



## **Conference Keynote Speaker**

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**Please check against delivery**

Good Evening Friends, Colleagues, and Comrades in the labor and environmental movements. I'm really pleased to be in Vancouver, British Columbia tonight.

After the watershed election in the U.S. in 2008, most of us thought that we would see a lot of change. And we have. I don't want to minimize the many things that have taken place in the U.S. in the last 21 months, but I also don't want to misrepresent the sharp and growing resistance—the backlash—to that change, that is underway in the U.S. Any time that we witness the challenge to old orthodoxies and institutions, it is both exhilarating and alarming. But as the losses by incumbents in many primary elections in the last few months in the U.S. are demonstrating, the American people are not content with any idea, no matter whether it is conventional wisdom or a new paradigm like the clean energy economy, unless it is clearly relevant to resolving their core economic anxieties.

While this can still be a moment of great opportunity to talk about green jobs in the U.S., it could also be a disastrous time. A lot rides on our ability to communicate accurately and eloquently why the best way out of the global recession, the best way out of the unemployment crisis that is savaging so many families, and the best way forward toward long-term, sustainable economic growth is through building on the green economy investments of the 2009-2010 stimulus packages.

Over the next 53 days, American voters will pass judgment on this strategy in a number of different forums. Will Democratic members of the House who voted for the Waxman-Markey American Clean Energy and Security Act be punished for voting for a job-killing, energy tax or will they be rewarded for showing leadership on the most important job-creating initiative of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century economy? Will California voters defeat Proposition 23 which seeks to suspend that state's Global Warming Solutions Act, landmark legislation that has helped spark the growth of California's clean tech industries? Our ability to go forward in 2011 will depend on our ability to show that a common labor/environmental vision is the alternative to another round of right wing labor-bashing, pro-business tax cutting policies from anti-government Tea Baggers who make George Bush look like a moderate. So a lot rides on the work we do for the next two months.

I want to spend my time tonight talking about four things. First, I want to describe briefly some of the relevant history of the BlueGreen Alliance and how and why this unlikely partnership of unions and environmental organizations has been able to thrive in the U.S. Second, I want to assess how we are doing in the U.S. with those green investments of a year ago. Third, how do we respond to the attacks that, "Green jobs aren't real jobs?" And fourth, how do we talk effectively about the green economy and effectively enough that we win the policy debate in both of our countries?

So let me start by telling you a little bit about the Blue Green Alliance for those of you who aren't familiar with our work. We are a partnership in the United States of 9 major unions—the United Steelworkers, the Laborers, the Communications Workers, the Service Employees, Utility Workers, the American Federation of Teachers, the Amalgamated Transit Union, the Sheet Metal Workers, and most recently, the United Auto Workers and two national environmental organizations—the Sierra Club and the Natural Resources Defense Council. With 9 million members, we now touch virtually every community in our country. We've become one of America's leading advocates for global warming solutions and we believe that the benefits and economic opportunities will far outweigh the costs. We've popularized the terms

“green economy” and “green jobs” and our goal is to turn every job in America into a green job and every green job into a union job.

We also believe that the rights of workers to join a union and engage in real collective bargaining are fundamental to an economy that is fair and that there is a direct correlation between a high degree of unionization and strong environmental standards.

Now I don't believe that every green job is by definition a union job. But not every green job is automatically a good job, paying a family-supporting wage and benefits. Unions turned the blue-collar jobs of the last century into a middle class way of life. And they can do the same during our next great economic transformation. They can turn every green job into a good job as well.

We also reject this old stereotype that you have to balance a trade-off between jobs and the environment. It's not good jobs or a clean environment; it's both or neither. Now there have occasionally been tough conflicts between unions and environmental organizations over their competing visions of how to pursue a better world.

The BlueGreen Alliance has worked to bridge those differences by focusing on the underlying common agenda that brings us back together. Nowhere has that been clearer than in the forest products' industry. Let's look, for instance, at the relationship between the loss of jobs in the paper industry in the US and the destruction of tropical rainforests. Deforestation currently contributes about 20% of global greenhouse gases each year. In many countries much of that deforestation is illegal. UNEP estimates, for instance, that 80% of timber harvesting in Indonesia takes place in violation of that country's own laws. It's like clear cutting Yellowstone National Park and not even paying the government for that right. In 2007, the United Steelworkers and Sierra Club, early labor and environmental partners in the Blue Green Alliance, filed the first ever-illegal logging trade case with the US Department of Commerce. In that case we argued for tariffs against the coated free-sheet paper products of Asia Pulp and Paper, one of the largest paper conglomerates in the world. You see, Asia Pulp and Paper gets an unfair advantage in world paper markets by using pulp from illegally logged timber in Indonesia in its products. We proved the direct link between the economic benefits of illegal

logging to AP&P and the job loss of thousands of American workers in paper mill towns like Appleton, WI, Cloquet, MN, and Columbus, OH.

Another trade case is currently underway demonstrating again the direct connection between global warming and the loss of employment by thousands of pulp and paper workers in the US and Canada. Interestingly, the loss of employment is equally stark in Indonesia where the rise in illegal logging has caused massive job loss to Indonesian forestry workers. Kahutindo, the union of Indonesian workers, reports over 100,000 jobs eliminated in that industry in the last decade. And it's no coincidence, either, that Asia Pulp and Paper, the biggest benefactor of illegal logging, also refuses to recognize union representation at its facilities in Borneo and other locations.

So the BlueGreen Alliance formed a Pulp and Paper Working Group to advocate for climate legislation in the U.S. in such a way that we'll start recognizing the real value of those tropical rainforests and instead of chopping them down to turn them into William Sonoma and Pottery Barn catalogues or corporate annual reports for banks like Goldman Sachs and JP Morgan, we'll leave those forests in the ground, helping to solve climate change. We helped pass the Lacey Act, banning trade in the products of illegally harvested timber and are now seeking to strengthen enforcement measures. So, instead of looking for the issues that divide us, we've found the strategic issues that unite us to get American pulp and paper workers off the street, and back in their mills at work.

There is a jobs' crisis in the world today and it's just as sharp in the U.S. as anywhere else. Our economy has started growing a little bit in the last couple of months, but we've still lost over 8 million jobs since August of 2008. Over 14 million Americans are unemployed; another 6 million have fallen off the statistical landscape into the Never Land of "discouraged workers". And 8.5 million more are working part-time, but not by choice. Every month our work force grows by another 200,000 applicants.

Earlier this summer a Masters Degree in Economics from the University of Minnesota knocked on my door, wanting to mow the lawn. The Dow Jones may be hovering above 10,000, but my neighbor and your neighbor, Jim Jones, still doesn't have a paycheck.

So the case I want to make tonight is why the smartest and most effective way to put the U.S. back to work—and every other country— and to get the North American economy growing again is by continuing the big investments in the clean energy economy and strengthening the smart regulations that create stable markets for clean energy products.

Last year in the U.S., almost \$80 billion was directed into a 25-fold increase in residential weatherization, advanced energy manufacturing tax credits, the expansion of renewable energy, high speed rail, advanced auto technology, smart grid, green jobs training programs, and much more.

And today, we can see the fruits of these investments:

- 183 advanced energy manufacturing projects that are creating 17,000 jobs in the U.S.
- In the middle of the Recession, 2009 was the biggest year yet for installed wind capacity in the United States, over 10,000 new megawatts.
- The solar industry, also suffering from the credit crisis, was still able to grow by 37% in 2009 and add 17,000 jobs.
- A \$5 Billion residential weatherization investment, despite its detractors on Fox News, is on track to create thousands of jobs and weatherize its target of 600,000 homes.
- \$450 million in Retrofit Ramp-up grants were issued to jump start large-scale energy efficiency projects around the country, employing 30,000 construction workers.
- In January, President Obama announced that America was getting back on track with high speed rail and rejoining the rest of the industrialized world in realizing the green potential of a modern passenger and freight rail system.
- And finally the award of almost \$500 Million in green jobs training grants have put America's teachers shoulder-to-shoulder with community activists and union apprenticeship programs in building pathways out of poverty and preparing America's workforce for the green economic revolution that lies in front of us .

A good start, but there is much, much more that needs to be done. There's no slick way to build the green economy with derivatives. It takes hard work, big investments, and smart regulation to get to where we need to go.

So, Point number one. We're doing just fine with the green investments. They work. They create jobs. But this was just the down payment and now we need to keep focusing on making those investments over and over again.

Let me specific. The U.S. lost over 8 million jobs in the Great Recession and we had already lost 3 million manufacturing jobs alone before this recession began, to say nothing about the millions who are chronically unemployed and under employed. America needs 30 million jobs today. Why shouldn't that be our goal, and why shouldn't every one of those jobs be a green job?

The Recovery Act provided the funding to weatherize 600,000 homes and put 30,000 people to work. But America has 130 million homes and we need to weatherize all of them and create a residential weatherization industry that can put a million construction workers on the job for the next 15 years and pay them good wages, good benefits, and provide them also with safe working conditions.

America has the most energy inefficient homes in the industrialized world. We squander energy in our commercial building stock and collectively use twice the energy per capita as most Europeans and Japanese. Let's adopt a long-term national energy efficiency standard and put every unemployed construction worker back on the job retrofitting every building in America and pay for the work with the long-term energy savings we create.

Wall St. has figured out how to capitalize risky home mortgages, repackage them as derivatives and sell them all over the world, but somehow can't figure out how to collateralize the savings of installing an energy efficient furnace in someone's house and then use the savings to pay for the furnace, put someone else back to work building that furnace, a third person installing it, and rebuilding our industrial base while we're at it.

The Recovery Act also provided \$2.1 billion for advanced energy manufacturing, but four times as many projects applied, as there were funds available. We need a 10 year advanced energy manufacturing program to convert our existing factories so that we make in North America every piece of renewable energy equipment we need in North America.

But then we read in the New York Times yesterday about how the government of China is doing exactly that—using the state tax incentive programs to install residential solar panels in the United States to create a market for their own solar panel industry. And we were treated to the ridiculous spectacle of Evergreen Solar closing down its plant in Massachusetts because it couldn't get loan capital and relocating to China where a state-owned Chinese bank provided them with capital so that Evergreen could manufacture in China, import back to Massachusetts and collect the solar incentives provided by that state to its homeowners. Is this industrial policy standing on its head?

We have fuel efficiency standards for our automotive industry that were just updated for the first time in thirty years, a failure that almost made an iconic American industry irrelevant to the transportation needs of 7 billion people. China has higher fuel efficiency standards than we do. The U.S. needs millions of electric and hybrid vehicles. Let's put two million American autoworkers back in their factories and parts' plants making the cars we need.

Mass transit choices aren't even available to many Americans. But where they are, they've been shown to reduce the transportation costs of middleclass families from as high as 25% of income to as low as 9%. Let's follow the lead of Los Angeles Mayor Villaraigosa's "30/10" program and accelerate our investments in mass transit in all of America's medium and small cities, as well as large, and create two million jobs in construction and transit operation.

Freight rail is the cleanest way to move the products we need around the country. And yet our railroads are in disrepair. Every billion dollars we spend on rail infrastructure puts another 24,000 Americans back to work. Let's put another million Americans on the job building the rail infrastructure and rolling stock we need.

Renewable electricity generated from the wind, sun, biomass, and other sources can stop the worst effects of climate change and put another 2 million back to work, installing the wind and solar farms, building the equipment, and installing the solar systems on our homes. Germany, a quarter our population size, with a landmass equivalent to North and South Dakota, and one of the cloudiest countries in Europe, employs over 250,000 people in its solar industry. And little Portugal already produces over 20% of its electricity from renewable sources. Let's pass a federal RES of 25% by 2025 and pay for the cost of our renewable installations with the long-term savings from energy systems that don't burn fuel. The fuel is renewable, i.e. free, once the systems are installed.

America has one of the slowest Internet infrastructures and least wired populations in the industrial world. We invented the Internet and then didn't bother to invest in many of its logical benefits. Expanding broadband access throughout the country to the speeds we need to telecommute, promote economic development in rural America and manage our energy efficiency will put another million Americans to work. The savings in productivity, energy efficiency, and environmental improvements will more than pay back the investments.

An educated work force was long North America's comparative advantage. The work America needs done requires the skilled trades of the construction industry, the engineering and architectural skills of college graduates, and the manufacturing skills of our technical institutes. It needs the creative talents of a financial community guided by common purpose instead of self-enrichment. A country that bleeds its educational system can't expect to compete in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century economy. China already graduates more PhD engineers than the US in a year; we graduate 8000 and 2/3 of those come from foreign countries. Instead of firing teachers, deskilling our work force, and giving China the keys to our future, let's invest in our kids again. Productivity has its roots in innovation and education. Let's make public education our priority; put teachers in class rooms with manageable sizes; and teach the skills from kindergarten to PhD's that we need to re-engineer and skill up our clean energy future.

The clean energy economy can solve our unemployment problem. But not if we hold fast to yesterday's energy production, consumption, and distribution systems.



Now the recovery from every past recession has had a leading economic sector. In the 1950's, it was the automobile and the interstate highway system, a combination of new technology, strong federal policy and public investment. Together, these created the framework for economic growth and recovery.

Today, it's up to us, whether the leading economic sector coming out of the Great Recession will be our clean energy industries and the green economy. The technologies are already there. But we have got to get the other two pieces right—both public policies and investment. My greatest fear is that we will just drift back into doing things the same old way and recreate the same old problems.

Our goal should be to create 30 million good jobs and green jobs. Not one or the other, but both.

Now the critics of the green jobs movement in the U.S. like to say three things. First, they try to say that green jobs aren't real jobs, that they are make-work, make-believe jobs. Second, they try to say that even if they are real that there aren't enough of them to matter and sort of define them out of existence. And finally, they try to say that green jobs are too expensive and that they can't exist in the private market without huge, unaffordable subsidies. Glenn Beck even says that for every green job we create, we lose 2.2 jobs somewhere else in the economy.

So here's my second point. Green jobs are real jobs; yes, in fact, unlike so much of the work being done in America today green jobs would be putting America to work doing the work that America needs done. What a novel concept. Nothing like the jobs slicing and dicing subprime mortgages or repackaging the sovereign debt of Greece, as Goldman Sachs did, and selling it as AAA securities to widows and orphans.

Do the work our society knows it needs to get done—the jobs that would provide energy independence. The jobs that would provide us with energy security. The jobs that would solve global warming by making wind 25% of our electricity mix by 2025. The jobs that would make mass transit affordable and accessible to most Americans. The jobs that would give us a world class freight rail system that would move a ton of freight 480 miles on a gallon of fuel.

Now I'm originally out of the Steelworkers union, and worked in a steel mill for 15 years as a bricklayer and mechanic, and I would guess that everyone here tonight would agree with me that working in a steel mill is a real job. Right? Now earlier this year at our third national Good Jobs, Green Jobs Conference, Lou Schorsch, North American CEO of ArcelorMittal Steel, the largest steel company in the U.S., part of the largest steel company in the world, that employs over 400,000 people, called on us to make every job in America a green job, including the tens of thousands of steelworkers who work in those steel mills. What did he mean when he said turn steel jobs into green jobs? It's pretty simple really.

First of all, we need to be using the steel we make for green products that solve environmental problems. Instead of using our steel plate for Hummers, we need to use it for wind turbine towers and fuel efficient and electric vehicles. Instead of putting our I-Beams and rebar into drafty, leaky offices and apartments, every ton needs to go into LEED-certified buildings. Second to turn every steel job into a green job, our steel-making processes need to continue their trajectory toward adopting ever more energy efficient processes, capturing their waste energy, relying increasingly on renewable energy—such as the wind turbines that operate on US Steel's iron ore mines in Minnesota-- , capture the CO2 from their blast furnaces with CCS technology, decrease their water usage, increase their recycling rates and becoming a zero waste, zero carbon industry. And when we do all those things, then every steel job in the world will be a green job and the world will be making the steel it needs to build the green economy.

So, yes, green jobs are real jobs, and every job in America can become a green job. We just need the direction to get there. So the last argument is that we can't get there because we can't afford it. OK, OK these are real jobs and there could be a lot of them, but we just can't afford all that change. All that change will cost money, it will require regulation, and it will just drive our businesses out of business. But what we truly can't afford is not the regulation; it's the uncertainty of not knowing what the regulation is going to be. What's driving our businesses out of business today is not knowing whether or not we're going to continue down the path of being a fossil-fuel economy in a world of finite fossil fuel supplies which grow ever more expensive and uncertain. What business can't afford is not knowing whether oil is going

to be \$30 a barrel or \$160 a barrel. While China, Europe, and Japan pass us by as the leaders in renewable and energy efficiency technologies, we fight the battles of the past instead of embracing the challenges of the future.

And while it's true that no society ever borrowed its way to prosperity, the great fraud in public perception today is not the borrowing by our federal government to invest in the clean energy infrastructure of tomorrow, it's the borrowing that America does from China to go on purchasing a billion dollars of foreign oil every day. This is borrowing with no investment goal, no job creation, and no hope of payback whatsoever. Borrowing to finance a trillion dollar trade deficit is the complete opposite of the financing of clean energy investments that create jobs and energy savings.

So, final point. How do we communicate effectively about these policies in order to get continued support for the changes and investments we need?

Earlier this year I spoke in Brazil about issues of the environment and economic development. Over lunch with several major Brazilian companies, we were asked to provide the incoming President of Brazil with our best advice on what he or she should concentrate on. I was surprised by the answer from these business men—since it was so at odds with what you hear business in the U.S. call for today—but they were very clear that the lynchpin of continued growth in Brazil's rapidly expanding economy were investments in infrastructure and work force education. There's nothing fancy about this concept. The rest of the world is competing with us on the basis of an educated workforce directed to do the jobs that need doing with a 21<sup>st</sup> Century infrastructure. The only puzzle to me was why U.S. business would unilaterally disarm and say we're not interested in investing in the clean energy infrastructure of our own country and are willing to let the workforce of the rest of the world scale up to do those jobs. Then, of course, it dawned on me that on my right was the Brazilian chief of Whirlpool that had just announced the closure of its unionized, energy efficient washing machine plant in Fort Wayne, IN and on my left was a leader of Vale, the Brazilian mining giant that has been locked in a bitter struggle with my old union at Inco.

Our goal is to make the opportunity of the clean energy economy more than an opportunity to clean up the environment. It's got to be an opportunity to clean up corporate conduct as well.

To drive this point home, I want to close with a brief story. Recently I read in the NY Times how today carrots are grown in Great Britain, then picked and flown to Kenya—in Africa—that same morning, where they are washed and packaged in plastic bags and then flown back to London supermarket shelves that afternoon—all to take advantage of low-cost labor.

Now that might seem absurd and outrageous to those of us sitting here in Vancouver, tonight. And almost grotesque in terms of how our system encourages companies to take advantage of cheap workers. That is how our current model of economic development works all too often.

But think about what it's doing to the environment as well.

If we do nothing, airline jet engine emissions are expected to be at least 5% of total global warming emissions by 2025. And they are 2-4 times more potent because of the nitric oxide they contain. Cheap oil and cheap labor go hand in hand. But we subsidize oil and oil drilling every single day with tax breaks, credits, environmental clean-ups, lax safety enforcement, and infrastructure subsidies.

If we want to have a fairer economy in the era of globalization, we must have an energy policy that ends the subsidies to the old energy economy and redirects them toward building the new energy economy.

If we want to turn the corner on a low wage, fossil fuel economy that burns jet fuel from Britain to Kenya to wash carrots, if we want to create a stable market in North America where wind energy companies and their factories can thrive, if we want to create the demand for the steel, aluminum, and concrete that are needed for North America's clean energy infrastructure and revitalized railroads, if we want to put millions of unemployed construction workers back on the job and keep them there, then we need to make the right investments and strengthen the market-building regulations. And if we get the policy and the investments right, then we'll create the jobs North America needs done so that we can be proud that the workers we're training today will give our children the world they deserve tomorrow.

That's how we'll win. Jobs, Justice, and climate solutions that support both. Thank you very much.