,000 have died from black lung in the last century for our energy needs. Before we are able to make our way into the convention hall tonight, as you go through the door, think about

this with me for a moment: another miner will die from black lung. One miner dies every six hours from black lung. So coal miners have given a tremendous sacrifice to this nation. But as I watch the evening news and hear us talk about how brilliant we are with our military smart bombs—if we can make a missile fly through a window from a hundred miles away, can’t we find a way to burn the coal that’s in this nation cleanly, working together?

And I’ll leave you with one thought on behalf of the people who live in West Virginia and Pennsylvania and the coal fields: our government in West Virginia is a lot more stable than Saudi Arabia’s government. You’ll never have to bring the military to Ed Rendell’s state in Pennsylvania to continue the energy sources that we have in Pennsylvania, and you’ll never have one single young American die in any of those areas if we can find a way to solve this problem. And thank you and God bless all of you.

JOSEPH RONAN, JR.

Senior Vice President, Calpine Corp.

“*We need to clean up the environment as well as bring efficient energy.*”



Steve Curwood: You have a lot of experience in the energy business: you’ve been in oil, you’ve been in renewable energy and the power sector—certainly an industry that needs to transition to clean energy and increased efficiency. What is this kind of innovation going to do to such a mature industry such as utilities?

Joseph Ronan, Jr.: To answer your question, Steve, in our business, speaking for Calpine—and I can’t speak for the whole industry—we’ve been around 20 years and our chairman, Pete Cartwright, has always been committed to clean energy and to being an environmental leader. We’re the largest independent power company in the United States. We have nearly 30,000 megawatts of power plants operating which are entirely geothermal in California, or gas-fired—new gas-fired—very efficient, clean power plants around the country.

We are committed to a clean environment and it is the heart and soul of our company that we need to clean up the environment as well as bring

efficient energy. Gas-fired power plants—the new generation—are 40 percent more efficient than the old fleet and 90 percent cleaner than the fleet of coal plants.

To make progress in the environmental side of energy, one, you have to go to the numbers and look at what we have here. One quarter of all the power plants in the United States are over 40 years old and they tend to be older, fairly polluting coal plants. Anybody who lives in New England knows about acid rain. So it is a problem that probably affects you more than it affects us in California, but half of the people in the United States live in non-attainment areas. People talked about health. So it’s a very serious problem that needs to be addressed. We believe the way to address it is, of course, increased efficiency in technology.

Second, we need to develop more renewable power.

But third, there’s another way you could do this, and it’s pretty dramatic. If you took one

half of all the 40-year-old coal plants and all of the older gas-fired power plants and closed them down, replaced them with new, highly efficient gas-fired power plants, you would have reductions in carbon dioxide pollution because the major human source of CO₂ is the electricity industry. So if you did that—replaced them with clean, efficient gas fire—you would have a reduction of CO₂ emissions equivalent to taking 326 million cars off the road. By the way, 326 million cars is

only one-fourth of our entire fleet, believe it or not. It would meet 87 percent compliance with the Bush voluntary goals, 55 percent compliance with the McCain-Lieberman goals, and meet 15 percent of our Kyoto requirements, if we ever get any votes to get into the Kyoto accords. So there is a dramatic way you can do this, and that's what we're committed to.



ESAI MORALES

Actor

“*Regulations don't mean less growth, they actually mean more refined growth.*”

In **Hollywood** you learn that necessity is the mother of invention. When the Hayes Commission said you couldn't say certain words, you couldn't do certain things, you know what? We got some of the best, wittiest double entendre comedies that your kids can watch but not fully understand. What I'm trying to say is that regulations don't mean less growth, they actually mean more refined growth. It means more creative growth.

JOHN PODESTA

*President, American Progress Action Fund, and
White House Chief of Staff (1998-2001)*

“ *We need to stick together as labor, as environmentalists, as consumers.* ”



Steve Curwood: You’ve heard the discussion here today. How do we get this to work? How do we bring all these elements together and, most importantly, where do we start?

John Podesta: Well, I’m struck by how much there is to say and how many people we have to say it. So I’m not going to try to repeat everything from what was really a truly wonderful panel.

Senator Dick Durbin said if you’re concerned about security, if you’re concerned with imported oil, if you’re concerned with two wars we have fought in Iraq, in the Gulf, with the crisis we had in the 1970s, with the war in Afghanistan (whose roots were in the Middle East), if you care about the fact that 19 people flew airplanes into buildings in this country and killed 3,000 Americans, then he said there are two paths: you could follow Bush’s path or you could follow our path.

Well, let me tell you what would happen if we follow President Bush’s path. We now import about 55 percent of our oil. About a quarter of that is from the Middle East, and half of that is

from Saudi Arabia. If we follow President Bush’s plan, by 2020 we’ll be importing 65 percent of our oil.

We need a new policy and that’s what the Alliance Project is all about. That’s what the Energy Future Coalition, which Tim Wirth runs, is all about. It’s about bringing people together from labor, from the environment, from the business community to find common ground, to create a real coalition with a real vision. And we need to stick with that vision because that’s a vision of investing in American technology and creating American jobs and creating a revolution in this country [by] putting in these new technologies that are going to clean up our environment. As Carol said, they’re going to finally start doing something about global warming.

The one thing that hasn’t been mentioned today is the tremendous opportunity to shift from petroleum to liquid fuels based on biomass—cellulosic ethanol—that can be produced from the bounty that is produced in our rural communities.

They have a stake in this future, too, and we need to support them. We now produce three billion gallons of ethanol a year. We can make that 50 billion gallons in 10 years if we shift to these new technologies.

That's a vision that's worthy of America. We need to stick together as labor, as environmentalists, as consumers, as progressives to get the job done. Thank you.



ELISEO MEDINA

*Executive Vice President, Service Employees
International Union*

*“ We will create enough
power to actually drive
change in this country. ”*

Steve Curwood: How can the union movement move this issue forward now? The ideas are here. The energy is here. How do we get it moving?

Eliseo Medina: Well, let me just say that I don't think the problem is a lack of a good policy solution. The problem is lack of political power to make it happen. And in order to get that done I think we need a broad-based coalition that is not just labor and environmentalists. With all due respect to us, we are not strong enough by ourselves.

We need to be more inclusive. We need to go out and talk to other communities. We need to

bring in immigrants. We need to bring in people of color. And if we do all of these things, we will create enough power to actually drive change in this country.

But it's going to take all of us getting it done, so SEIU is there. Our executive vice president, Jerry Hudson, who is here with us, is on the advisory committee of the Apollo Alliance. We're there and we're going to work with you to get this done. Thank you.

TIM JOHNSON

*Director of Technology and Regulatory Affairs,
Corning Inc.*

“This is what market and regulatory objectives and good old human ingenuity and creativity can accomplish.”



Steve Curwood: Corning is developing a product that takes the particulates out of diesel exhaust. Tell me, how does investing in these new technologies help or hurt the Glass Workers Union folks in your own factories?

Tim Johnson: First of all, my company makes emission control equipment. We've been in the business now for 30 years. We make equipment for cleaning power plants, automobiles, and diesel trucks and engines. We are currently investing in 380 million dollars' worth of plant and equipment to make the next generation of emission control equipment for cleaning up the diesel engines. In addition to that, we will be hiring approximately 300 United Steelworkers union members with good-paying jobs based in upstate New York—U.S. manufacturing jobs. And in addition to that, we are investing 400 million dollars—an additional 400 million dollars—in research, development, and engineering over the next few years to

make this happen, resulting in an additional 170 high-end equivalent jobs. Now when I say moving forward with clean energy, we have to take a look at a current success story in moving forward—in this case, in incremental steps.

Soon, 50 percent of the automobiles sold in Europe will be diesel. They go 50 to 60 percent farther on a liter of fuel than the gasoline engines. Currently, due to “green marketing,” there are more than 600,000 of these vehicles driving in Europe that are actually cleaning the environment of particulate matter in some metropolitan settings. That's quite a profound statement: a diesel car that has lower particulate emissions coming out of the tailpipe than is going into the engine. So this is what market and regulatory objectives and good old human ingenuity and creativity can accomplish—cleaning the environment and providing sound, good-paying jobs. Thank you very much for allowing me to come.



ERIK EMBLEM

*Executive Director, National Energy
Management Institute (NEMI)*

*“ We have technology today
that hasn’t been applied
in the real world. ”*

Steve Curwood: As a practical matter, how do we get jobs out of this now?

Erik Emblem: As you note, I’m with the National Energy Management Institute, which is a trust of the Sheetmetal Workers International Association and the SMACNA Contractors. And it’s an example of how labor and management can get together to implement change.

One of the things that Senator Cantwell brought up that was very profound is that we have technology today that hasn’t been applied in the real world and in real commerce. NEMI and the sheetmetal workers and the building and construction trade unions, through their apprenticeship programs, are taking this technology and putting

it in our training programs, and putting it on the street. That’s how you make it work, but it takes a commitment. To train the workers to apply the technology, there has to be a commitment and there has to be a policy that encourages the building owners to implement the policy.

So much of this revolves around politics; so much of this revolves around poor policy; so much of this can be changed with a change in government. Michael Sullivan and the sheetmetal workers are committed to putting 55 million dollars a year in training and to implement the technology that’s needed to build sustainable and safe buildings, clean schools, and clean environments. Thank you.



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