



# GREEN NEW DEAL

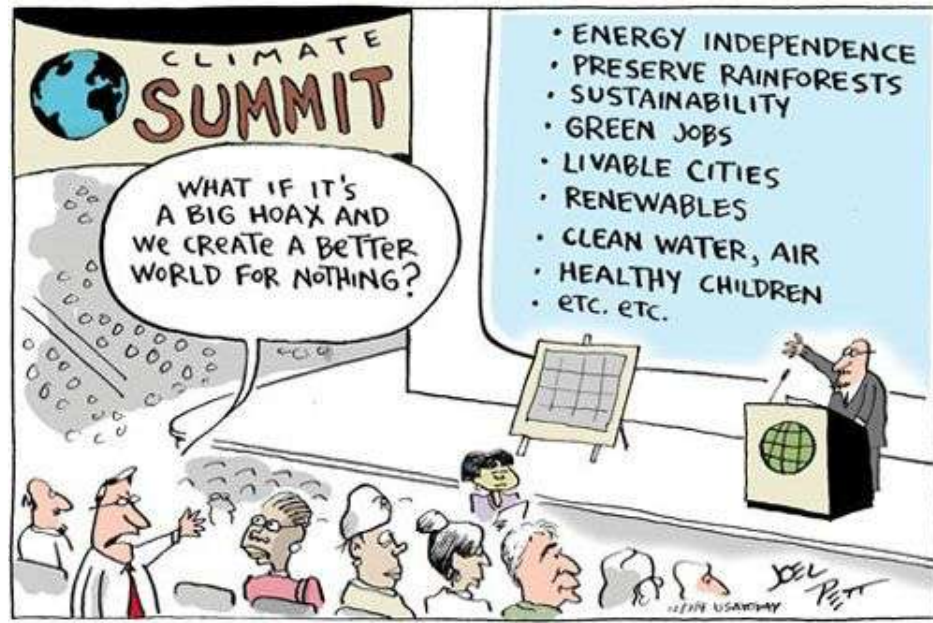
Jay Odenbaugh  
Department of Philosophy  
Lewis & Clark College  
[jay@lclark.edu](mailto:jay@lclark.edu)

# OVERVIEW

## FDR's New Deal GND

- Overview
- Projects
- Polling

## Criticisms Defenses



Why should decarbonization, jobs, and justice be linked together?

# FDR'S NEW DEAL

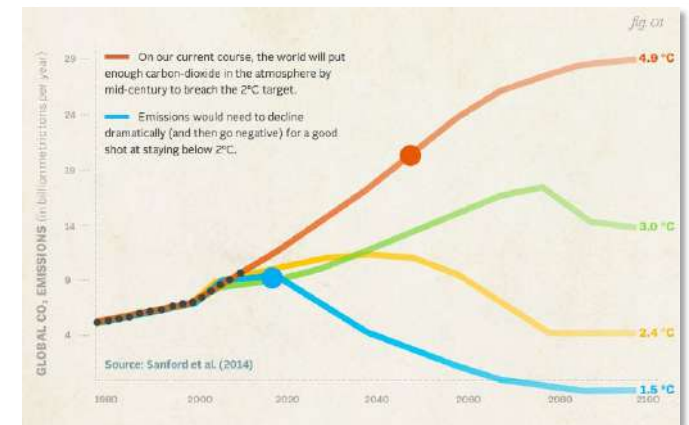
- The original New Deal was a series of financial reforms, farmer relief programs, public works projects, and other social programs enacted by President Franklin Roosevelt in the 1930's.
- The New Deal was an economic and job stimulus to meet the needs of the time, designed to put Americans back to work, restore dignity, and bring stability during the Great Depression.
- Even with its mixed effectiveness, the New Deal was not perfect and displayed an exclusionary racial bias whose effects are still felt today.



# GND OVERVIEW

The GND has the following structure:

1. Summary of the IPCC report: Humans are the primary cause of global climate change and to keep average temperatures below 1°C above preindustrial levels, global reductions in greenhouse gas emissions from human sources of 40 to 60 percent from 2010 levels by 2030; and net-zero global emissions by 2050. The US has emitted 20% of global emissions through 2014, and thus has a historical responsibility for lowering its emissions.



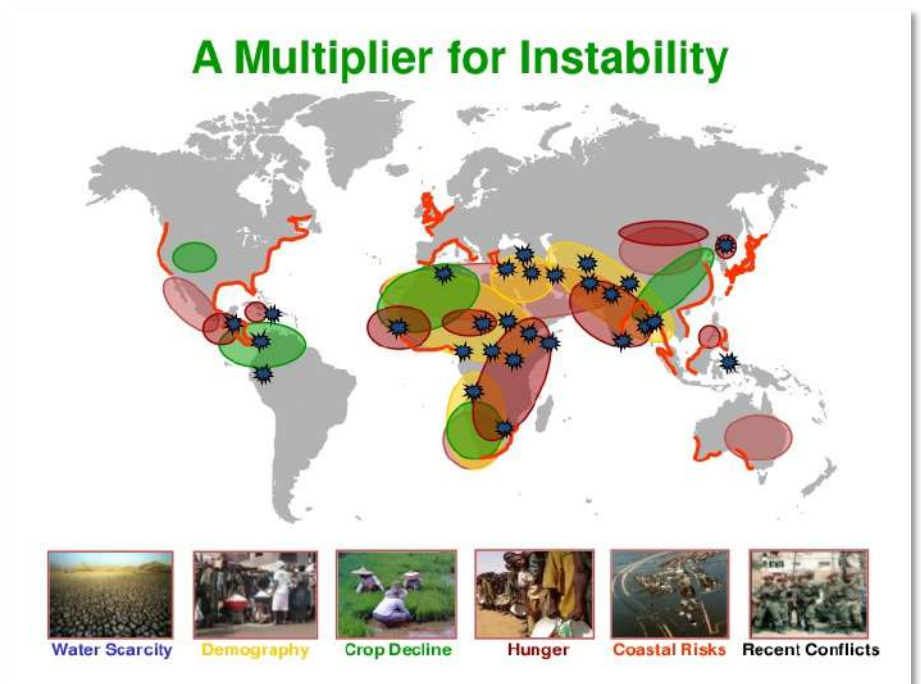
# GND OVERVIEW

2. In the US, life expectancy is decreasing while basic needs are not being met. Wage stagnation and a lack of mobility faces US workers. The greatest degree of income inequality since the 1920s.
  - a. The top 1% of earners gained 91% after the Great Recession.
  - b. The average white family earns 20 times as the average black family.
  - c. Women earn 80% as much as men.
2. Environmental problems such as climate change, pollution, and environmental destruction have disproportionately affected “frontline and vulnerable communities.”



# GND OVERVIEW

4. Climate change constitutes a direct threat to the national security of the United States by threatening internal social stability and being a “threat multiplier.”





# GND GOALS

H. Res 109 states,

“Whereas the House of Representatives recognizes that a new national, social, industrial, and economic mobilization on a scale not seen since World War II and the New Deal era is a historic opportunity— (1) to create millions of good, high-wage jobs in the United States; (2) to provide unprecedented levels of prosperity and economic security for all people of the United States; and (3) to counteract systemic injustices.”

116TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

## H. RES. 109

Recognizing the duty of the Federal Government to create a Green New Deal.

### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 7, 2019

Ms. OCASIO-CORTEZ (for herself, Mr. HASTINGS, Ms. TLAB, Mr. SERRANO, Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York, Mr. VARGAS, Mr. ESPAILLAT, Mr. LYNCH, Ms. VELÁZQUEZ, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania, Mr. CASTRO of Texas, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Ms. JAYAPAL, Mr. KHANNA, Mr. TED LIEU of California, Ms. PRESSLEY, Mr. WELCH, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. NEGUSE, Mr. NADLER, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. POCAN, Mr. TAKANO, Ms. NORTON, Mr. RASKIN, Mr. CONNOLLY, Mr. LOWENTHAL, Ms. MATSUI, Mr. THOMPSON of California, Mr. LEVIN of California, Ms. PINGREE, Mr. QUIGLEY, Mr. HUFFMAN, Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN, Mr. GARCÍA of Illinois, Mr. HIGGINS of New York, Ms. HAALAND, Ms. MENG, Mr. CABRAJAL, Mr. CILLINE, Mr. COHEN, Ms. CLARK of Massachusetts, Ms. JUDY CHU of California, Ms. MUCARSEL-POWELL, Mr. MOULTON, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. MEEKS, Mr. SABLON, Ms. LEE of California, Ms. BONAMICI, Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Ms. DELAUNO, Mr. LEVIN of Michigan, Ms. MCCOLLUM, Mr. DESAULNIER, Mr. COURTNEY, Mr. LARSON of Connecticut, Ms. ESCOBAR, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. KEATING, Mr. DEFazio, Ms. ESUO, Mrs. TRAHAN, Mr. GOMEZ, Mr. KENNEDY, and Ms. WATERS) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and in addition to the Committees on Science, Space, and Technology, Education and Labor, Transportation and Infrastructure, Agriculture, Natural Resources, Foreign Affairs, Financial Services, the Judiciary, Ways and Means, and Oversight and Reform, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

# GND GOALS

It is “duty” of the Federal government to,

1. Achieve net-zero greenhouse gas emissions through a fair and just transition for all communities and workers
2. Create millions of good, high-wage jobs and ensure prosperity and economic security for all people of the United States
3. Invest in the infrastructure and industry of the United States to sustainably meet the challenges of the 21st century
4. Secure for all people of the United States for generations to come— (i) clean air and water; (ii) climate and community resiliency; (iii) healthy food; (iv) access to nature; and (v) a sustainable environment; and
5. Promote justice and equity by stopping current, preventing future, and repairing historic oppression “frontline and vulnerable communities”



# GND PROJECTS

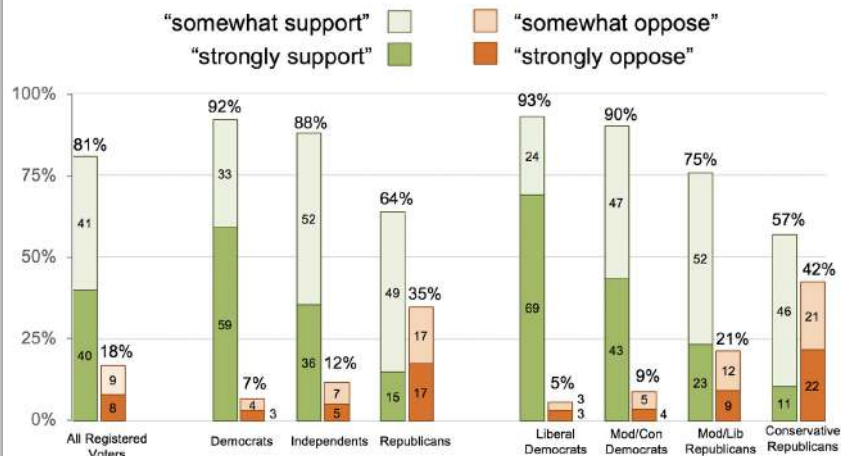
- A. Building resiliency against climate change-related disasters
- B. Repairing and upgrading the infrastructure in the United States
- C. Meeting 100 percent of the power demand in the United States through clean, renewable, and zero-emission energy sources
- D. Building or upgrading to energy-efficient, distributed, and “smart” power grids, and ensuring affordable access to electricity
- E. Spurring massive growth in clean manufacturing in the United States and removing pollution and greenhouse gas emissions from manufacturing and industry
- F. Working collaboratively with farmers and ranchers in the United States to remove pollution and greenhouse gas emissions from the agricultural sector
- G. Overhauling transportation systems in the United States to remove pollution and greenhouse gas emissions from the transportation sector
- H. Mitigating and managing the long-term adverse health, economic, and other effects of pollution and climate change
- I. Removing greenhouse gases from the atmosphere and reducing pollution by restoring natural ecosystems
- J. Restoring and protecting threatened, endangered, and fragile ecosystems
- K. Cleaning up existing hazardous waste and abandoned sites
- L. Promoting the international exchange of technology, expertise, products, funding, and services

# GND PROJECTS

- A. Providing and leveraging adequate resources for those working on the Green New Deal mobilization
- B. Ensuring that the Federal Government takes into account the complete environmental and social costs and impacts of emissions
- C. Providing resources, training, and high-quality education, including higher education, to all people of the United States, with a focus on frontline and vulnerable communities
- D. Making public investments in the research and development of new clean and renewable energy technologies and industries
- E. Directing investments to spur economic development in frontline and vulnerable communities that may otherwise struggle with the transition away from greenhouse gas intensive industries
- F. Ensuring the use of democratic and participatory processes that are inclusive of and led by frontline and vulnerable communities regarding the Green New Deal mobilization at the local level
- G. Ensuring that the Green New Deal mobilization creates high-quality union jobs
- H. Guaranteeing a job with a family-sustaining wage, adequate family and medical leave, paid vacations, and retirement security to all people of the United States
- I. Strengthening and enforcing labor, workplace health and safety, antidiscrimination, and wage and hour standards across all employers, industries, and sectors
- J. Enacting and enforcing trade rules, procurement standards, and border adjustments with strong labor and environmental protections
- K. Ensuring that public lands, waters, and oceans are protected and that eminent domain is not abused
- L. Obtaining the free, prior, and informed consent of indigenous peoples for all decisions that affect indigenous peoples
- M. Ensuring a commercial environment where every businessperson is free from unfair competition and domination by domestic or international monopolies
- N. Providing all people of the United States with (i) high-quality health care; (ii) affordable, safe, and adequate housing; (iii) economic security; and (iv) clean water, clean air, healthy and affordable food, and access to nature.

# GND POLLING

## Support for the Green New Deal among Registered Voters



"Some members of Congress are proposing a 'Green New Deal' for the U.S. They say that a Green New Deal will produce jobs and strengthen America's economy by accelerating the transition from fossil fuels to clean, renewable energy. The Deal would generate 100% of the nation's electricity from clean, renewable sources within the next 10 years; upgrade the nation's energy grid, buildings, and transportation infrastructure; increase energy efficiency; invest in green technology research and development; and provide training for jobs in the new green economy. How much do you support or oppose this idea?"

December 2018. Base: 966 registered American voters. Weighted to U.S. Census parameters. Due to rounding and non-response, sums may not equal 100%.



YALE PROGRAM ON  
Climate Change  
Communication



GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY  
CENTER for CLIMATE CHANGE  
COMMUNICATION

Be the first to hear about new surveys and studies.

YALE PROGRAM ON  
Climate Change  
Communication

Home / Publications / The Green New Deal has Strong Bipartisan Support

CLIMATE NOTE · Dec 14, 2018

## The Green New Deal has Strong Bipartisan Support

By Abel Gustafson, Seth Rosenthal, Anthony Leiserowitz, Edward Maibach, John Kotcher, Matthew Ballwe and Matthew Goldberg  
Filed under: Policy & Politics

**Citation**  
Gustafson, A., Rosenthal, S., Leiserowitz, A., Maibach, E., Kotcher, J., Ballwe, M., & Goldberg, M. (2018). *The Green New Deal has Strong Bipartisan Support*. Yale University and George Mason University, New Haven, CT: Yale Program on Climate Change Communication.

The Green New Deal has Strong Bipartisan Support

# GND POLLING

More than 80%



**More than 80% of Americans support almost all of the key ideas in Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's Green New Deal**

- Nearly 62% said the Earth was warming as a result of human activities, including burning fossil fuels. 26% said global warming was a result of natural patterns in the Earth's environment, and just 11.7% said there's no solid evidence the Earth was getting warmer.
- 43.7% — agreed with the Green New Deal proposal as a whole, with 16.3% strongly agreeing, 13.9% agreeing, and 13.5% somewhat agreeing. Just 14.7% disagreed with it, and about 24.3% said they didn't know enough to say.
- 87.6% of respondents said it was somewhat, very, or extremely important that the federal government invest in infrastructure designed to build resilience against climate-change-related disasters.
- 87.6% of respondents said it was somewhat, very, or extremely important that the federal government invest in infrastructure designed to build resilience against climate-change-related disasters.
- 87.2% of poll respondents said it was somewhat, very, or extremely important that the US meet 100% of its power demands through renewable or zero-emission energy sources; 12.7% said this goal was either not so important or not at all important.
- 86% of those polled said it was important that the federal government enact policies aimed at achieving net-zero greenhouse-gas emissions (which would mean no added carbon dioxide in the atmosphere).

# GND POLLING

More than 80%

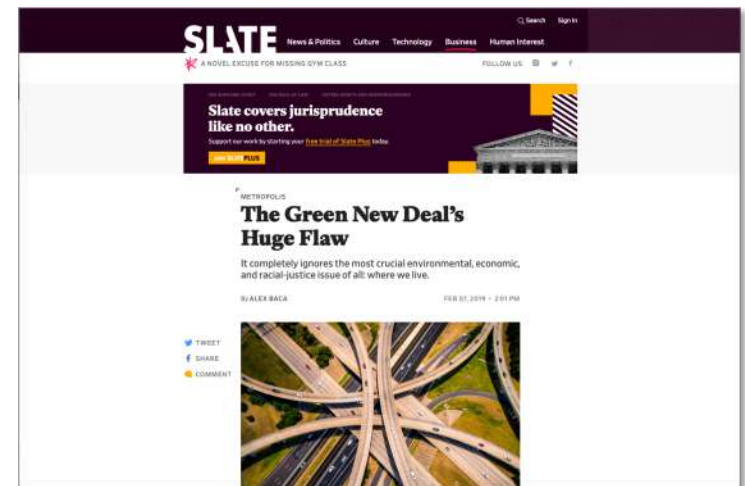


- Support for improving the energy efficiency of new and existing buildings was particularly high at 89%.
- And 87.5% of respondents said it's important that both manufacturing and agricultural businesses and industries be required to be as emission-free as technologically feasible.
- The resolution's call for major investment in energy-efficient transportation was also popular, with 87.6% of those polled saying it's important that the government invest directly in a high-speed rail system, zero-emission vehicle infrastructure, and clean public transit.
- Seventy-eight percent said a federal jobs guarantee was important. And 69.8% somewhat approved, approved, or strongly approved of the government providing all Americans with high-quality healthcare, affordable housing, economic security, healthy and affordable food, and a clean environment.
- **Just 13% of respondents said they approved of the federal government directly investing and maintaining ownership stakes in businesses working to meet the policy goals of the Green New Deal. About 42% of respondents said they either disapproved or strongly disapproved of such action.**

# CRITICISMS — SPRAWL

“The Green New Deal is ostensibly a jobs program, an environmental program, and a redistributive program. If it’s a jobs program, it must wrangle with spatial mismatch. If it’s an environmental program, it must tackle the fact that an all-electric fleet of cars is functionally, at this time, a pipe dream. And if it’s a redistributive program, it must grapple with how roads paved into suburban and exurban greenfield developments deepen, expand, and exacerbate segregation.”

“A Green New Deal must insist on a new, and better, land use regime, countering decades of federal sprawl subsidy. The plan already recognizes the need to retrofit and upgrade buildings. Why not address their locations while we’re at it? Suggestions of specific policies that would enable a Green New Deal to address land use have already emerged: We could, simply, [measure greenhouse gases from our transportation system](#) or [build more housing closer to jobs centers](#). Reallocating what we spend on building new roads to paying for public transit instead would go a long way toward limiting sprawl.”

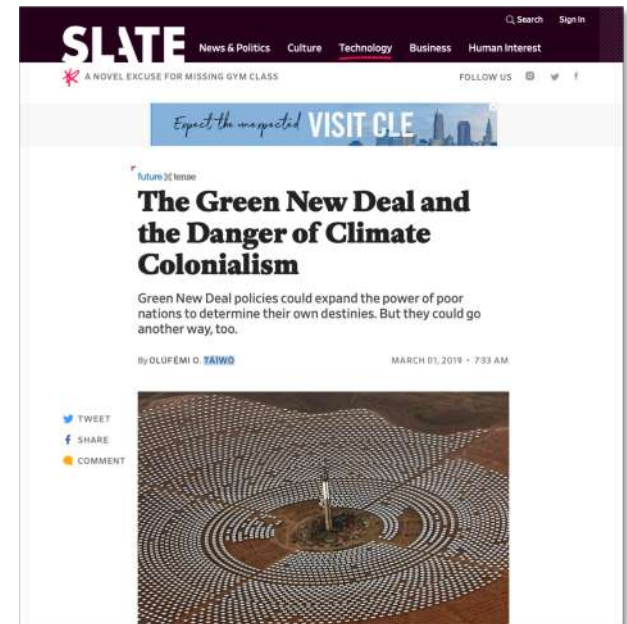


[The Green New Deals Huge Flaw](#)

# CRITICISMS — “COLONIALISM”

“However, should this legislative concept be transformed from the hypothetical framework it is today into actual policies, some of the solutions it engenders could [make global inequality worse](#). As a [scholar of colonialism](#), I am concerned that the Green New Deal could exacerbate what scholars like sociologist [Doreen Martinez](#) call “[climate colonialism](#)”—the domination of less-powerful countries and people through initiatives meant to slow the pace of global warming.”

“Daniel A.M. Egbe, the coordinator of the African Network for Solar Energy, calls this linkage of large-scale solar farms with foreign power grids “[a new form of resource exploitation](#).” The Green New Deal’s stated goal of meeting all of America’s [considerable and potentially increasing](#) energy demand with renewable or zero-emission sources could create an incentive to go this route too, with Mexico. California [already imports electricity from Baja California state](#), and business interests stand ready to [expand cross-border grid links throughout Central America](#) if that proves feasible. I see a serious risk that connecting the U.S. grid to Mexico and Central America could drain power out of the isthmus into the U.S. at the expense of Central Americans.”

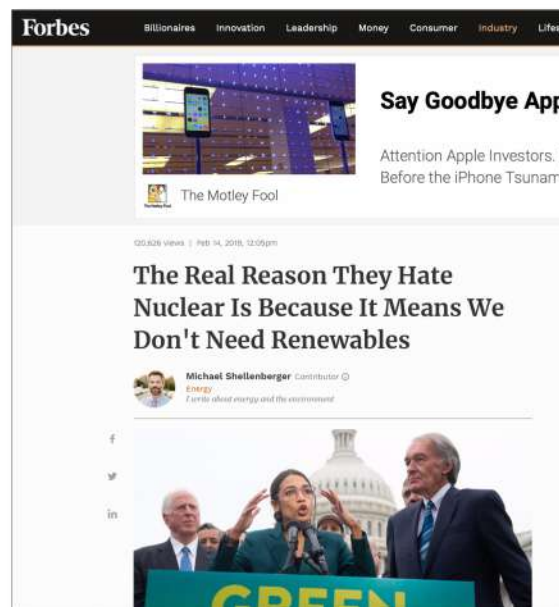


[The Green New Deal and the Danger of Climate Colonialism](#)



# CRITICISMS — NO NUCLEAR

“Ordinary people tell pollsters they want renewables for the same reason they buy products labeled “natural”: they are in the grip of an unconscious [appeal-to-nature fallacy](#). The appeal-to-nature fallacy is the mistaken belief that the world can be divided into “natural” and “unnatural” things, and that the former are better, safer, or cleaner than the latter. In reality, solar farms [require](#) hundreds of times more land, an order of magnitude more [mining for materials](#), and [create](#) hundreds of times more waste, than do nuclear plants. And wind farms [kill](#) hundreds of thousands of threatened and endangered birds, may make the hoary bat [go extinct](#), and [kill more people](#) than nuclear plants. But because of our positive feelings toward sunlight, water and wind, which we view as more natural than uranium, many people unconsciously assume renewables are better for the environment.”



[The Real Reason They Hate Nuclear Is Because It Means We Don't Need Renewables](#)

“France and Germany and every other real world situation prove that nuclear power is the only way to significantly, deeply, and cheaply decarbonize energy supplies, and thus address climate change. The problem with nuclear is that it doesn't demand the radical re-making of society, like renewables do, and it doesn't require grand fantasies of humankind harmonizing with nature.”

# CRITICISMS — \$

**Summary Table  
(2020-2029)**

Goal	Estimated Cost	Estimated Cost Per Household
Low-carbon Electricity Grid	\$5.4 trillion	\$39,000
Net Zero Emissions Transportation System	\$1.3 trillion to \$2.7 trillion	\$9,000 to \$20,000
Guaranteed Jobs	\$6.8 trillion to \$44.6 trillion	\$49,000 to \$322,000
Universal Health Care	\$36 trillion	\$260,000
Guaranteed Green Housing	\$1.6 trillion to \$4.2 trillion	\$4,000 to \$12,000
Food Security	\$1.5 billion	\$10

AMERICAN ACTION  
FORUM

[The Daily Dish](#)[Research](#)[Press](#)[About AAF](#)

[f](#)[t](#)[v](#)[i](#)

**Research**  
February 25, 2019

[f](#)[t](#)[p](#)[i](#)

## The Green New Deal: Scope, Scale, and Implications

Douglas Holtz-Eakin, Dan Bosch, Ben Gitis, Dan Goldbeck, Philip Rossetti

### EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Green New Deal (GND) is a sweeping policy plan setting out ambitious objectives for energy and economic policy. The breadth of its proposals makes it daunting to assess the GND using the standard tools of policy analysis. Nevertheless, this short paper is an initial foray. We have three broad conclusions:

- The GND's proposed goals, "mobilization," and specific policy projects encompass social and institutional changes far exceeding

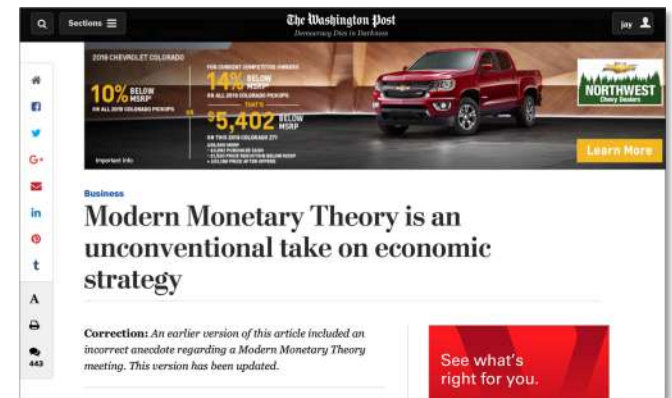
# CRITICISMS — \$

Responses to cost:

1. We spend trillions on the military and introduce tax cuts without asking, “How do we pay for it?”
2. We will pay *either* upfront *or* after the fact.
3. Modern monetary theory says for each \$ spent you don’t need a \$ in revenue – the US is not a business or household, so spend money, manage resources, and ensure inflation doesn’t rise too much



Americans Will Pay

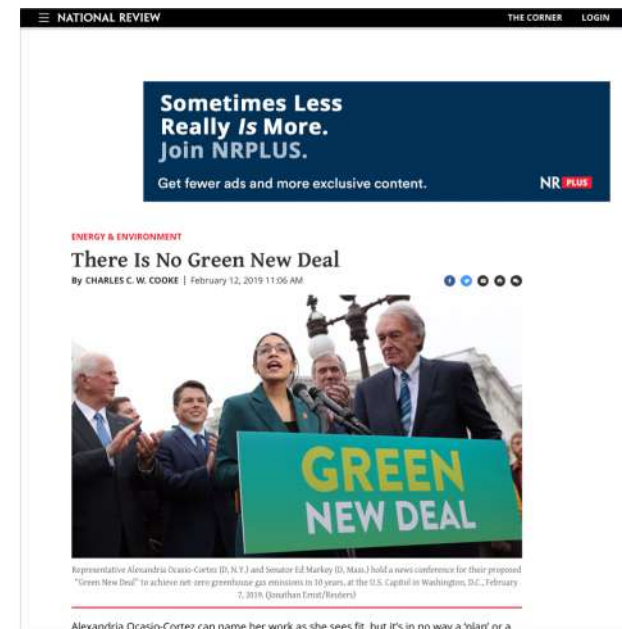


Modern Monetary Theory

# CRITICISMS — “WISH LIST”

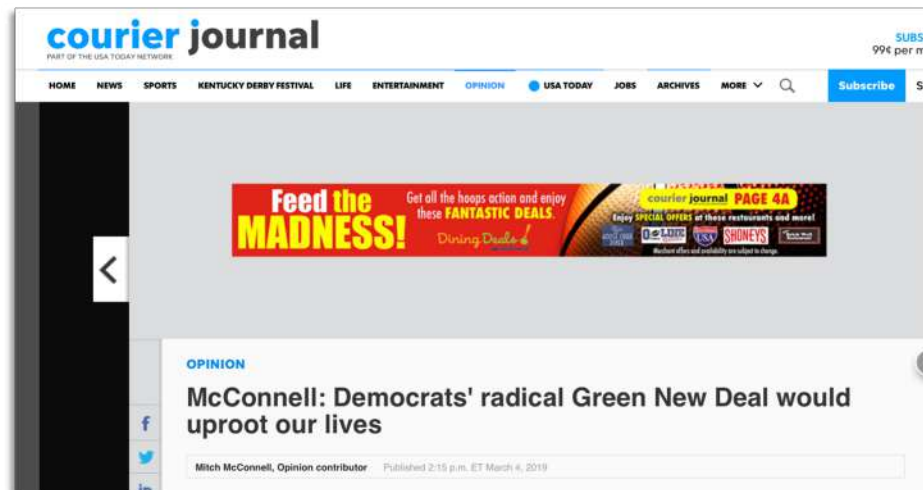
“As is her prerogative, Ocasio-Cortez can name her work as she sees fit. But her document is in no manner a “plan.” It is in no context a “program.” It is in no way an “approach.” It is not an outline, a manifesto, a statement, or a catechism. It is, rather, an all-compassing wish list — an untrammelled Dear Santa letter without form, purpose, borders, or basis in reality. It is not even “green,” except in that peculiar, mind-wrecking way that “intersectionality” seeks to make everything part of everything else, and thus leads to Planned Parenthood insisting that “Net Neutrality is reproductive justice” and to the Democratic Socialists of America proclaiming that we can’t possibly fix our algae problems until we institute union card check.”

“Quite what has possessed a 28-year-old, unmarried, childless bartender to consider herself capable of redesigning the entire world within a decade remains steadfastly unclear.”



[There Is No Green Deal](#)

# CRITICISMS — “UPROOT LIVES”



Democrats' radical Green New Deal  
would uproot our lives

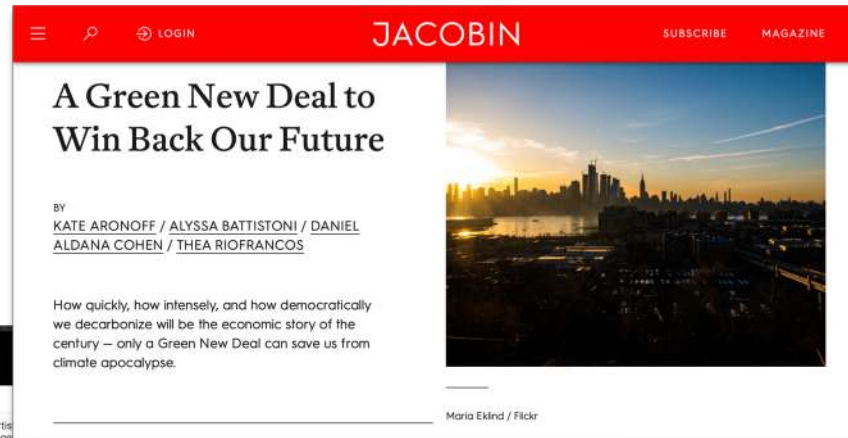
“The Democrats’ plan requires every single building in the United States to upgrade or to be rebuilt to meet their energy standards. This would mean Washington bureaucrats poking around your homes and your businesses forcing you to pay for costly updates.”

“Better check under the hood of your car as well. If it has an engine, you’ll have to replace it with an electric car or walk.”

“Don’t buy that ticket out of Louisville’s SDF to visit family or friends. Green New Deal supporters also want to eliminate domestic air travel.”

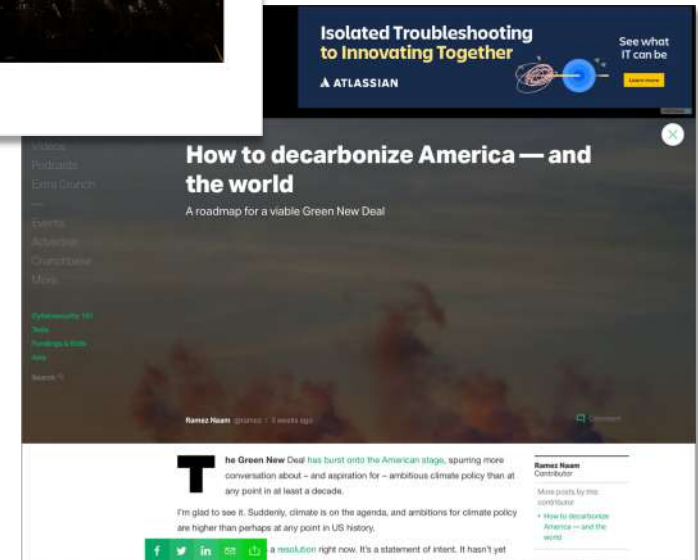
“States like ours depend on coal for reliable and affordable energy production, but the Green New Deal would put every coal miner out of work and force families to pay more to keep their lights on. One study suggested the Green New Deal would increase your monthly electricity bill by more than \$315. ”

# DEFENSES



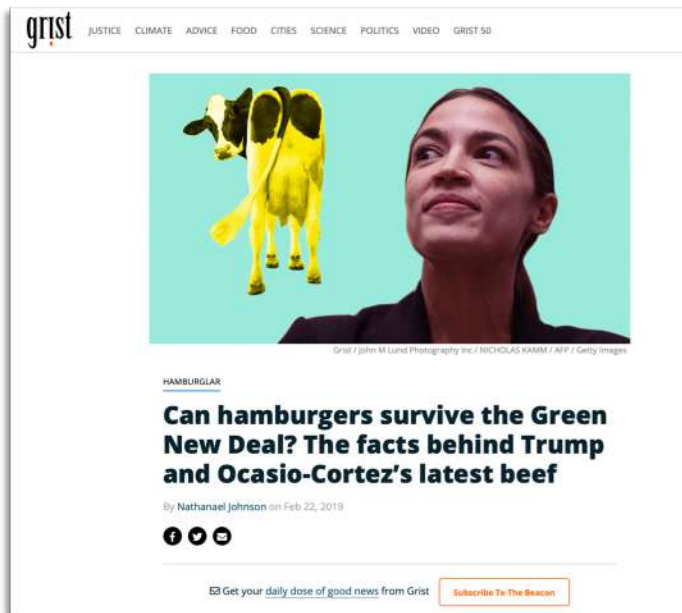
## A Green New Deal to Win Back Our Future

## We Can Pay For A Green New Deal

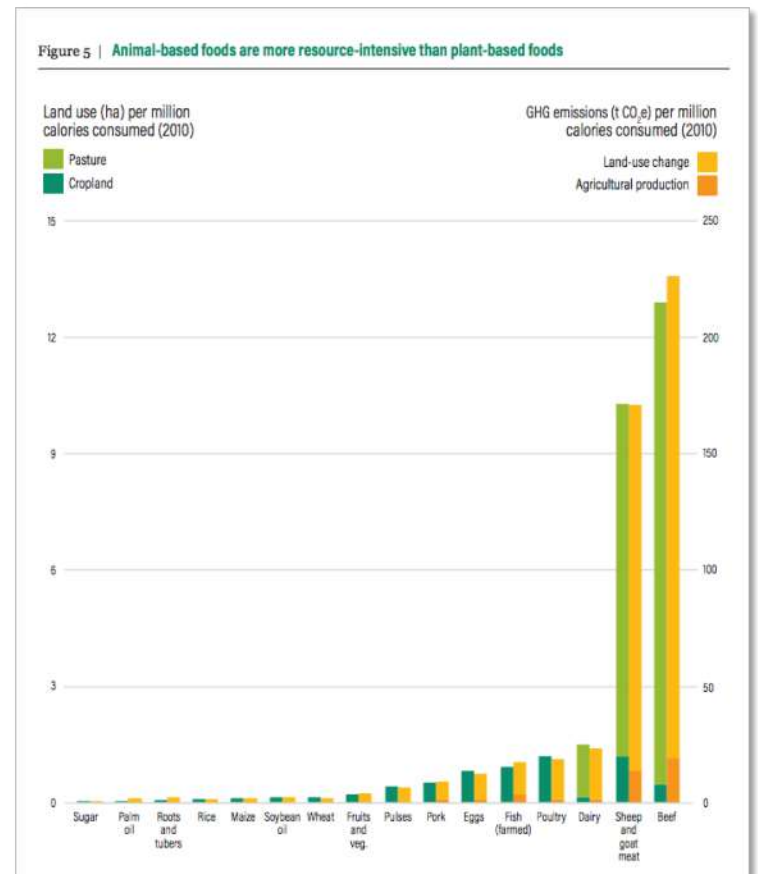


## How to decarbonize America

# OH YEAH, COWS

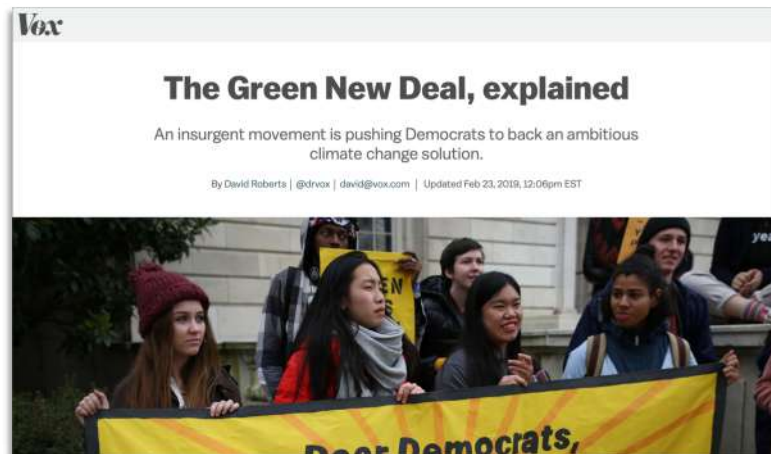


Can hamburgers survive?

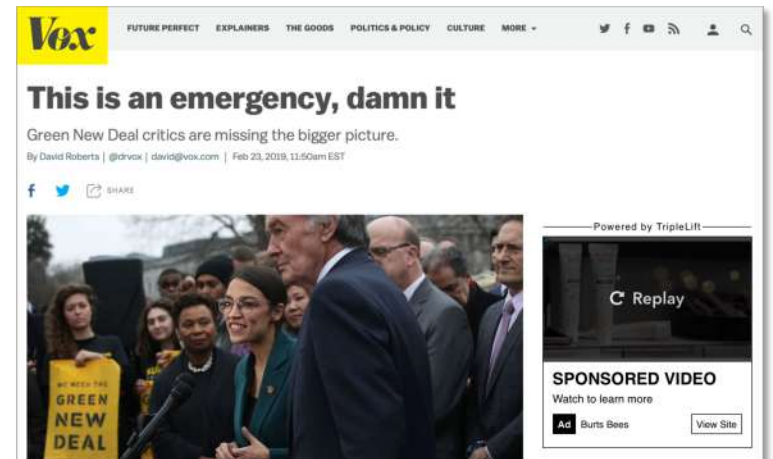




# SUMMARIES



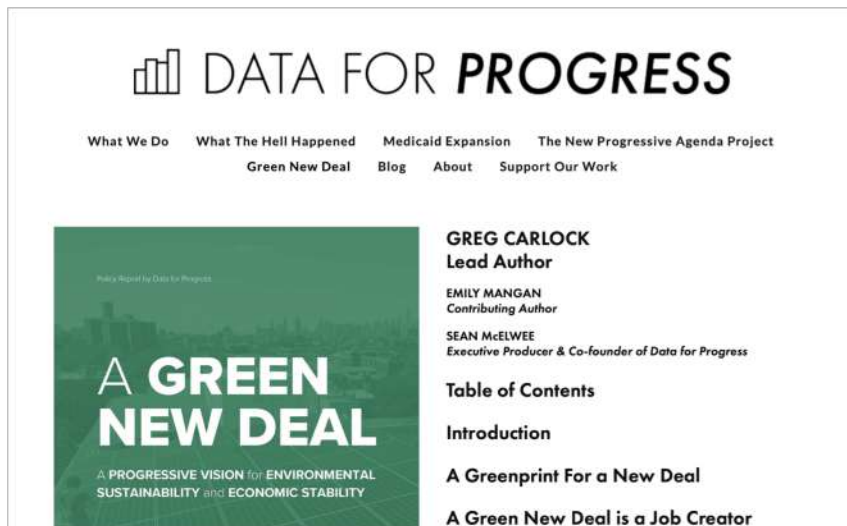
[The Green New Deal Explained](#)



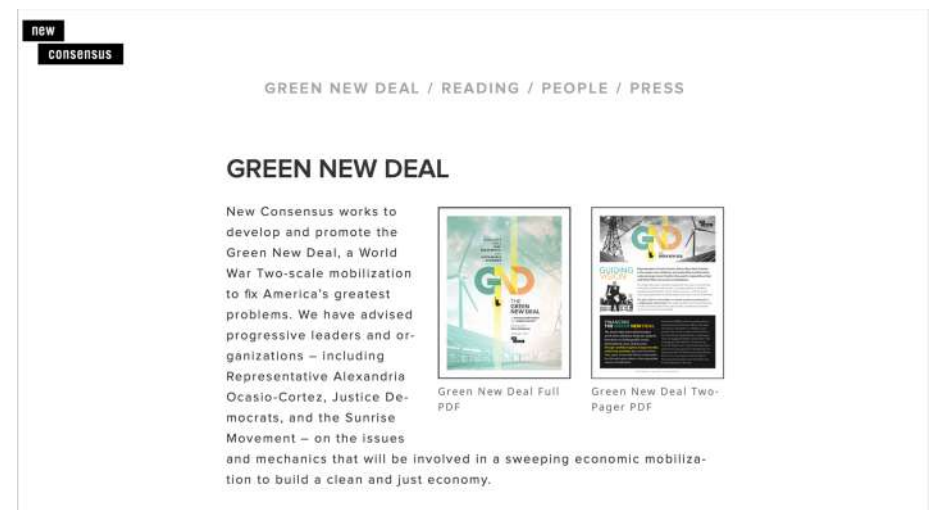
[This is an emergency](#)

# DETAILED SUMMARIES

Data for Progress and New Consensus are think tanks developing the GND.



[Data for Progress](#)



[New Consensus](#)