

Lankey & Limey Productions
Global Warming & America's Energy Future –
A Presidential Forum
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ANNOUNCER: Ladies and gentlemen, please welcome the moderator for today's program, the host of DRI's Living On Earth, Steve Curwood.

STEVE CURWOOD: Thank you. It's my pleasure here to welcome you to the Global Warming And America's Energy Future Presidential Forum. And I'm really pleased you're here, because this is the first time we've had a presidential forum on this most important of topics. And that means that you're part of the citizenry of this country that is going to make a difference on this issue as more and more of us have to think about this. If you looked at today's newspaper, what did you see? Two stories about climate change that have to make us pause and think. One is that in Bangladesh right now as we're sitting here, they're having their Katrina. More than a thousand people have died, the storm surge, I think was four feet from their cyclone, which is another word for hurricane. And all the power's out in the city of Dakah, as I last heard, their capitol. And they're going to be dealing with this for months, years ahead. The other story in today's news, of course is the final section of the intergovernmental panel on climate change report, the IPCC report, which tells us that a billion people on the planet are at risk for what's going on in Bangladesh, or its equivalent, maybe it'll be a drought, maybe it'll be food shortages. We know what drought can do in a place like Southern California. And the other thing they tell us is carbon dioxide levels are going up faster than projected because we're maxing out the ability of the atmosphere, the earth and the oceans to handle this. The ocean is saying, "enough!" The trees are saying, "enough!" So

we're at a vital and critical moment in history. The next president of the United States is going to make key decisions that civilization, our civilization is going to have to live with literally for hundreds of years. So this process we're in is a very serious and important one and it's really terrific that you're here to be part of it. I thank you so much for coming. So applaud yourselves, because you're here participating in it.

[APPLAUSE]

STEVE CURWOOD: Now I would like to say that we invited all of the presidential candidates to come to our forum today. And we're pleased that we have three. It'd be great to have more. And I think as time goes on, we'll see more having to speak out on this issue. Because you and the other citizens around the country will understand how serious this is, are going to demand it. Right? [APPLAUSE] But you have to get started someplace and we're starting right now here today in Los Angeles. I want to say that Living On Earth is a co-sponsor, a proud co-sponsor of today's event. And we are doing this with Grist Online, Chip Giller, the CEO of Grist Online wasn't able to be here with us today. But we have, and in fact he'll be here as one of our panelists. We have the, one of the staff writers at Grist, Dave Roberts, who's here in Chip's place to give us a greeting. Dave...

DAVE ROBERTS: Hi everybody, I'm David Roberts from Grist, we're the biggest, best source of online news and commentary about environmental issues. I just want to tell you really quick why we started Grist. We looked around eight long years ago at the environmental news and information available, and let's be honest, it was a little bit like eating your vegetables: you knew you should do it, but those French fries over at People Magazine sure looked good. So, we thought, you know what, somebody needs to put some butter on those vegetables, maybe a

little splash of soy sauce, red pepper flakes, maybe a little sauté, some rice on the side. So what we decided to do was, go to dinner, cause we'd made ourselves really hungry at that point. But when we got back, we tried to create a site where people could come and learn, connect with one another, engage, but also occasionally laugh, and God forbid, have a little bit of fun. And I think we succeeded pretty well. I hope you'll stop by and check it out. I wanted to make one announcement, tonight's entire event, including the travel, plane and car travel of the people who are attending is carbon neutral thanks to our friends at Native Energy. [APPLAUSE] So, I wanted to thank you all on behalf of Grist for coming. I want to thank everybody who's watching on the live webcast tonight, grist.org/webcast in case anybody's listening and wants to watch. And I also want to thank the presidential candidates who have agreed to come who have been trying to talk about this stuff in the face of the unforgivable, indifferent and ignorance of the national political media. [APPLAUSE] I'll finish with a statistic. Tim Russer has had presidential candidates on Meet The Press 16 times this past year, asking a cumulative 300 questions of them, the words "climate change" and "global warming" have not passed his lips a single time. And he's not the only one. So, we're trying to change that, with your help, so thanks for coming, and I'll pass you back to Steve.

[APPLAUSE]

STEVE CURWOOD: I don't know, after that, I'm still hungry, huh? There are five organizations that really put their time and effort behind this to make this afternoon possible. And we're going to hear briefly from each of them at this moment so we can give them some thanks and hear a bit of their message. And I want to start now with Susan Smart from the California League of Voters, League of Conversation Voters Education Funds. Welcome.

[APPLUASE]

SUSAN SMART: Hello everybody. What better place than the first discussion of this serious topic than in Los Angeles. Californians know how important this issue is. Poll after poll show that 84% of us believe it's a serious problem. So the fact that we were able to put together a forum on global warming and our energy future in Los Angeles, the first serious discussion by our candidates is amazing. So I want to thank Los Angeles for showing up, for being here today, for sending the message to our candidates and the rest of the nation about the seriousness and importance of this issue. The California League of Conversation Voters Education Fund continues to be at the forefront, bringing together our policy makers, voters like you, our elected officials, business and labor, all working on this issue so that we know that we'll have a life here in California and the rest of the world that we can pass on to our children and our children's children. That we can be proud of a clean, healthy environment. So thank you, California, thank you Los Angeles, and let's keep sending the message to the rest of the nation as we continue to lead in California in landmark global warming legislation and continue to push the envelope. Thank you so much for being here.

[APPLAUSE]

SUSAN SMART: So, it's my pleasure to introduce my national counterpart, President Gene Karpinski, President of the League of Conversation Voters Education Fund.

[APPLAUSE]

GENE KARPINSKI: thank you very much, Susan, I'm proud to be here with our state league partners and the Education Fund of LCB works with state league partners in 35 states to spread the word about priority environmental issues. Our top campaign this year, it's called The Heat Is On, and the goal is very clear – make global warming a priority issue in the presidential campaign. That's the challenge. So we make sure that whoever the next president is, that he or she has talked about this issue on the campaign trail, so when they get in the White House they have the mandate to take action immediately on this big challenge that we face. So that's our challenge, that's our goal. Three big things we do, we organize volunteers in early voting states. So if you're in Iowa or New Hampshire or South Carolina or Nevada, there are a thousand volunteers asking candidates the questions all the time, "what are you going to do about global warming?" Secondly we work with the press. We're pleased that so many media are covering this event today, we're a little disappointed in Tim Russ, as David said. But we've got some work to do, but we're glad this event's happening. And third, we organized a presidential leadership network for the first time major donors, many of whom are here today said, if you want my support for a candidate, I want to know what you're going to do about global warming. So thank you all for coming, we appreciate it. It's my job to introduce Nina Hachigian, who is the California Director of the Center For American Progress Action Fund. Thank you Nina.

NINA HACHIGIAN: ON behalf of the Action Fund I also want to welcome you here today. I'm so proud to be joining our fantastic partners on this very special occasion. I particularly want to take a moment to thank Winnie Stachelberg and Anna Soellner of the Action Fund for their very hard work in putting this forum together. The Center for American Progress Action Fund is a think tank dedicated to creating ideas for bold, that are bold and yet practical for change. We see ourselves as part of a

strong, progressive tradition of pushing the envelope from women's suffrage to civil rights to the establishment of our national parks. And again, we here progressives are pushing the envelope to make sure that the climate crisis and our energy future is at the forefront of this national debate. California and Los Angeles have shown great leadership on these issues, and it's now time for the national leadership to match our dedication. And so now it's my job to introduce Frances Beinecke, the president of the NRDC Action Fund.

[APPLAUSE]

FRANCES BEINECKE: Well, good afternoon everybody, there are lots of action funds here because we need action and I'm from the NRDC action fund. We're mobilizing people across the, America to ask for solutions on global warming, and for a clean energy future. Global warming is the critical issue facing this country and facing the planet, it's such a serious threat. But the good news is that momentum is building across the country. Cities are acting, Los Angeles is in the lead, California and the states around the country are acting, and the federal courts are demanding that the administration acts as well. Just yesterday, the 9th Circuit in California ordered the Bush Administration to address global warming when setting fuel economy standards for light trucks. That's a huge victory. You should be proud of it. [APPLASUE] We're also asking every presidential candidate to tell us how they're going to solve this critical problem, and that's why today is so exciting that we have an opportunity to hear directly from presidential candidates on this critical issue. so thank you all for being here, and it's my pleasure to welcome Jane Hoffman from the Presidential Forum on Renewable Energy. Welcome, Jane.

JANE HOFFMAN: I'm honored to be here with these group, with this group. I was inspired to launch the Presidential Forum on Renewable Energy earlier this year because clean energy really matters. Energy independence is so important for our nation and we need to focus on renewable resources and renewable solutions. In this election cycle, who we choose really matters. With energy and oil prices hovering near \$100 a barrel, and global warming becoming even more serious each day, our nation has no energy policy. These presidential candidates have a chance to come up with a renewable energy plan for American. And we are focusing on the next generation. At our organization we are sponsoring a nationwide student essay contest that will come up, we allow students to come up with a plan, a renewable energy plan for American. And we will give \$10,000 college scholarships to three students. So if you want to find out more, please log onto our website. Our mission is to empower a sustainable future. And all of you can be part of that, all of you can be part of the energy revolution, and all of you are a part of it just by being here today. So thank you for being part of that and thank you for supporting this effort. [APPLAUSE] Isn't that a great set of organizations? Thanks you so much. [APPLAUSE] You know, people look at problems and they, "it's so big and I'm so small, what difference can I make?" Well I think it was Margaret Mead who said, "never doubt that a small group of committed dedicated people can change things, cause indeed that's all who do, that's all who do it. And we have with us today one of those people who has made her career in life and effort in making these changes happen. We're all here enjoying, already the fruits of the changes. I'm talking of course about Laurie David. [APPLUASE] You know Laurie, of course for her work with the film, An Inconvenient Truth. She's a co-auth-, she's written two books, she has a children's book that's coming out. But I think her basic gift is her sense of how to inspire us, how to leverage the media that attempts to ignore this issue. How to leverage the power of that media so that we can bring about this change

so the small band of us who are concerned can lead the society to where we need to go. So without further ado, Laurie David will be here to introduce the mayor. Laurie...

[APPLAUSE]

LAURIE DAVID: Thank you. See how many people it takes to put something like this on, it's very impressive. A few years ago I was having a heart-to-heart with revered NASA scientist, James Hansen. And I asked him, "okay, just between us, level with me. What do you really think?" And he paused and he looked at me, and he said, "Laurie, we are already guaranteed two degrees of warming, but we dare not go above that." and hearing Hansen say that sent shivers up my spine. Mostly because scientists agree the most cautious people on the planet. And when they get alarmed and when they admit that they're alarmed, that terrifies me. And with every passing day, scientist from all over the world are using expressions we never thought we would hear them say. They are saying things like, "we're shocked and worried by the speed with which the consequences of global warming are unfolding." Of course, if we connect the dots ourselves, we could see every night on the evening news reports on record breaking wildfires, record breaking drought, record breaking floods, have now become the norm, the evidence is there. We have a choice to make and yes, it is still our choice. What kind of world are we going to choose to live in. solving global warming can be America's and humanity's finest moment. Continuing to ignore it can be our worst. So that's why we are all here today. We need the magnitude of the political response to match the magnitude of the problem. Which candidate will we choose to be the leader that history will point to and say, "the fight against global warming was galvanized by that president." This forum today, the candidates attending, and you the audience are all helping to guarantee that that happens. Now, I have the great pleasure of

introducing someone who is on the forefront of California's fight against global warming and leading this city's plan to reduce CO² emissions. He is a member of the US Mayor's Climate Protection Agreement, a virtual marcher at stopglobalwarming.org. I had to put a little plug in there. And he's also a friend. Please welcome our very own mayor of Los Angeles, Antonio Villaraigosa.

[APPLAUSE]

ANTONIO VILLARAIGOSA: Wow! Thank you for that introduction. Laurie, we're very fortunate to have a woman with a passion that Laurie brings to this issue of climate change. She's been there from the very beginning, make no mistake about that. She was there from the first day, tirelessly urging action to confront the issue of global warming. She was there long before there was a global consensus for the UN Climate Change Study closed the case, before the Academy Awards and the Nobel Prize. She was there, so please give her a big hand, Laurie David.

[APPLAUSE] I want to thank the candidates for being there by being here with us today. You know, every candidate for President of the United States representing both political parties were invited to California to participate in this defining discussion on global warming and America's energy future. But by being here today, Senator Hillary Clinton, John Edwards and Dennis Kucinich are demonstrating a greater presence. Let's give them all a big hand. [APPLAUSE] Now I know the press is focused on Iowa and New Hampshire. These candidates came west because they understand that we can no longer kick the hard questions down the road. We had an oil spill in San Francisco Bay last week. They had to close Ocean Beach. Just last month across Southern California we were scorched by fires. With just 22% of normal rainfall, Californians can see and feel the future of a warming planet right outside of their own doors and windows. 500,000 people were evacuated. Untold billions in

property loss, more than 2,000 families homeless. Another thing happened last month. Last month the Bush Administration was caught red-handed, again suppressing the science of global warming. A White House editor redacted the testimony of the Director of the Centers for Disease Control, addressing the health effects of climate change. Left on that White House cutting room floor were six pages of findings on the diseases and maladies likely to thrive on a warming earth. Ladies and gentlemen, I tell you what this forum comes down to. It's time we had somebody in the White House who actually believes in science.

[APPLAUSE] And it's time for the United States of America to assume its rightful position of moral authority as the global leader on global warming. [APPLAUSE] It's time to take the keys to our federal regulatory agencies back from the industry lobbyists who have been taking scissors to the rules. [APPLAUSE] And after seven years of Orwellian double speak with a clean skies act that weakens air quality and a healthy forest initiative that gives timber companies a free license to level public lands, it's time for some truth in environmental marketing in Washington, DC. [APPLAUSE] And like the rest of you, I'm looking forward to a triple dose of truth this afternoon. I want to thank your sponsors and our partners for bringing us together, to Grist, Living On Earth, the Center For American Progress Action Fund, the League of Conservation Voters Education Fund, the California League of Conservation Voters Education Fund, the Presidential Forum on Renewable Energy, and of course Laurie David's and our own NRDC Action Fund. Thank you all for being here, let the discussion begin.

[APPLAUSE]

STEVE CURWOOD: Thank you so much, Mr. Mayor. A word about the format today. There, let's face it, climate change is a complicated, difficult issue. it's one reason why the networks really don't want to

touch it. Because you can't put it in a sound byte, it doesn't fit in a box, and it's not really very cool to deal with in the horse race that typically is the covers that we get with American politics these days. So we thought today that we'd give you a chance to really listen to what these folks have to say about climate change and what they're going to do to address this grave threat to us all. So the format is going to be like this: they'll come out and they'll take about 10 minutes here at the podium to lay out their program for how, as leader of our nation, they are going to lead the world to resolve this problem. And then we'll ask them to join the panelists and myself for a conversation for the next 20 minutes where we will ask some questions and dig deeper into the meaning of this. And the sound byte process gives you a lot of heat and not much light and, you know, when it comes to this issue, man, we've got enough heat already. So, we hope that today we'll get a better insight as to who can take on this challenge. And with us here to question our candidates when they're done with their presentations, we have two panelists. And I hope they'll come out at this moment. First you've met Dave Roberts already from Grist Magazine. [APPLAUSE] And you now get to meet Mary Nichols, who, if you live here in California... you will recognize. [APPLAUSE] If you live here in California, you'll recognize as your chair of the California Air Resources Board. [APPLAUSE] So think about Mary every time you take a breath. Thank you, Mary, thank you, Mary. Before that she worked for the EPA in Washington handling air for the EPA at a time when the EPA had air to handle. And the three of us will greet our three candidates. So let me bring out the first one. And he is, I believe in his 10th term now as a member of Congress from Northern Ohio, was the mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, and he has been twice, I have run into him actually at the negotiations for the Kyoto Agreement under the United Nations framework convention on Climate Change. Which, by the way, is the law of the land of the United States. One of the things that people forget is that we have ratified the UN framework convention on climate change so

that under that law, we are supposed to be reducing our emissions already. We didn't set a hard limit, but we're supposed to be in that direction and pushing research in that directions. So I want to congratulate you folks here in California who have actually followed that, because you have reduced your emissions. If the world... [APPLAUSE] said earlier today that if the rest of the United States had California's air quality, that it would, our nation would be complying with Kyoto right now. So, it's quite an accomplishment that you have. But without further ado, let me introduce to you, Congressman Dennis Kucinich...

[APPLAUSE]

DENNIS KUCINICH: I don't like to be pinioned to a podium, but bear with me, the energy is starting to move already. It's great to be at a presidential forum that's not sponsored by the coal industry. I just want to say that from the beginning, as the last one. But, I want to speak to you today about a vision of the America that can be. It's a vision that's held close by so many of us. But it's seldom articulated from a presidential forum. And I'd like to begin with paying tribute to those individuals who, in fairly modern times have shown a commitment to the environment. People like Rachael Carson, Barry Commoner, Thomas Barry, Wendell Barry, Bill McKibben, Al Gore, and others who have taken a stand to show us the path. And now we're called upon as candidates for president to talk about the direction that we would take this country. We see the globe as being threatened. Let me tell you what I will bring to the presidency – an environmental consciousness that is demonstrated by the choices that I make in my own life. Little home in Cleveland, Ohio, 1600 square feet. A small Ford Focus that gets about 30 some miles to a gallon. A vegan diet that is compassionate and mindful and respectful of the environment. See, if you want a leader who can reach out and lift this planet up, then we have to look at how do you live? Cause you can

talk the talk, but do you walk the walk. And so as I speak to you today, I want to demonstrate to you an awareness and an ability to be able to lead this country to a new era of environmental sustainability and environmental consciousness. It starts with an understanding of the world as one. I see the world as being an integrated whole. I understand the world as being interconnected and interdependent. And that the choices each one of us makes affects all of us as any one of us chooses, so chooses the world. And when you come from that understanding, you know the great responsibility that each one of us has, individually. And responsibility that we have collectively as Americans to try to engage in what Thomas Barry called the great work of our lives to repair our relationship with nature and to repair the planet. Now how would I do that as president? First, I understand the threat that exists right now from nuclear weapons. The United States must lead the way in abolishing all nuclear weapons. [APPLAUSE] We must, we must participate fully in the biological weapons convention, the chemical weapons convention, the small arms treaty, the landmine treaty, join the international criminal court and participate in the next round of climate change talks with a real intention of reducing greenhouse gas and carbon emissions. This is what the United States must do, and this is what a Kucinich presidency will be about. But where are we right now at this very moment while we gather here in Los Angeles, our government is retrofitting B2 stealth bombers with 30,000 pound bombs, preparing to drop them on nuclear labs in Iran. This is a war crime in motion, and there's a call of the heart, a cry of the heart, a call to conscience for all Americans to understand the connection between global warring and global warming is oil. The connection between war and eco[UNINTELLIGIBLE] we have to be here to repair the planet. To know that the real cause of our lives is to heal the world, [UNINTELLIGIBLE] the idea of our creative capacity to change everything. It's a call to conscience. And it's also a call for a new vision of what's possible in

America. That's what I want to share with you in the next six minutes. And that is what I call the "Works Green Administration." It's infusing environmental consciousness into every aspect of government in all aspects of our social and economic and political affairs in this country. And here's how it would work. It begins with the intention of having every department of the federal government be involved in sustainability and in green consciousness. Let's go down the list: transportation. Under a Kucinich Administration, massive spending for rebuilding the transportation infrastructure for mass transit so that we can make mass transit available all over America. [APPLAUSE] In housing, in senate for building green housing and having the environmental consciousness of our entire building programs be involved in looking at energy efficient homes, and homes that use natural lighting, in homes that are not using materials that are inherently dangerous. The Department of Energy would provide disincentives for the use of oil, coal and nuclear, and incentivize the creation of wind and solar microtechnologies so that we could create millions of jobs applying those micro technologies to homes and businesses across this country, dramatically reducing our carbon footprint, moving the economy, government as an engine of sustainability, priming the pump of the economy, lowering energy costs, insulate millions of homes. I mean, we can do this, we have the ability to do it, we need the leadership to do this. And in the area of health. Imagine a president who stands for, a not for profit healthcare system with an emphasis on preventive health care, and where we challenge, where we meet health challenges like the challenge of obesity, which is directly connected to the kind of diet America has. We need to have a president who understands those connections. The Department of Education. We would teach our children environmental principles from the earliest age so they could integrate I that into the way they live. In the Department of Commerce, all of our trade agreements would be based on environmental quality principles and we would start by

canceling NAFTA and creating environmental principles in all of our trade agreements to protect the water and the air and the land. And the Department of Labor, safe work place measures that are drawn directly into protecting the health of the workers by making sure that environmental consciousness becomes part of workplace safety. And the Department of Interior. Removing all of these incentives that exist for the extraction of our natural resources. America must take back ownership of these natural resources, and stop the exploitation of the land, and protect our Native Americans whose land is being poisoned by uranium mining and other types of mining. We need a president who can take that stand. [APPLAUSE] When I was growing up in Cleveland, Ohio, John F. Kennedy was sworn in as President of the United States. And he excited America with a vision of an America that could be. He urged every American to get an education in the sciences in particular so that we could participate in this collaborative effort of reaching for the stars. We recognize that our journey is more homebound today, more earthbound. And so as President of the United States, I would use the intellectual and scientific abilities that exist in the National Aeronautics & Space Administration to move America towards a green economy. There's tremendous amounts of research being done at NASA right now, particularly in the area of carbonless burns, carbonless combustion, and it's amazing what is possible today in America. When you think about NASA being dedicated to creating green technologies where we can call forth a world that we barely understand exists, but knowing the inventive genius that characterizes American throughout our history, we can move towards sustainability using the inventive genius of NASA where they can create these products in the alpha stage and even license them in the beta stage to help prime the pump of our economy and move quickly to create millions of new jobs. Those who say that we have to sacrifice into the future, I think that's misplaced. I think there's an unlimited amount of wealth out there that's waiting to be called forward by our

creative genius if only we will go green. [APPLAUSE] John F. Kennedy called forth the American people to participate in something that was bigger than all of us. And as President of the United States, I intend to do the same thing, to reach out to the American people and ask them to participate in this great effort to save our planet, to protect our environment, to create government as an engine of sustainability. But to look at the choices that each one of us makes. Kennedy said that, "let the word go forth at this time and place that the torch has been passed to a new generation." We are the generation that we've been waiting for, and we just need to move forward with courage and with compassion and with vision to create the world that we want. Thank you very much. Thank you, Works Green Administration.

[APPLAUSE]

STEVE CURWOOD: So join us for a conversation here. You've laid out a very ambitious program that I think a lot of folks here seem to like. The question is, you wake up one day in January of 2009, there you are at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. How do you do this? People have been talking about this for years and it hasn't happened. How could you make that difference?

DENNIS KUCINICH: Well it begins with a president who has the awareness of where the hearts of the American people are. People are ready to go in a new direction.

STEVE CURWOOD: That's you, you're the president.

DENNIS KUCINICH: Exactly. So, as someone who would be literally the voice of the people to stand up and declare that this is our purpose as a nation. And to lay out the purpose. And to put it before the Congress and

to go out across the country and campaign for it. Those who say for example that we can't change our healthcare system because the insurance companies have a lock on it, you think about what that means. It means that you can't challenge the coal industry or the oil companies, or the uranium companies and the public, private utilities, you can't challenge the polluters. If you have a president who's really ready to bring about transformation, if you have a president who's really ready to bring about transformation, then you move forward courageously and go to the country, take it to the people. It's not, this government doesn't just belong to that little geographical area inside the beltway. I mean, this government has enormous potential as the government of the people. They discovered, by the way, yesterday a picture of Lincoln at Gettysburg, I'm told. We need to rediscover the principles of that speech at Gettysburg about a government of the people, by the people and for the people. And elect a president who's not tied to these interest groups in any way, shape or manner. I mean, I'm ready, Stephen. I'm ready today.

[APPLAUSE]

MARY NICHOLS: Let me follow up a little bit on that question because your vision and the way you present it with passion are getting us all excited. And then we remember that we had a vice president once who wrote a book about global climate change and an administration that went to Kyoto and negotiated a treaty and then wasn't even able to present it to Congress because they were told it was dead on arrival, it couldn't possibly be acted upon. And the politics in the Senate don't seem to have changed all that much based on what we're seeing right now. So, here you are, you come into office with a mandate, but what are you gonad o to reverse the dynamics that seem to be mired down in the Congress?

DENNIS KUCINICH: I mean, you're absolutely right, there's tremendous resistance built into the political system. I started my career 40 years ago in the city of Cleveland as an elected City Council 38 years ago, was one of the participants in helping to draft a Clean Air Act in the city of Cleveland. I understand the kind of resistance that exists. It's there, it's real. I served at local, state, federal governments, a career that has been very deep in understanding the interest group that try to stop progress. There was a mayor of the city of Cleveland over 100 years ago that was instrumental in bringing to Cleveland a public power system. Here's what he said, "I believe in public ownership of all public service facilities. Of parks, education, of schools... of utility systems, of water systems. Because if you do not own them, they will in time own you. they will corrupt your institutions, rule your politics, and finally destroy your liberties. Now this hold that these interest groups, from Wall Street and from Washington have on our politics is real. But imagine this, imagine a president, who in no way, shape or manner is tied to any of these interest groups. I mean, how I came through the system this way is an interesting story. People, when I got to City Council at age 23, looking like I was 16, asked me, "hey, how did you get here? Was it the banks, was it the utilities, the real estate people? How did you get here?" They couldn't believe that someone actually knocked on doors and got elected, okay? I'm telling that a grass roots movement to reclaim our country, electing a president who isn't tied to any of these interest groups, can then go over if necessary, I would have no, no hesitation whatsoever to go over the heads of Congress right to the American people. If we have to free our Congress from these interest groups, I'm the one who will lead the way to do it without any hesitation whatsoever. If you're ready for that kind of a president, I'm ready for you.

[APPLAUSE]

DAVE ROBERTS: I think we can acknowledge that not everyone who supports your agenda lives in a large city on the West Coast. But at the same time, not everyone who opposes it lives in the belt way. There are people who legitimately fear losing jobs who have legitimately having their energy prices raised, labor unions, coal miners. There are real people out there who fear the kind of thing you're talking about. What do you say to them in particular other than 50 years from now, we'll have a better country. What do you tell them?

DENNIS KUCINICH: Well you have to understand the interrelationship between all the economic factors in our economy in order to take a stand for sustainability. Let's say trade, for example. America is not losing jobs because of, simply because of our energy policy, although I could make an argument that high utility rates in the Northwest caused by investment in nuclear power have cost us a loss of jobs. I think that's true. But, leadership can look at a Works Green administration in producing jobs and creating environmental progress and economic progress that we haven't see. See, what happens is when we're told that economic progress and environmental protection are mutually exclusive. The minute that we buy into that type of thinking, that kind of dichotomized thinking, you have war, you have the destruction of the environment, and inevitably you have unemployment as well. This is the kind of thing that happened when I was in city council in Cleveland. People would tell me, "Dennis, don't say anything about the steel mills, I know they're polluting, but don't say anything, those are jobs." But we also knew that there were profits going up those smokestacks. And it was the 21st Century type of thinking that could save the jobs and keep our steel industries here as long as we had trade rules that created that possibility. Let's talk about mining, for example. I understand, coal miners are very concerned about their jobs. Here's what I'm willing to do:

go to the coal miners and tell them, “look, we’re gonna make sure that you have a pension that you can have the money to feed your family and you don’t have to worry about that, because this is the work you chose to do and you did it, and it was important to the country at a point, but now we have to make a transition. We’re not gonna make you the ones who are gonna suffer. We’re gonna make sure that you have a way to support your family, that you have healthcare and pension benefits.” I mean, this is one thing you can do for the coal miners. Why should the coal miners be told that they should have to sacrifice for the wrong choices our government has made. Let’s help them. That’s one area, okay. In the area of agriculture. Farmers right now need to have a president who will stand for parity, particularly for these family farmers who can get their product to market and local markets, go global, go local, or local, if you want to call it that. You need a president that understands the connections between all these market dynamics. Now it’s true, there are people who are gonna be resistant, who aren’t in Washington, and I’m aware of that. but, the resistance that you find is generally from the interest groups who are trying to keep, want to keep mining coal, who want to build new coal facilities, who want to build new nuclear plants with all the waste that’s attendant, who want to keep us in oil and fight wars to get it. Those are the interest groups who right now who control our government. But under a Kucinich Administration, their control is broken. And if the Congress wants to stand by those interests, we go to the American people, and then we return to a government that the people really control. So I understand what you’re saying. But I’m also ready to take a stand. The question is, are you gonna have somebody in the White House who can take a stand, whose capable of doing it. We’re either going to move towards sustainability with a president who has the courage to stand up to these interest groups, or we’re gonna keep drifting along and we’re gonna hear reports like you mentioned, Steve at the beginning from the intergovernmental

panel on Climate Change that shows icecaps further melting because greenhouse gases are growing, sea levels rising, great changes, catastrophic changes in our weather patterns. And everybody says, well gee, we can't do anything about it. That's not right. We have the power right in our hands to change our destiny. We have the power right in our hands at this moment. It's really a question of whether we're ready to use it or not.

[APPLAUSE]

STEVE CURWOOD: So, let's go down tot eh nitty-gritty. You've been on Capitol Hill what, six terms, 12 years now?

DENNIS KUCINICH: It's my 6th term.

STEVE CURWOOD: And so we have a Kucinich Presidency and we have a Congress. You mentioned compensating the coal workers. But history shows that in Britain, the reason they have such a great emissions profile is because Margaret Thatcher really smashed the coal unions and a lot of people were out of jobs. Is a pension enough to offer somebody who's devoted their entire lives to this enterprise?

DENNIS KUCINICH: Well not just a pension, you'd have a guaranteed income. This is another thing I want to talk about in terms of changing monetary policy, cause we really have to look at our monetary policy and how that relates to the environmental choices that are made in environmental policy. I'm speaking of a guaranteed annual income. (For everybody?) Yes, absolutely. Let's think about it, the rising level of poverty in this country, you have so many people who aren't able to make ends meet, and I'm speaking about an income level that wipes out homelessness, that wipes out hunger. It gives people a chance to put

clothes on their kids' back. Look, I'm not here as someone who, as Langston Hughes once wrote about life in a crystal stair. Life would be in no crystal stair, I'm the oldest of seven, my family never owned a home, we lived in 21 different places by the time I was 17, including a couple of cars. I know what people go through. I know there's a lot of people out there who are waiting to see if they can be included some way in this economy. And if we're going to lift up this country, we have to have new thinking. I want to see such tremendous economic progress in this country that we can not only have a guaranteed income but also a national dividend so that everyone can share in the great economic progress of America. We haven't even tapped our potential for priming the pump of our economy. I want to see government spend money into circulation for infrastructure, to rebuild our water system and sewer system, to create all those micro technologies in wind and solar and to insulate homes and to create the beloved community that we know is possible. The only thing that limits us is our thinking. The only thing that limits us is our unwillingness to see our potential to create a whole new world. I speak, not as someone who is new to politics. 40 years ago I started my career. But I know what's possible. I know what's possible and what's practical. It is practical to say that no one in this country should be homeless, that no one in this country should be hungry, that no one in this country should worry about putting clothes on their children's back. I'm talking about a whole new approach here, Steve.

STEVE CURWOOD: But let's come down to the practical implementation of what you're talking about here. You're from the state of Ohio, a lot of coal miners in Ohio. And I'm not sure if they're going to be satisfied with the notion of some minimal guaranteed income that everybody would get for being a citizen, which I think a lot of people might think is a great idea. Those are fairly substantial jobs. And right now there's a lot of fear, you say we shouldn't have this fear that in fact when we're on the dawn

of a new and amazing age, but to get from here to there is a long gap. And as president you're going to have to deal with a Congress that has a lot of folks from coal states, has a lot of folks involved in unions who are, who see this kind of change as squeezing jobs overseas. There are no caps on carbons in other places where folks will be able to have lower wages. And you know the story. How do you make this transition? What's your practical plan?

DENNIS KUCINICH: Let's look at where we are today. This is a forum on global climate change. There are plans at this very moment to build new coal powered plants, not only in this country, but in China, in India and around the world. We got a report today from the Climate Change Panel, the UN rising levels of CO₂, greenhouse gases. We see the impact. Now we can make one of two decisions, Stephen, we can either say look, this system is all locked up, locked in, and there's nothing we can do about it. Or we can have leadership that challenges all the fundamental assumptions that Washington operates on, which is that these interest groups like coal are just gonna control things, we're gonna have coal. Okay, accept coal. No, I disagree with that. Clean coal is an oxymoron. We have to have a president who understands that. [APPLAUSE] And let me tell you, as far as worrying about how much you pay the miners, you pay them whatever they are used to being paid to make a living. Cause you don't make them suffer. But one thing for sure, that will be inexpensive compared to what we're going to pay in terms of costs by rising greenhouse gases because of coal mining. No one else will touch this because they're worried about those votes, but they're not willing to go and say, hey look, we're a big family. We want to protect your interests. So how do you get there? When I spoke of the Works Green Administration, and this is a concept which time has come to make government an engine of sustainability. You set forth a number of initiatives. Now I've already introduced HR3400, which is an

infrastructure bill, it's bipartisan. Here it is again, government spends money into circulation. We're not gonna borrow money to do this. We're gonna change the relationship that the United States has with respect to having the money available. You prime the pump of the economy. You create millions of jobs by having people manufacture wind and solar technologies and retrofit and doing that. This is doable, and it's time to do it. And you know what the incentive is, people say, oh my gosh, Dennis, you're going to lower my utility bill. I'm all for that. Will the utility monopolies be happy? No. But they're gonna have to make a transition. We cannot let them decide for us the shape of our global climate policies. So that's just an example.

DAVE ROBERTS: Mr. Kucinich, the people in the world who are going to be hit first and hardest by the effects of global warming, some of which we know are already inevitable built into the system don't live here, they live in developing countries, they're the poor and most vulnerable, they did the least to cause the problem. What will you do to cushion the blow? And how will you sell that kind of program to the American people?

DENNIS KUCINICH: Well again, having represented the United States at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, South Africa. Having represented the United States in two of the global climate talks in Buenos Aires, Argentina, I know that the whole world community is percolating with energy trying to come up with ways of averting this catastrophe. People are already looking for ways that they can mitigate. But here's the United States, producing 25% of the greenhouse gases being profoundly indifferent, coming up with phony solutions like cap-and-trade, looking at the market, not looking at rising sea levels. We have to have a president who understands what's going on in Wall Street right now. Let me tell you, a year ago I read this story in the Financial Times of how the major hedge funds were telling investors to, not to

invest in green energy, because that's not where the most profit was, but to invest in oil and coal and in nuclear. Now, the implication that has for the developing world is profound, because it means that America sits up on this pinnacle representing itself as a nation above nations, forgetting that we're interconnected and interdependent, and essentially we're casting off millions of people who have to accept the consequences for the indifference of our own government. So, what will I do? I will go to the developing nations and tell them that for the first time they'll have an American president who's a partner in dramatically reducing our greenhouse gases and rallying the American people so we can reduce our carbon footprint. I talk to people where island archipelagos were starting to be flooded, where they're losing their island communities. I mean, when you think of people's way of life is being affected by the choices that we make, there is a moral issue here about the effect of our conduct on others. When our founders wrote the Constitution, one of the fundamental elements of that Constitution was that there was moral reasoning as a polar strength in that Constitution. We're losing our capacity for moral reasoning when we engage in resource wars, the attack on Iraq was all about oil [APPLAUSE] when we talk about attacking Iran, which is about oil, we need a president who rejects war as an instrument of policy, who believes in peace, who see that peace and sustainability are one, peace equals sustainability and the people who live in those countries will have a partner in another way too, our trade agreements. All of our trade agreements must include protections for workers rights, the right to organize, the right to collective bargaining, the right to strike, the right to decent wages and benefits. Imagine a new trade agreement with Mexico, human rights, prohibitions on child labor, prison labor. And also environmental quality principles. Imagine a president who says all of our trade agreements must be conditioned on how the quality of air and water and protection of the land fits into trade. See we can lift up progress everywhere in the world. There's no reason for

the kind of poverty we have in this world. We need a president who understands that all should have prosperity, that all should have a right to eat, that all have a right to survive. I'm ready to lead this country with that understanding. Imagine a president who have real environmental consciousness, who understood the world as one. So Steven, thank you for the chance to be here. I want to let you know that you are the ones who can change it all, that this candidacy represents the potential for the profoundest change. And if you're ready, I'll say it again, I'm ready! Thank you very much!

[APPLAUSE]

STEVE CURWOOD: So we're getting down this afternoon, right? Gonna get right down to it. It's not gonna stop here, we're gonna continue now with a woman who says she wants to go back home to the White House. [APPLAUSE] She's had a bit of a holiday, it's a working holiday in the United States Senate, she's been elected to a couple of terms. And she's with us today to do the same kind of format that you just heard from Congressman Kucinich. We've asked her to come and talk for ten minutes about her vision of how to address climate change and our energy situation here in America, and to then join us for a conversation. So without further ado, I welcome Senator Hillary Clinton.

[APPLAUSE]

HILLARY CLINTON: I am delighted to be here, this is obviously a perfect location for the first ever Presidential Forum to focus on the climate crisis. And it's especially appropriate because of everything that has been done over the years here in California that demonstrate, I think conclusively that what has been done here can be built on and can become national policy if we actually have a president who's willing to

lead. And so I think the League of Conservation Voters and the Center for American Progress Action Fund and all of the other organizations who are sponsoring this forum. I want to just make a couple of points, because I know we have, I think ten minutes to summarize everything we care about when it comes to climate change. Well you couldn't have had a better timed, but unfortunate coincidence of the UN intergovernmental panel on climate change releasing its fourth and final report today. It describes in the most stark words that have yet been used, the abrupt and irreversible consequences of global warming. I, therefore, have laid out a bold comprehensive plan to tackle both our energy dependence and the climate crisis because I think they go hand in hand. The risks of inaction for those who still cling to the outmoded and disgraced view that there is no need for action, are abundantly clear. The consequences are so dire that this election has to focus on this issue. We cannot afford to fiddle while the world warms because we've already seen and we know conclusively what that will do to us. It's not only the impact on our health, the fact that emissions from power plants cause 24,000 premature deaths a year. It's not only that we have a third of childhood asthma cases caused by air pollution and environmental contamination. It's everywhere one looks, including the deeply concerning recent oil spill that impact the Bay Area. So where do we start and what do we do? Well, we know what not to do, and that is what we've seen for the last seven years – a president who has dodge, denied and dissembled on the most important [APPLAUSE] most important global issue that we can directly address and act on. We know what not to do because we are now more dependent on foreign oil than we were on 9/11. We know what not to do because other countries are actually reaping the benefits of inventions and technology that was created here in the United States that we have ceded to them. So it's time for a new beginning. It's time for a president who actually respects climate science instead of trying to muzzle climate scientists. It's time for a president who will lead

international negotiations again, and it's time that we bring together a coalition that can actually make a difference. Now, having said all that, I know how hard this will be. You will hear speeches this afternoon from those who will certainly draw tremendous [APPLAUSE] and shouts of agreement, but I hope that we're all here today because we're serious about what it is we intend to do together. I spent a week laying out a very detailed energy plan and put forth a set of aggressive goals. I have three major goals: first, to reduce greenhouse gas emissions 80% from the 1990 levels, by 2050. Second, to cut foreign oil imports by 2/3 by 2030. And third, to move from a carbon based economy to an efficient green economy by unleashing a wave of innovation in clean energy and energy efficiency. I believe that the three imperatives for doing that to reach these goals are security, our environment and our economy. First, as president, I'll lead a national commitment for energy efficiency, the cheapest, cleanest, fastest way to reduce energy use and carbon emissions. We'll set a goal of reducing electricity demand by 20% by 2020. California is a model. Over the past three decades, California has held its electricity use per person flat through practical steps to increase efficiency while energy demand in the rest of our country grew by 50%. I sometimes talk about this as I'm traveling around the country, because I think it's fair for all of you in California to know two things: first, when I speak, as I have now for the last 11 months to tens of thousands of people, and I say that we will do everything necessary to end our dependence on foreign oil, people cheer. And then I always add, and we will finally once and for all attack global warming. People sit there. The case has not yet been made. And I know how hard that is for many of you who are activists and care deeply about this issue, perhaps even to believe, let alone accept. And it is especially important that we figure out ways to enlist the millions and millions of Americans who make billions of decisions every year about how they use energy. That's why what California has done is often used as an example, because I say, well now

let me tell you about a place. It's a place where people have cut their energy usage. Where in fact their average per capita use of electricity hasn't increased in 30 years. And people look at me, waiting for me to mention some small country somewhere. And then I say, and it's a place called California. [APPLAUSE] Efficiency is just the beginning. Because as president, I will come up with incentives and encourage every American, every company, every community to do more. That's how America does tackle big problems, we have to enlist everybody. This has to be a problem that everybody feels they have a stake in solving. In WWII we did it. Following Sputnik, we did it. We have absolutely no reason why we can't do it again. As a government, we have to lead the way, that means setting a market based cap-and-trade system, to determine the cost of carbon pollution and reward companies for cutting their emissions. From the day I take office, as of noon on January 20, 2009 [APPLAUSE] I will issue an executive order that every new federal building has to be carbon neutral, from design to construction. I have proposed a 50 billion dollar strategic energy fund to double investment in energy research, and you know how we'll pay for it, by taking the tax subsidies away from the oil companies. It's clear they don't need our money to make a high profit. [APPLAUSE] We'll also ask industry to do its part starting with the automakers. As president, I will raise fuel efficiency standards to 40 miles per gallon by 2020, and 55 by 2030, saving consumers more than \$180 billion a year, and 4 ½ million barrels of oil a day. The private sector will also have to help by leading the innovation race. We're going to set a goal of getting 25% of electricity from wind, solar, geothermal, other renewable resources by 2025. And I think it's very important to start talking about green-collar jobs. Everybody knows about blue-collar jobs and white-collar jobs. We're gonna put five million Americans to work making American green. [APPLAUSE] When I am president, the US Treasury will issue energy independence bonds dedicated to the strategic energy fund. I'll

encourage Americans to reduce their energy use and shrink their carbon footprint and place the savings into these new bonds. During WWII Americans purchased more than 33 billion dollars in war bonds. We can tap that same patriotism. After 9/11, this president said, "go shopping." It was a tragic, missed opportunity. As president, I'll say "go green." And I think that Americans will respond. As Vice President Gore often reminds us, political will is a renewable resource. Now, there's more to my plan, a lot more, and I invite you to go to my website, hillaryclinton.com. But here's how I would operationalize it, because you're going to hear about a lot of plans. And it's great that the Democrats are all putting forth plans about how to deal with our twin crisis of energy dependence and of global warming. But it takes more than a plan. A plan is just words on a page without the strength and experience to make it a reality. As president, I will create a national energy council modeled on the National Economic Council and the National Security Council. There will be a national energy advisor with a direct line to the president to coordinate our efforts and to maintain accountability. This is a model that has worked well for us and I think it can here. It'll get the government working together instead of having these separate [UNINTELLIGIBLE] where people don't even talk. I'll act quickly to help develop a new treaty to replace Kyoto, engage in high-level meetings with leaders around the world every three months. I have proposed an E8 modeled on the G8 to bring major carbon emitting nations together. I think it is absolutely essential that America lead. You know, I've observed over my lifetime, you can't be a leader if no one is following. And this president has rendered our leadership practically null and void. I think we can turn this greatest environmental challenge to a great economic opportunity and to restore our leadership in the world, create a new and strong middle class, reform the government so that it actually works effectively again, and reclaim the future for our children.

So if you are ready for change, I am ready to lead. Thank you all very much.

[APPLAUSE]

STEVE CURWOOD: Thank you so much, Senator. What an impassioned speech and presentation of a terrific program. But here's a difficult question: the last three presidents of the United States, each in their own way have declared that they're going to take on climate change. George Bush, the elder signed the UN [UNINTELLIGIBLE] on Climate Change. Your husband's administration signed the Kyoto [UNINTELLIGIBLE]. When Mr. Bush was campaigning for office, he pledged that he would list carbon dioxide as a pollutant. The point is, is that every one of these men...

HILLARY CLINTON: That's the problem to start with, I think.

STEVE CURWOOD: So, that's your idea of a first. If you're elected, you will not only be the first female president of the United States, but the first president of the United States to have an effective policy that would actually reduce our greenhouse gas emissions? So how do you do this? These people all started with the intention of doing it, they weren't able to deliver. What's the magic you bring? What's your secret that you can, in fact, deliver?

HILLARY CLINTON: Well, first of all, I would just take issue with the premise, I don't think George W. Bush ever intended to do anything. I think he campaigned as a compassionate conservative and turned out to be neither. And we have been living with the consequences of that. I do, however, give credit to the first President Bush, who, against great odds, did push through amendments to the Clean Air Act and laid the

groundwork for a lot of what came through Kyoto. I obviously give credit to my husband and Vice President Gore, who were very aggressive in pushing for Kyoto, and then ran into the buzz saw of a Republican Congress and an election that didn't go the way that we all had hoped. But I think there are three major differences. Number one, people's awareness and understanding of this issue is much greater than it was, even seven years ago. And certainly 10 or 15 years ago. It is a combination of the news and people's own experience that is beginning to kind of penetrate what people like Vice resident Gore and some of you have been talking about for years. So that has a salience in the political system that we haven't seen until very recently. Secondly, it is significant that we are moving toward a global commitment on this, because one thing that the United States doesn't want to feel about itself is that we lag behind everyone else. If you look around the world and you see the actions that are taken by the European Union or Japan, or you look and understand how much more renewable electricity is being generated by countries like Denmark or Germany and others, it ties into the sense among Americans that we're just not keeping up. And we need, once again, to reassert our global leadership on an issue of significance. And finally, you have to have a commitment from a president at the time when the electorate and elected representatives are finally ready to act. And that's what I think we will have when I become president. Because we have people in the Congress now who are much more open, much more dedicated than they ever have been before. The House and the Senate under the new Democratic leadership each passed a version of an energy bill, we're working to try to merge them to have a single bill. But on one hand we had a renewable portfolio standard in the House. We have café standards in the Senate. That's never happened in the last 10, 15 years. So there is a much greater readiness in the political system. So if a president makes it a very high priority, as I intend to do, and if a president organizes an administration to make that priority a political

action item, and operationalize it in a way to get the Congress working with the administration, I think we can see changes. I certainly will use my administrative executive power through the use of executive orders to the extent that I am capable of, to set the framework, to create the political context. But it is going to be challenging. But I think it is actually much more in reach than it has been for the last 15 years. One example that I obviously would find particularly interesting. The Montreal protocol, which a number of you remember, to reverse the damage to the ozone from chlorofloural carbons and essential ban them worldwide, had an initial agreement that was adequate, but not as strong as it should be. It was beginning to be implemented. And the leaders of the world, led by Margaret Thatcher at that time, convened a meeting in London, basically to say, we can do better than this, and we are. And came up with the enforceable agreement that has led to the changes that have had some positive effects. So if it takes leadership, and what I said in my brief remarks is I would meet every three months with the leaders of the major greenhouse gas emitting countries. We have a group of countries, the EU, the United States, Canada and Mexico, Russia, China, India, Brazil, South Africa, that are basically responsible for 70% of the current greenhouse gas emissions and, I think, if presidential leadership drove this we would make progress internationally and here with a congressional agenda. So, I'm actually quite confident and optimistic that we can make this high priority and bring some very positive change about. [APPLAUSE]

MARY NICHOLS: Thank you, Senator.

STEVE CURWOOD: Thank you, so the pledge is it will be done in your administration, it will be done. That's the pledge.

HILLARY CLINTON: Well, I don't know what "it" means, but, "it," what do you mean by "it?"

STEVE CURWOOD: Well, you're going to reduce emissions from the United States, when the, all of the, when the Clin, when the Clinton administration is over re emissions will have been reduced in this country.

HILLARY CLINTON: Yes.

STEVE CURWOOD All right, you heard the pledge.

[APPLAUSE]

MARY NICHOLS: Okay, now, let, let's talk about how the campaign can, can help to make this happen. I think we all remember what happened to healthcare, and we, we want to make sure that President Hillary Clinton is able to carry out the mandate that you hope to get. So, what can you do through the campaign and through your speeches and other actions in the places where climate isn't yet on the agenda to, to give yourself what you need to combat what we know will be the multimillion dollar ad campaigns that will be coming at you and the rest of us from the coal industry and others (Right) opponents.

HILLARY CLINTON: Well, I'm, I'm trying to do that in the campaign now, in that I rolled out this energy climate change agenda over a week in Iowa and New Hampshire. I speak about it everywhere that I go to try to kind of get it into the bloodstream of the presidential campaign. That's the first issue, we've [APPLAUSE] got to make it something that people you know, actually turn into a voting issue. And here's where all of you come in, because you have to help this become a voting issue, not just in

California, but in other states, as well. That's why this forum is so significant because we need lots and lots of people who come to presidential events and not just the Democrats, but the Republicans, as well, asking questions, standing up and saying, "This is an important issue to me, personally, this will influence my vote." So, it's a two-way street – the candidates have to be talking about it, putting forth plans about it, raising the issue in every conceivable way and then we need people who are already committed and active to turn it into a voting issue. [PEOPLE START OUTCRY] And, so, secondly, I think, that what we have to do is look to see what we are going to do to elect more Democrats, because if we elect more Democrats, we'll actually have more support in the congress to get what we need to get done through the Senate. ADDRESSED TO LOUD AUDIENCE MEMBER: Were you invited to speak here this afternoon? Anyway, as I was saying, we need to elect more Democrats because our, our obstacle to getting anything through the congress is the filibuster rule in the Senate. That means we've got to get 60 votes in the Senate, which means, unless we have 60 Democrats we actually have to get some Republicans to vote with us. It's one of the unfortunate obstacles that we face because of the rules of the Senate. So, part of what I'm going to do in the campaign and part of what I will do when I'm the nominee, is work very hard to get more Democrats elected, particularly to the Senate, [APPLAUSE] GROWS we have to increase our majorities in both the Senate and the House and, then, finally, you know, I certainly remember very well healthcare, that taught me a lot of lessons. One was that everybody's for change in general, but when it gets to be particular people start peeling off. And everybody is also worried that people in politics are not going to be pure enough, and then the perfect becomes the enemy of the good. So, your allies are not happy because you're not 100% and your adversaries are thrilled because they've already divided you before you begin. So, as a, perhaps, thought that you might take away from this forum – there is no way that

we will ever produce a piece of legislation that can get through the Congress that every one of you will agree with. But, incremental change in America, except in moments where the entire country recognizes we're in a crisis, like being attacked at Pearl Harbor or we had that opportunity after 9/11 if there'd been another president, if Al Gore had been president we would have had an energy and [APPLAUSE] climate change program after 9/11. But, when we actually go to the hard work of making the change then it's going to be imperative that people stick together and that we stand united against the inevitable attacks coming from the other side. And that is often not easy but it is something that I hope we'll be able to work on, as we go forward, because, ultimately, it is imperative that we get something past and that we begin to implement it because that will persuade Americans that what we're talking about is not going to be too disruptive, not going to undermine their quality of life or their standard of living, that it is actually going to create opportunities that are going to produce more jobs, that are going to lower their utility bills, that are going to give people a chance to make socially conscious choices. So, there's a lot we can do, but we're going to have to put together a very smart, broad-based political coalition to withstand, as you say, the inevitable attacks that will come. Uh, and I feel confident about that, but I am also certainly aware of how difficult it is to navigate through these kinds of uh, waters trying to do something that's never been done before.

DAVE ROBERTS: Thank you, Senator. First, I, I would like to apologize on behalf of those of us who prefer conversation to screaming. Your last answer is a good segue into my question in that there is a bill currently in the Senate currently going before your environment committee, the Lieberman/Warner cap-and-trade bill and here we have sort of test case of political pragmatism versus political idealism. If you ask environmental groups, this bill falls short of your stated principles and

your plan, in a number of ways in the giveaways to polluters and the targets and a number of other ways. On the other hand, it does seem to be the bill that has a, a, a consensus, some bipartisan consensus behind it. So, I would like to know, very concretely, if the bill comes up for a vote, as currently constituted, would you vote for it? What will you do to try to improve it? And would you ever consider voting it down and waiting for something better next, next session?

HILLARY CLINTON: Well, those are a lot of questions, and I think that the bill needs a lot of improvement it is not the bill that I would write, it's not that bill that Barbara Boxer would write, and I don't think anybody can question Senator Boxer's credentials as [APPLAUSE] someone who stands and fights as hard as she can. And, in fact you know, I'm a co-sponsor of the Boxer-Sanders Bill, which has the [APPLAUSE] percentage reduction and the timetable that I've adopted for my own plan. And I think what Chairman Boxer, because she is the Chair now of the Environment Committee, is trying to do, [APPLAUSE] uh, is to improve the bill create a context in which that bill can lay down a marker because we're well aware that no matter what comes out of the Committee, there will be a big fight on the floor and if something were to pass the Senate and the House, it would likely be vetoed by George Bush. So, the question that people like Barbara Boxer and I are asking is – what is the strongest bill we can get out of the Environment Committee right now? And we're not sure yet, because we're still working on that. So, I can't tell you how I will vote, because I don't know what the final bill is going to be. And I think you can, you've, you've sort of briefly set forth the arguments – on the one hand it is nowhere near what we would want, I want a cap-and-trade system with 100% auction that certainly doesn't approach what I would want. Uh, there are other sort of benefits that go to the existing industries that are polluting. Uh, so there are a lot of negative aspects, if one is looking at creating a system that can not only

be implemented, but produce the results that we're looking for. On the other hand, we have never gotten this far before and I think one of the reasons that Barbara Boxer gets up every single day and maybe she has called some of you, because she has called just about everybody she can across the country is that, if it can be improved, if it can get stronger, she thinks it's the right thing to do. And I have the highest regard for her and for her political acumen and her [APPLAUSE] understanding of what needs to be done, so I'm going to try to strengthen the bill, I'm going to continue to you know, work with my colleagues and see where we end up. But, at the end of the day, it really comes down to a, a very, you know, pragmatic assessment – is getting a bipartisan bill, where Republicans actually vote for something LAUGHTER that lays down the marker that we have to do a, we have to make political changes to deal with climate change, an important first step. And you can look at that from either perspective. Now, I'm told that there are a number of environmental groups that actually support Barbara's strategy, I know there is at least one that is adamantly against it but there are a number that I'm told are supporting it, in fact, I've heard from them, urging me to support Chairwoman Boxer to get this out of the Committee. So, it's not a cut or dried issue. Uh, I know people are turning it into a political issue, it's the political season, there's one environmental group running ads against me in Iowa, basically saying that if I don't vote against uh, the bill in Committee, there's something, you know, terribly wrong with me – and I, that is not useful, that gets back to the point that I said earlier – this is hard work and Democrats now are in charge by a very narrow margin in the Senate, we have one of our leading environmentalists, Barbara Boxer, chairing the Committee, I think we ought to give her a little more credit for political smarts than whatever this group is claiming in Iowa. So I don't know where we're going to [APPLAUSE] end up, but we're trying to make it stronger.

DAVE ROBERTS: Is, is it fair to say, then, that you'll follow Barbara Boxer's leads?

HILLARY CLINTON: I'm sorry, what?

DAVE ROBERTS: Is it fair to say, then, that you'll follow Barbara Boxer's lead?

HILLARY CLINTON: I'm still considering it because I'm trying to get it stronger than it is right now, but I know what, I know, and, and so is, so is Barbara Boxer, I mean, she is working very hard, as I say I run across people she's calling all the time to try to put pressure on to get, you know, more into the bill, to put pressure on some of the other Republicans and a few of the Democrats to make improvements – that's the state of play right now.

STEVE CURWOOD: There's not much time left, Senator, but, I wanted to turn it in another direction for a moment. Uh, that's in foreign policy in this question of climate change. Uh, this country's in a very difficult position – we pledged as part of the Kyoto Process that we would go first, instead we've been pointing our finger at China and India saying, "We'll they're not doing anything, why shoulda, why should we?" Um, we have a billion people, the IPCC says that are at great risk of going hungry or getting drowned because of the effects of climate change – how would you restore America's credibility in the foreign policy community on this issue of climate change?

HILLARY CLINTON: Well, there's so much work to do to restore America's credibility on any issue internationally LAUGHTER [APPLAUSE] and I think that it, you know, I mean, we, we have to start by creating a process again that the United States leads and that the

United States feels bound by. Uh, and that's why I emphasize taking leadership on a, in a post-Kyoto world. I'm hoping that we get a good framework coming out of Bali and then in the follow-on meetings but I think it's clear that the Administration won't do anything of any significance – and, so, they'll leave office, we will have lost eight years and we'll have to play a lot of catch-up. So, I intend to immediately move to try to convene a meeting of the countries that are the biggest emitters, including China and India. I think it is somewhat bad form for the United States to be pointing fingers at China and India, since we have, by far, emitted more greenhouse gas emissions over the last century than they have and they are going to rapidly, unfortunately, make up lost time, unless they begin to change. So, I think we need to several things simultaneously – we need an international process and we need some bilateral processes. I think there's a lot that we could do together with China and India and I think there is a way that we could create some forums in which American scientists, American uh, government officials and others came together with their counterparts to look for cooperative relationships. And it's especially important with China because I don't think that we want to be in a position of looking as though we are trying to slow down the rising living standard in China – that is not going to be a very convincing argument to make to the Chinese government or the Chinese people. But, if we're willing to say, as I say in my plan – look, if you're going to continue to use coal, you have got to have immediately demonstration projects about carbon sequestration and you've got to move immediately to see what kind of technological fixes there are and why don't we work with China to have some of those demonstration projects there. If you're going to be focusing on renewables instead of trying to have a nuclear deal with India as the only way we're trying to help India's energy shortages, why don't we talk about solar arrays, why don't we talk about wind, why don't we talk about geothermal, and actually use some of our foreign aid [APPLAUSE] and our expertise – not

just from the public sector but from the private sector and the not-for-profit sector, to set up some demonstration projects. We need to show countries like India and China that we're not trying to slow their development down, we're trying to actually jump start their development in a way that doesn't choke them and choke the rest of the planet. And I think if we approached it [APPLAUSE] with the right attitude, with leaders that were willing to listen, as well as talk, you know, it's, it is very difficult to listen to the Bush Administration because it's a one-way conversation and there isn't any give-or-take [APPLAUSE] or people feeling that their needs or their views of the world are taken into account, but there is no reason we can't do this. And I think that you know, having Vice President Gore get the Nobel Peace Prize for the work he's done for three decades [APPLAUSE] you know, gives us [APPLAUSE] gives us a, a, you know, a spokesperson who has great credibility internationally and, as soon as we see the end of the Bush Administration, will, I believe have great credibility in our government again. [APPLAUSE] So, that's the way that I would proceed in reaching out and working with other governments and with the international community – thank you all very much.

MUSIC AND [APPLAUSE]

STEVE CURWOOD: Thank you so much, Senator. That's a great job. So, welcome to a bit of history folks, this is the first time we've heard that much discussion from a presidential candidate, the second time, now, we heard Mr. Kucinich, on this topic, at this time, in the election. So, you were here – and it's not over yet. Because, now we have coming out John Edwards, [APPLAUSE] John Edwards gave up a fairly comfortable perch in the United States Senate to run for office back in 2004. He ran hard enough to run right into the Vice Presidential nomination and he has kept on running. He's a man that, if the hill gets steeper, he digs his legs

in even more. Have you seen him run? LAUGHTER Have you seen him run? He'll be running this afternoon, I'm sure, after our session. But, here's a man who is here to really challenge us on our thinking, to really stand up and say and do what we're thinking should be done. He's acted on his belief that one has to do whatever it takes and to stick with it. It's my pleasure to present John Edwards.

MUSIC AND [APPLAUSE]

JOHN EDWARDS: How are you, nice to see you, too, I appreciate it.

STEVE CURWOOD: Thank you, so, 10 minutes, and then we'll have a Q&A, right?

DAVID McCULLOUGH: Thank you, thank you. And let me say, let me say a personal thank you to all of you, it's a, it's great to be here with my friends from the League of Conservation Voter Education Fund the California LCV Natunal, National Resources Defense Council, and the Center for American Progress Action Fund. You all have been at the forefront of fighting global warming and this forum is another one of many examples of your doing what's necessary to raise awareness about this issue, raise awareness about this crisis and to inject it into the center of the debate, which it should be in this campaign, in this election. You know, I'm not here to tell the people who no very well that global warming is a crisis, that it is a crisis you already know that, but I am here to tell you we need a president of the United States who won't just deliver that message to a friendly audience, which is what you are. We need a president TALKING we need a president who will be straight with the American people about the challenges and the opportunities that all of us face when it comes to global warming. [APPLAUSE] A week ago, a week ago, on Veteran's Day, I talked about the sacrifices of

America's finest, those who gave life for our country, who made the ultimate sacrifice to preserve our way of life. I believe that our today, our generation, all of us, we owe it to them and to our children to face some hard truths. One of those truths is that the system in Washington, D.C. is broken and there is no better example of that than global warming. Now, thanks to the hard work, and I heard Senator Clinton speaking about this, thanks to the hard work of Vice President Al Gore, we all know and the world now knows that global warming is, in fact, a crisis. We know that the need for action is urgent and we know that the steps we need to take are right in front of us, all we have to do is have a little backbone and courage to actually do it. But Washington is not taking them and, when I look at Washington today, I see politicians who are too afraid of rocking the boat to face up to the challenges in front of us. I see good people who are caught up in a bad system that overwhelms their best intentions. I see elected leaders trying to do the right thing for the people they represent, but they are overrun begah, because of the need to spend half of their time chasing money, chasing the money they need to be elected and reelected. And I see the oil and gas companies blocking progress by spending millions of dollars and deploying hundreds of lobbyists in Washington to make sure that America stays addicted to foreign oil and fossil fuels. Meanwhile, more and more evidence that global warming is here is piling up. We now know that the arctic ice cap could literally be gone in 23 years. Just yesterday, the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change followed up on its groundbreaking reports from earlier this year, with a warning that global warming will have abrupt and irreversible consequences if we're not willing to act immediately. That's more evidence than any politician should ever need and, yet, two weeks from now, America will send a delegate to the United Nations Conference in Bali with no ideas and no solutions. It is embarrassing for the United States of America to [APPLAUSE] be in that position. Throughout this campaign, I've been

very clear about what I think we need to do to face this challenge. I'm proud of the fact that I came out very early and very aggressively about what we need to do to attack global warming. I said then that we need to cap greenhouse gas pollution starting in 2010 with a cap-and-auction system and that we need to reduce it by 20% by 2020 and 80% by 2050, that we need to lead the world in a new global climate treaty, that we need to meet the demand for more electricity through efficiency for the next decade, instead of producing more electricity. And we need to create a new energy economy fund to support U.S. research and development in energy technology and other advances, by auctioning off \$10 billion of greenhouse pollution permits and repealing \$3 billion in oil company subsidies. [APPLAUSE] Now, I have heard some politicians talk about a cap-and-trade system is not going far enough, as a way to avoid the word "tax," but I believe that candidates running for president need to be straight with the American people about exactly what we're proposing. We've had enough doubletalk, we've had enough politician talk, we need to be honest with people. The truth is that carbon caps will have an apac, impact on the cost of fossil fuels. Anyone who pretends that's not true is not being straight with America. And, by the way, it is a political strategy that is absolutely doomed to failure because we are never going to get the change we need by pretending that this is going to be easy and that no sacrifice will be required. [APPLAUSE] The truth is, the truth is that the big change we need will not be easy. It'll take the sustained commitment of a generation of Americans. The American people understand that, and we need a president who will challenge them to be part of the solution, not patronize them by pretending that the problem doesn't exist or that some politician can solve it for them. Back in March, only two days after I'd announced my own global warming plan as many of you know, Elizabeth and I sat in a hospital room and made the decision to continue with this campaign. We made that decision because both of us believe that fighting for a

better America, fighting to make sure we pass a better world on to our children is the cause of our lives. The fact that the challenge is now rising up around us, loom larger now than they did back then, has only strengthened our resolve to continue with this effort – to keep on telling the truth, telling the truth about the problems we face and what it’s going to take to fix those problems. Right now, we’re not just turning a blind eye to global warming, we’re also missing an opportunity to lead the world and reclaim the spirit of American ingenuity that has driven great advances and helped us overcome great challenges in the past. Right now, we’re sitting by the side of the road, as foreign companies race ahead with developing green technology. Bell Labs invented the solar cell in New Jersey in 1954, but, today, 90% of solar panels are manufactured overseas. China’s even produced a solar billionaire. General Motors made the first modern electric car, but, today, Toyota and Honda lead the world in producing hybrids. Just last week, I saw this headline – “Foreign Firms Envision Wind Farms Dotted The U.S.” LAUGHTER Why should foreign firms be the ones taking the lead in building wind farms here in America [APPLAUSE] why is that not being done by American firms? If we take the steps that I propose, American entrepreneurs and manufacturers can lead the world in developing the green technology we need to generate clean, reliable energy and to use it more efficiently. There’s so many ways that we can seize this opportunity and unleash America’s innovators to lead the way into the new energy economy. We need to let entrepreneurs try a thousand different approaches, not centrally planned government handouts. Let me give you a few examples of exactly what I mean. First, I will cut carbon welfare sub-subsidies for oil companies to raise money that will be invested in renewable fuels like wind, solar, biofuels, and turbo charging our energy efficiency technology. Second, I’ll spark a new era of innovation and competition by modernizing our electricity grids. New, smart grids will let entrepreneurs create renewable energy and then to

sell it back into the grid. [APPLAUSE] There'll also be safer, more efficient, and more reliable. Third, I will seed innovation by giving low-interest loans to homeowners and small businesses for new technologies like solar wah, hot water and electric systems. These systems are expensive, as all of you know, up front, but they pay off for families in the long run, particularly when excess power can be sold to their neighbors. Four, I'll create a new market for energy efficiency. Right now, utilities profit from selling electricity, but have absolutely no incentive to help their customers use less energy. We, I will call on states to separate utilities' energy profits from their sales, as California has done, so that they can profit by meeting customers' needs with more efficient technology. Now, don't get me wrong, getting to the new energy future that all of us want to see happen for this country that we love so much, will not be a cakewalk. It's true that the steps we have to take will cost money, it's true that some of these steps we need to take will need higher energy prices and given the scope of the crisis, there may be further steps that we need to take, down the road. Every time we get new, up to date, scientific information, it indicates that global warming is more a crisis than we thought before. But, in the end, families can come out ahead if they switch to renewable fuels, use energy efficiently and make smaller sacrifices in their own lives. I think we're ready for that. I think, actually, the American people are ready for a president who calls on them to sacrifice and asked them to be patriotic about something other than war. CHEERS AND [APPLAUSE] Because I believe we are at a critical point in this country's history, it's a place we've found ourselves before. Those who've gone before us have climbed bigger hills. My parents' generation crossed the Atlantic, wena went into Europe, freed Europe and defeated Hitler and Fascism. They went across the Pacific and defeated Japan. Then they came home and built the Pentagon, one of the biggest buildings in the world, in less than a year and they built the great American middle class, the great engine of economic growth

that the world has never seen, eh, duplicated. Those who have come before us have climbed the hills of inequality and fought the battle for civil rights. They've outlasted the dark force of Communism. They've lived through recessions and energy crisis and the Great Depression and every time they have proven that if we stand up and face the challenges in front of us, a better future will be our reward. This is the moral test of our generation. Will we leave our children a better world than we found, as our parents and our [APPLAUSE] grandparents did. If we, if we intend to pass this test, we have to ask ourselves a basic question – are we willing to put cap, political calculation aside and actually stand up with a little backbone for what's right? [APPLAUSE] Are we willing to say that the time for compromise and half measures is over and that now is the time for our party, the Democratic party to be bold, to stand up for what it is we actually believe in? [APPLAUSE] When we look at our children in the eye and they ask us what happened, will we have to tell them that we left this mess for them because the challenges were just too great and we were too careful, too timid, too cautious, we didn't have the guts to do what needed to be done, or, will we be able to look them in the eye and say, in the face of great challenges, we, our generation, all of us, we stood up, we did what 20 generations of Americans have done before us. We knew that we had a responsibility to them and future generahs, generations to preserve the pah, planet. That's our responsibility. If we choose the right path, if we make smart choices today, we can create the better America that all of us dream about. We can have a prosperous middle class while preserving our natural resources and the beauty of our planet. We can get America off its addiction to oil, we can show the world that our response to adversity is not to stick our head in the sand, not to cower in the corner, but to in, unleash a new era of America ingin, American ingenuity, just like we have done in the past and just like our fathers and grandfathers have done before us. That is the future at the top of the hill. It's going to take courage, it's going to take resolve, we're

going to have leave behind political calculation, but we're Americans, and the American people have never, ever shrunk from a challenge and I don't think we're going to start now. Thank you all and God Bless you.

[APPLAUSE] AND CHEERS

MODERATOR: Thank you, Senator.

JOHN EDWARDS: Thank you.

MODERATOR: Thank you. So, if you like, you can stay there or make yourself comfy in a chair for a bit of a conversation.

JOHN EDWARDS: I'll stand up. LAUGHTER

MODERATOR: So, you have a powerful vision of how we can change, you're calling on people to sacrifice. How do we get there? I mean, you, in your own career, you've sacrificed a lot, you've given so much personally to be in this political arena, to, to bring America along with your vision, to have the opportunity to do that. You're capable of great personal sacrifice, we know that about you. But how, as President of the United States, how do you get America to sacrifice the way you feel that we should in order to accomplish your objectives.

JOHN EDWARDS: Well thank you. No, no, here, here's my response to this. Have, having now spent, it seems like the last eight years, campaigning around the country. LAUGHTER

MODERATOR: A lot of bad food.

JOHN EDWARDS: I, I've been, I've been talking but not just talking, I've been listening, and there is a hunger in America. The American people

are actually hungry to do something as a national community. The problem is no one has asked them to. I mean, after September 11th, George Bush said, "Go shopping," right? What Americans want, and you can see it, there, evidence is everywhere, I mean, really – you saw the response immediately after September 11th of the American people – I'm not talking about the government, you saw what happened when new, when the hurricane hit the Gulf Coast, I mean, the government was an incredible mess, but Americans went down there, contributed, volunteered, I took 700 college kids who gave up their Spring Break, literally, just to go to New Orleans and, and help rehabilitate houses. I mean, I think there is a huge hunger and desire in America to take action. And I still remember and I know a lot of you do, the famous John Kennedy speech, "Ask not what your country can do for you..." Well, that's where we are today. We need a president who will look America in the eye and say, we're not going to be careful anymore, we're not going to be politically cautious, we're not going to look at polls to figure out what I'm supposed to say to you, we know what needs to be done [APPLAUSE] and, and I'm going to call on you to be willing to sacrifice, to make America what it's capable of being. But I will say, I think, in addition to a president who calls on Americans to sacrifice and galvanizes the American people around the idea of facing big challenges together, with bold action, with clear, bold action and clear, bold leadership – I think, beyond that, we have to recognize something which will probably creep into every answer to every one of your questions, which is – the government has become corrupt and we need to be honest about that [APPLAUSE] it is [APPLAUSE] Why does America not have universal health care? We don't have universal health care because of drug companies, insurance companies, and their lobbyists. Why does America [APPLAUSE] not attack global warming in the way that we need to? We know why we haven't – oil companies, power companies, gas companies, and their lobbyists in Washington, D.C. and, and all of these

big challenges that America faces, it's going to be impossible to be successful in doing those, in, in responding to those challenges, unless we has a, has a, have a president who tells America the truth and says to America, this has happened in American history before, we don't have to stand quietly by and let this narrow, well-financed group of interests run your government – we don't. [APPLAUSE] We can actually go out [APPLAUSE] and reclaim this democracy and when, when we reclaim the democracy, when we reclaim the democracy, together, I'm not talking about just me, when we, when somebody believes, when the president of the United States actually believes in the power of America, not just the power of the Presidency, who believes that the power's out here [APPLAUSE] in communities like this and what we need to do is go out, galvanize America and go into Washington, D.C., reclaim this government, reclaim this Democracy, and take the power out of the hands oil companies, gas companies, E[UNINTELLIGIBLE]on/Mobil and their lobbyists in Washington, D.C. CHEERING AND [APPLAUSE] we can beat these people, but we have to be willing to take them on. [APPLAUSE] CONTINUES

WOMAN: Okay. As President Edwards in addition to taking on the oil companies and the coal companies, etc. I think you're going to find that it, in talking about sacrifice and building that mandate for the shared sacrifice that you referred to, that this burdens and the benefits are not necessarily spread equally across our country geographically or in terms of people's careers and we've talked about this, I think, with a couple of other speakers that in certain parts of the country where coal is something that people are, is the only or the major source of jobs, maybe the only or major source of fuel for their power plants that they, that they live by, but, making that switch may be a little tougher than it is for other places, so, how do you address that in terms of building and

bringing together the kind of coalition that you're going to need to get this done.

JOHN EDWARDS: Well, well, let me answer the question you're asking directly, but I also want to broaden it to the bigger question of how we can use this transition to also help in more economically deprived areas in America. Uh, as, as to coal – I think, I think the UNINTELLIGIBLE and I've, I've, you all probably know this already, because you're so active in this area, but I came out very early and very aggressively saying that America should not be building more coal fired power plants [APPLAUSE] until we have the ability to sequester the carbon and, and, and, and to store it – and we have the capacity to do it, and I, I've been very clear about that and I do think, for those part, those, those families and those communities and those regions that are most impacted by that, by that position we should use, and we were, and we're making the polluters pay, which should generate a minimum of \$30 billion in the cap-and-trade system we should use a chunk of that money to go in to revitalize those communities, to help them, to help them transition, to help support the families, but I think we can do much more than that. I mean, I didn't talk about it earlier from the podium, but, if we, as we make this transition from a carbon-based economy to a green economy, I think all of us believe, if we do it in a smart way, we can generate a minimum of a million new jobs and maybe upwards of two million new jobs. And the question is where will those jobs be located? And my view is we ought to work very hard to generate those jobs and to generate that economic development in the places where people are suffering the most economically [APPLAUSE] in, in poor, rural areas, in poor inner-city areas, I mean, clearly, this is a great opportunity to create jobs, good, middleclass jobs, that will be able to support a family and we talk about the sacrifices that we're going to, that, that I, as President, will be asking Americans to make, we also have to make sure that they understand that

there are extraordinary opportunities here and those opportunities, I think, if we do it the right way, in a socially conscious way, we can greet, we can make certain that those opportunities are generated in the places where people are struggling the most and a lot of you know this already I mean, poverty is a huge cause in my own life personally and I believe it's a national embarrassment that we have 37 million people who wake up everyday worried about feeding and clothing their children [APPLAUSE] We have 35 million, according to a report that, literally, came out a couple of days ago, we have 35 million people who were hungry last year, in America? How in the world are we going to tolerate this? We have to do something about it and we can use this transition to a green economy to accomplish at least part of that.

[APPLAUSE]

STEVE CURWOOD: Quick follow-up, Senator. As a quick follow-up to this I heard something that I hadn't seen in your material. Did I get this right? If there were, if the rights to pollute to release carbon were auctioned off, you'd take those funds to pay for the rebuilding of the lives of, of peoples who will have their jobs or their industries or their neighborhoods dislocated by the reduction of carbon in our economy?

JOHN EDWARDS: A portion of it. Now a portion of it, a sizeable chunk of it is going to go to invest in, in wind, solar, solar-based biofuels, to, to the, to the making certain that American car companies are building the most innovative vehicles on the planet. And to making sure we're developing the technologies that we need to develop to make the transition. But some of that money can clearly be used because beyond that, what I've proposed is that about 13 billion of the 30 go into that. beyond that, a sizeable chunk of money could be used to help these communities.

STEVE CURWOOD: Enough so that no one would lose their standard of living.

JOHN EDWARDS: Enough so that we would provide all the support we can, I can't make that promise. I don't know if that's true or not.

DAVE ROBERTS: Thank you, Senator. We've been talking these last two questions about equity and fairness inside America during the transition. But the question of equity and fairness internationally more stark, the divide between winners and losers. A certain amount of change, climate change is inevitable already built into the system, and those impacts are going to hit the world's poor and vulnerable very hard. There's nothing we can do at this point to prevent those changes. What can America do to help lift up those parts of the world that are going to be hit the worst by the changes that we had a

JOHN EDWARDS: Well, there, that's exactly right. There are a number of things that we can do. First, America, and for that matter the international community, are providing a minuscule part of the help that the countries that are struggling the most in the world need. We're doing nowhere close to what we need to be doing. And we need to be there to help them, to help them in this extraordinarily difficult time, which we know they're going to face. How difficult it is depends on what we do and other countries in the world and what American leadership is. But I think first of all we have to be willing to invest in a way that we're not investing today. And we know some of the things that need to be done to raise up roads, bridges, maybe some walls need to be built to provide protection. And we know some of the more drought resistant irrigation techniques, more drought resistant crops. I mean, I think those are some of the things that in the third world America needs to be developing. But can I just go for a moment go outside global warming, but it's a

connected issue. It is, you talk about the poorest countries in the world being the ones that will struggle and suffer the most as a result of climate change. But that's true of everything. They suffer the most in every conceivable way. Half the planet, three billion people live on \$2 or less a day. The abject poverty that exist sin Africa, in parts of Asia, in some parts of Latin America are heartbreaking. And I think if most Americans saw it, they wouldn't think it's tolerable, it's not tolerable. And the idea that America ca be a leader in isolation on global warming without actually being a moral leader on all the big issues that face the world, I think is completely misunderstands what leadership is.

[APPLAUSE]

And if I, and I don't want to stray too far from the subject, but if I can just take 60 seconds. Some of the things America should be doing: we should be leading an international effort to make education available to 100 million children in the world who have no education. And particularly in Africa, but not just Africa. We should be helping stop the spread of disease, we should have at least \$50 billion over the next five years invested in HIV/AIDS and making certain that education is being provided and the treatment is being provided around the world. We should be, simple things like clean drinking water and sanitation. I mean, I know myself from the work I've done with the International Rescue Committee in Africa would make an enormous difference, an enormous difference. Things that all of us take for granted and economic development. Things like micro lending and micro financing. The only way America is going to be a credible leader on huge issues, crisis issues like global warming, is the world has to see us as a force for good in the world again. They need to see America doing big and important things, not just for ourselves, but for humanity.

STEVE CURWOOD: I'm glad you brought that up because, how can America lead on climate change. We're seen as the biggest part of the

problem. No American president since George Bush the elder has followed up on America's commitment to reduce emissions. Our credibility is shot when it comes to climate change. And there's a perception that we went to war over oil. So how do you restore America's credibility here? You said America will be a leader on global warming and the preface to what you're saying, but I'm not sure we're there yet.

JOHN EDWARDS: Oh, I know we're not there yet. Well first of all, again, I think it's a mistake to think of global warming out of the context of America being a credible leader. And I might add, a country that's worthy of leadership. Because to be worthy of leadership as the most powerful nation on the planet, the world needs to see America meeting its responsibility, not just to our selfish needs, but our responsibility to humanity. Because we have an enormous responsibility to humanity. And all the things I just spoke about are a piece of that, leaning on an issue that directly affects all the world – global warming is a piece of that. But the world needs to see that America is willing to do unselfish things, that we're willing to do the right and responsible things. As you well point out, and everyone in this room knows, I know I'm preaching to the choir here, but we're an example for bad, we're not an example for good. And so I think a variety of things are going to be required to reestablish America's moral leadership in the world. First of all, this is way off subject, we've got to end this mess of a war in Iraq. [APPLAUSE] But, beyond that, but beyond that, we also need to be doing positive things, which I just spoke about a few minutes ago, and we're going to have to reverse the things that have done such extraordinary damage besides Iraq to America. And I can tell you as President of the United States, I will close Guantanamo, which I think is a national embarrassment. We will stop illegal spying on Americans, which is exactly what's been going on. [APPLAUSE] We will, we will no more rendition, no more secret prisons. And I have to say, just, and I bet I'd be willing to bet I speak for

almost everybody here. The notion that we're having a debate in America about what kind of torture is permissible... this is not our America and we need to take it back. That's what we need to do. [APPLAUSE]

MARY NICHOLS: Thank you. Let's talk about the reality that we're facing now and during the duration of the campaign and probably again in your, in the beginnings of your presidency, should you reach it. And the question there is, what actually do we get done? And I guess we're getting back to the pragmatic again, and the Congress, and the legislation that we face. And you've taken some strong positions on the moral grounds for what we need to do on climate. But the reality is that none of the bills that seem to have a chance of moving in the Congress, given that you need 60 votes in the Senate are anything really very close to what you're asking for. So, what would be your position on that, would you say work to make it good, and then just, a step in the right direction or step back and say no if it's not good enough, we just shouldn't have a bill at all, we should just wait 'till we get a better one.

JOHN EDWARDS: No, I, well first of all, I don't see it as an either/or. I think there are a number of things that we need to do. I think one of the mistakes that presidents sometimes make is, they think that everything happens inside the beltway in Washington, DC and forget that the rest of America exists. And what, the most powerful weapon the president has is not to sit around a conference table in Washington DC with lobbyists for oil companies and gas companies and power companies. Or, for that matter, to sit around with politicians who are scared of their own shadow. The most powerful thing, power that the president has is the ability to convince America, and to galvanize America around taking action. Because the one thing I am certain of. The one thing I am certain of, if we convince, and it's not just me, obviously, you all are enormously important in this, if we do what so many have done before us on civil

rights, on women's rights, on equal rights, on all the big issues that have confronted this country. If we do what people, generations before us have done, and we step up and we speak out and we show some strength and courage, the politicians will follow. They'll follow like lemmings.

[APPLAUSE] And what we need to do is show the leadership. So in answer to your question, I think I do not accept the proposition that we have to accept less. I don't think we have to accept less. I think we can convince America to take strong aggressive action. And I think we can also, and by the way, the way these things get weeded down is by the lobbying influence of these powerful interests. I think their power needs to be taken away from them. We need a president who galvanizes America around publicly financing all of our campaigns to get the money out of politics... [APPLAUSE] And if you, it's not a good sign that I just saw the clock for the first time. I've obviously been paying no attention to that. I was gonna say one last thing on this. And I will say, for everybody in this room who believes deeply in the progressive agenda, and I do, I believe so deeply in progressive agenda. If you believe in the progressive agenda that we, it is true that there are practical politics involved. And that we need to strengthen Democratic numbers in the House, in the Senate. And the one thing I would say is, we won the, in my judgment, we won the November 2006 election. I wish it were true that we won because America fell in love with the Democratic party. I don't think so. I think what America fell in love with is they want something different. They wanted change. And if we, we, if we have a presidential candidate, and a campaign that's all about big, bold change. And I mean, I'm not talking about little stuff and baby steps, I'm talking about transforming America and transforming the way America leads in the world. If that's what we're about, if that's what we're about, and we're talking about weeding out the corruption in Washington, DC, not the status quo, not accepting the way things operate, not turning our backs on it, I'm telling you, the one thing, I only speak for myself. I am absolutely certain that I

can go into virtually any swing congressional district in America and any swing state in the US Senate races, and I will be helpful in our campaign to strengthen our numbers in the House and the Senate, which is what it's gonna take to really move a bold progressive agenda, which is what all of us are committed to.

STEVE CURWOOD: We're gonna take a quick follow-up here from my colleague Dave, if you could, please.

DAVID: As a final question, it's heartening to hear to talk about this stuff here, but as we have mentioned earlier, it's difficult to get through the media filter, which doesn't seem much interested in this. We're in a sort of bizarre situation here where the candidates seem out ahead of media interest, and even in some cases, NGOs on this issue. How do you cut through the media filter, how do you make this central to your campaign in a way that America hears it?

JOHN EDWARDS. Well, first of all, we have an enormous pulpit, as a presidential candidate. And we have the chance, and by the way, just by way of giving you a sense of what I hear around the country, and a lot of you hear the same thing, people know that this is a problem, they don't yet understand the crisis nature of the problem. I mean, they think of it as something that maybe we can do something about down the road. They have no concept, that urgent, immediate, bold action is required. And that's where the presidential candidates come in, and that's where the presidency comes in. now, it is true, trust me, I understand this better than most, how hard it is to fight through the media filter. But, and by the way, just as an aside, I don't personally want Rupert Murdoch to own every newspaper in America, can we do something about media consolidation in this country? [APPLAUSE] I'm sorry, one other aside... I can tell you when I am president of the United States, we're gonna do

something about not just the consolidation of the media, but these big corporations taking over everything in the United States of America. [APPLAUSE] But the bottom line is, I think if we're out there pushing, it is very disappointing to me that even, in what you would think of as an objective forum, the presidential debates. We spend more time talking about poles and sniping than we do about how we're gonna save the planet. And it seems to me that we ought to be talking about, in these presidential debates, and out on the stump every day, and I do, I'm not excluding anybody else, I suspect the other candidates do too. We're out there driving the issue, I'm out there driving the issue, it's why I came out so early in my campaign on this issue. I think we can drive it through. I think we are confronted with a media that's more interested in the horse race than they are in substance. But you're gonna help them be interested in me, that's what you're going to do.

MUSIC/APPLAUSE

[END OF TRANSCRIPT]