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NATIONAL GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

Winter Meeting

February 23, 2008

SECURING A CLEAN ENERGY FUTURE:

A CALL TO ACTION

Lower Level, Salon III

J.W. Marriott Hotel

1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW

Washington, D.C. 20004

## 1 I N D E X

2

3 Speaker: Page:

4

5 Opening Remarks of the Chairman 9

6

7 Thomas L. Friedman 20

8 Three-Time Pulitzer Prize Winner

9 Best-Selling Author and Columnist

10 for The New York Times

11

12 Jeffrey R. Immelt 45

13 Chairman of the Board and

14 Chief Executive Officer

15 General Electric Company

16

17 Q &amp; A Session

18

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1 P R O C E E D I N G S

2 (10:13 a.m.)

3 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: If we could have  
4 everybody take their seats, please. Okay, we are  
5 going to go ahead and get started, thank you.

6 As a housekeeping note this morning,  
7 please do not have your Blackberries by the  
8 microphones because they interfere with the  
9 microphones, and apparently cause some technical  
10 problems.

11 I am Minnesota Governor Tim Pawlenty, this  
12 year's Chair of the National Governors Association.  
13 We want to now call to order the 2008 Winter Meeting  
14 of the National Governors Association. We need to  
15 start by adopting the Rules of Procedure for the  
16 meeting. I am asking for a motion for approval of  
17 the Rules.

18 GOVERNOR GRANHOLM: So moved.

19 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: So moved, thank you.  
20 Governor Granholm makes the motion.

21 GOVERNOR SEBELIUS: Second.

22 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Governor Sebelius  
23

1 seconds. All those in favor of adoption of the  
2 Rules, say aye.

3 (Chorus of ayes.)

4 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Opposed, say no.

5 (No response.)

6 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: The motion prevails  
7 and the Rules are adopted.

8 As a quick reminder, please know that the  
9 Rules require that any Governor who wants to submit a  
10 new policy for consideration or a resolution for  
11 adoption needs to do so with a three-fourths' vote to  
12 suspend the Rules. And any proposal needs to be in  
13 writing and submitted to David Quam of the NGA Staff  
14 by 5:00 p.m. on Sunday. So we hope that you will  
15 remember those rules if you want to change any policy  
16 or bring up a new policy in that regard.

17 We are joined at this gathering, this  
18 annual gathering, of the Nation's Governors by two  
19 new colleagues that we're excited and pleased to have  
20 with us this morning.

21 The first is from Kentucky, Governor Jim  
22 Beshear, and the second is from Louisiana: Governor  
23

1 Bobby Jindal. Will you please join me in welcoming  
2 them to the National Governors Association.

3 (Applause.)

4 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: We also want to  
5 welcome and thank all of our fellow Governors, new  
6 and old, their invited guests, our esteemed speakers,  
7 and the generous funders who have made the meeting  
8 and the ongoing work and progress of the NGA  
9 possible.

10 I think these meetings provide a valuable  
11 opportunity to share experiences and ideas and work  
12 together for the common good on issues vitally  
13 important to our respective States and to our Nation.

14 I hope everyone in the room is mindful of  
15 the fact that today marks kind of the official  
16 kickoff of the NGA's 100th Anniversary, Centennial  
17 Celebration. A century ago then-President Teddy  
18 Roosevelt hosted the first meetings of the Nation's  
19 Governors at the White House to discuss conserving  
20 America's natural resources.

21 For 100 years now the NGA has served as a  
22 collective voice of Governors on issues that affect  
23

1 all Americans, and we have demonstrated that  
2 commitment with fortitude and clarity to tackle some  
3 of the Nation's most pressing public policy issues.

4           There are some interesting historical  
5 facts and developments that have occurred over the  
6 100 years of the NGA. This summer in Philadelphia we  
7 are going to be celebrating more formally the  
8 Centennial Celebration of the NGA. But just as a  
9 couple of quick asides about our history:

10           Did you know that seven Governors have  
11 become Presidents of the United States? And seven  
12 have become--and four have become Vice Presidents.  
13 Three have become members of the U.S. Supreme Court.  
14 And two of those Governors became Chief Justices of  
15 the Supreme Court.

16           Did you know that both the first and last  
17 States to join the Union are now governed by women  
18 Governors, and they are with us this weekend as well.  
19 We often have two or three Governor-only sessions  
20 during the winter, and during the annual meeting in  
21 the summer, but the first one was in 1930, and the  
22 principal topic for discussion was Prohibition.

1 (Laughter.)

2 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: And so I have had  
3 extensive discussions with Governor Rendell--

4 (Laughter.)

5 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: He's an advocate for  
6 current law in that regard--

7 (Laughter.)

8 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: And we're going to  
9 leave it settled at that from 1930.

10 In 1954, Vice President Richard Nixon  
11 appeared at an NGA meeting on behalf of then-  
12 President Eisenhower to promote and advocate  
13 President Eisenhower's vision and goals for an  
14 Interstate Highway System, and Governors were  
15 instrumental in supporting and assisting with that  
16 effort as key partners with the Federal Government.

17 In 1965, Lyndon Johnson sent a plane to  
18 the National Governors Association meeting in  
19 Minnesota to bring back the Governors to Washington  
20 so he could advocate for his Viet Nam War policy with  
21 the Nation's Governors. I'm not sure how they  
22 reacted to that, but it was interesting.

23

1                   In 1996, the Governors reached an historic  
2   and very meaningful and impactful agreement and  
3   helped lead the efforts in the Nation for bipartisan  
4   Welfare Reform that has I think improved the Welfare  
5   System in our respective states and the Nation as  
6   well. That year the White House agreed--or this  
7   year, I should say, after 100 years after Teddy  
8   Roosevelt had a picture at the White House, we're  
9   going to try to recreate that picture at the White  
10   House this year with the Nation's Governors.

11                  So the NGA has had a robust and long and  
12   storied 100-year history, and as we celebrate that  
13   anniversary we hope we can continue to make an impact  
14   this year and in the years to come.

15                  We do have some distinguished guests with  
16   us this morning, before we get into our program. I  
17   would like to acknowledge their presence.

18                  First we would like to welcome from the  
19   White House the former Mayor of Canton, Ohio, Janet  
20   Weir Creighton. She is the new Deputy Assistant to  
21   the President and Director of Intergovernmental  
22   Affairs. Janet? Where is she? Is she here this



1 morning? In the back of the room. There she is.

2                   So she is--some of you will remember  
3 Maggie Grant and Rubin Boralis. She is in that  
4 position, or its equivalent. So if you have issues  
5 regarding the White House and intergovernmental  
6 relations, she can hopefully be of assistance to you.

7                   We also have Elizabeth Dial, who is  
8 Assistant to the President and Deputy Director of  
9 Intergovernmental Affairs. She is also in that  
10 vicinity in the room if she can be of assistance to  
11 you.

12                   We are also joined today by distinguished  
13 guests from the Canadian Parliament who are  
14 representing a U.S. Interparliamentary Group. I  
15 know they are here somewhere in the room, if they  
16 could just raise their hands or stand. Let's welcome  
17 our Canadian Parliamentary guests.

18                   (Applause.)

19                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: And just to kick off  
20 the plenary session this morning which focuses on the  
21 Security A Clean Energy Future Initiative, which was  
22 announced at the Traverse City meeting last summer.

23

1 We have participated through the NGA in a variety of  
2 ways, but one of the ways we have done that is to  
3 convene a Secure A Clean Energy Future Task Force,  
4 which I co-chair along with Governor Sebelius from  
5 Kansas, which also includes Governor Rendell,  
6 Governors Crist and Rell and Lingle and Gregoire and  
7 Schweitzer.

8           The Initiative comes I think at a key  
9 moment for our States and our Nation as it relates to  
10 energy policy. When we announced the Initiative just  
11 one year or so ago, a little more than that, in July  
12 of 2007 oil was \$70 a barrel. Now as we gather here  
13 today, it bounces around a little bit but it's \$100 a  
14 barrel, more or less, and it's hovered in the \$85 to  
15 \$95 a barrel range since then.

16           One study has indicated that for every \$10  
17 per barrel increase in the price of oil, we send  
18 another \$50 billion annually to foreign nations. And  
19 when you consider the fact that 60 percent or so of  
20 our oil is imported from foreign nations, that is a  
21 very large financial drain or export to foreign  
22 countries out of the United States of America.

1           In addition to concerns about oil, though,  
2 we also have concerns about--and our citizens have  
3 concerns about the affordability and reliability of  
4 electricity and energy more broadly.

5           Our Nation has abundant coal resources,  
6 which constitute about 50 percent of the electricity  
7 portfolio in the country today. And nuclear and  
8 natural gas represent about 20 percent each of that  
9 portfolio. These resources have served us and will  
10 continue to do so for the years to come.

11          Going forward, our challenge is to  
12 maintain reliability and affordability while also  
13 achieving environmental goals and not wrecking the  
14 economy. So we have to balance all of these  
15 competing goals in an initiative to move forward in  
16 security a clean energy future.

17          So we want to examine how we use  
18 traditional fuels. Also, how to develop more diverse  
19 portfolios with enhanced efficiency efforts, more  
20 conservation, more renewable energy--hopefully new  
21 technology to make our traditional sources more  
22 clean, more reliable, and hopefully more Americanized

1 in that regard.

2 In light of these challenges, we've got  
3 four principal areas of focus for this initiative for  
4 the year:

5 One is to increase the use of cleaner  
6 domestic fuels and advanced vehicles.

7 Another is to improve energy conservation  
8 and efficiency.

9 A third is to diversify our electricity  
10 portfolio by using other types of energy.

11 And leveraging opportunities for clean  
12 energy research and development and the like.

13 And Governors, through Best Practices and  
14 sharing information, we think are well suited to  
15 share R&D breakthroughs, cutting edge technologies,  
16 and opportunities in that regard.

17 We know this is not going to happen  
18 overnight, but we have been working on it in advance  
19 of this meeting in a variety of forms.

20 In December Governor Crist hosted a forum  
21 in Tampa which focused on clean transportation fuels  
22 and advanced vehicles. We were joined by Governor

23

1     Schweitzer, and Governor Crist, and others for a  
2     roundtable discussion in that area.

3             Also at our summit in Tampa we released a  
4     Call To Action, which you should have at your chairs  
5     and in front of you. It was sent to you in December,  
6     and there is a copy on the tables hopefully for the  
7     audience as well. It outlines the energy challenges  
8     for our nation. It dispels some myths that say it  
9     can't be done. And it discusses why states in  
10    particular are well positioned to help lead the  
11    efforts as it relates to the energy challenges faced  
12    by our country.

13            So I hope you will have a chance to look  
14    through that document and get some good ideas from  
15    it.

16            Increasing the use of alternative  
17    transportation fuels in many states is an area where  
18    there has been good progress. I am pleased to  
19    announce today that we have also available a new  
20    State Resource guide called "Greener Fuels, Greener  
21    Vehicles," which should also be in front of you. It  
22    is the result of some great staff work, public policy  
23

1 best practices work that should be on the tables in  
2 front of you as well.

3 Other important steps come in the area of  
4 research and development and demonstration of cleaner  
5 electricity generation. We have two additional  
6 meetings that I would just call to your attention and  
7 invite you to attend, if you can.

8 One is an R&D workshop that is going to be  
9 in Seattle in March. Governor Gregoire is going to  
10 help host that.

11 And another is a Clean Power and Energy  
12 Efficiency Summit in Kansas City hosted by Governor  
13 Sebelius, and we hope that you will consider  
14 attending that, as well.

15 As creative and innovative as states are,  
16 we know we cannot do it alone. There is going to  
17 have to be partnerships with a number of other  
18 private and public entities.

19 We have got a wonderful partnership that  
20 has been launched with the Discovery Channel where  
21 you'll see a number of NGA-inspired PSAs and other  
22 things taking place on the Discovery Channel, and  
23

1     some of their partnered networks as well.

2                     We also must engage the private sector.

3     So as part of the Initiative we have held meetings  
4     with more than 70 business and trade groups and  
5     industry groups and policy organizations from across  
6     the country.

7                     As one take-away from that, and with more  
8     to come, Governor Sebelius and I announced the  
9     Climate Savers Computing Initiative, where we are  
10    asking other States to consider buying computers in  
11    this next generation stage that are 20 to 40 percent  
12    more efficient in terms of their energy conservation,  
13    and even if you're not yet ready to do that--which we  
14    think is smart because it saves the additional cost  
15    of the computers over a short period of time--simple  
16    things like asking your State employees, and in the  
17    case of Kansas actually programming the computers to  
18    shut off or go into sleep mode at certain times of  
19    the night when they're not in use can save a lot of  
20    energy.

21                    That was kicked off with the help of  
22    Intel, and Google, and others, and we hope that you  
23

1 will join that Initiative.

2 Through that partnership, our States have  
3 pledged to do more. And there are other ideas like  
4 that that will be coming forward as part of this  
5 Initiative.

6 I am pleased also today to announce a new  
7 unique public/private partnership as part of the  
8 Initiative which is going to be sponsored by and led  
9 by Wal-Mart to offer States access to an energy audit  
10 of state capitol complexes by a team of Wal-Mart  
11 experts.

12 Wal-Mart has already helped many companies  
13 and entities across the country save on their  
14 electricity and energy bills, and is prepared to help  
15 states do the same through this process.

16 Under the partnership Wal-Mart will send,  
17 at your request and if you would like, engineering  
18 experts to perform energy audits in as many as 20  
19 state capitol complexes during the remainder of this  
20 year and 2009.

21 The NGA Center For Best Practices will  
22 help identify the states for participation and  
23



1 partnership and catalogue the results.

2 Wal-Mart's audit and assessment will  
3 include recommended energy efficiency improvements,  
4 as well as the potential savings that will result  
5 from implementing these suggestions.

6 They will only recommend technologies that  
7 give state a return on investment within five years;  
8 that provide estimates of carbon dioxide emission  
9 reductions that could result from the efficiency.

10 So if your state has not performed one of  
11 these audits yet, I would encourage you to look into  
12 this. Wal-Mart has in their own stores and with some  
13 of their partnership entities demonstrated dramatic,  
14 dramatic results around conservation and efficiency  
15 in a very economical and in most cases self-financing  
16 way. So we are grateful for their partnership.

17 I want to just introduce Leslie Dach, who  
18 is here from Wal-Mart. Leslie, if you could just  
19 stand up. She's the Executive Vice President of  
20 Corporate Affairs, and Leslie, we thank you for your  
21 commitment and your partnership.

22 (Applause.)

23

1                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Leslie is a "he" not a  
2 "she."

3                   (Laughter.)

4                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Thank you.

5                   The Security A Clean Energy Future is also  
6 about other tangible steps that we can take, and we  
7 look forward to bringing those forward to you.

8                   Now I have the pleasure of bringing some  
9 speakers forward to underline the need and the cause  
10 and the opportunity, and today we are fortunate to  
11 have two renowned speakers and commentators and  
12 leaders in this area.

13                  The first is Tom Friedman, who I will  
14 introduce more formally in just a moment, but also  
15 Jeff Immelt, who is the CEO of General Electric.

16                  The related economic implications of this  
17 Initiative are very important, and we have two  
18 powerful observers of not just the environmental and  
19 international security aspects of this Initiative,  
20 but the economic aspects of it as well.

21                  I will start by introducing Tom Friedman,  
22 who I am proud to say was born and raised in  
23

1 Minnesota. We lost him as a young adult, but he I  
2 think still have some fondness and loyalties to our  
3 Great State.

4           Of course he is a New York Times  
5 commentator and columnist. He joined The New York  
6 Times in 1981 as a financial reporter specializing in  
7 OPEC and oil-related news. He later served as the  
8 Chief Diplomatic, Chief White House, and  
9 International Economics Correspondent for The New  
10 York Times. He is a three-time Pulitzer Prize  
11 winner. He has travelled hundreds of thousands of  
12 miles across the world reporting on things such as  
13 the Middle East conflict, the end of the Cold War,  
14 U.S. domestic and foreign policy initiatives,  
15 international economics, and the world-wide impact of  
16 terror and energy security.

17           His Foreign Affairs Column appears twice a  
18 week in The New York Times and is syndicated in over  
19 700 other newspapers worldwide. Recently he has been  
20 writing about energy challenges, particularly our  
21 addiction to oil. He has a fondness for quoting  
22 others, but we will quote him by saying that "Green

1     Is The New Red, White & Blue."

2                     Please join me in welcoming our  
3     distinguished guest and speaker, Tom Friedman.

4                     (Applause.)

5                     MR. FRIEDMAN; Well, Governor, thank you  
6     very much. It is a treat to be here today. I was  
7     originally reluctant because I'm on leave, but I  
8     couldn't say no to Governor Pawlenty from my still-  
9     home State of Minnesota, and couldn't say no to  
10    another change to appear with my other good friend,  
11    Jeff Immelt. Jeff and I have been doing--I think we  
12    should take this on the road, Jeff. I mean, if it  
13    doesn't work out at GE for you, or The New York  
14    Times for me, we probably have another career.

15                    This is my third time at the NGA over the  
16    years, and it is really an honor to be back. Each  
17    time I've talked about something different: 9/11 I  
18    think the first time, and then "The World is Flat,"  
19    and now Energy.

20                    What I would like to share with you is  
21    just a little sliver of what I am now working on.  
22    I'm on leave working on a book. The title of the

23

1     book is, as Governor Pawlenty suggested, "Green Is  
2     The New Red, White & Blue: America's Role In A World  
3     That's Hot, Flat, and Crowded."

4                     And let me just begin there because I  
5     believe it is the convergence of what I call "hot,  
6     flat, and crowded" global warming of 150 years of the  
7     industrial revolution, the flattening of the world  
8     which is increasing global demand for services and  
9     jobs and production from India, China, the former  
10    Soviet Empire. We all know about that. And lastly,  
11    crowded.

12                    When I was born in Minneapolis in 1953--  
13    you can Google this--you can find out how many other  
14    people were on the planet the day you were born. I  
15    put in July 20, 1953, and what comes up is 2.68  
16    billion people. If Jeff succeeds at GE with all  
17    this good health care stuff, I may live to be 100.  
18    And if you go to the U.N. Table, it says that in the  
19    year 2053 there will be 9.2 billion people on the  
20    planet.

21                    That means that in my lifetime the  
22    population of the planet will more than triple. In

1 fact, there will be more people on the planet between  
2 now and when I die in 2053 than were here when I was  
3 born. More people will be added to the world  
4 population between now and 2053.

5               So the demand, it is really this  
6 convergence of what I call "hot, flat, and crowded"  
7 that is really the underlying engine driving all of  
8 this energy demand, climate change, and resource  
9 demand that is really the subject I think of all your  
10 concerns and also opportunities.

11              The "hot, flat, and crowded" convergence  
12 is actually driving what I would call five tipping  
13 points:

14              The first is on energy. That tipping  
15 point is reflected in \$100 per barrel oil. That is  
16 from simply so many people advancing of these 9  
17 billion that are going to be on this planet their  
18 life styles and their living much more American-like  
19 lifestyles.

20              The second tipping point is around climate  
21 change. We saw that with Katrina and the IPCC  
22 Report.

23

1           The third tipping point is around what I  
2   call "petro politics." Fill 'er up with dictators.  
3   And we are seeing petro politicians now throwing  
4   their weight around the world as never before.

5           The fourth tipping point is around  
6   something I call energy poverty. We are seeing  
7   energy poverty appear more and more. Being poor  
8   isn't what it used to be now. If you don't have  
9   energy, can't connect to the flat world, and you  
10   can't get on Google, you aren't just behind  
11   arithmetically anymore, you're behind exponentially.

12           And lastly is biodiversity loss. We are  
13   seeing rates of extinction happening on the planet in  
14   our lifetime that are comparable only to when the  
15   asteroid hit the dinosaurs.

16           So I call these kind of the five  
17   interwoven problems that this combination of global  
18   warming, flattening of the world, and population  
19   growth are really driving.

20           Now it is my view--and this really gets I  
21   think to the role of Governors today--that the  
22   country or companies that come up with the solutions

1 to these five problems, they're going to own the 21st  
2 Century. These are the five key problems.

3 And if in your State you have companies,  
4 and if we collectively as a country take the lead in  
5 finding the solutions to these problems, we are going  
6 to own the 21st Century. And if we do not, we are  
7 not going to own this 21st Century.

8 Now there is one simple solution to these  
9 five problems, one solution that runs through all of  
10 them, and that is: Clean, abundant, cheap, renewable  
11 fuel. That is the common denominator to all five of  
12 those problems.

13 You give me cheap, abundant, clean,  
14 renewable fuel and I will give you the answer and the  
15 economic solution and opportunity to answer all five  
16 of those problems.

17 Early in January I had the honor--Jeff  
18 invited me down to GE's management meeting, and I'm  
19 going to embarrass him a little, and we got to do a  
20 dialogue together. One of my favorite points in that  
21 dialogue was at one point Jeff and I were talking  
22 about the different policy pillars we need to put in  
23



1 place in order to make sure America does take the  
2 lead in answering those five questions.

3           At one point Jeff said: You know, Tom,  
4 what doesn't exist today in the energy business is  
5 the Hand of God. He said, I think if you ask the  
6 utilities and the big manufacturers in this business  
7 what they would most like from a leader today, it  
8 would be if he or she would stand up and say: Look,  
9 by 2025 we are going to have this much coal, this  
10 much natural gas, this much wind, this much solar,  
11 this much nuclear, and nothing is going to stand in  
12 the way. We're going to get it.

13           What would happen? Well, Jeff said, what  
14 would happen is after about 30 days of complaining  
15 and crying and whining from everyone in the industry,  
16 people across the whole energy industry would stand  
17 up and say: Thank you for that direction. Now let's  
18 go do it. And we would go out and do it.

19           Because once that enabling framework was  
20 set, said Jeff, all the tremendous assets and  
21 advantages that America has would immediately kick in  
22 and the whole system would take off.

23

1                   Well I thought about our conversation  
2   after a few days, and one night I had a dream. I  
3   had a dream. I dreamt that America could be China  
4   for a day. I dreamt that America could be China for  
5   just one day. Not two. Just one day.

6                   As far as I'm concerned, China's system of  
7   government is inferior to ours in every way except  
8   one: the ability of China's leaders when they want  
9   to to cut through all the lobbies, all the legacy  
10   industries, all the pleading special interests, and  
11   order the sweeping changes in prices, regulations,  
12   standards, and infrastructure and manpower education  
13   that reflect China's strategic, long-run national  
14   interest; changes that would normally take Western  
15   Democracies, not to mention our own, months, years,  
16   or even decades to debate and implement,

17                  Just the other day--I don't know if you  
18   saw this story--China's shop keepers woke up and  
19   found that China's State Council had announced that  
20   beginning on June 1, 2008, all supermarkets,  
21   department stores, and shops would be prohibited from  
22   giving out free plastic bags, or even manufacturing

23

1       them. And the sale of ultra-thin plastic bags was  
2       made illegal. Bam! Just like that. 1.3 billion  
3       people would stop using plastic bags.

4               Tons of petroleum saved. Mountains of  
5       garbage avoided.

6               America started the process of removing  
7       lead from gasoline in 1973. It took until 1995 for  
8       all lead to be removed from gasoline in our country.  
9       We took 32 years from the first major effort to  
10      improve fuel economy in our cars to the most recent  
11      in 2007 to improve fuel economy in our cars.

12              In China in 2003 they decided on a major  
13      fuel economy initiative. The initiatives were  
14      adopted in 2004, and they went into effect in 2005.  
15      I confess, I was jealous. If we could only be China  
16      for a day. Wow. Did I just say that? Did I just  
17      say that I wished America could be China for a day?  
18      Where did that come from?

19              Where it came from was enormous  
20      frustration, a frustration I feel born of traveling  
21      from one end of this country to the other to many of  
22      your states over the last three years looking at

23

1 almost every conceivable form of energy generation,  
2 and meeting all sorts of zany, brainy, daring,  
3 innovators from garages to our premiere research  
4 institutes and coming away with the conclusion that  
5 we are really close to something really big.

6           We are really close to something really  
7 big. America has every piece of the energy  
8 innovation ecosystem a country could want, and more  
9 than any other in the world to launch a true  
10 disruptive transformational, what I call GeoGreen  
11 Revolution At Scale to be the world's leader in this  
12 field in the 21st Century.

13           We have these amazing National Labs,  
14 research centers where scientists are lining up to  
15 work on these issues. I just came from Lawrence  
16 Berkley Lab. They had 700 students and researchers  
17 wanting to do solar projects. They barely had  
18 funding for a dozen.

19           The next day I went to Cal Tech. I've  
20 been to Stanford, and MIT. We have these amazing  
21 universities. There's a project at MIT, the Vehicle  
22 Design Summit Group, a global, open-source

1 collaborative effort managed by MIT students that's  
2 made up of 25 college teams around the world,  
3 including from India and China, working together to  
4 build a plug-in electric hybrid within three years.

5           These are students, ladies and gentlemen.  
6 This is not a Detroit project. Each team contributes  
7 a different set of parts or designs. I thought  
8 writing for my college newspaper was cool. These  
9 kids are building a hyper-efficient car which they  
10 hope will demonstrate a 95 percent reduction in  
11 embodied energy materials and toxicity from cradle to  
12 grave, and provide 200-miles-per-gallon energy  
13 equivalency or better. It's the Linux of cars.

14           Their goal, they explain on their web  
15 site, is to identify the key characteristics of  
16 events like the race to the Moon and then transpose  
17 this energy, passion, focus, and urgency on  
18 catalyzing a global clean car team to deliver it. On  
19 their web site, their tag line, long before Barack  
20 Obama got it, was: We are the people we've been  
21 waiting for.

22           We have these amazing innovative  
23

1 companies, General Electric and DuPont, Microsoft and  
2 Dell, IBM, Gridpoint, Duke Energy, and Southern  
3 California Edison. They are powerhouses of talent  
4 and ideas. We have these risk-loving capitalists and  
5 investment bankers primed to make huge bets that they  
6 can turn the next startup into the next grownup of  
7 energy efficiency and clean power, the next Green  
8 Google.

9           And we have private equity firms buying  
10 their own wind farms, and solar companies providing  
11 the patient capital that they need to scale. Yes,  
12 our country is primed for a geogreen takeoff.  
13 But--and there is a big "but"--although we know what  
14 the right policies are, we still do not have a  
15 leadership with the political courage and vision to  
16 put them in place to get the whole system working  
17 together in a way that will truly drive innovation  
18 around clean electrons, energy efficiency, and  
19 conservation to a radically new level.

20           And if you don't have scale, you have  
21 nothing. You have a green hobby. I like hobbies. I  
22 play golf for a hobby. I used to build model  
23

1     airplanes as a hobby. I don't try to green the world  
2     as a hobby. This is a scale issue.

3             If you don't have scale, you have nothing.  
4     And the only way to get scale is if you have a  
5     systemic response.

6             So whenever I think of America today, the  
7     image that comes to my mind is of a space shuttle  
8     lifting off and the Kennedy Space Center. It has  
9     this tremendous thrust coming from below, just  
10    tremendous, but there are some leaks in the booster  
11    rocket that are sapping its power and the pilots in  
12    the cockpit are bickering over every issue of the  
13    flight plan. As a result, no one's quite steering  
14    and this space shuttle, this remarkable machine that  
15    no other country in the world can design or  
16    manufacture, cannot achieve escape velocity to get  
17    into a new orbit, a geogreen orbit, for the 21st  
18    Century.

19            So we are drifting. We do not have the  
20    systemic response we need. Why do you need a  
21    systemic response?

22            First of all, you need a system of  
23

1 policies to create the incentives to create green  
2 power, clean electrons, at scale. Then you need a  
3 smart grid that can balance those clean electronics  
4 with traditional fuels--coal, natural gas, nuclear.  
5 If you do not have a smart grid, you will be capped  
6 on the amount of clean power you can introduce,  
7 because wind and solar are intermittent, and no  
8 utility can rely on them.

9           Ultimately it has to go into a smart home  
10 where every appliance is connected through an  
11 internet of things, and can bid and communicate and  
12 be managed in a way that will maximize energy  
13 efficiency.

14           If you do not have that ecosystem from the  
15 right policies to generate clean electrons into a  
16 smart grid, into a smart home and back, you will  
17 never get scale. And without scale, you will not be  
18 able to do the essential thing for an energy  
19 transformation, which is to empower all of our  
20 citizens to do all of these ordinary people--God  
21 bless them--to do extraordinary things.

22           That is what a clean power system is

23



1     needed for: so ordinary people can do extraordinary  
2     things around energy.

3                 Why do you need a price signal? Why do we  
4     need either a cap-and-trade or a carbon tax? It's  
5     very simple economics. And there is no escaping  
6     this, friends.

7                 The example I like to give is from my  
8     friend Nate Lewis at Cal Tech. Let's say I invented  
9     the first cell phone. I invented the first cell  
10    phone. And I came to my friend, Governor Pawlenty.

11                I said, "Tim, I have a phone you can carry  
12    in your pocket."

13                Tim would say, "A phone I can carry in my  
14    pocket? That would change my life."

15                I'd say, "Yeah, Tim, I've got a phone you  
16    can carry in your pocket."

17                He says, "I'll take 10."

18                "Wait, Tim, these phones are each going to  
19    cost \$1000."

20                "No problem, Tom, a phone I could carry in  
21    my pocket, I'll take 10."

22                I sell 10 to him. 10 to Governor Rendell.

23

1     10 to all of you. Six months later, you know what  
2     happens.

3             I'm back. The phone's a little smaller,  
4     and it only costs \$850. I'm down the cost volume  
5     curve. Now I'm on a roll. I come back a year later  
6     to my friend Tim.

7             I say, "Tim, got another deal for you.  
8     That phone worked out okay for you? Right? Worked  
9     out okay?"

10            "Yeah, worked out okay, Tom."

11            "I've got another deal. See that light  
12    there, Tim? I'm going to power that light with solar  
13    electrons. It's gonna cost you \$100 more a month,  
14    though."

15            "Oh," the Governor of Minnesota, he's a  
16    wise man, "He says, Tom, remember that phone you sold  
17    me? That changed my life. In case you haven't  
18    noticed, I already have light and I really don't care  
19    where the electrons come from."

20            So unless the government comes in and  
21    says: Governor, from now on you are going to pay for  
22    the CO2 in that light, the cost of troops in the

23

1 Persian Gulf, that light's gonna cost you \$150 extra  
2 more a month.

3 Oh, when the government says that, then  
4 what does Tim say to me?

5 He says, "Tom, I'll take 10 of your solar  
6 lights."

7 Then I'm down the cost volume curve and  
8 I'm back six months later and it's only \$75. It's  
9 simple economics.

10 Everyone says: This is like a moon shot,  
11 clean power. It's like a moon shot. Yeah, it's like  
12 a moon shot when Southwest Airlines already flies to  
13 the moon. You are competing against an existing  
14 cheap alternative. And unless the government comes  
15 in with a different price signal, we will never  
16 achieve escape velocity.

17 Let me sum up by saying this: I have  
18 great respect for what China has accomplished  
19 economically over the past 30 years, but I don't want  
20 to be China. I don't really want to be China even  
21 for a day. I want to be America. And not just for a  
22 day. I want to be that country where ordinary people  
23

1 do extraordinary things, and have done so over the  
2 past two centuries, whether it's erecting a national  
3 railroad system, forging a national economy, pulling  
4 together to defeat Nazi fascism in World War II  
5 overnight. And when they did, though, there was  
6 always one common denominator:

7           A public/private partnership. The  
8 political leadership laid out the vision from the  
9 top, and created the enabling taxes, regulations, and  
10 incentives to harness the explosive innovative  
11 energies of a free society coming up from below.

12           When you get these two working right, you  
13 have an innovation engine that is simply unstoppable.  
14 Now sometimes I find it is foreigners who best  
15 understand this moment and this opportunity.

16           I was in India six months ago and  
17 travelling around with "My World Is Flat" pals, my  
18 friend Ramalinga Raju who runs Satyam, India's fourth  
19 largest outsourcing firm, and we were talking about  
20 America and this energy moment.

21           And he said something that really struck  
22 with me that I want to share with you. He said:

23

1                   Ultimately, Tom, the rewards for those  
2   companies, countries, and individuals who put  
3   themselves at the forefront of the energy technology,  
4   the ET revolution, their rewards will not be  
5   incremental. They will be transformational and  
6   dramatic.

7                   There will be quantum jumps and  
8   leapfrogging opportunities. So the rewards to the  
9   U.S. we would get would not be incremental from  
10  making the world green, they would be orders of  
11  magnitude higher. And the payback would not be  
12  anywhere nearly as long as anyone assumes.

13                  But if America doesn't seize this  
14  opportunity, he said, India, China, and others  
15  eventually will. Their solutions will not be the  
16  best because they will not be coming at it from the  
17  frontier of scientific and technological knowledge.  
18  They will be a lot better, though, than nothing.

19                  They won't do it as well. It won't  
20  quickly--it won't scale as quickly, but it will  
21  happen. It will happen without the best architect,  
22  but the brick and mortar carriers will learn to do

1     their own clean energy designs.

2                 The house will take four years to build  
3     instead of two. There will be more mistakes. Less  
4     capital will be available. But it will get built.  
5     And once they get going, the replication process will  
6     take place every six months and America will not have  
7     a place in it. You will be watching. You will not  
8     be part of the house building, and not derive the  
9     maximum benefits of having been the architect.

10                If you do take the lead, the world will be  
11    queuing up at your counter. But to take the lead,  
12    we cannot view this as just some new tax like any  
13    other. If you view green as a cost, it is a failure.  
14    If you view it as an ordinary investment, it is a  
15    failure.

16                If you view it as an extraordinary  
17    investment that will bring transformational rewards  
18    and dramatic benefits and therefore a huge  
19    opportunity, you will find success.

20                For me, this could not be more obvious.  
21    Just go through the mental exercise. What kind of  
22    America would you like to see?

23

1                   One that's addicted to oil, and thereby  
2   fueling the worst autocracies in the world?

3                   Or one that's building scalable  
4   alternatives to crude oil and thereby freeing  
5   ourselves from the grip of countries who have drawn a  
6   bulls eye on our back?

7                   If it's the latter, you want to be green.

8                   What kind of America would you like to  
9   see?

10                  One that is steadily outsourcing more and  
11   more blue collar, labor-intensive manufacturing jobs  
12   to China?

13                  Or one that's building more and more  
14   knowledge-intensive, green collar technology jobs for  
15   making green buildings, vehicles, and power sources?

16                  That is sure to be the industry of the  
17   future, and are much more difficult to outsource.  
18   You cannot make a product greener without making it  
19   smarter. It is impossible. Ask Jeff Immelt. Either  
20   smarter design, smarter material, or smarter  
21   software. You cannot make a product greener without  
22   making it smarter, and that is a product much more  
23

1       difficult to outsource.

2                   If that's what you want, then you want to  
3       be green.   What kind of America would you like to  
4       see?

5                   One with more and more urban sprawl  
6       devouring more and more open lands?   Or one where  
7       cities start to grow upwards smartly rather than  
8       outward where mass transit becomes the norm rather  
9       than mass traffic jams?

10                  If it's the latter, you want to be green.

11                  What kind of America would you like to  
12       see?

13                  One where government relaxes energy and  
14       efficiency standards on cars, buildings, appliances,  
15       prompting our industries to get lazy?   Or one where  
16       the U.S. Government imposes steadily higher  
17       efficiency standards forcing a constant flow of  
18       innovation around materials, power systems, and  
19       energy software that make it the most sustainable  
20       energy productive country in the world?

21                  If it's the latter, you want to be green.

22                  What kind of America would you like to

23



1     see?

2                   One where there is no national goal? And  
3     the most talked about figures are hedge fund managers  
4     and Paris Hilton? Or one where America is the  
5     greenest country in the world and becomes the  
6     aspirational moon shot of this generation, inspiring  
7     young people to go into math, science, biology,  
8     physics, and nanotechnology?

9                   If it's the latter, you want to be green.

10                  What kind of America would you like to  
11     see?

12                  One that's spotlighted as the last holdout  
13     at international environmental conferences earning  
14     the world's contempt? Or one that is seen as the  
15     country most committed by example to preserving the  
16     environment and the species that inhabit it, earning  
17     the world's respect?

18                  If it's the latter, you want to be green.

19                  What kind of America would you like to  
20     see?

21                  One whose armies abroad are stretched out  
22     across Iraq and Afghanistan waiting every day in the  
23

1 desert heat for a convoy of diesel fuel from Kuwait  
2 to be trucked to their generators at \$20 a gallon  
3 delivered fuel and praying those fuel convoys don't  
4 get blown up by insurgents? Or an America whose army  
5 is so much more flexible because it runs on  
6 distributed energy from solar power to fuel cells and  
7 has no supply lines?

8               If it's the latter, you want to be green.  
9 We can out-green al-Qaeda.

10              So, my friends, let me leave you with a  
11 thought from my teacher, Rob Watson, one of the great  
12 eco-entrepreneurs, pioneer of green buildings. Rob  
13 always likes to say that let's say it turns out that  
14 Al Gore and the climate alarmists are all wrong.  
15 What's the result if we're a green country? We'll  
16 have cleaner air, newer technology, higher energy  
17 prices, but lower bills, more productivity, healthier  
18 people, and an export industry that we can be proud  
19 of.

20              And if the climate skeptics are wrong?  
21 Then we have population collapse and the human race  
22 as a bad biological experiment on the planet.

23

1                   Who do you want to bet on? I want to put  
2 my money on green. Thank you, very much.

3                   (Applause.)

4                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Thank you, sir. I  
5 just want you to know, all Minnesotans are that  
6 smart.

7                   (Laughter.)

8                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Next we have a very  
9 special guest, Jeff Immelt, who is the CEO and  
10 Chairman of General Electric. We have as the  
11 introducer, Governor Rell who will come forward and  
12 provide an introduction. Then we will have some time  
13 for Q&A with both of the presenters.

14                  Governor Rell.

15                  GOVERNOR RELL: Thank you, Tim, and to all  
16 of you it is my pleasure to be able to introduce Jeff  
17 Immelt, Chairman and CEO of General Electric. And of  
18 course you know that General Electric is one of the  
19 Nation's oldest and most respected companies.

20                  Barron's twice named him one of the  
21 world's best CEOs. And since he began serving as  
22 Chief Executive Officer, GE was named America's most

23

1     admired company in a poll conducted by Fortune  
2     Magazine, and one of the world's most respected  
3     companies in polls by Barron's and the Financial  
4     Times.

5             It is fitting that Jeff is here with us  
6     today. After all--and, Tom, you mentioned the light  
7     over there, that we would come back and ask for ten  
8     of them at some time--it was Thomas Edison's light  
9     bulb that was the invention that effectively launched  
10    GE in 1879.

11            We have asked Jeff to talk today to us  
12    about other energy innovations. GE has in store for  
13    the world many exciting things. In May 2005 GE  
14    launched ecomagination, a business strategy to meet  
15    the customer's demands for more energy-efficient,  
16    less emissive products, and to drive reliable growth  
17    for GE

18            Ecomagination also reflects GE's  
19    commitment to invest in a future that creates  
20    innovative solutions to environmental challenges, and  
21    delivers valuable products and services to customers  
22    while generating profitable growth for the company.

23

1                   With ecomagination I believe GE is  
2     demonstrating what is good for the environment can  
3     also be good for the American business.

4                   Ladies and gentlemen, join me in welcoming  
5     Mr. Jeff Immelt. Jeff?

6                   (Applause.)

7                   MR. IMMELT: Thank you. Thank you, very  
8     much. It's great to be with you here this morning.  
9     Governor Rell, thanks, and Tim, thanks again for the  
10    invitation. I am truly honored to be here with such  
11    a great group of leaders.

12                  Unfortunately I always have to go after  
13    Tom Friedman, so you are about to enter the corporate  
14    sluggo part of the presentations here this morning.

15                  (Laughter.)

16                  MR. IMMELT: I would say at the outset  
17    that I am a capitalist. I work for investors. The  
18    things I talk about are all things that are necessary  
19    to grow the company in the future. And I am here  
20    really on behalf of showing what business can do to  
21    enter this debate, but I do it from the standpoint of  
22    really not having hobbies around it, but building

23

1 long-term shareholder value for my company, not just  
2 in the next year but in the future generations.

3 I get a chance to travel the world in my  
4 job, and so I get to meet government leaders--your  
5 counterparts, if you will--on a global basis. And  
6 because of our breadth and age, we are in all of your  
7 states, so we are local with basically everybody in  
8 the room.

9 I would say there's really four pillars to  
10 a competitive society. It's education. It's health  
11 care. It's energy. And it's financial institutions  
12 that promote growth.

13 Whether you go from Turkey, to France, to  
14 the U.K., to Minnesota, to Ohio, my home State, those  
15 four pillars are the constants that produce a  
16 competitive society.

17 So what we are talking about today when we  
18 talk about energy is one of the essential pillars  
19 that makes the U.S. competitive. It is important,  
20 and it is timely, and it is really hard.

21 I would circle back to the way Tom  
22 started, that there are some reasons why this is such  
23

1 a tough challenge.

2           The first one is that oil prices, which  
3 increased in the late '70s and then were reduced for  
4 the period of about 30 years, are going to stay  
5 permanently high. There are more people, billions of  
6 people, that want to have the same spending standards  
7 that Americans have.

8           One of the most important inventions that  
9 you've probably read about in some corner of a  
10 newspaper is India is going to launch, the Tata  
11 Group, one of the best companies in India, a \$2500  
12 car.

13           Now when you start selling new cars at  
14 \$2500, there's a lot more people that are going to be  
15 driving cars. And so the demand on energy, there's  
16 2300 gigawatts of power that are going to be  
17 installed in the next 20 years.

18           San Francisco is 1 gigawatt. So that's a  
19 lot of power that's going to be. So the demands are  
20 going to be very significant.

21           Fear. The energy haves versus the have-  
22 nots. In 1980, 85 percent of the world's oil and  
23

1 natural gas were controlled by integrated oil  
2 companies: Exxon, Chevron, people like that. In  
3 2008, about 85 percent is controlled by the national  
4 oil companies, in Venezuela, other parts of the  
5 world, Russia. So there's a real sense of how do you  
6 get control over this energy future?

7           The time horizon. If you invest in a  
8 plant today, a nuclear power plant, it's going to  
9 last for 50 years. How do you expect people today to  
10 make a \$3 billion decision with all the vagaries that  
11 are going to take place over the next 50 years? So  
12 you've got a time horizon challenge.

13           The science of global warming. Again, I  
14 look at this purely as a technical company. It's  
15 pretty compelling. If you just leave the United  
16 States, half of GE is outside the United States.  
17 There's more people outside of the United States  
18 every day that think it's a technical fact. And that  
19 has got to be factored into technology and  
20 investment.

21           And we've got weak infrastructure. So  
22 you've got some things that Tom mentioned that I  
23



1     would put more in a business standpoint that make  
2     what you're talking about the next two or three days  
3     really hard.

4                 And the last point I would make--again,  
5     you don't have a job like running GE and not be a  
6     free market capitalist, and that's what I am, but I  
7     would tell you that clean energy is more than just an  
8     innovation; it's got to be a public policy.

9                 Government has to get involved. Because  
10    the market doesn't yet value pollution. The market  
11    doesn't yet value infrastructure that has to be  
12    rebuilt. And no market can really value shortage.  
13    In other words, no market can accurately value the  
14    fact that something might run out 50 years from now.  
15    And because of that, the discussion you're having and  
16    the discussion you need to have with us and other  
17    industrialists in the United States is important, and  
18    that's the context in which I'm going to just make a  
19    few comments this morning.

20                We live in this world. Again, I apologize  
21    that this is not going to be a GE commercial, but it  
22    has to be a little bit of commercial because it's all  
23

1 I really think about and do is in the context of my  
2 company, so I have to. You know, we're a 130-year-  
3 old company, \$190 billion in revenue in 2008.

4 We spend between \$6 and \$7 billion on R&D.

5 We are more than half outside the United States.

6 We're one of five AAA-rated companies in the U.S.

7 today, and by the way that is really important in the  
8 U.S. today. That's a good thing.

9 And the only way you can grow a big  
10 company like GE is you have to be big with big  
11 themes. So we basically focus the whole company  
12 around six big themes:

13 Infrastructure and infrastructure  
14 technology.

15 Winning in emerging markets.

16 Environmental solutions, what Tom talked  
17 about.

18 Demographics, so the whole focus on health  
19 care, and how that grows over time.

20 Digital connections, the way that the  
21 Internet is driving our lives.

22 And what I would call integrative

23

1 solutions around origination. So how do you match  
2 people that need money with pools of money? And how  
3 do you bridge that gap?

4 So we're big, and big themes. And a  
5 couple of those themes really integrate around our  
6 energy business. We're about a \$40 billion energy  
7 company within this context. Our energy business is  
8 growing about 15 percent a year. And so we're one of  
9 the biggest energy players in the world.

10 And in 2004 we launched an initiative  
11 inside the company called ecomagination. The basic  
12 thrust we had inside the company is that green could  
13 be green. And that we saw the way our customers were  
14 evolving broadly. We saw the way regulation was  
15 evolving broadly. And we launched with 17 products,  
16 now 60 products, and we made four commitments:

17 That we would focus our R&D on  
18 environmental technology;

19 That we would grow our revenue from \$6  
20 billion in 2004 to \$20 billion in 2010;

21 That we would reduce our own carbon  
22 footprint by 1 percent, net effective 30 percent over  
23

1     that time period;

2                   And that we would be transparent. We  
3     would talk openly about what we were doing. So our  
4     focus on the environment was never a soft feel-good  
5     initiative. It was never to curry the favor of NGOs  
6     or things like that.

7                   It was all about business and making  
8     money. And we're blowing away all the numbers. We  
9     hit \$15 billion revenue in 2005. We'll be now \$25  
10    billion by 2010.

11                  We are creating jobs. We are actually  
12    saving money by reducing our own carbon footprint.  
13    We are increasing the amount we're spending on R&D.  
14    And so in every way we've been part of this debate,  
15    and we've done it not as a feel-good initiative but  
16    as a business initiative in order to make our company  
17    prepared for the future.

18                  So with that as a commercial, what I would  
19    really like to talk to you about today is something I  
20    think we can share, which is: How would you approach  
21    something like this philosophically? And how would  
22    you approach it strategically to build together what  
23

1     this green energy future is all about? And that is  
2     really what I would like to spend the time talking  
3     about today.

4                 So the commercial on GE is about over, not  
5     completely over but about over. So first I would say  
6     we have kind of three philosophies with which we run  
7     this initiative and think about the company.

8                 The first one is you get energy security  
9     through energy diversity. I'm just not sure that  
10    energy independence in our lifetime may be feasible,  
11    it may not be feasible, but we can certainly have  
12    greater security through energy diversity, and that  
13    ought to be one of the big goals that we have.

14                You know, we ought to have real focus on  
15    different fuel streams. And together we can make  
16    that happen, number one.

17                Number two--and you know Tom always steals  
18    my words. I'm flattered because he's such a good  
19    writer, but no hobbies. Right? When you're about  
20    this, it's got to be about driving costs and creating  
21    jobs.

22                So we're not doing anything that we don't

1 think we can take down the learning curve in some  
2 order, or that we don't think creates jobs as we're  
3 doing it. So the first thing is security through  
4 diversity. The second thing is economic impact  
5 through either taking things, making them lower cost,  
6 or creating jobs.

7                   And the third one is: I run my company to  
8 be sustainable. In other words, I run my company  
9 assuming there's going to be a market for carbon some  
10 day; assuming there's going to be a cap-and-trade  
11 system some day; assuming that there's going to be a  
12 market some day.

13                   No publicly traded CEO should have a  
14 different philosophy than that. In other words, the  
15 day you decide it's already 10 years too late for me,  
16 I've got to be way ahead of you for the day you  
17 finally get there. And so I run the company assuming  
18 we get there some day. And so my investors are  
19 always going to be prepared for that, and we're going  
20 to be able to make money in that context.

21                   So those are the three philosophies that  
22 we run the company with that are somewhat similar to  
23

1 the ones that you've got to wrestle with as well.

2 Then there are three levers that we pull.

3 One is massive infusion of innovation and technology.

4 This is going to be the next big project that this  
5 country had, kind of like the Dot Com, the Internet  
6 technology that was starting in the late '80s and  
7 rippling through. This has got great nascent  
8 technology that we can drive. So technology and  
9 innovation.

10 The second thing: A real focus on selling  
11 these products everywhere. In other words, I  
12 wouldn't come here and make the case to you if I  
13 didn't think I could sell clean energy products in  
14 China, Saudi Arabia, India, Brazil, every place in  
15 the world. So make this an export competency, an  
16 export industry.

17 And the third thing is: Engage between  
18 government and business and construct a public  
19 policy that's going to allow us to get there.

20 So what I would like to do in the  
21 remainder of my comments this morning is talk about  
22 innovation, talk about how you make this an export  
23

1 industry; and again what things Governors can do to  
2 make this more accommodating and make this more of a  
3 winning proposal in the future.

4 Innovation technology. I've worked for GE  
5 for 26 years. We've got a huge health care business,  
6 and we've got a huge energy business. And in 26  
7 years, our health care business has basically iterated  
8 technology about eight or nine times. In other  
9 words, if you think about the product cycles, in  
10 energy we're still selling some of the same products  
11 we sold 26 years ago.

12 So the whole focus on what technology can  
13 bring is somewhat stilted in the case of energy. The  
14 industry. This is not GE statistics; these are  
15 industry statistics. Basically health care spends  
16 about 8 percent of their revenue back into R&D.  
17 Energy has spent over the last 20 years about 2  
18 percent. That difference is \$50 billion a year.

19 So there's a lot of innovation out there  
20 that can be brought to bear if we just brought this  
21 back to the front seat and made it work. And I'll  
22 just discuss very briefly what some of those



1 technologies are some of the things that I think we  
2 should be working on right now.

3           You always have to start with efficiency  
4 and conservation. Let's make the existing products  
5 more efficient. And I think that's still got a long  
6 ways to go. I mean, when you think about again in  
7 the world I live in, but I think you could throw into  
8 this the automotive industry and others, turbines,  
9 commercial aviation, distributed technology. You  
10 know, we believe that with materials science that  
11 things like gas turbines, or jet engines, or  
12 automotive engines can be made radically more  
13 efficient, 10, 15, 20 percent more efficient in the  
14 coming years.

15           So I always start with; Let's make  
16 everything we do today better. The commercial jet  
17 that will go on the Boeing 787, which by the way is  
18 made by GE of course--

19           (Laughter.)

20           MR. IMMELT: --has got a fuel burn that's  
21 20 percent better than what it replaced, and it's got  
22 emissions 50 percent less than what it replaced. So

23

1 efficiency through materials technology is a really  
2 important topic.

3           The second one is conservation. Incent  
4 people through technology or incentives to consume  
5 less. This is getting into hybrid technology. It's  
6 getting into demand-side management inside the home.  
7 If you could take some of the technologies that exist  
8 in terms of energy management that exist in a  
9 computer center and took those into a home, or an  
10 industrial setting and brought that into the home so  
11 that you're not running the refrigerator at night, or  
12 you're running it at different level, there's  
13 literally major percentages, 10, 15, 20, 30 percent  
14 less consumption that we can drive with the right  
15 innovations and the right efficiency that's in the  
16 system.

17           In 2009 we will have 100 locomotives that  
18 use hybrid technology getting 15 percent better fuel  
19 consumption just by conserving and finding different  
20 ways to do the electrification, if you will, of that  
21 power generation. So efficiency conservation.

22           The third are renewables. Renewables in  
23

1     wind, in solar, in biofuels have made great progress.

2     You know wind is now 4 or 5 cents a kilowatt hour.

3     People never thought it would get to 4 or 5 cents a  
4     kilowatt hour.

5                 Solar is still at 30 cents a kilowatt  
6     hour, but I think we could cut that in half probably  
7     by thin-film technology and distributed technology.

8                 Biofuels, again we've got a big presence  
9     in Brazil. We now can burn B-10 and some other  
10    biofuels in locomotives. We're working on being able  
11    to do it in jet engines. So we're really looking at  
12    ways to take biofuels throughout the system. But  
13    renewables have to be a big part, and they've made a  
14    lot more progress than anybody thought they'd make  
15    over the last couple of years.

16                Exploration. There's new technology to  
17    get more gas in subsea applications, which again is  
18    something we think is going to have to be a part of  
19    the future. We've got get more energy sources out  
20    there, and there are new technologies that can do  
21    that.

22                Big-bet baseload technologies. Coal

23

1     gasification with sequestration and nuclear power  
2     have to be on the table. These are going to take a  
3     lot of capital to make happen.

4                 You know in the case of coal it's 49  
5     percent in the U.S. It's even bigger outside the  
6     United States. In the case of nuclear, it's 19  
7     percent of the U.S., slightly higher on a global  
8     basis.

9                 Any strategy has to encompass where we're  
10    going to go with those big-bet baseload technologies  
11    and shouldn't be taken off the table.

12                Smart grid. National grid. I mean, you  
13    guys hear the stories, you're part of the solution  
14    and the problem by the way on smart grid  
15    technologies, but finding ways to make sure that we  
16    have less wastage across the system; that we can do a  
17    better job of base load management.

18                There's a lot of software and hardware  
19    technologies that are going into that area. I won't  
20    talk a lot about water, but water--you know, the  
21    shortage of water. If you're in the Southeast like a  
22    couple of my friends down here, you know the whole  
23

1     notion around desalination, and how do we do a better  
2     job of managing our water supply?

3                 There's great technologies that are being  
4     developed in terms of how do you do a better job of  
5     industrial re-use and conservation that we think are  
6     very important.

7                 There's billions of dollars going into the  
8     entrepreneurial space. Still not enough. You know,  
9     I would say for the last 25 years, if you go from  
10    1978 to 2003 you had to have your head examined if  
11    you were an entrepreneur and you invested in energy.

12                At \$20 oil, there is no margin for  
13    anybody, any of the smart investment money, outside  
14    GE, to go into energy. That's changed. So there's  
15    real entrepreneurial dollars that are coming in  
16    today, a lot of which we like to partner with.

17                And the last point I would make on  
18    innovation, really one thing. We're a 130-year-old  
19    company. We get there by taking these technologies  
20    and making them low cost.

21                You know, the first IGCC plant, guess  
22    what, it's going to be expensive. The first  
23

1 pulverized coal plant, guess what, it was expensive.  
2 The 10th IGCC plant isn't going to be so expensive.  
3 So we know how to take these things down the learning  
4 curve, and we've got to let some of that ingenuity  
5 play through with your help in terms of where we go.

6           So I think in the next 15 years, if you  
7 think about it, we could be driving big efficiency  
8 improvements. We could be driving big gains in  
9 conservation. We could have security through  
10 diversity, which I think would be a great goal for  
11 the Governors to have.

12           We could get the cost down of some of  
13 these big-bet baseload technologies. We could be  
14 hitting our sustainable goals, of which whatever you  
15 decide but my hunch is that by 2020 we're going to  
16 have some on greenhouse gas emission reduction, and  
17 I'm going to get the company ready to do that, and we  
18 could be creating jobs.

19           So the first point we would make to you is  
20 that the innovation exists; that it is being funded  
21 in various ways throughout the country. My advice to  
22 you would be not to take any options off the table,

23

1 but to set real goals in terms of how much cost you  
2 want to put into it, what the target should be for  
3 emissions reduction and things like that, and allow  
4 the market to drive forward and make those  
5 innovations happen.

6 But allow diversity to be your friend, and  
7 try not to pick two or three because I think there's  
8 more options.

9 The second thing that I would say is that  
10 this creates jobs. The thing you should hold me  
11 accountable for is taking this technology and  
12 creating exports out of it.

13 Now GE is one of the biggest exporters  
14 from the United States. We export about \$15 billion  
15 a year, and virtually all of those exports are in  
16 clean energy; virtually all of them.

17 So we can win. You know, I don't think  
18 you have to be lacking confidence that if you're  
19 doing it right we can create the winning formulation.  
20 It's about technology. It's about developing  
21 emerging market cost structure and modern  
22 manufacturing techniques.

1                   Just to give you a few examples:

2                   Heavy duty gas turbines. We're the best  
3   in the world. We've got the lowest cost. We've got  
4   high efficiency. Last year in 2007, 95 percent of  
5   the products we made in South Carolina, New York  
6   State, and Georgia were exported outside the United  
7   States, 95 percent.

8                   Commercial aviation. Best efficiency.  
9   Lowest emissions in the world. We make them in Ohio,  
10   North Carolina, New Mexico, Mississippi,  
11   Massachusetts; 90 percent of those sold outside the  
12   United States last year. Ninety percent outside the  
13   United States.

14                  Evolution Locomotive, we've got the most  
15   efficient, lowest emissions locomotive in the world.  
16   Erie, Pennsylvania, my buddy Governor Rendell here, a  
17   110-year-old factory. It's straight out of a Charles  
18   Dickens novel, okay? One of the first GE sites. I  
19   guarantee you, it said nothing's being made here. 50  
20   percent outside the United States: Brazil, China,  
21   high efficiency, low emissions technology.

22                  Renewables we make in New York, Iowa,

23



1 California, Delaware, Florida, 30 percent outside the  
2 United States exports.

3 Advanced controls: Nevada, Massachusetts,  
4 50 percent outside the United States.

5 The point I would make to you is that  
6 countries become good when they can match innovation  
7 with domain expertise. In energy, this country can  
8 match innovation with domain expertise. This is one  
9 we ought to be winning at.

10 Now other people want to compete with us  
11 in that. The Chinese, the Indians, the Turks, the  
12 Eastern Europeans, the Russians, all want to compete  
13 with us today. But I think that this could be one of  
14 the great export industries in this country, and we  
15 should be more confident about the fact that this  
16 could be a great framework.

17 I believe even if you look at nuclear,  
18 coal gasification with sequestration, this is a  
19 country that's got more domain expertise between the  
20 coal, the oil, the utility industry that all these  
21 countries are going to do.

22 You know, we can sit here and talk about  
23

1 China and India as much as we want, and they're  
2 burning a lot of coal today, and these are tough  
3 environmental places, but they are going to get  
4 better some day. They are going to get better some  
5 day. And I would rather them get better with  
6 technologies I'm making and selling from here than in  
7 things we just delegate to them because we were too  
8 lazy to do it in the first place.

9 (Some applause.)

10 MR. IMMELT: So I think that's the way to  
11 think about exports--and more jobs in Mississippi,  
12 Haley, as well.

13 (Laughter.)

14 MR. IMMELT: So the first point is  
15 innovation is real. It's out there. It's very  
16 profound.

17 The second thing is we could make this a  
18 real export industry for all of us.

19 And the third point I would make is that  
20 you have a central role as Governors in terms of how  
21 this all gets done in the next 5 or 10 years. There  
22 is no doubt in my mind that with clean energy the

23

1 States are going to lead the Federal Government.

2 It's not that it's unique to this, but clearly in  
3 this space the States are going to have a leadership  
4 role to play. And there are just four or five things  
5 I would ask you to do as you think about how you  
6 manage this:

7           The first one is: Promote innovation  
8 using your markets and your market power to do so.

9 Let me tell you, renewable performance standards now  
10 in 30 States have been very effective to promote  
11 innovation, to promote investment in your States.  
12 That's just one example. There's others. But you  
13 have the ability, you have the power to create the  
14 right type of market incentives to drive real  
15 innovation.

16           And there's been I think even innovation  
17 across the States. The RGGI, the Western Climate  
18 Initiative, the Midwestern Climate Accord, things  
19 like that have been every effective I think to drive  
20 that across the space. So first, promote innovation  
21 using your market power as a guide.

22           The second one is: You've got to help us

23

1     drive this big-bet technologies in nuclear and coal  
2     gasification with sequestration. You've got to stand  
3     up for it. You've got to take the heat on it.  
4     You've got to be willing to stand up and make it  
5     happen alongside of us.

6                 Look, we have invested a lot of money in  
7     R&D on our new boiling water reactor, and on coal  
8     gasification, with almost no government support. So,  
9     you know, we're out there. We've got products that  
10    have to be commercialized, but they're not going to  
11    get done without your--if you believe in it.

12                In other words, what we try to do in GE is  
13    make sure that we're not dependent on any one of  
14    these technologies. So if the world doesn't want  
15    nuclear power, I'm not sure I completely understand  
16    but we're going to march on and sell gas turbines and  
17    wind and things like that. But if you believe in it,  
18    you're going to have to stand up and really help us  
19    make this happen. And we've got lots of great work  
20    with Governor Freudenthal in Wyoming on a  
21    sequestration project that we're working with him on;  
22    a lot of work in West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, in  
23

1 coal gasification and sequestration, big plants, and  
2 more of that is going to have to happen to go  
3 forward.

4           The third thing is: Update the regulatory  
5 framework to incent the right behaviors. Again, with  
6 the PUCs and things like that, driving the right  
7 incentives around storage, around transportation,  
8 around the sites that you want to put, if you believe  
9 in natural gas and things like that, you lead that.  
10 And you can be big advocates of that.

11           And along those lines, I would urge every  
12 one of you in your state to have your own  
13 ecomagination project. In other words, I never cease  
14 to be amazed that when I stand up in front of my  
15 company and give them four objectives, they actually  
16 try to hit them.

17           (Laughter.)

18           MR. IMMELT: It's one of the beautiful  
19 things about leadership is, if you've got really good  
20 people they try to do it, and do better. And I think  
21 if the States had real goals that were public, and  
22 people knew, you would get tremendous response from  
23

1 industry to help do that.

2           The fourth thing that I would ask you to  
3 think about is: How best to use your universities  
4 and your entrepreneurial focus. I just think the  
5 colleges in this country are such a great resource.  
6 What we've tried to do is create pools of funds where  
7 we can co-invest with a Governor around a university,  
8 and bring in external funding.

9           So we can bring in--you know, you'll have  
10 John Doerr here tomorrow from Kleiner Perkins. We  
11 can bring in venture capital, state funds, our funds,  
12 and work on one specific topic--thin-film solar,  
13 sequestration, things like that--and you've got a  
14 tremendous asset vis-a-vis the universities to help  
15 us.

16           The last thing that I would say--and I  
17 think this is always tough for a Governor--is some  
18 day we need national standards. Fifty State  
19 standards, guys, if you're running a company is a  
20 really tough way to run a railroad.

21           You know, we stuck our neck out about a  
22 year ago and joined--and helped form something called  
23

1     "The U.S. Climate Action Partnership." We had 30  
2     companies, six NGOs, and we basically wanted to put a  
3     set of markers in the ground that would allow us to  
4     act now and set some real standards in terms of  
5     greenhouse gas emission reduction, and try to create  
6     a market, foster innovation, and be fair vis-a-vis  
7     allocations and things like that.

8                 Now what I would ask is: Somehow lend  
9     your voice to either this or something else, but at  
10    some point I think as a country we do need a set of  
11    national standards. We do need a set of national  
12    goals.

13                I am not sure that ours is the right one,  
14    but we do need one. And that is the only thing I  
15    would ask, at some point for your support or your  
16    understanding, or your leadership more importantly,  
17    on that.

18                So again the third point I would make is  
19    that you're important; that you can create the right  
20    spirit of investment. You can make this move faster,  
21    and a lot of these activities, particularly  
22    sophisticated investments like coal gasification with  
23

1     sequestration and nuclear power won't happen without  
2     you.

3             So in conclusion, you know I think  
4     philosophy by and large we share. It's security  
5     through diversity. It's positive economic impact in  
6     terms of cost and jobs. And it's getting on a  
7     sustainable pathway. That is the philosophy.

8             It requires technology. It requires a  
9     real focus on exports and competitiveness. And it is  
10    going to require support of both state and national  
11    policy. That's what I am here to argue with. You  
12    play a very good role because in many ways the  
13    government can bridge between short-term and long-  
14    term, and that is really what we need right now.

15            If our only signal that we invest on is  
16    today's price for oil, and you are a CEO and you've  
17    got some great CEOs talking here, so the CEOs you're  
18    talking to this afternoon who are great guys, they  
19    won't be probably in their jobs to see any of these  
20    big-bet investments take place. So they've got to be  
21    tremendously courageous to make these kind of  
22    investments and, like I said, they can't do it

23



1     without you.

2                   In my career I've been around launching  
3     products and solving problems. That's basically what  
4     business people do. You know, we solve problems and  
5     we try to build things, make things and make money.  
6     And, you know, I've seen things where there's been  
7     invention required and no market. That's really  
8     hard, right? I can't tell you, we've done some of  
9     those. Those are really hard.

10                  I've seen things where technology is  
11     available and the market is easy--with willing  
12     customers, that's easy. This is somewhere in  
13     between. The technology exists but it's unproven.  
14     There needs to be a mitigation of risk, and the  
15     benefits are obvious in the future.

16                  We can do this. You know, there's not big  
17     inventions that require this. Lots of  
18     commercialization that's required. So I'm very  
19     optimistic about the technology and innovation that's  
20     needed to do this.

21                  So I'm where we started. There's four  
22     pillars of a competitive society. It's education.

23

1     It's health care. It's financial systems that  
2     nurture economic growth. And it's energy. And  
3     you've picked one of the toughest ones to work on  
4     today.

5                 GE is really in the middle of it, and you  
6     are going to be the people that we listen to very  
7     strongly about where we should go, where we should  
8     make investments, and where the future is going to  
9     be. So I've enjoyed being here. Thank you, very  
10    much.

11                (Applause.)

12                CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Thank you.

13                Both Tom and jeff made extraordinary  
14    efforts to be here today on a Saturday, taking time  
15    away from their families and other commitments, and  
16    we sincerely appreciate their time and for two  
17    excellent presentations.

18                Now we have a bit of time for some  
19    questions and answers from the Governors. Governor  
20    Granholt, you start us out.

21                GOVERNOR GRANHOLM: Thank you so much.  
22    You guys are outstanding, inspirational. I come  
23

1 from the State with the most challenged economy in  
2 the Nation due to the challenges of our auto  
3 industry.

4 I am determined to create a new industrial  
5 revolution in Michigan by replacing lost  
6 manufacturing jobs with green jobs.

7 As an organization, we have the ability to  
8 move Congress, potentially, in some direction but  
9 we've got to focus. You have listed an array of  
10 opportunities for us to approach Congress on and have  
11 a national, united effort.

12 If you had to advise us on the top one or  
13 two policy items we should rally around as Governors  
14 in a united fashion to change the landscape, what  
15 would those be?

16 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Is that a question for  
17 both?

18 GOVERNOR GRANHOLM: Either or both of them  
19 have expertise.

20 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: We'll start with Tom.

21 MR. FRIEDMAN; That's a really important  
22 question. I guess if I wouldn't upset anyone I  
23

1 would really point to what California has done around  
2 utilities. Because your utilities are really the  
3 central player. They are the heart in this energy  
4 system. When Jeff is selling those coal gasification  
5 plants or, you know, nuclear, they're selling them to  
6 utilities, and they are the interface between the  
7 innovator and the customer basically.

8           If you look at the environmental world  
9 right now, you know, there's probably one school that  
10 says, you know, we've got to take these people on.  
11 You know, they're not doing the right thing.

12           Like Jeff, I am a capitalist. I want  
13 utilities to get rich doing the right thing rather  
14 than the wrong thing. And basically all these years,  
15 since utilities have existed, they existed basically  
16 like a \$5 all-you-can-eat buffet.

17           Energy was what they served. It was all  
18 you could eat for \$5. And their job was to get cheap  
19 electrons to your home in a reliable way.

20           Clean wasn't part of it. And innovation  
21 wasn't part of it. It's been often cited, the  
22 American dog food industry spends more on R&D than  
23

1 the American utility industry. So there's a reason  
2 for it, because they had a captive audience.

3 And so what I would look for, Governor, is  
4 really how to incent that key player, that's  
5 interface, to do all the right things. And I would  
6 point to three things.

7 One is the decoupling plus approach which  
8 says to the utility: Henceforth you will be  
9 remunerated not for how much energy you sell but how  
10 much energy you save. Number one.

11 Number two, California has just started  
12 this this year, you will be paid more. You will get  
13 a rate base increase on the basis of how much equity  
14 you invest in clean power, however we define clean  
15 power.

16 And third, I think utilities should be  
17 paid. I want to pay them. I want to incentivize them  
18 as part of the rate base for what role they play, how  
19 much they contribute to higher energy efficiency  
20 standards for refrigerators, air conditioners,  
21 whatever appliances it is. You take this utility  
22 that for 100 years was basically running and all-you-  
23

1     can-eat electron buffet and not really caring much  
2     how those electrons were made, and you pivot it into  
3     the key player in driving efficiency, standards, and  
4     clean power.

5                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY:   Thank you, Tom.   Jeff?

6                   MR. IMMELT:   You know, I would just,  
7     elevating above specific technologies, Governor, what  
8     I would say is forming of a market that allows people  
9     to value whatever it is, change, or carbon, or  
10    something like that.

11                   My first job with GE was selling plastics  
12    to the automotive industry in the early '80s when  
13    CAFE hit the first time, and it drove immense change.  
14    And so the fundamentals are that the market signals  
15    do drive technical innovation.   So I would say that  
16    is number one.

17                   Number two is, I would be very basic.   I  
18    would say incentives that create real incentives for  
19    job creation and export jobs.   If you have the  
20    combination of strong market signals and real  
21    incentives to create great export jobs, that's a  
22    pretty good one-two punch I think.

23

1                   And then we could always talk about  
2   specific renewable standards and things like that  
3   that I also think would be nice within that context.

4                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: While we're waiting  
5   for the next question, I'll just share a quick  
6   experience from Minnesota.

7                   When we set our renewable energy standard  
8   at 25 percent by the year 2025, our largest utility  
9   in Minnesota Xcel Energy voluntarily came forward and  
10   said we'll do 30 percent by 2020. And that was not  
11   something imposed upon them, that's something they  
12   wanted to be leaders and innovators on.

13                  We've also switched our energy  
14   conservation incentive system from one of giving  
15   credits to utilities for how much they spend on  
16   conservation to how much can you actually prove that  
17   you've saved, and we'll credit you for that, and that  
18   seems to be having a positive difference, to  
19   underscore a couple of the points that were made.

20                  Somebody other than from the Midwest.  
21   Governor Spitzer.

22                  GOVERNOR SPITZER: Thank you, Tim.

23

1                   This is more perhaps a theoretical  
2   question both for Tom and for Jeff. I think the  
3   critical words you uttered today were pricing  
4   externalities. This goes to the heart of what is  
5   perhaps more a political question than a technical  
6   question. We're trying to do the things you just  
7   talked about: decoupling, building things into the  
8   rate base, and setting standards.

9                   The problem we have is that every time we  
10   try to do this it is viewed as invasive of the market  
11   system. And so the question I have is:

12                  How do we create an understanding that  
13   pricing externalities, which is viewed as essentially  
14   a regulatory structure, is necessary for the market  
15   system to work?

16                  If you look at the Clean Air Act many  
17   years back, then you look at the more recent  
18   iterations of it, RGGI, which is the sort of New York  
19   and Northeastern Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative,  
20   and as you said it's replicated around the Nation,  
21   these are regulatory frameworks designed to account  
22   for the public cost of our failure to act.

23



1                   How do we get the business leadership--and  
2   maybe, Jeff, this is more to you, and like you I  
3   think all of us around the table are confirmed  
4   capitalists--but we need to get the public to  
5   understand that smart capitalism accounts for these  
6   costs, and that failure to account for them is taking  
7   us down a dead end.

8                   So how do we overcome that ideological  
9   problem?

10                  CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY:   Jeff, do you want to  
11   take that one first?

12                  MR. IMMELT:   Yes, Governor, you know again  
13   I completely get it.   I would give you two  
14   responses.   One is that the people that we have  
15   worked with, broadly speaking, in U.S. Climate Action  
16   Partnership just recognize that in this market the  
17   lack of match and time horizons means that you are  
18   just always going to be mismatched on investment  
19   versus payoff.

20                  And so we can talk about free markets and  
21   things like that as long as we want to, but that's  
22   just a technical fact.   So I think there's got to be,  
23

1     again I think if you look at what happened to  
2     nitrogen diox and some things like that, there have  
3     been effective cap-and-trade markets that over time  
4     have lowered costs and still been effective at what  
5     they have set out to do.

6                 So I just think this industry is one that  
7     renders itself, I wouldn't even call it for  
8     intervention, just for some way to say this is the  
9     way you mismatch. The most profitable asset to a  
10    utility today is a nuclear power plant. It's 30  
11    years old. It's fully depreciated. You can price  
12    off the incremental cost of gas. Your cost is  
13    virtually zero.

14                And every one of the CEOs that launched  
15    that project 25 years ago got fired. You know? So  
16    that's what everybody understands, number one.

17                Number two is: GE is the broadest company  
18    in the world. We're in the health care business.  
19    We're in the energy business. We're in the  
20    entertainment business. We're in financial services.  
21    Guess what? The government is in all of them.

22                I am not in one industry that I would  
23

1 consider to be a purely free market. So I just  
2 think what the government's got to be about is its  
3 own best interests. And what's best for the country,  
4 what's best for your States, and industry in some  
5 cases has to be a part of that.

6 And I can't give you one industry we  
7 compete in that is a pure, classic Adam Smith free  
8 market. So the question is: Don't do harm is part  
9 of it, as well.

10 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Tom?

11 MR. FRIEDMAN: I would just add a couple  
12 of things to that. Jeff was modest when he talked  
13 about GE Transportation in Erie, Pennsylvania, but  
14 I've written about it so Jeff I'm sure will let me  
15 talk about it a little bit--in fact, I'm interviewing  
16 John Dineen on Tuesday, Jeff.

17 I like to use it in my talks, GE  
18 Transportation, because Erie, Pennsylvania, has a  
19 trade surplus with China and Mexico. I'm here in the  
20 middle of the Rust Belt, you'll pardon me, Governor,  
21 Erie, Pennsylvania, has a trade surplus with Mexico  
22 and China? And why is that? What is it from? It's  
23

1 from selling choo-choo trains. Choo-choo trains that  
2 are so energy efficient that on a total ton-pulled  
3 basis they're actually cheaper for China--which sells  
4 a competing locomotive, as Jeff will tell you, for 30  
5 percent less.

6           So how do you pull that? Where did that  
7 come from? Well it came from Jeff's far-sighted  
8 leadership, but it also came from our national  
9 regulatory standards around NOx and SOx. So we had  
10 this really high standard. GE had to meet it. And  
11 they met it, plus, and they created a global export  
12 industry.

13           Let's look at Japan. Which country in the  
14 world has really the highest efficiency standards in  
15 the world? It's a country called Japan. Which  
16 country in the world has not the highest but among  
17 the highest gasoline taxes? It's a country called  
18 Japan.

19           Which country in the world has the richest  
20 car company? Japan. Is that just an accident? I  
21 don't think so. I think Toyota, and Honda operate in  
22 a regulatory environment that they had to meet such  
23

1 high efficiency standards it drove innovation, which  
2 drove their exports.

3 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Governor Farv?

4 (Laughter.)

5 GOVERNOR DOYLE: You know, for a Viking  
6 fan to be talking to a Packer in that tone of  
7 voice--

8 (Laughter.)

9 GOVERNOR DOYLE: --is a little difficult  
10 to take.

11 (Laughter.)

12 GOVERNOR DOYLE: I think maybe the answer  
13 to Elliot's question sort of got to what I was  
14 asking, but I guess I'd like to put Jeff somewhat on  
15 the spot right here.

16 You've indicated that you're planning and  
17 are ready to live with a carbon market of some kind  
18 or other, and anybody in your position would have to  
19 be doing that. Do you think it's something that this  
20 country should put into place?

21 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Jeff?

22 MR. IMMELT: Yes. You know, I think

23

1     it's--I would say for three reasons, you know, and  
2     again I would say I don't come at this at all as an  
3     environmentalist or anything else, Governor, I just  
4     do it as a business person.

5                 I'd say the first one is the science,  
6     while it can be debated, is getting stronger. So I  
7     think technically you can get into a lot of debates  
8     on the interactions but there's, you know, enough out  
9     there that at least we ought to be thinking about it,  
10    number one.

11                Number two, I've been around business a  
12    long time. I've seen the will of the people change.  
13    And when the will of the people change, business  
14    better get in line. And, you know, I've got a pretty  
15    good sense for that. I get paid to get a good sense  
16    for that. And so I think we're either there, or  
17    getting close to being there, and a lot of the other  
18    parts of the world are already there.

19                And the third one is, bigger and probably  
20    more important than all that, in my heart and in the  
21    heart of my company, we're about technology and  
22    innovation. You know, the 130-year-old company is

1     about technology and innovation. And I've seen  
2     enough in our own pipeline and in exploring the world  
3     to say we can unleash more technology here that can  
4     help solve this problem without creating economic ill  
5     will inside the United States, which I clearly do not  
6     want to do.

7                 So now all that being said, we've got to  
8     invest a lot in technology. We've got to do a good  
9     job on allocations. We've got to get from where we  
10    are today to where we are in the future. We  
11    shouldn't leave any technologies behind.

12                We can't allow this to be a coal state  
13    versus a non-coal state winners and losers. We've  
14    got to have real solutions for coal. Look, 49  
15    percent of our power is coal. The notion that it's  
16    not going to be part of the future is just not right.  
17    So we've got to do all those things together.

18                But, Governor, I just think, you know,  
19    I've been around long enough to smell it. I've seen  
20    enough of the technology to sense it. And, you know,  
21    I just think it's one of those things where it may be  
22    better three years from now, or three years ago, but  
23

1     it's going to--I'm just going to run the company as  
2     if it's going to happen.

3                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY:   Governor Manchin.

4                   GOVERNOR MANCHIN:   It's good to hear both  
5     of these gentlemen with the knowledge they have, and  
6     the expertise, but in West Virginia I just--as being  
7     a coal extraction State, as you understand, and also  
8     natural gas, and we want to be part of the cleaning  
9     and greening of America, and all of our other coal-  
10    producing states do also.

11                  The thing that we run into, and my good  
12    friend Ed Rendell from Pennsylvania being one of the  
13    leading coal states at the turn of the century a  
14    century ago, basically understands that we can't do  
15    it just on passing the rates on to our baseload  
16    customers.

17                  We will do whatever we can in playing our  
18    part in this cleaning and greening of America, but it  
19    has to be done basically on a national policy, not on  
20    a regional basis.

21                  Our economies can't handle that.   And  
22    also the people who depend on the energy that we  
23



1     produce on the East Coast couldn't handle it either.

2     That is what we are looking for.

3                 We are willing. I mean, everyone--

4     sometimes there's the perception that those of us in

5     these extraction states are pushing back, and that's

6     not the case. We want to be part of this forward

7     movement. But also with the understand that we've

8     helped bring the Nation where it is today with the

9     energy we've produced.

10                We have helped defend this Nation through

11    the wars with the energy we've produced. And we want

12    to make sure that we are part of this as it moves

13    forward in the greening and cleaning also.

14                So with that being said, I talked to Jeff

15    earlier and he might want to respond to this,

16    basically with the technologies that need to be done

17    we're trying to build coal gasification, but now

18    carbon sequestration, or carbon capturing is driving

19    that. With that being done, it's driving the price.

20                We have a company on the verge of doing

21    something, and it will be done in West Virginia, but

22    who pays that price? Is it just based on the 400,000

23

1     base rate on the ratepayers there? Or is it going to  
2     be a national policy that helps us make sure we're  
3     producing the power of the future?

4                 So if both of you all would kind of give  
5     me your comments on that, and on how we can better  
6     participate and be part of this.

7                 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Jeff, do you want to  
8     take a swing at that first?

9                 MR. IMMELT: Yes, Governor, and then I've  
10    got to get Tom so he gets in as much trouble as I get  
11    into.

12                (Laughter.)

13                MR. IMMELT: Governor, I think it has been  
14    25 years since we've done a coal gasification plant  
15    in the United States. The technology exists.

16    Sequestration is nascent technology. It's got to be  
17    proven, but there's a lot of work going on to do it.

18                The first six or ten plants--you know, 6-  
19    or 700 megawatt plants are going to be expensive,  
20    more expensive than pulverized coal.

21                GOVERNOR MANCHIN: Right.

22                MR. IMMELT: But there's no reason to  
23

1     believe that they won't come down the learning curve  
2     just like every other thing in the industry has done.  
3     So I would say the first--you know, the first 10 or  
4     12 are going to have to have some kind of national  
5     framework so that it's not just borne by the states  
6     that are willing and ready to do it.

7             And really, in some of the early forms, or  
8     even the late forms, of the Energy bill it had some  
9     of those. You will have Mike here this afternoon,  
10    Mike Morris, here this afternoon. He can speak to it  
11    as well.

12            The point I make is that we're a little  
13    bit like, on both nuclear and coal gasification, you  
14    know, we're like being at the Super Bowl where the  
15    teams never leave the locker room. And we've got to  
16    get some of these built so that we can start  
17    learning.

18            In some ways, the utilities are in the  
19    worst of all worlds now because new coal plants  
20    aren't being permitted. And we're going to end up  
21    backing into, maybe making worse choices because  
22    we're kind of betwixt and between right now. And I

1     just think clarity and getting off on these  
2     investments would be very helpful.

3                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY:   Tom.

4                   MR. FRIEDMAN;   I would simply say a couple  
5     of things.   One is, I totally agree with Jeff.   We've  
6     got to use the buying power of the government to buy  
7     power.   And, to create these kind of pilot projects.  
8     So it certainly shouldn't fall on--this is a national  
9     objective, and a national priority--it certainly  
10    shouldn't fall on the people of West Virginia to do  
11    that.   So that would be my first point.

12                   My second, though, and it's related also  
13    to the Governor of Wisconsin's question, I  
14    understand.   I'm not the governor of a state that  
15    uses coal.   I also understand that we're going to  
16    need to be dependent on coal for quite a few years  
17    coming.   There's just no question in my mind.

18                   First of all, I would like to think of  
19    some really innovative--I'm worried about  
20    sequestration simply because the demand for the  
21    technology, when we tried to do this at scale, is  
22    just going to--the cost of just the pipes and the

23

1 steel and whatnot, I hope it moves down the cost  
2 curve. I'm afraid if you try to do this at scale  
3 what will happen.

4 I'm interested in looking at ultra super  
5 critical, which is a 30 percent improvement on  
6 greenhouse gas. Maybe there's a way you do that, and  
7 with offsets. Maybe there's some really innovative  
8 ways to say, look, we're going to plant a new forest  
9 in West Virginia, and we're going to do ultra super  
10 critical. I'm just tossing that out as some--

11 GOVERNOR MANCHIN: Sure.

12 MR. FRIEDMAN; --innovative ways to say  
13 it.

14 But if I were to step back and not talk  
15 about West Virginia at all for a moment, but just  
16 talk about the country and where I think we're going,  
17 it's that clean power ultimately. This is going to  
18 be the next great global industry in a world that's  
19 hot, flat, and crowded. It just has to be.

20 And from a national point of view, the  
21 country that gets there first, fastest, most  
22 innovatively I think is going to own the industry of  
23

1 the 21st Century.

2 I was in China. I had the pleasure, and  
3 honor, and great fun to address the China Clean Car--  
4 at a Clean Car Conference in Tien Jen China in  
5 September, and they invited me to speak. It was all  
6 Chinese car guys in kind of their Detroit.

7 They all listened on headsets. Nobody  
8 spoke English. And my talk basically, my message was  
9 the following, and this gets to the Governor of  
10 Wisconsin. I said:

11 You know, every time I come to China,  
12 young Chinese say to me, Mr. Friedman, you got to  
13 grow dirty for 150 years. Now it's our turn. You  
14 got to grow dirty, now it's our turn.

15 And I said, my message to you is: You're  
16 absolutely right. It's your turn. Take your time.  
17 Grow as dirty as you want for as long as you want.  
18 Because I think I just need five years for my great  
19 innovative companies to own all the clean power  
20 technologies that you're going to need before you  
21 choke to death, and we are going to clean your clock  
22 in the next great global industry.

23

1 (Laughter.)

2 MR. FRIEDMAN; So, you know, when I hear,  
3 not you, but when I hear people sort of resisting  
4 this, it's sort of what Jeff said. You know, kind of  
5 the technology is here, but anyone who is looking  
6 just over the horizon in a world that hot, flat and  
7 crowded, there is a market there that is so big, so  
8 obvious, so going to be there, and I think what  
9 anyone who's got these legacy kind of industries has  
10 to be thinking about is: How do we get from here to  
11 there?

12 Because I've got people, jobs to create.  
13 But also make your State not just the innovator on  
14 coal, but for any of those other technologies.  
15 Because ultimately that is really where the big  
16 market is going to be.

17 GOVERNOR MANCHIN: Well we're doing all of  
18 that, and we're trying to do that, but we also  
19 understand that the country is going to need the coal  
20 that we've been producing for a long time for a  
21 little bit longer.

22 MR. FRIEDMAN; Oh, absolutely.

23

1                   GOVERNOR MANCHIN: And the transmission.

2       We don't see anything happening with transmission  
3       lines.

4                   MR. FRIEDMAN; No.

5                   GOVERNOR MANCHIN: Every time they want to  
6       build a new power line, there's nothing new to  
7       innovatively create a more efficient power line, or  
8       repowering with ceramics and this. We don't see  
9       anyone moving in that direction.

10                  MR. FRIEDMAN; Well it's because we have  
11       energy politics in this country; we don't have energy  
12       policy. And until we have an energy policy that  
13       looks at this as a systems' problem, as you said,  
14       that involves transmission, smart grids, smart homes,  
15       innovation around clean power, we are all going to be  
16       kind of looking out for ourselves. And that's what I  
17       was trying to say with the China thing.

18                  Of course I don't want to be China for a  
19       day, or a day-and-a-half, but the point--

20                  GOVERNOR MANCHIN: Yes, you really do.

21                  (Laughter.)

22                  MR. FRIEDMAN; Yeah, well, maybe for a  
23



1 day. Because somebody there is saying this is a  
2 strategic objective, and we are going to pursue it  
3 strategically.

4 GOVERNOR MANCHIN: Thank you so much.

5 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Joe, to your point, we  
6 have a coal gasification proposal in Minnesota. The  
7 Federal Government gave it a \$800 million loan  
8 guarantee dedicated to this project, and in State law  
9 we passed a law that said if they can deliver the  
10 electricity, the maiden utility in Minnesota must buy  
11 it if it's delivered at a reasonable price. And the  
12 plant isn't even sequestering yet. It will be built  
13 sequestered ready and the price doesn't yet factor in  
14 piping it into Canada or some other geological place  
15 to put the carbon. And they're not able to deliver  
16 it without a substantial premium.

17 So your question is: If the first six of  
18 these are going to be really expensive, you know,  
19 does a subgroup of the Minnesota ratepayers pay that?  
20 Or the West Virginia ratepayers pay that? Or is  
21 there another way to distribute that big-bet up front  
22 costs that jeff mentioned?

23

1                   GOVERNOR MANCHIN: I think, Tim, basically  
2     just finishing up, is that every coal producing state  
3     wants to be part of this movement, moving into this  
4     new technology and this new market, if you're market-  
5     driven.

6                   The bottom line is we want to continue to  
7     help as we get there, but we understand we can't do  
8     it by ourself. And it creates sometimes great  
9     hardships.

10                  MR. FRIEDMAN; Because, you know, just to  
11     pick up on one last thing that Jeff raised, I totally  
12     agree. I think we are entering this really dangerous  
13     period where we're kind of delegitimizing coal, but  
14     we have not enabled or empowered in any way either  
15     clean coal or the other technologies at scale.

16                  And whenever you create a vacuum like that  
17     around energy, problems happen. I think we really  
18     need to pay attention to the gap.

19                  GOVERNOR MANCHIN: We are very pleased  
20     that both you all are here helping us get that  
21     balance.

22                  CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Governor Rendell.

23

1                   GOVERNOR RENDELL: Joe, one of the things  
2     I would add, and I would love to find out how Tim's  
3     company got the loan guarantee, because we've had a  
4     project in Scuko County we've been waiting for two-  
5     and-a-half years for the loan guarantee. The Federal  
6     Government did not set up the protocols for two years  
7     after the Act was passed on loan guarantees that  
8     could have jump-started the clean coal gasification  
9     industry.

10                  I think what we all have to do, in using  
11     Tim's platform for this year as the fulcrum, we ought  
12     to give the next Administration a concrete list of  
13     things that they can do to help us do the things that  
14     we're trying to do in the States. That would just be  
15     one, for example.

16                  The guarantee program was meant to take a  
17     nascent industry and give it a hand, get it over the  
18     price hump by doing these guarantees; get Wall Street  
19     to have a little courage and invest, because there  
20     are going to be those price factors up front.

21                  So I think it is really, what Tim's doing  
22     is great, particularly with the new Administration,

23

1 but we ought to have a goal that by January we come  
2 up with a concrete list of proposals we would like  
3 the new Administration to begin to enact.

4 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Thanks, Ed. Governor  
5 Hoeven.

6 GOVERNOR HOEVEN: One of the points that  
7 Jeff Immelt made that I think is incredibly important  
8 and needs to be emphasized is that we're going to  
9 need all these energy sources.

10 I am amazed at how often when we talk  
11 about energy somebody says: Well, we need a certain  
12 type of energy. It can be renewable. It can be  
13 traditional, whatever.

14 So I think the first question I would have  
15 I guess for both gentlemen is: How do you develop  
16 policies that promote the energy diversity and bring  
17 all of them forward, and don't hold certain types  
18 back and advance others?

19 But first specifically the question I  
20 would like to ask Jeff is: How do we get this clean  
21 coal technology moving? In our State in North Dakota  
22 we have a coal gasification plant that converts coal  
23

1     into natural gas. We capture the carbon dioxide. We  
2     put it in a pipeline compressed and we ship it into  
3     the oil fields for tertiary oil recovery. We've been  
4     doing that for awhile.

5                 We're working on developing more of that,  
6     but there's billions of dollars--billions of  
7     dollars--sitting on the sideline, whether it's in  
8     West Virginia, or Montana, or Pennsylvania, or go  
9     around the country, where people with all this great  
10    ingenuity, amazing ingenuity, aren't moving forward  
11    because they have no idea what's going to happen if  
12    they do. They don't know what the rules of the road  
13    are. They don't know what kind of tax ramifications  
14    are going to be.

15                They have no clue on what their carbon  
16    requirements are going to be. And so instead of  
17    deploying the solutions, like somebody made the  
18    analogy of the Super Bowl team sitting in the locker  
19    room, that's exactly what's happening.

20                So how do we get them moving forward with  
21    incentives to deploy these technologies rather than  
22    sitting around going well we can't get going, and

23

1     frankly some of the things that we're looking at will  
2     prevent us from ever going forward.  So how do we  
3     move forward?  How do we get them going?

4                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY:  We'll get an answer to  
5     this question, and then we'll go to Governor  
6     Napolitano, and then Governor Baldacci, and then  
7     we'll wrap up for this session.

8                   Jeff?

9                   MR. IMMELT:  I would just, addressing both  
10    your questions, I would say specifically on both,  
11    these big-bet baseload technologies like nuclear  
12    power and coal gasification with sequestration, the  
13    way I approach it is going from the specific to the  
14    general.

15                   You know, in other words I've got a list  
16    of five or six coal projects, five or six nuclear  
17    projects, each one has a unique regulatory, economic,  
18    and my view is you're going to have to do a  
19    couple--you're going to have to pull a couple of them  
20    over the finish line and then stand up and take a  
21    look at what works.

22                   I don't think it will work the--I used to  
23

1 think it would work the other way around. I'm not  
2 sure it will anymore. So we're going to have to--  
3 we've got one in Indiana, and maybe one in West  
4 Virginia, Virginia, other places that we're just  
5 going to have to learn from the specific to the  
6 general first.

7           The second one is, I just think the  
8 advantage we have, because we're a big company, is I  
9 always thought like I wasn't going to be smart enough  
10 to pick which fuel source was going to work 20 years  
11 from now, so I'm betting on all of them. In other  
12 words, I am betting on nuclear, gas, wind, solar,  
13 hybrids, fuel cells, coal, because the vagaries--and  
14 so I would say that if we decided how the market is  
15 going to work, number one; if we created some  
16 incentives broadly on investment without picking  
17 which ones had to be the most important ones, and RPS  
18 systems do that to a certain extent in the renewable  
19 side, I think you're going to see a lot of capital  
20 flow in this space and we're going to have a lot of  
21 options for it.

22           But in these big-bet baseload

23

1 technologies, Governor, each one takes a unique set  
2 of technology government, and I just can't give you a  
3 general answer. But I do think it's very important  
4 for you to work on it, for Governor Rendell to work  
5 on it, you know, all the people that really have to  
6 pull these across the finish line.

7 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Tom, do you want to  
8 take a crack at that?

9 MR. FRIEDMAN: Yes. I would simply say  
10 this, Governor, and again just to say pay attention  
11 to the one thing that Jeff said that I've often  
12 quoted, which is that he's not going to make a 40-  
13 year multibillion dollar bet on a 15-minute price  
14 signal.

15 What I've done in writing my book is I've  
16 gone to people like Jeff, and Chet Halliday at  
17 DuPont, you know, is that all this talk about venture  
18 capital going into green, and how much venture  
19 capital? If you ask them to look at what they're  
20 talking about, do you know how much venture capital  
21 went into green--venture capital--last year? \$3  
22 billion. Wow! At the height of the IT revolution,  
23



1     year 2000, VC, just VC capital into IT? Almost  
2     \$100 billion.

3             People--if \$3 billion fell off the table  
4     in the IT revolution, nobody even leaned over to pick  
5     it up. Okay? So that is a rounding error. Now that  
6     tells you you've got a market failure; that there's  
7     so much uncertainty in the market around pricing that  
8     people, you know, at our greatest bioscience company,  
9     or energy company, they're not all in in Texas Hold  
10    'Em terms. Oh, they are not all in. Because they  
11    don't know what's going to happen to that price, and  
12    their shareholders will not understand if they go all  
13    in and they get whipsawed. And that is the role of  
14    either a tax on carbon--yes, a carbon tax. I said  
15    the word. A carbon tax, or cap-and-trade that's very  
16    clear. Everyone knows that the price is.

17            They can plan their cash flow and operate  
18    around it. And that will unlock all this capital  
19    that's sitting there saying I'm not going to make a  
20    40-year bet on a 15-minute price signal.

21            It's the simplest economics, but we keep  
22    running away from it. No, no, no tax. No, no, we

23

1     can't say that word.  Okay, don't say that word and  
2     China is going to clean our clock in the next great  
3     global industry.  You can bet the farm on it.

4                 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY:  One of the speakers at  
5     our Midwestern Governors Association meeting said  
6     that the Federal Government spent \$1.4 billion last  
7     year on renewable energy, or fuel research, and as a  
8     country we spent \$5 billion on Halloween.

9                 (Laughter.)

10                CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY:  Governor Napolitano.

11                GOVERNOR NAPOLITANO:  Well, and one of the  
12     uncertainties that goes into this is the uncertainty  
13     based on the governance of the regulated utilities  
14     and how that works.  That is one of the issues that  
15     we are dealing with, because every state has a  
16     different way they govern those regulated utilities.

17                Do they get a portfolio standard?  And can  
18     they separate their rate base from other things?  And  
19     how that works is something this group has never  
20     really taken on as a subject.

21                I come from Arizona.  Our goal is to be  
22     the Persian Gulf of solar.  So we will be back to you

23

1     on that. But a question I had, and maybe Jeff  
2     appropriately directed to you is, you just mentioned  
3     the word "nuclear." I think it was the first time I  
4     heard it mentioned this morning.

5                 I want your understanding, and maybe Tom's  
6     as well, on what you think the role of nuclear will  
7     be? And is that really an innovative technology as  
8     you are looking or thinking in the concept of  
9     renewable and innovative energy supply?

10                MR. IMMELT: You know Governor we've got  
11     60 ecomagination products in GE, and so these are  
12     products that we've had outside people take a look at  
13     to see do they meet certain standards for, you know,  
14     are they better generation? Do they reduce global  
15     warming? Things like that.

16                And our new boiling water reactor is one  
17     of them. We spent a lot of time thinking about this,  
18     right? We've spent a lot of time considering it. We  
19     spent a lot of time thinking about the politics of  
20     it, and my view is that if you believe in energy  
21     security, if you believe in energy productivity, and  
22     if we believe in the need to reduce greenhouse gas  
23

1 emissions, we just can't take nuclear off the table.

2           It's 19 percent of the installed base in  
3 this country. It's higher outside this country. I  
4 clearly recognize that there's storage issues, that  
5 there's recycling issues, and things like that.

6           My personal advice is: Let's not take it  
7 off the table. Let's again try to get back in this  
8 game in a way that the citizens of the country will  
9 support. But again I don't think we have to choose  
10 between solar and nuclear. I think we ought to be  
11 pushing hard down both trails.

12           I think solar at 15 cents a kilowatt hour  
13 is going to be huge.

14           GOVERNOR NAPOLITANO: Right.

15           MR. IMMELT: It's going to be massive.

16           GOVERNOR NAPOLITANO: We have both in  
17 Arizona. But as you are looking at innovations and  
18 your own internal investment in innovations, are you  
19 applying any of that to the storage and the waste  
20 issues associated with nuclear to try to get us out  
21 of this--

22           MR. IMMELT: You know, we're part--these  
23

1 things are always best handled on an industry  
2 consortium basis, and we're part of these  
3 consortiums. But I would think the following  
4 argument, too, and i say this purely as a friend.  
5 Who in their right mind in the last 25 years would  
6 have put a penny in the storage of nuclear waste,  
7 given the fact that we haven't had a new plant built  
8 in 25 years?

9               So we have this endless chicken and egg  
10 scenario that says how much real capital is going to  
11 go in given the fact that we have not built a nuclear  
12 power plant for 25 years? And do you have the  
13 political--do we have the will to get started?

14              I think if we had the will to get started,  
15 I think you'd get a lot of capital. Right now we  
16 participate with the NRC and the other people in the  
17 industry, and we think it is important.

18              Again, I would not base my whole company  
19 on any one of these fuels because each one could fail  
20 in the end because they did not reduce global warming  
21 enough, they weren't economic enough, or they had  
22 some other political issue.

23

1                   That is why I think energy diversity is so  
2   gosh darn important.

3                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Tom, would you like to  
4   address the nuclear question?

5                   MR. FRIEDMAN; I would say a couple of  
6   things, Governor. One is, I just came back a couple  
7   of weeks ago from the Hague. I was at Royal Dutch  
8   Shell. They have an energy scenario team, probably  
9   the best in the world.

10                  It's really instructive when you sit down  
11   with them. They do a global chart basically of all  
12   power generation in the world, breaking down every  
13   kind of fuel. And it's kind of interesting. You  
14   kind of go down the list. You start with coal, and  
15   natural gas, nuclear, whatnot, and you get to wind.  
16   Wind, for total global energy generation according to  
17   the Shell Scenario Team, is one-tenth of one percent  
18   today. Solar doesn't make the list.

19                  On a global basis, it's so small they  
20   can't pick it up. And this gets back to the Governor  
21   of West Virginia's point. I mean, between now and  
22   when we get to that clean fuel future, there are only  
23

1 two ways to fill it in a cleaner way. That is, some  
2 kind of cleaner coal and nuclear. At scale, I don't  
3 see any other way.

4 So I am personally, I don't want to say a  
5 fan, but I have absolutely no problem with it. I  
6 weigh the balance of climate change and nuclear, and  
7 I think it comes out very much in favor of nuclear.  
8 And I think, to answer the points that Jeff has  
9 rightly raised, I think the government is going to  
10 have to build some of these plants and assume all the  
11 risk, at least the first ones, before you're going to  
12 get CEOs to bet half their market cap on building on  
13 nuclear plant that could be stopped at any point.

14 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: A lot of the leaders,  
15 Governor Napolitano, of the utility industry have  
16 told us in our discussions leading up to this  
17 conference that if there isn't progress on nuclear,  
18 and we don't have progress on coal, by default  
19 they'll just go to established technology on natural  
20 gas, which has its own supply and price volatility.

21 GOVERNOR NAPOLITANO: Issues, right. But  
22 let me just say that on nuclear, because we have the  
23

1 Nation's largest nuclear plant right outside of  
2 Phoenix, and I agree with you on the nuclear, it just  
3 seems to me some of the politics of nuclear would be  
4 easier if we were looking at, or could talk about  
5 innovative ways to deal with the big political issue  
6 that is raised, which is the waste issue.

7 MR. IMMELT: Don't get me wrong. I  
8 totally agree with you. And I think the industry  
9 would agree, as well. It's just, it's been, you  
10 know, again I think we've got to drag a couple of  
11 these projects over the finish line, including what  
12 we are going to do with the waste streams and things  
13 like that, so that we can really get experience back  
14 in the system again.

15 MR. FRIEDMAN: You know there's a common  
16 denominator I think to a lot of this discussion.  
17 It's there's such a crying need for education, and  
18 re-education of our citizens, our voters, ourselves.  
19 I've been on a three-year master's degree trying to  
20 learn about these issues, did two documentaries for  
21 the Discovery Channel, visited a lot of your States,  
22 saw every kind of energy, you know I've really been  
23



1     educating myself, and I feel like I'm just kind of  
2     there, basically. I mean, just getting on the first  
3     rung.

4                 But there is a real need at the national  
5     level for some serious education: Where we are.  
6     What's real. What's possible.

7                 As a reporter I've covered a lot of  
8     different issues--globalization, the Middle East, and  
9     whatnot--and the ratio of people who talk about this  
10    issue to those who understand it is unlike any issue  
11    I've ever met.

12                (Laughter.)

13                MR. FRIEDMAN: A million-to-one ratio. I  
14    thought the Middle East was bad. I thought everyone  
15    was an expert on the Middle East. It's nothing  
16    compared to energy.

17                CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: We have time just for  
18    one last question. We're a little over time, and  
19    then we'll wrap up. But before we do I want to  
20    announce that the executive committee, instead of  
21    having a formal meeting in sit-down fashion, if you  
22    would just informally assemble here at the podium

23

1 immediately after the response to this next question  
2 we will have you out in five minutes. We've got to  
3 do a couple of housekeeping items.

4 Then, remember the Governors-Only Session,  
5 which will be a lively continuation of all of this,  
6 will be at one o'clock. And if you can come  
7 promptly, that would be appreciated.

8 Governor Baldacci.

9 GOVERNOR BALDACCI: Let me just say first  
10 of all, Governor, thank you very much. It has been  
11 very passionate, very insightful, and educational,  
12 and just like a little appetizer before the main  
13 course, just enough to get us really motivated.

14 But let me just say, I appreciate, Jeff,  
15 what you had to say about everything being on the  
16 table. It's just that for the life of me, I mean  
17 this industry in nuclear and in coal, and I supported  
18 clean coal technology, have had opportunities to come  
19 forward with new next-generation products.

20 Sometimes it gets very frustrating because  
21 I feel like we've been left at the gate, and there  
22 are so many other opportunities. In our State we

23

1     went about siting an area where wind would be able to  
2     be developed, and we have two wonderful General  
3     Electric plants in Maine, too, so thank you very much  
4     for that. We are building wind turbines and  
5     component parts, wind turbines. But we now have \$2  
6     billion worth of projects, a billion that are on the  
7     board that are going through regulatory process, and  
8     another billion that are being proposed, and looking  
9     at the transmission capabilities.

10                 And I am just one small State out of all  
11     of this, and I see what Texas is doing with wind--and  
12     I'm not saying wind is the answer, and I understand  
13     what Tom said about the percentage change over time  
14     is minuscule at what they estimated--but I just think  
15     that there's so much opportunity in terms of not only  
16     building a renewable industry, but building a  
17     manufacturing base, or rebuilding one, and focusing  
18     on the issues that Tom was compelling all of us to  
19     about all the security issues, all the energy issues,  
20     all the environmental issues. So I just think that a  
21     lot of this is that we're not wasting our time, but  
22     we've been held at the gate too long on the old

1 technologies when we could be investing.

2 I mean, they tell me tidal power is not  
3 the same old tidal power it used to be. You know,  
4 it's much more efficient. And we could be doing a  
5 lot of this as a country ourselves, and putting  
6 people to work.

7 I mean, the factory in Governor Rendell's  
8 State, the utility company, Iberdrola, the Spanish  
9 company, a large wind presence. And they're looking  
10 at building wind factories in our State, windmill  
11 factories.

12 So I just think that we've got to start to  
13 go down this road, realize the tremendous  
14 opportunity, but we've been waiting around for  
15 nuclear waste to get something to the next  
16 generation, and we've been waiting for something on  
17 clean coal technology. I know that, as a former  
18 Member of Congress, that we're not going to be able  
19 to do what works for Maine or New England. We're  
20 going to have to do what works for the entire  
21 country. So there's going to have to be some  
22 appreciation for coal and nuclear. I just don't know

23

1     what it is, and I just don't want to hold everything  
2     else back. That's my concern.

3                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Jeff?

4                   MR. IMMELT: You know, again I think you  
5     make a great point. I think a lot of these renewable  
6     technologies are really good. But I think your point  
7     is also illustrative of a bigger point. I would like  
8     to answer it in this way:

9                   The good news for all of us is that none  
10    of these technologies we're talking about, none of  
11    them are new. We just haven't commercialized them.  
12    And so the wind industry was the worst industry in  
13    the world for 25 years. From the second oil shock in  
14    the late '70s until 2003, you couldn't pick a worse  
15    business than the wind energy business. Because oil  
16    was \$15 a barrel. There were no incentives.

17                  Then three things happened. One was the  
18    European Union decided that 10 percent of the energy  
19    generated in Europe was going to be renewable energy  
20    by something like 2012. And they just said we're  
21    going to do it, therefore it's going to happen.

22                  The second thing is that some of the  
23

1 states around this table, some of the leaders around  
2 this table, put in place renewable performance  
3 standards.

4 And the third thing that happened is that  
5 oil went from \$15 a barrel to \$100. And the  
6 combination of those three things has created a wind  
7 industry. We're in it. We love it. It's fantastic.  
8 And it's gone from 20 cents a kilowatt hour to 4  
9 cents a kilowatt hour.

10 It's still got issues on intermittent  
11 power, but we will solve those. And so the point i  
12 make is that if we started setting a few goals around  
13 these technologies and actually built our muscle back  
14 up, you're going to be surprised about what's  
15 possible.

16 And when it's been 25 years since we built  
17 our last nuclear plant, and 25 years since we've done  
18 our last coal gasification plant, our muscles are  
19 atrophied. But if we really put some stakes in the  
20 ground and said, you know what, by 2020 we're going  
21 to do X,Y,Z. You're going to see that a lot of these  
22 really develop just like your comments on renewable  
23

1 energy.

2 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Tom Friedman, a  
3 closing thought.

4 MR. FRIEDMAN; I think you raised a really  
5 important point, Governor. My hope for the next  
6 President would be that he or she would invite people  
7 like Jeff, like Chet Halliday from DuPont, I mean our  
8 really leading energy, bio companies, into a room and  
9 simply say: I want one answer to one question. What  
10 would it take to get you and your companies to go all  
11 in? All in on clean coal? All in on new nuclear?  
12 All in on wind? All in on solar?

13 You are not all in. What would it take to  
14 get you to go all in? And then I would go back and i  
15 would sit down with Congress and I would say these  
16 are the goals. This is where we need to be. But  
17 that is not what we have been doing. We have been on  
18 a kick of dumb as we want to be.

19 We can be dumb as we want to be. We've  
20 been on a kick of we'll get it it when we get to it.  
21 Well, the world is flat. And you stay on that kick  
22 and someone will get to it before you get to it,  
23

1     because if there is one thing I have learned from all  
2     of this: "Later" is over.

3                   GOVERNOR BALDACCI:   Yes.   Thank you.

4                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY:   Well, that's a great  
5     closing thought, and a good prelude to our  
6     discussion.  Let's thank our guests for coming.  We  
7     appreciate it very much.

8                   (Applause.)

9                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY:   This plenary session  
10    is adjourned.

11                   (Whereupon, at 12:48 p.m., Saturday,  
12    February 23, 2008, the plenary session for Saturday  
13    was adjourned.)

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NATIONAL GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

Winter Meeting

Monday, February 25, 2008

SECURING A CLEAN ENERGY FUTURE:

A CALL TO ACTION

Lower Level, Salon III

J.W. Marriott Hotel

1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW

Washington, D.C. 20004

1 P R O C E E D I N G S

2 (2:01 p.m.)

3 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: I know we have  
4 Governors off in different directions, but we have  
5 some very special guests that we want to hear from.

6 We want to welcome our guests and the  
7 audience, as well, as this begins our closing plenary  
8 session and work of the 2008 Winter Meeting of the  
9 National Governors Association.

10 We want to welcome to the plenary  
11 sessions, our guests, which I'll introduce in just a  
12 moment, but we've enjoyed hearing from many experts  
13 and engaging commentators on a wide variety of topics  
14 over these last few days, ranging from biofuels and  
15 energy efficiency, to National Guard issues and so  
16 many others.

17 I hope that you have, as I have, found the  
18 discussion helpful and informative. For much of the  
19 past several days, though, we've also worked on  
20 energy issues, as it relates to how can we make it  
21 better through technology, through innovation,  
22 through commercialization of emerging technologies?

23

1                   We have two individuals here today, who  
2   are very deep and serious students of these issues  
3   and opportunities to utilize emerging technologies  
4   for a cleaner energy future, and also have the  
5   potential for commercializing it in ways that might  
6   be helpful to our states in terms of jobs and  
7   investment and economic development.

8                   Today we're joined by James Woolsey and  
9   also Dr. John Doerr, who are working to lead us on  
10  this new path.

11                  I'll first introduce Jim Woolsey. Jim  
12  Woolsey is perhaps best known as the former Director  
13  of the Central Intelligence Agency. As such, he is  
14  particularly concerned and attuned about security  
15  concerns resulting from our addiction to oil.

16                  He will soon be a partner, a venture  
17  partner with Vantage Point, and a Senior Executive  
18  Advisor to Booz, Allen, currently. He's an  
19  individual who has served our country in a variety  
20  of capacities and in many ways, and we are grateful  
21  that he would take time to be with us today at the  
22  National Governors Association.

23

1                   Please help me welcome our speaker, Jim  
2 Woolsey.

3                   (Applause.)

4                   MR. WOOLSEY: Thank you, Governor. I was  
5 very honored to be asked to be with you today, of  
6 course, but to tell you the truth, since I spent 22  
7 years as a Washington lawyer and then I spent some  
8 time out at the CIA in the Clinton Administration,  
9 I'm actually honored to be invited into any polite  
10 company for any purpose whatsoever.

11                  (Laughter.)

12                  MR. WOOLSEY: I thought I would start by  
13 sharing with you, some thoughts about an aspect of  
14 our energy structure, that has, from what I've been  
15 told, not been addressed, as well as one that has.

16                  I would divide up the serious problems we  
17 have to deal with in international affairs and in  
18 world politics, into the malignant and the  
19 malevolent.

20                  Malevolent problems are problems like  
21 terrorism, that someone is actually trying to cause.

22                  Malignant ones are one that we're not  
23

1     trying to bring about, but because we are as a  
2     society, sort of doing the functional equivalent of  
3     smoking five packs a day of cigarettes and putting a  
4     huge amount of carbon into the atmosphere, we are  
5     creating the risk of catastrophic change at some  
6     point in the future.

7                 Now, the people who focus often on  
8     malevolent problems such as terrorism, often have  
9     something of a blind spot about the malignant ones,  
10    and vice versa; people who focus on climate change,  
11    sometimes figure, well, somebody else is going to  
12    deal with the terrorism issues.

13                I want to say a word about each of these,  
14    and suggest to you that there may be more synergy in  
15    dealing with these two very important sets of  
16    problems than we have heretofore thought.

17                In terms of malevolence, we, of course,  
18    have several kinds of serious problems with respect  
19    to energy.

20                Our electricity grid is extremely  
21    vulnerable. It has gotten more vulnerable in recent  
22    years, with privatization, because we've layered on

1 top of a highly-balkanized set of electricity grids  
2 and utilities, a national system, a continent-wide  
3 system, really, for buying and selling electricity.

4 Power lines and transmission lines are  
5 congested, a tree branch is touched by a sagging  
6 power line in Cleveland, Ohio, four years ago, and  
7 50 million consumers are without electricity for  
8 days, including in eastern Canada.

9 Now, we tried to take a leaf from the  
10 book of the South Park kids there, and blame Canada  
11 for that outage.

12 (Laughter.)

13 MR. WOOLSEY: But the Canadians were on  
14 to us, and, in their polite way, they pointed out  
15 that Cleveland is, in fact, south of Lake Erie, not  
16 north of Lake Erie.

17 (Laughter.)

18 MR. WOOLSEY: And we had to own up to the  
19 fact that it had been our power line.

20 The interesting thing, is that terrorists  
21 are a lot smarter than tree branches. All they have  
22 to do, is read the reports of the Critical

23

1     Infrastructure Commissions and the new report of the  
2     Defense Science Board that I chaired a portion of,  
3     that's on the web, and they can see that there are  
4     very substantial vulnerabilities to our electricity  
5     grid, that, unfortunately, can be exploited  
6     relatively easily, and we need to move to deal with  
7     them.

8                 Often, there are institutional barriers  
9     at the state level, by the way, for public utility  
10    commissions, in making some of these things happen.

11                Another type of potential malevolent  
12    threat, is the threat terrorism funded by our oil  
13    purchases. We borrow over a billion a day now at  
14    today's oil prices, to finance just our oil imports.  
15    That's not oil, as a whole; that's just our imports.

16                A fair chunk of that goes to the Middle  
17    East, as it does from a number of other countries,  
18    and so if you wonder who is paying for those  
19    madrasses in various Middle Eastern countries where  
20    little eight-year old boys are being taught to  
21    terrorists and infected with the Wahabe Saudi  
22    ideology, you don't need to look too much further  
23

1     than the person you see when you get out to charge  
2     your gasoline at a filling station, if you'll just  
3     turn the rearview mirror a few inches before you get  
4     out, because if you're looking into your own eyes,  
5     you know who's paying for those madrasses to teach  
6     those little boys to be terrorists.

7                 Not only that, Tom Friedman, I know,  
8     talked to you in the last few days. Tom has a  
9     wonderful formulation. He says that the price of  
10    oil and the path of freedom, run in opposite  
11    directions, because oil can, if it comes into a  
12    central government that is not yet a democracy,  
13    like, say, Norway, but if it comes into a central  
14    government that is a dictatorship or autocratic  
15    kingdom, it tends to enhance the power of the  
16    central government, without letting alternative  
17    sources of economic and political power, build up,  
18    and it thus tends, as Tom says, to move things in a  
19    nondemocratic and autocratic direction, and one need  
20    look only at the behavior of Messrs. Putin, Chavez  
21    and Ahmadinejad, over the course of the last two or  
22    three years as oil has shot up, to see what Tom  
23



1 Friedman means.

2           Of course, also, there is vulnerability  
3 in the Middle East to attacks on the oil  
4 infrastructure. Al-Qaeda has tried two against  
5 Abkaik and has been thwarted both times. Should  
6 they be able to take out the sulfur clearing towers  
7 at Abkaik in northeastern Saudi Arabia, the largest  
8 oil production facility in the world, they would  
9 probably send oil up for a year or more, to at least  
10 \$200 a barrel and probably more.

11           So, we have a full set of problems that  
12 we need to deal with in the vulnerabilities of our  
13 energy infrastructure -- electricity, on the one  
14 hand, which outside Hawaii and one or two places in  
15 the continental United States, uses relatively  
16 little oil, so only about two percent of our  
17 electricity comes from oil.

18           But the oil problem is not so much an  
19 electricity generation problem, as it is a problem  
20 of dependence for transportation purposes.  
21 Transportation in the U.S., is about 97 percent oil  
22 products, and as a result of that, we have a  
23

1 situation in which those who produce oil and who  
2 dominate oil -- OPEC, essentially -- hold a great  
3 deal of leverage over the rest of the world.

4 We don't do much that's useful at all, by  
5 just moving our consumption patterns around. If we  
6 buy less in the Middle East and more from Norway, the  
7 Europeans just buy more from the Middle East and less  
8 from Norway and it doesn't do any good.

9 We have to start thinking about doing to  
10 oil, something similar to what was done to salt in  
11 the late 19th Century by electrification and  
12 refrigeration. Salt had a monopoly on meat  
13 preservation until nearly the end of the 19th  
14 Century.

15 Believe it or not, countries fought wars  
16 over salt mines and it mattered, whether or not your  
17 country had salt. Today, nobody cares. Why?  
18 Because refrigeration is a much better way of  
19 preserving meat, electricity made that possible, and  
20 nobody dominates his neighbor anymore because he has  
21 salt mines.

22 We need to do the same thing to oil. We  
23

1     need not just to buy less foreign oil, but to  
2     undermine oil's monopoly on transportation and free  
3     oil to be bought and sold for all sorts of different  
4     purposes for which it's useful. It's a good way to  
5     transport energy long distances; it's useful in  
6     chemical plants, home heating, and so forth.

7                 But it doesn't dominate any of those  
8     markets; it doesn't have a monopoly, and we need to  
9     break it's monopoly on transportation.

10                On the malignant side of this divide  
11     between major problems that I have described, there  
12     are many ways in which complex systems can fail  
13     catastrophically from minor interruptions.  
14     Theorists sometimes call that the butterfly effect.  
15     A butterfly flutters its wings on one side of the  
16     world, cascading interactions in the ecosphere,  
17     create a tornado on the other side.

18                It seems kind of theoretical, until you  
19     remember the tree branch falling in Cleveland four  
20     years ago.

21                Well, climate change, I believe, is a  
22     problem somewhat like that. There are a number of

23

1 effects in nature, that once one goes around a  
2 tipping point, can cascade in their failures.

3               We don't know -- I wouldn't say I know,  
4 anyway -- exactly when such a thing is going to  
5 occur, but one example is this: In the tundra of  
6 the Arctic, there is more carbon than there is in  
7 the atmosphere, because the tundra is largely a  
8 giant frozen peat bog.

9               Methane, which is the form of the  
10 chemical in which the carbon is, is about 22 times  
11 worse than CO2 as a global warming gas, so if it  
12 warms up enough in the Arctic that the tundra starts  
13 to melt, starts to release methane, the methane heats  
14 things up, in turn, speeds up the release, in turns,  
15 speeds up, and so forth, the so-called feedback loop,  
16 one doesn't know when or exactly how it would occur,  
17 but the possibility of having a very major and  
18 negative development in climate over a relatively  
19 short period of time, a few decades, I believe,  
20 exists.

21               And it is that judgment, not so much the  
22 models that the climatologists produce, but judgment  
23

1 of people like James Hanson at NASA and the rest,  
2 that suggest to me that we ought to pay attention.

3           It doesn't know we mean exactly when  
4 things are going to get warmer or exactly by how  
5 much, but if, to use the analogy I used before, if  
6 we are doing the society equivalent of smoking five  
7 packs a day, we can't tell we're going to get lung  
8 cancer at such and such an age, and we might live to  
9 be 95 and never get it, and we might have gotten it  
10 without ever smoking, but we're increasing our risk  
11 by smoking five packs a day. I think that's the way  
12 we should think of the amount of carbon we are  
13 putting into the atmosphere.

14           If we look at both of these needs, the  
15 need to deal with the climate change issues and  
16 disruption of the ecosphere and the need to deal  
17 with the threats to our security from malevolent or  
18 intentional change, I think there are several things  
19 we should pay attention to.

20           Sometimes when I do this, I do a little  
21 dialogue between the two individuals I'm going to  
22 name, but I don't think there's time to do that

23

1       today, so I'm just going to touch on their issues.

2               The dialogue I do, is between a tree  
3       hugger and a hawk. The tree hugger is only worried  
4       about carbon and believes that anything about  
5       terrorism, can be dealt with by the FBI, if need be;  
6       the hawk is only worried about terrorism, and he  
7       thinks this climate change stuff, is something that  
8       some bunch of Birkenstock wearers cooked up while  
9       they were having a good time one night or something.

10              The tree hugger I use, is the ghost of  
11       John Muir, the founder of the Sierra Club, father of  
12       the National Park System, the hawk is the ghost of  
13       George S. Patton. I use these two, because they are  
14       two of my favorite Americans.

15              And what I have them do, is to get into a  
16       discussion of trying to deal with climate change,  
17       and trying to deal with terrorism, and they find, as  
18       the discussion goes on, that they are able to agree  
19       about more and more in substance of what needs to be  
20       done, even though they never convince one another of  
21       the importance of their issue.

22              Muir, for example, suggests that Walmart

23

1     is doing an amazing job, as are some other  
2     companies, of radically reducing their energy use in  
3     existing buildings, which is just such changes as  
4     refrigerators and lights and skylights and so forth.  
5     Patton is very happy about that, because it's less  
6     use of the grid, and Patton is very worried about our  
7     dependence on the electricity grid.

8             He says that, you know, the Magineau Line  
9     was at least defensible from one direction, the  
10    electricity grid isn't defensible at all, the way  
11    it's structured now.

12            Muir mentions California. He says that,  
13    you know, 20 years ago, California changed its rules  
14    for utilities. It decoupled revenue from earnings  
15    for utilities, and said that from now on, you make  
16    money as a utility by investing, including sometimes  
17    in energy-savings equipment and technology; you  
18    don't make more money by building more power plants  
19    and selling the electricity, even if it's wasted.

20            And, by the way, what that has done, it  
21    has kept California's per capita consumption of  
22    electricity, absolutely flat over the course of the  
23

1     last 20 years, when the rest of the country has gone  
2     up by 60 percent. Some six other states have now  
3     followed California on the electricity side, and a  
4     few more on the natural gas side of this decoupling.  
5     It's a simple, straightforward change for utilities,  
6     that can make a huge amount of difference.

7             A third point that Muir raises, is  
8     Denmark, because the Danes make over a third of  
9     their electricity out of something called combined  
10    heat and power or cogeneration. In Denmark, if one  
11    of our guests here, if John owned a coking plant on  
12    one side of the road and I owned an aluminum plant on  
13    the other, he would simply put in some generators,  
14    string a wire across the road and sell me the  
15    electricity cheaply to make aluminum.

16            In Europe, particularly in Denmark, that  
17    is encouraged, and so it's waste that is being used,  
18    heat that would just go into the atmosphere. In the  
19    United States, that's very hard. Public utility  
20    commissions make that very, very difficult to do, and  
21    it's one of the reasons that Europe is ahead of is in  
22    using this type of distributed generation, because



1     these steps are permitted in Europe, and they are  
2     very rarely permitted in the United States.

3                 Muir also talks about rooftops. He says,  
4     do you realize what is happening just among people  
5     who are doing photovoltaics and batteries?

6     Photovoltaics are getting cheaper, not quite as fast  
7     as Moore's Law of doubling their capacity every 18  
8     months to two years, but they're doubling their  
9     capacity about every three to four years.

10                And they are getting much more efficient,  
11     and the same thing is happening to batteries. We are  
12     already, again, in California, in a situation where  
13     in many parts of the state, you can buy electricity  
14     from your roof, from a company that will put up  
15     photovoltaics, cheaper than you can get it from the  
16     grid.

17                California's utility prices are about  
18     double the rest of the country, but that condition  
19     of so-called grid parity, will probably come to be  
20     close to the case in much of the rest of the  
21     country, over the course of the next three to four  
22     years.

23

1                   When Muir talks about cleaner power  
2   plants, Patton backs off a bit. Muir says, look,  
3   whatever we do, George, it's got to be clean. So,  
4   maybe we can capture and sequester the carbon from  
5   coal-fired power plants, maybe we can do nuclear;  
6   either of those is fine with me, but it's got to be  
7   clean.

8                   Patton says, look, I like the first  
9   things you were talking about, better, because this  
10   is adding power plants, it's adding to the grid,  
11   it's adding to dependence on the grid. Terrorists  
12   will take down the grid, tree branches will take  
13   down the grid.

14                  I'm willing to do it, if we absolutely  
15   have to, but it's not real high up on my list,  
16   Patton says.

17                  So this is one on which they partially  
18   disagree, the tree hugger and the hawk. Muir turns  
19   to automobiles, and he explains to Patton that we  
20   are in the midst of a revolution with respect to  
21   batteries, that is, as far as they say, going to  
22   put, for General Motors, a plug-in hybrid being able  
23

1 to go 40 miles on an overnight charge on a battery,  
2 for just really a few cents each day, and three-  
3 quarters of the cars in the country, go less than 40  
4 miles a day, so that means less than a quarter of the  
5 cars are going to need to use the liquid fuel in  
6 their tank, which is there as an insurance policy,  
7 because, if you get past your 40-mile charge on the  
8 battery, then you just become a regular hybrid.

9           Having a plug-in hybrid that can get 40  
10 miles, would turn a small car, for an average  
11 driver, let's say, even one who drives as much as 50  
12 miles a day, from being a 50-mile-a-gallon car, into  
13 being a 150-mile-per-gallon-of-gasoline car, and if  
14 what's in that tank, is 85 percent either ethanol or,  
15 in times in the future, butanol, or other types of  
16 alternative liquid fuels, you have something on the  
17 order of a 500-mile-per-gallon-of-gasoline car,  
18 because, with existing technology, you are using  
19 mainly electricity and alternative liquid fuels.

20           Patton loves this. He says, this is  
21 incredible. He said, that's going to make Wahabes  
22 unhappy and anything, as far as I'm concerned, John,  
23

1     that makes Wahabes unhappy, is a good idea.

2                     Finally, the two of them get into a  
3     discussion about hydrogen and the hydrogen highway.  
4     They kind of shake their heads and say, well, we  
5     ought to keep working on it, it's an interesting  
6     technology, it's useful, there are things that it  
7     can do, but, you know, the infrastructure you're  
8     going to need, is pretty substantial, with tens of  
9     billions of dollars to have the family nearby  
10    filling station, the family car to be able to be  
11    refueled with hydrogen at a nearby filling station,  
12    whereas the infrastructure you need for a plug-in  
13    hybrid, is that every family absolutely would have  
14    to have an extension cord, period -- no new power  
15    plants until three-quarters of the cars are plug-in  
16    hybrids, according to Pacific Northwest National  
17    Laboratory, and an improvement of some percent, 15  
18    to 20 percent, countrywide, in global warming gas  
19    emission for every car that goes from being internal  
20    combustion to being a plug-in hybrid.

21                    In clean states like -- clean grid  
22    states such as the West Coast or anyplace that has  
23

1     largely nuclear or hydro, it's about an 80- to 90-  
2     percent improvement.

3                 So, as they look at these things, Muir  
4     and Patton find that there's really only one big  
5     issue they disagree on, and that's coal to liquid.  
6     The reason is, Patton loves it, because coal is here  
7     in the United States and it's not oil and we don't  
8     have to get it from the Middle East.

9                 Muir hates it, because it puts a lot of  
10    carbon into the atmosphere, and they just agree to  
11    disagree on that.

12                But what this abbreviated dialogue, I  
13    think, shows, is that although there are some things  
14    that your constituents who are tree huggers and your  
15    constituents who are hawks, may not agree on by way  
16    of solutions, they're going to disagree a lot more  
17    about the underlying reasons and their underlying  
18    concerns, than about what to do.

19                And there are a number of things, many of  
20    which are in the hands and the control of state  
21    governments, particularly with respect to  
22    electricity, there are many things that they can do,  
23

1     which should tell all of us that we ought to listen  
2     to one another. Thank you.

3                     (Applause.)

4                     CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Great, thank you very  
5     much. We're going to have Jim come back up in a  
6     little bit and do the Q&A.

7                     John Doerr is a partner with one of the  
8     country's leading venture capital firms. It's  
9     Kleiner Perkins Caufield and Byers. Together with  
10    the partners of that firm, John's backed many of  
11    America's best entrepreneurial companies and  
12    enterprises, including Google and Amazon.

13                    He recently has been deeply involved in  
14    supporting the development of green technology  
15    innovation and cutting-edge investments in that  
16    regard, to address our nation's environmental and  
17    energy challenges.

18                    His firm was the top venture capital firm  
19    last year in clean energy technologies. He's going  
20    to share his view on some of the most promising  
21    emerging technologies and how they might be  
22    commercialized to help tackle these important issues

23

1 facing our nation. John Doerr.

2 (Applause.)

3 MR. DOERR: Thank you, Governor Pawlenty,  
4 for your terrific leadership in Minnesota and also  
5 with this Association, on clean energy policy, and  
6 thank you, Mr. Vice Chairman, Governor Rendell and  
7 Jim Woolsey, and, Governors, thank you, each of you,  
8 for your leadership in innovative energy policy.

9 Kleiner Perkins is a venture capital firm  
10 that works for U.S. colleges, and we invest their  
11 funds in risky plans and unproven entrepreneurs who  
12 would never qualify for a bank loan.

13 (Laughter.)

14 MR. DOERR: We help these entrepreneurs  
15 build teams, build businesses, and jobs, lots of  
16 jobs -- over 200 companies and 400,000 jobs in the  
17 U.S. And we help them build whole new industries,  
18 and, in some cases, change the world.

19 Genentech, for example, pioneered  
20 genomics and revolutionized healthcare; Google  
21 revolutionized the Internet.

22 But I'm here to talk to you today about

1 climate change, because it's the biggest challenge  
2 we've ever faced.

3 Kleiner Perkins first invested in green  
4 technologies about five years ago, seeing the  
5 breakthrough technologies and what was possible in  
6 the market, but, honestly, this challenge got very  
7 personal for me, a couple of years ago, when, around  
8 the family dinner table, we were having a  
9 conversation about global warming.

10 My ten-year old daughter, Esther, said,  
11 Dad, is global warming going to hit before I'm out  
12 of high school? And then my teenage daughter, Mary,  
13 said, very firmly, I'm scared and I'm angry. Dad,  
14 your generation created this problem, you better fix  
15 it, and I had no idea, friends, what to say.

16 Well, I'm here today to say that our  
17 children may know more about this problem than we  
18 do. Esther as asking about speed, how quickly is  
19 this going to happen, and Mary was asking about  
20 scale, the scale of the mess that we're in.

21 They want us to act now and act with  
22 speed and scale. Now, Governors, as the CEOs of our



1 states, you've really led the way.

2           You're acting; you've put in place,  
3 renewable standards, carbon emission targets, and  
4 you are well ahead of the feds, but, forgive me now  
5 for being blunt, what we're doing, is not enough;  
6 it's not enough.

7           With respect to speed, the scientists  
8 tell us that the next three to five years, are going  
9 to determine whether or not we set off, really,  
10 irreversible climate change. The scientists agree.

11           With respect to scale, we know that this  
12 is a problem of the a size that we've never faced  
13 before. Energy is a \$6 trillion market, worldwide;  
14 it is the mother of all markets.

15           So our investments, our policies and our  
16 government R&D, must match the scale of this  
17 problem, and we've got to work together. If we  
18 don't scale, we're going to fail.

19           Global warming is really a crisis. It's  
20 an unprecedented opportunity. If we do it right, as  
21 Tom Friedman told us, it can get America growing  
22 again, improve our national security, and allow us to  
23

1     lead in this new global energy revolution.

2                 Some have compared this to the Apollo  
3     Project or the Manhattan Project, and I'm tempted to  
4     say that's wrong. Of course, it's right; we need  
5     both, but those programs were just multibillion  
6     dollar programs and a single agency of the U.S.  
7     Government pursuing a single mission. And they  
8     failed miserably to convey the size of this.

9                 This is just reindustrializing all of our  
10    cities, our states, and nations on the planet.

11                There's no single silver bullet, but I'm  
12    going to tell you today about several great big  
13    bullets that are in your arsenal.

14                Now, on this handout in front of you, is  
15    a map that's also on the screen, of the U.S. Energy  
16    flows. It's where energy comes from and where it  
17    goes.

18                On the left-hand side, are the sources of  
19    energy, the dirty fossil fuels, like coal and gas and  
20    oil, and above them, are the clean renewables --  
21    hydro, biomass, wind, and geothermal and solar.

22                I make three big observations about this:

23

1 First, all the renewable sources, including hydro,  
2 are less than five percent of America's energy  
3 sources; second, look in the upper right and you will  
4 see that 55 percent of our energy for electricity, is  
5 wasted in heat or in transmission, generating 1.6  
6 gigatons of CO2 per year.

7 The bottom line is achieving efficiency,  
8 reducing greenhouse gases, is all about the three  
9 Cs: Cars, coal, and conservation or efficiency.

10 Now, by this point in time, you may be  
11 thinking I'm some kind of Prius-driving, tree-  
12 hugging quiche-eating Californian, and I want you to  
13 know that's only partly right, because I'm also a  
14 practical, profit-driven, growth-maximizing free  
15 markets venture capitalist.

16 I am asked from time to time, what's  
17 going to be the next big thing? What comes after  
18 the Internet?

19 It's not IT, it's ET, it's green  
20 technologies. Kleiner Perkins has already invested  
21 \$250 million in 25 new greentech ventures. This is  
22 not a hobby.

1                   In the next two years, we're going to  
2   invest in 40 more, and we're not alone. The private  
3   investment in North American greentech ventures, was  
4   \$3 billion in 2006, jumped to \$4 billion last year.

5                   But to put all this in perspective, \$4  
6   billion is just four days of the revenues of  
7   ExxonMobil.

8                   The 2007 federal budget for renewable  
9   energy, was barely \$1 billion, less than one day of  
10   Exxon-Mobil's revenues, so all of this is clearly  
11   not enough, particularly because I believe that  
12   greentech is going to be the greatest economic  
13   opportunity of the 21st Century.

14                  So, where, then, are we investing? Well,  
15   in solutions for those three Cs, right, the cars, the  
16   coal, and the conservation.

17                  I'm going to tell you four stories about  
18   new greentech ventures. Their technologies and your  
19   policies can speed these to scale.

20                  The first is a story about better  
21   biofuels from California. It's from a company  
22   called Amyris and it's about cars and also about

1 trucks and airplanes and about bugs.

2 The technology here is synthetic biology,  
3 which custom tailors the metabolic pathways in  
4 microbes to produce superior biofuels for gasoline,  
5 for diesel, for jet fuels.

6 Picture this: We've got warm vats full  
7 of bugs, and they are living chemical factories.  
8 They're eating sugar and literally excreting better  
9 fuels, better biofuels, with higher octane and  
10 cleaner combustion.

11 These bugs will eat sugars, not only from  
12 corn and cane, but also from the feedstocks that are  
13 found throughout your states, from switchgrass, from  
14 wood chips. This technology can be plugged into  
15 existing corn ethanol plants in states like Iowa and  
16 Illinois, with really just minor modifications.

17 I know that all of this may sound to you  
18 like science fiction, but it's actually really  
19 happening today.

20 One more thing to accelerate these, we  
21 need the kinds of policies that don't pick winners  
22 and losers, but, instead, support all biofuel

23

1 innovations.

2           Now, turning from cars to coal, you know  
3 that half of our electricity comes from burning  
4 coal. The U.S. has the world's largest known coal  
5 reserves.

6           But coal is the dirtiest and the cheapest  
7 of all fossil fuels, and, therefore, a really tough  
8 problem. There's two things to do about this:  
9 Create clean coal solutions and then grow renewable  
10 sources of energy that can substitute for coal, which  
11 is going to lead to my second story about a company  
12 called GreatPoint Energy.

13           Now, GreatPoint's technology converts  
14 coal into a lower-cost synthetic natural gas, while  
15 capturing and sequestering the CO<sub>2</sub>. That's really  
16 important, because gasifying coal, instead of  
17 burning it, makes the capture of CO<sub>2</sub> much easier and  
18 cost-effective.

19           When GreatPoint's natural gas is used to  
20 generate power, the CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from it are 50  
21 percent less than they would have been from a coal-  
22 fired power plant.

23

1            Their first plant, Governors, is going to  
2    be in Massachusetts at GreatPoint, where the state  
3    legislators are currently considering energy tax  
4    credits to help them scale. They intend to expand  
5    this technology to coal-rich states such as Wyoming  
6    and Montana.

7            Now, I mentioned there's also attractive,  
8    large-scale renewable substitutes for coal, which  
9    brings me to my third story:

10           It's about solar thermal, not be confused  
11   with solar cells. Picture very large fields of  
12   mirrors in your state, several square miles, that  
13   reflect and concentrate sunlight onto pipes, heating  
14   water to drive steam turbines and generate hundreds  
15   or even thousands of megawatts of renewable energy.

16           Well, today, Ausra's technology is  
17   competitive with technology from natural gas prices,  
18   and tomorrow, it will be competitive with coal.

19           They're building a 177-megawatt plant in  
20   Central California, which is enough energy to power  
21   60,000 homes. They plan to extend to states that  
22   have robust renewable portfolio standards, and, of  
23

1 course, plentiful sunlight -- Arizona, Colorado,  
2 Nevada, New Mexico, and Texas.

3 Your states, our country, needs a new  
4 nationwide smart grid to bring this clean, cheap  
5 energy to all the states in the nation. Mr.  
6 Chairman, I really ask that the NGA create a task  
7 force to work with the feds to try to solve this  
8 problem.

9 My last story is about conservation,  
10 efficiency and Recycle Bank. This is a New York-  
11 based company that uses the Internet and RFID-  
12 tagged waste. You see these waste bins, these are  
13 smart and they're tagged, and they reward the  
14 residents for recycling.

15 Recyclers earn points by redeeming, and  
16 then redeem them with the local businesses, and they  
17 lift the recycling rates by more than 50 percent in  
18 every community they're in.

19 Recycled materials, you know, are an  
20 increasing valuable commodity. They use  
21 significantly less electricity. Recycled aluminum,  
22 for example, uses only five percent of the



1 electricity that original aluminum does, so it can  
2 transform a city's waste disposal cost, literally  
3 into a profit.

4               When Recycle Bank is serving 10 million  
5 homes, it will save over four million tons of  
6 greenhouse gases, avoid \$2 billion in landfill  
7 disposal fees, and then put \$200 million back into  
8 the local economy.

9               Now, as I mentioned, this is already  
10 working in 30 communities in the United States.  
11 Chicago and Atlanta have just signed up for this,  
12 and if it works there, I can imagine it will both  
13 energize and reward the citizens in your state  
14 capital and in your largest cities. That's Recycle  
15 Bank.

16              So, these businesses, Amyris, GreatPoint,  
17 Ausra, and Recycle Bank, are in business today.  
18 What's going on in the future? What's happening in  
19 the labs right now?

20              Well, the inventor, Allen Kaye, is very  
21 famous for saying that the best way to predict the  
22 future, is to invent it. At Kleiner Perkins, we

1     like to say that the second best way, is to fund it.

2                 So, here are several breakthrough  
3     technologies that we're now funding: Alterrock is  
4     pioneering what's called engineered geothermal.  
5     That's the ability to drill under the surface of the  
6     earth anywhere, and use the earth's hot rocks to  
7     generate electricity.

8                 These are mentioned on the back side,  
9     now, of that energy graph. SRIA is a breakthrough  
10    converting cellulose to ethanol at the lowest cost,  
11    we believe, of any technology. They are working on  
12    projects in Georgia, Iowa, and South Carolina.

13                Bloom Energy is making solid oxide fuel  
14    cells that allow businesses and governments to  
15    generate electricity economically and in a clean  
16    way, onsite. Meosolay is making thin-film solar  
17    cells on flexible sheets of stainless steel, and  
18    those cost one-quarter the cost of conventional  
19    solar cells, and take one-tenth the capital  
20    equipment.

21                Fiscar Automotive, Mr. Woolsey, is going  
22    to make the first production plug-in hybrid electric  
23

1 vehicles in the United States in 2009, and that's the  
2 car right there in the center of the screen. I'm  
3 taking orders now.

4 (Laughter.)

5 MR. DOERR: The immediate payoff from all  
6 of this, though, is quite serious. It's jobs. If  
7 you turn to Texas, their Governor Bush, then-  
8 Governor Bush, created and signed the renewable  
9 portfolio standard. He created a billion-dollar  
10 wind industry and 10,000 jobs.

11 In California, Governor Schwarzenegger's  
12 historic AB-32 bill, global warming bill, is  
13 expected to add \$4 billion in state income, and  
14 83,000 jobs. Lastly, the Apollo Alliance is in  
15 Canada.

16 McCain, Clinton and Obama estimate that  
17 greentech can bring 3.3 million jobs to the United  
18 States. The question is, are we going to get our  
19 unfair share of those in your states? These are  
20 white-collar jobs and blue-collar jobs, they're  
21 knowledge jobs, they're manufacturing jobs, they're  
22 construction jobs.

23

1                   I like to call them great green jobs.

2   They're just the kinds of jobs that we need. But we  
3   can't take these jobs for granted.

4                   One of most promising solar startups in  
5   the U.S., just decided to build its first factory in  
6   Germany, and it's not so sunny in Germany. Why?  
7   The couldn't find comparable incentives in any state  
8   in the country.

9                   I think you have to make a strategic  
10   decision on what part is green going to play in your  
11   state's economic future? Governor, you know we must  
12   do more than change the light bulbs; we've got to  
13   change the laws.

14                  So I've got five calls to action, five  
15   suggestions for you to advocate and legislate:  
16   First, use your influence to get the Federal  
17   Government to put a cap and price on carbon. This  
18   is number one, the overarching policy.

19                  We need to account for the true cost of  
20   emitting greenhouse gases into our atmosphere, and  
21   we can't continue to do every day of dumping 70  
22   million tons of CO2 into our atmosphere, as if it's  
23

1     some kind of free open sewer.

2                   We need a market-based system, a cap-  
3     and-trade system to reduce greenhouse gas emissions  
4     at the lowest cost possible. It worked with the  
5     acid rain program, and, properly designed, it can  
6     work with greenhouse gases.

7                   As Jeff Immelt said on Saturday,  
8     businesses expect this and investors want clarity  
9     and certainty.

10                  Furthermore, I believe we should also  
11     have a carbon tax, to significantly reduce and  
12     replace employment and payroll taxes by taxing dirty  
13     electricity and fuels.

14                  This would not be a tax increases, but,  
15     rather, a dollar-for-dollar substitute that's cost-  
16     neutral to the taxpayers, much like the one that  
17     British Columbia just passed last week, much like  
18     the one that the Congressional Budget Office found  
19     last week, is most efficient.

20                  Today, we're very close to the 60 Senate  
21     votes that we need for a cap-and-trade system. All  
22     the remaining Presidential candidates now favor a

23

1 carbon policy.

2                   So please let Congress and the  
3 Administration know how important this is to you, to  
4 businesses in your state, so that we get to the  
5 final goal.

6                   Second -- and this is particularly urgent  
7 -- please demand that Congress extend the federal  
8 investment tax credit and production tax credit for  
9 renewables, and for at least ten more years. It's  
10 really hard for me to believe this, but the ITC and  
11 PTC expire at the end of this year, and we're still  
12 not clear, whether or not they're going to be  
13 extended.

14                   The on-again/off-again nature of federal  
15 incentives, makes renewable energy projects too  
16 costly and too risky and is going to kill contracts  
17 in your state. I know this. I know of ventures  
18 we're backing with contracts in your states signed,  
19 that are going to be torn up, if these credits are  
20 not extended.

21                   After the PTC -- look at this graphic --  
22 expired at the end of '99, 2001, and 2003, the

23

1 additions, the new U.S. wind capacity, declined by  
2 70 percent. We need these extensions approved this  
3 quarter, otherwise they are going to make or break  
4 the wind and solar industries for years to come.

5           You know, Congress is taking this issue  
6 up right now, this very week, and so if you were  
7 going to do just one thing this week for the green  
8 economy and jobs in your state, I'd say, please call  
9 your Senators and let them know that the ITC and PTC  
10 are crucial for the renewable industry and jobs in  
11 your state.

12           And I would be happy to provide you with  
13 details, a white paper, whatever you'd like, to move  
14 this forward. We're at 59 votes right now in the  
15 United States Senate.

16           Third, please extend, set, and enforce  
17 renewable portfolio standards. As you know,  
18 electricity generation is 40 percent of greenhouse  
19 gases. As state CEOs, you have unique authority  
20 over the public utility commissions and the  
21 companies they regulate. Twenty-seven states have  
22 these standards right now, and let's go make it 50.

23

1                   Fourth, fix the rules that govern your  
2   utilities. This one is very exciting to me, because  
3   you can make them prime drivers or energy  
4   efficiency.

5                   These utilities are not dumb. If they're  
6   rewarded for selling more electrons, they're going to  
7   sell more electrons. But if you reward them for  
8   finding the cheapest ways to deliver heat, lighting,  
9   and cooling, they're going to find all sorts of ways  
10   to save energy.

11                  So when you flip these incentives, as Jim  
12   Woolsey described, and unleash these utilities, so  
13   they can drive and invest in efficiency, you're  
14   going to find their vast cashflows, their low-cost  
15   capital, and 100-percent market share, is an  
16   incredibly powerful engine.

17                  Tom Friedman, on Saturday, mentioned  
18   decoupling to us, which breaks that link between  
19   revenues and the volume of electrons sold, in a way,  
20   importantly, that allows the utilities to continue to  
21   grow.

22                  By my count, ten states are doing that

23



1 right now for electricity. That leaves 40 more of  
2 us to go.

3 Another key utility policy is net  
4 metering. Solar energy, you know, is becoming cheap  
5 enough that many homeowners and businesses will put  
6 solar cells on their roof. I suggest that all your  
7 public utilities commissions should allow your  
8 citizens to sell surpluses of their electricity, back  
9 to our grid.

10 Let me tell you, voters really love  
11 seeing those meters spin backwards.

12 Fifth and finally, toughen the building  
13 standards. Energy consumption in buildings,  
14 accounts for one-third of all of the energy in the  
15 U.S., and two-thirds of the greenhouse gases that  
16 are generated from the buildings -- sorry, two-  
17 thirds of electricity demand.

18 A well built green home with advanced  
19 insulation, windows, heating and cooling, uses only  
20 one-half the energy of a conventional home. The  
21 energy savings will pay back for that in five to  
22 seven years.

23

1                   In my home state of California, the  
2   energy savings from building standards, are more  
3   than \$16 billion since 1975, and are forecasted to  
4   get to \$59 billion by 2011. This is serious money  
5   to go with the serious offer.

6                   If you want to personally push any of  
7   these agenda items, any of these five calls to  
8   action, the NGA is prepared to work to help provide  
9   world-class technical assistance, planning, not  
10   lobbying, together with the Energy Foundation, and,  
11   on the matter of new jobs, venture capital  
12   investment in your state, we've arranged for the  
13   National Venture Capital Association to draw up  
14   blueprints and plans, provided you care and you'll  
15   follow through on it.

16                  You can just contact me at this e-mail  
17   address, [jdoerr@kpcb.com](mailto:jdoerr@kpcb.com).

18                  The word, "crisis," comes from the Greek.  
19   It means to decide to choose. This crisis is an  
20   opportunity that presents us with choices, and the  
21   choices are definitely not between Republicans and  
22   Democrats or between red and blue. The choice is  
23

1     between America leading or following in the new  
2     energy economy.

3                 It's between creating green jobs at home,  
4     or importing green products.

5                 So we've talked today about American  
6     entrepreneurs and their breakthroughs -- designer  
7     bugs, cleaner coal, hot rocks, solar power, and  
8     smart recycling. We've talked about climate crisis  
9     as the challenge of our generation, and I've  
10    suggested it's the largest economic opportunity of  
11    the 21st Century.

12                Governors, your policies, together with  
13    our investments and American entrepreneurs, are  
14    going to make all the difference. I cannot wait to  
15    see what happens when you act individually and we  
16    act collectively.

17                I do look forward to reporting back to my  
18    daughters about today's meeting, and about your  
19    commitment to lead us with speed and scale. Thank  
20    you.

21                (Applause.)

22                CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Now we have time for  
23

1     questions for John and Jim, and then we have some  
2     awards we're going to give out and do a couple of  
3     committee reports and then we're going to adjourn.

4             You can start this off, Governor Rendell.

5             GOVERNOR RENDELL:   John, you said that a  
6     lot of us are coal states, and finding clean coal  
7     technology is crucial to part of our economic  
8     future.

9             You said that gasification reduces the  
10    amount of CO2 emitted, by 50 percent.   And that's  
11    true and a number of us have gasification projects  
12    teed up.   All we need is the loan guarantees.  
13    That's another thing they haven't done, is the loan  
14    guarantee for gasification, they haven't set that  
15    policy yet.

16            But what happens to even the 50 percent?

17            To me, the great challenge for America, is carbon  
18    sequestration, and somebody's got to figure it out.  
19    It's great to say it's reduced by 50 percent, that's  
20    wonderful, but it's still 50 percent.

21            And we have got to find a way to deal  
22    with that.   If we do, the sky is the limit for the  
23

1 next 100 years for American energy.

2 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: John?

3 MR. DOERR: You state the problem well,  
4 Governor, and I think Jeff Immelt described this  
5 well. We're all suited up for the SuperBowl, we see  
6 sequestration projects at scale in other countries;  
7 we know the technology can improve; we know that  
8 GreatPoint will make it more economical, but these  
9 are big, multibillion-dollar kinds of projects.

10 The Department of Energy, for various  
11 reasons, cancelled the FutureGen Sequestration  
12 Project. I believe the key to this, is creating an  
13 agency like Fannie Mae or Freddie Mac or Ginnie Mae,  
14 that can take these relatively risky projects, some  
15 riskier than others, put them together in a  
16 portfolio, to lower the risk, and then to access the  
17 world's capital markets for them.

18 And I think that for you to advocate that  
19 kind of a proposal, will help bring the capital  
20 that's needed for the first two, three, five, six of  
21 these efforts.

22 We can, we have to capture and sequester

23

1 CO2 from coal.

2 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Jim, do you want to  
3 jump in on this one?

4 MR. WOOLSEY: Just a quick word: The  
5 capture from integrated gasification, combined-  
6 cycle coal plants, is fairly straightforward  
7 technologically, and adds on maybe 25 to 30 percent  
8 cost, otherwise, to the plant.

9 The problem with sequestration, is  
10 keeping the CO2 deep in the earth. You can use it  
11 temporarily, perhaps. We're not sure how long it  
12 will stay for tertiary recovery from oil fields, but  
13 you've got to get it to where the oil wells are, and  
14 that tends to be in the Southwest.

15 Then the other thing you can do, is, over  
16 a long term, probably put it into the deep saline,  
17 the deep salt water aquifers, a mile or two down in  
18 the earth, which are over a large part of the earth's  
19 -- under a large part of the earth's surface.

20 It's liquid -- CO2 is liquid at those  
21 depths, and there's salt water down there and CO2  
22 and salt water are probably going to stay  
23

1       together for a long time, if you can get it down  
2       there.

3                   The question is the cost of doing it.  
4       Ernie Menies up at MIT, who has looked into this  
5       more than most anybody I know, says probably  
6       something on the order of ten years and \$10 billion  
7       of experimentation to make this all work right, and  
8       probably a CO2 price of something in the range of \$35  
9       to \$40 a ton.

10                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY:   Governor Granholm  
11       from Michigan.

12                   GOVERNOR GRANHOLM:   Thank you so much.  
13       John, I'm so enthused about this segment of growing  
14       the next industrial revolution on energy.  
15       Obviously, from the automotive capital of the world,  
16       we want to have the man-bites-dog story be that  
17       Michigan helped to do this.

18                   But here's my question:   In this effort,  
19       we'd also like to take a look at trash, too,  
20       municipal waste-to-energy.   I'm wondering if you can  
21       comment just a minute on what you're seeing in terms  
22       of breakthroughs there.

23

1           It's my understanding that in Sweden,  
2   they don't have a single landfill, because they  
3   convert their waste to energy.  Wouldn't that be  
4   fabulous, too?

5 MR. DOERR: Well, I'm not familiar with  
6 the Sweden story, but I'll look into it at your  
7 suggestion.

8           Taking biomass, biomaterials, waste  
9   materials and gasifying them, using them to create  
10 electricity, is a frontier where we're seeing  
11 advances in the sciences that I'm really not at  
12 liberty to disclose here, that are very attractive  
13 and very economic.

14                   So, I'm investing in the area. The  
15       results are not yet in, but they appear very  
16       promising.

17                   We actually have a project in Germany to  
18       make distributed plants that use municipal waste and  
19       biomass, biomaterials, and another one currently at  
20       Georgia Tech, so I'm hopeful and interested in  
21       learning more.

22 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Do you want to



1       disclose the nature and depth of your investments?

2                       (Laughter.)

3                       CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY:   Just teasing.

4                       MR. DOERR:   I do have some hot stock  
5       tips, if you'd like.

6                       (Laughter.)

7                       MR. WOOLSEY:   Look into, Governor,  
8       Missouri, Carthage, a joint venture between Conagra  
9       and a little company called Changing World  
10      Technologies.  It takes, in this case, waste from a  
11      turkey processing facility of Conagra's, but the  
12      process works, I'm told, with hog manure, chicken  
13      litter, used tires, all sorts of ugly waste, to  
14      rather cleanly turn it into high-grade diesel.

15                      And it's worth getting in touch with  
16      Conagra and seeing how that's going.

17                      CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY:   Similarly, in Benson,  
18      Minnesota, we have a plant that takes turkey poop and  
19      turns it into electricity.  That's worth --

20                      GOVERNOR GRANHOLM:   We have a couple of  
21      those, too.  They're called poop-to-power.

22                      (Laughter.)

23

1                   GOVERNOR GRANHOLM: But I'm actually  
2 referring to the municipal waste side of things.

3                   MR. DOERR: I was going to say that the  
4 first thing you have to do with municipal waste, is  
5 recycle.

6                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Governor Hoeven from  
7 North Dakota, and then we'll go to Governor Bebee  
8 from Arkansas. Governor Hoeven?

9                   GOVERNOR HOEVEN: Thanks, Governor  
10 Pawlenty. Is that a technical term, that turkey  
11 poop as a fuel source?

12                   (Laughter.)

13                   GOVERNOR HOEVEN: Dr. Woolsey, thank you  
14 for coming to North Dakota and seeing some of the  
15 things that we're doing there, and speaking at one  
16 of our energy seminars. We appreciate it very much.  
17 It's good to see you again.

18                   In the discussion about deploying new  
19 technologies for carbon capture and sequestration,  
20 in both cases, it's going to be very important that  
21 both the regulatory framework and the structure of  
22 that legislation, as well as the incentives, enable  
23

1 the industry to move forward with the new  
2 technologies.

3 For example, Mr. Doerr talked about  
4 moving forward with GreatPoint, and, obviously, the  
5 legislature in Massachusetts has had to deal with  
6 that. But what we see right now, is that it looks  
7 like billions of dollars, the kind of thing that you  
8 talked about, John, in terms of the Manhattan  
9 Project, capital that's sitting on the sidelines,  
10 both capital that's within the utility industry,  
11 within the energy industry, and venture capital,  
12 generic venture capital, that's sidelined, because  
13 the investors, as well as the technology purveyors,  
14 GE or whoever it might be, everybody doesn't know  
15 what the regulatory climate is going to be.

16 So, how do we move forward in a way with  
17 these new -- get these new technologies to move  
18 forward? I mean, how do we move forward from a  
19 public policy standpoint, to empower that?

20 For example, if we're talking about cap-  
21 and-trade, if we're talking about carbon tax, an  
22 investment fee, or even investment tax credit, how  
23

1 do you get those into public policy, in a way that  
2 actually enables both the venture capital people,  
3 the investment community, and the technology  
4 providers, as well as the energy industry, to move  
5 forward and put that technology in place?

6 I mean, right now, we have a coal  
7 gasification plant in North Dakota and we're working  
8 on another one that actually captures the carbon  
9 dioxide, compresses it, puts it in a pipeline and  
10 sends it to the Wayburn Oil Fields, which is part of  
11 the Williston Basin, for secondary oil recovery.

12 That was originally started as a Federal  
13 Government project, and there are many others. But  
14 I'm concerned, when we talk about the public policy  
15 standpoint, how do we make sure that we're  
16 empowering the right kind of action to go forward,  
17 rather than just kind of freeze everybody in place  
18 and end up not deploying the technology?

19 So you've got the old plants that are  
20 still out there, instead of getting the new ones  
21 going with the new technologies that are more  
22 environmentally friendly.

23

1                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY:   John Doerr?

2                   MR. DOERR:   And, of course, those old  
3   plants are completely written off, so they're the  
4   lowest-cost, most profitable part, with today's  
5   accounting, of an energy company's business.

6                   I'd take a step back and say that the  
7   state is sovereign, and more money flows through the  
8   world's capital markets in a day, than through all  
9   the world's governments in a year.   So there's  
10  plenty of capital out there.

11                  These projects are just not now  
12  profitable, and I suggest that your job as  
13  policymakers and your leadership as Governors, is to  
14  get a national price put on carbon, so that cleaner  
15  renewable forms of energy, cleaner coal, is cheaper  
16  than the dirty coal.

17                  And when you solve those problems  
18  swiftly, the markets will come in at scale and fund  
19  these demonstration projects.   I'll add again,  
20  there's no silver bullet for this problem, but the  
21  first and most important thing we've got to do, is  
22  put a price on carbon and then we're going to find

23

1 the markets are going to respond.

2 We want to harness America's great  
3 capital markets to fund these efforts. There will  
4 be a demonstration project here or there for which  
5 we need some federal funding, and we're going to  
6 have to collaborate to build the next generation  
7 grid, but the scales that we're talking about,  
8 hundreds and hundreds of billions of dollars, we're  
9 going to need the capital markets.

10 MR. WOOLSEY: Just one thought. The  
11 Europeans had, they thought, a great idea about a  
12 carbon cap-and-trade system, but they used a  
13 mechanism to set the price of CO2, that was so low  
14 that they issued permits to virtually anybody who  
15 had any wish for them at all. They ended up with a  
16 CO2 price of under one Euro, under a dollar,  
17 essentially, a ton, and as a result, Europe, as a  
18 whole, is not moving as rapidly as the United States  
19 is, voluntarily, toward reducing its CO2 emissions.

20 So, the whole thing is figuring out the  
21 mechanism to set the price for CO2. And, as John  
22 said, that's the heart of the matter. You probably  
23

1     are going to have to have some kind of an auction,  
2     rather than people just being granted permits, I  
3     would imagine, if you want to make capture and  
4     sequestration of carbon, something that's financially  
5     attractive.

6                 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY:  Other questions or  
7     comments?

8                 GOVERNOR HOEVEN:  Governor, if I could,  
9     just a quick followup.

10                CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY:  Sure.

11                GOVERNOR HOEVEN:  Dr. Woolsey, when we  
12     had both Immelt here yesterday and some of the  
13     industry people, they talked about the Federal  
14     Government leading the way forward with like a  
15     FutureGen, but with the Federal Government actually  
16     coming in and doing a number of projects around the  
17     country.  Everybody said, you know, they don't want  
18     to be the first one, they want to be the second one,  
19     whether it's IGCC or something else.

20                What about getting the Federal Government  
21     to lead eight or ten projects around the country,  
22     that actually get this new technology deployed, so  
23

1 everyone else is second, third, fourth, fifth,  
2 instead of first?

3 MR. WOOLSEY: I think, as John suggested,  
4 that's a good idea, and that's really all that's  
5 left, now that FutureGen has been cancelled. One has  
6 to do these one and two at a time, and I would hope  
7 and think the Federal Government could be involved in  
8 that.

9 MR. DOERR: We saw the Federal  
10 Government, in the last energy bill, I believe,  
11 offer loan guarantees for, I think, six or eight  
12 nuclear power plants, to incentivize the industry to  
13 start building. Let's do the same with carbon  
14 capture and sequestration.

15 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: John, could you just  
16 very briefly share with the Governor of North  
17 Dakota, the sequestration and capture plant that you  
18 have on the boards or up and running, and how you got  
19 it done?

20 GOVERNOR HOEVEN: Well, we've got one.  
21 Dakota Gasification Company was originally a plant  
22 that was started by a number of large corporations  
23



1 in the energy industry, with a federal loan  
2 guarantee.

3 And, essentially, it takes lignite coal  
4 and gasifies it, using technology which is a  
5 technology that goes all the way back to about the  
6 World War II Germany era, but, obviously, it's been  
7 advanced greatly.

8 They gasify the coal. That produces, in  
9 essence, methane, that's put into natural gas  
10 pipeline, goes off to market. A lot of natural gas  
11 comes through our state, both produced in Canada, as  
12 well as in North Dakota, Montana, and other places.

13 It goes to market, so we have the  
14 pipelines. So, it's synthetic natural gas that goes  
15 to market.

16 In the gasification process, the CO<sub>2</sub> is  
17 captured on the front end. It's compressed and then  
18 we put it in a pipeline. Dakota Gasification  
19 Company puts it in a pipeline, and it goes into the  
20 Wayburn Oil Fields, which are actually in  
21 Saskatchewan.

22 Most of those fields are unitized, so  
23

1     they work very well for secondary recovery, which  
2     can be water flood or CO2. And the oil companies  
3     pay for the use of this CO2, which helps, of course,  
4     cover the cost of the pipeline.

5                 Now we're working on another very similar  
6     project, but with newer technologies.

7                 GOVERNOR RENDELL: And the beauty of  
8     these plants, is, they're polygen. If you want to  
9     do the second step and liquify, you can produce non-  
10    sulfur diesel fuel for cars and jet planes.

11                MR. DOERR: Right, coal to liquids,  
12    exactly.

13                GOVERNOR RENDELL: It's an incredible  
14    technology, if we could ever make it financially  
15    viable.

16                CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: John, go ahead.

17                MR. DOERR: What technology is going to  
18    do in the long run, is make this cheaper and cheaper  
19    and cheaper. Right now, there's low-hanging fruit  
20    that we can grab, but I think we'll find that we can  
21    use CO2 to build valuable products, using new  
22    technologies, the science of the small. We'll see.

23

1                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Governor Bebee?

2                   GOVERNOR BEBEE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.  
3     John, you pointed out the need, I think, for  
4     immediate action on some aspects of this when you  
5     indicated the first thing or the best thing we could  
6     do this week, is to lobby for or throw our weight  
7     behind the extension of the tax credits, which, as  
8     you pointed out, will be -- decisions will be made on  
9     that, to some extent, this week.

10                  I think we've already authorized the  
11     Executive Committee, right, Mr. Chairman, on those  
12     short -- on all short-term issues, but specifically  
13     that short-term issue, to extend to the Congress, to  
14     the Senate, the wishes of the NGA with regard to  
15     that issue.

16                  So I think we've already taken that step  
17     as a group and as a body, but I would be interested,  
18     number one, in knowing who those 59 Senators are that  
19     you have committed, so that, you know, if the folks  
20     in this room could get that information relatively  
21     quickly, we may be able to get you one more.

22                  Now, we may not. All of ours may already  
23

1     be there, or they may be so intractable that we can  
2     never get to that other vote, but I think it's worth  
3     trying, if you could share the information with us,  
4     or maybe the staff already has that information about  
5     who is committed and who perhaps we can work on.

6             The second thing is, I'm really intrigued  
7     by your designer bugs and wanted to know if you are  
8     familiar with some technology that exists but there's  
9     not a lot of talk about it, with creating cellulosic  
10    gasoline, not cellulosic ethanol, but cellulosic  
11    gasoline, so you obviate all the problems that exist  
12    with infrastructure and with flexfuels and with  
13    retraining a sometimes untrainable gas-guzzling  
14    public.

15            So, if you could speak to any knowledge  
16    that you have relative to where we stand on  
17    cellulosic gasoline, that would be appreciated.

18            CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY:   John Doerr?

19            MR. DOERR:   I'd be happy to.   First, and  
20    to the crucial matter this week, we'd be happy to  
21    work with the NGA.   I believe we know which Senators  
22    are currently in favor of this and those that are

23

1 not, and a few key phone calls, I think, from a few  
2 Governors, would make all the difference in this.

3 By my view of the world, if you eliminate  
4 a tax credit, you're raising taxes. And what we're  
5 about to do, is raise taxes on renewable energy, and  
6 that doesn't make any sense to me.

7 Now, to the bugs, this company, Amyris,  
8 as it turns out studied what it would take to make  
9 bugs that would excrete gasoline. And we can make  
10 bugs that do that.

11 The problem is that the gasoline kills  
12 the bugs right away.

13 (Laughter.)

14 MR. DOERR: So we have found we can make  
15 a better gasoline, a substitute for gasoline that  
16 will go right through the current cars, right  
17 through the current pipelines. We cannot do it at  
18 great economic advantage, which is why Amyris will  
19 prioritize diesel and then jet fuel.

20 And I'm very, very excited about what  
21 these bugs are going to do for my daughters.

22 (Laughter.)

23

1                   GOVERNOR BEBEE: Just as a followup, we  
2   have some significant research going on in a  
3   collaborative in our state and some private  
4   foundations that have invested some significant  
5   research dollars.

6                   And I would love to be able to pick your  
7   brain and share some information with you, and,  
8   before you get out of here, if we can, besides just  
9   your e-mail address, we could get your private cell  
10   phone number or something --

11                  MR. DOERR: I'd be happy to do that.

12                  CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Jim?

13                  MR. WOOLSEY: One quick point: A lot of  
14   these alternative liquid fuels, are very attractive  
15   and interesting, and I think they will play an  
16   important role, but, as John said, they're often  
17   going to be kind of close to the cost of gasoline or  
18   diesel.

19                  The interesting thing about electricity  
20   and plug-in hybrids or moving toward electric  
21   vehicles, is that off-peak, overnight electricity,  
22   if it's billed off-peak, is somewhere between one  
23

1     and two cents per mile to drive on in an electric  
2     car or plug-in hybrid, and if it's billed at an  
3     average daytime/nighttime rate, it's probably around  
4     three cents a mile, whereas gasoline now is about 12  
5     and headed up.

6             So, you are talking about being able to  
7     cut your driving costs, in some cases, by an order  
8     of magnitude, by going to electricity. And I think  
9     electricity will pull the laboring oar.

10            A number of these alternative liquid  
11     fuels are exciting and interesting, and they will be  
12     important, too, but I think electricity is going to  
13     lead the way.

14            CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Okay, any other  
15     questions or comments, before we move on to our next  
16     section? We'll do one more. Governor?

17            GOVERNOR LINGLE: I just want to ask John  
18     one question about the technology --

19            (Microphone fails.)

20            MR. DOERR: The question is, what's the  
21     prospect for geothermal technologies, long-term?  
22     I'm very bullish about those. We've invested in an

23

1 MIT-inspired startup, as I may have mentioned to  
2 you.

3           There's enough energy in the hot rocks  
4 under the surface of the country, to power America's  
5 energy needs for a thousand years. There are  
6 tremendous amounts of energy there, and the  
7 technology to get to them, is oil drilling  
8 technologies.

9           The challenge is to do it at cost, at  
10 competitive cost. So, a price on carbon is going to  
11 make that more cost-competitive.

12           The goal of our venture is not to go to  
13 Old Faithful in Yellowstone and tap the steam that's  
14 coming out, but to pretty well be able to drill these  
15 holes anywhere in the earth's surface -- almost  
16 anywhere -- to get the steam and then the  
17 electricity close to the centers of demand.

18           In fact, the experts in this company,  
19 tell me that we can put a geothermal well here under  
20 the nation's capital, and have it be economic, so we  
21 hope to do that as a first demonstration.

22           But I'm --

23



1 VOICES: There's a lot of hot air.

2 (Laughter.)

3 MR. DOERR: There's a lot of hot air.

4 That's well said, Governor. We can tap it below the  
5 ground and above the ground.

6 (Laughter.)

7 MR. DOERR: I think it's a very important  
8 renewable source of energy.

9 MR. WOOLSEY: There's two kinds of  
10 geothermal. You don't need, necessarily, hot. That  
11 helps with large plants, but we're about to put one  
12 under our house, that only goes down to water that's  
13 60 degrees, and it cools in the Summer and it heats  
14 up to 60 degrees in the Winter. That's shallow heat  
15 pump geothermal, and a lot of residences are starting  
16 to be -- pursued by a lot of people, so you've got  
17 two kinds of geothermal, not just one.

18 GOVERNOR LINGLE: John, we would like to  
19 obtain, you know, the technology you described  
20 awhile ago.

21 MR. DOERR: I'd be happy to work with you  
22 on that, Governor.

23

1 GOVERNOR LINGLE: Thanks.

2 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: We're going to move  
3 on to our next item, but let's thank our two  
4 wonderful guests for sharing their time and  
5 information with us.

6 (Applause.)

7 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: I have just a couple  
8 of housekeeping items here and will try to go  
9 through them as quickly as I can, but they are  
10 important, as well.

11 The first is to recognize our  
12 Public/Private Partnership Award winners. As these  
13 guests and many others have discussed at this  
14 meeting, innovation is an important part of what we  
15 do at NGA, trying to recognize it, celebrate it,  
16 encourage it, and with securing a clean energy  
17 future.

18 And we want to remain committed to  
19 recognizing innovation and people who demonstrate an  
20 appetite to help us with that effort. That's why,  
21 last year, NGA unveiled a Public/Private Partnership  
22 Award for members of the NGA Corporate Fellows

23

1     Program and we're pleased to present this year's  
2     winner.

3             The Award program was created to  
4     recognize the NGA Corporate Fellow companies that  
5     have partnered with Governors' Offices to implement  
6     a program or project that makes a positive and  
7     recognizable and measurable difference and  
8     contribution to that state and its citizens.

9             Now, this past Fall, Governors submitted  
10    nominations to the Corporate Fellow Awards Program,  
11    for his or her states, of nominees, and I want to  
12    thank all the Governors who made those submissions,  
13    and we also want to thank the people who screened  
14    them, led by Charlie Weaver, who runs the Minnesota  
15    Business Partnership, but a lot of hard work from  
16    Steven Jordan, Susan Trayman, Leanne Wilson.

17            It wasn't limited, of course, just to  
18    energy. There was also infrastructure, healthcare,  
19    education, public safety categories and others.

20            So, without further ado, I'd like to  
21    invite Governor Riley from Alabama to come forward.  
22    He's going to announce the winning nomination for  
23

1 the NGA Public/Private Partnership Award.

2 GOVERNOR RILEY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

3 As most of you know, all of us are trying to figure a  
4 way to reconstruct what we're doing and do it more  
5 effectively and more efficiently than we have in the  
6 past.

7 One of the things a few years ago that we  
8 noticed in Alabama, is that we did a tremendous  
9 amount of mapping. Our visual imagery was carried  
10 on by four or five different departments, yet each  
11 one was isolated and located only in that department  
12 and available only to that department.

13 I asked our Department of Homeland  
14 Security in Alabama, to come up with a new plan, a  
15 new plan that would allow us to make all of this  
16 information available to anyone in the State of  
17 Alabama, to put it online.

18 They first talked to the Space and Rocket  
19 Center, came up with a geospatial design, and then,  
20 working with Google Earth, built a product today that  
21 is available online to any agency in the State of  
22 Alabama.

23

1                   It is a 3D image today, that we can use  
2   anywhere in the world. And the applications for it  
3   have been truly remarkable.

4                   Now, every one of you Governors today,  
5   probably have all of the information readily  
6   available in your state, but it's to bring it into  
7   one single repository, being able to layer it on top  
8   of each other, and design a program today that will  
9   allow you to show any project, anywhere in the  
10  world, to any user and have it located within the  
11  confines of your own state government.

12                  Today we have a system that has 2300  
13  users in every agency of state government. This is  
14  the kind of innovation that I want to thank Google  
15  and Google Earth for. Michael T. Jones, is the  
16  Chief Technology Advisor for Google Earth, and is  
17  with us today. Michael, if you would come up?

18                   (Applause.)

19                  GOVERNOR RILEY: Let me present this to  
20  you, and, again, thank you, thank you for all the  
21  help that Google has given the State of Alabama.  
22  You really have revolutionized the way we look at  
23

1 mapping, at the way we look at geographic districts,  
2 the way we look at our state.

3 Every agency in state government today,  
4 has benefitted, and I want to thank you for it and  
5 ask you to say a few words.

6 MR. JONES: Well, thank you, Governor.

7 (Presentation made; applause.)

8 MR. JONES: Well, I would like first to  
9 say that I feel so lucky to be here. We're one of a  
10 few great companies, the Google Earth team, that  
11 Kleiner Perkins declined to invest in, but we made  
12 it anyway.

13 (Laughter.)

14 MR. JONES: But, more importantly, the  
15 reason we're here, is not because of what we did at  
16 Google, but because of what Governor Riley and his  
17 team did in Alabama. It's the unique situation that  
18 has put Alabama first, as far as Google is  
19 concerned, in technology.

20 They have a Governor who has caused, from  
21 the top, a pushing down through their organizations,  
22 saying, find a new way to make the best use of the  
23

1 data that we already have, and that ranges from the  
2 pedestrian uses like seeing maps, to extremely  
3 aggressive uses, such as seeing the Highway Patrol  
4 dashboard cameras, live on top of the computer screen  
5 at anybody's desks, so they can see what's going on  
6 around the state.

7 It's truly amazing, what they've done,  
8 and it's a real privilege to see our product used in  
9 such a great way. So I wanted to thank you, sir.

10 GOVERNOR RILEY: Michael, thank you. We  
11 appreciate it; thank you very much.

12 (Applause.)

13 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Next, Governor Mike  
14 Rounds is going to come forward to present and  
15 recognize South Dakota's winning nomination for an  
16 NGA Public/Private Partnership Award. Governor  
17 Rounds?

18 GOVERNOR ROUNDS: Thank you, Governor  
19 Pawlenty. I'm honored to be here today to help  
20 present this award to Berrick Gold of North America.

21 Berrick's partnership with and the  
22 donation to the South Dakota Science and Technology  
23

1 Authority, has allowed the Homestake Mine in South  
2 Dakota, to be selected as the site of the National  
3 Science Foundation's Deep Underground Science and  
4 Engineering Laboratory.

5           The Homestake Mine in Lead, South Dakota,  
6 was once a very successful gold mine and was the site  
7 of the single largest gold deposit ever found in the  
8 western hemisphere. At its peak, it employed more  
9 than 3,000 people, but when gold prices fell, the  
10 mine was closed in 2001, after 124 years of  
11 operation.

12           Now, if you're wondering where Lead is,  
13 it's just outside of another community by about a  
14 mile and a half, called Deadwood, South Dakota. I  
15 think you might have heard of Deadwood, and that's  
16 where the original gold strike was at, and from  
17 there, they found the lead into the big vein of gold  
18 that the Homestake Mine followed for 124 years.

19           In 2002, Berrick bought the Homestake  
20 Mining Company, which included mines around the  
21 world, as well as the Homestake Mine in South  
22 Dakota.

23



1                   Thanks to the wonderful generosity of  
2   Berrick, our state has had an opportunity to create a  
3   new tomorrow for Homestake and for South Dakota.

4                   Decades of development and the pursuit of  
5   gold, left a vast underground architecture that is  
6   perfectly suited to accommodate the many different  
7   scientific experiments that require underground  
8   laboratory space.

9                   The Deep Underground Science and  
10   Engineering Lab, or DUSEL, is a proposed federal  
11   research laboratory which will house scientific  
12   experiments that will expand our knowledge of the  
13   planet and our universe. When you think of dark  
14   matter and many scientists will someday talk of  
15   double-beta decay and kids will share stories of  
16   neutrinos, the Laboratory will bring together, some  
17   of the brightest minds in the world.

18                  It will create an immeasurable  
19   educational opportunity for our country's youth, who  
20   want to pursue science. It will produce cutting-edge  
21   scientific research in several fields, and build on  
22   the Nobel Prize winning work of many scientists such  
23

1 as Ray Davis, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for  
2 Physics in 2002, for his neutrino research conducted  
3 at Homestake on the 4250 foot level.

4 The Homestake site was once in  
5 competition with several other locations around the  
6 country, for the selection as the Deep Underground  
7 Science and Engineering Laboratory. In 2005, the  
8 Homestake site was selected by the National Science  
9 Foundation, as a finalist in its search for its site  
10 for the DUSEL.

11 Berrick worked together with the Science  
12 and Technology Authority, to develop a way to  
13 transfer just portions of the property to the state  
14 in support of its efforts to secure the DUSEL within  
15 our borders.

16 In 2006, Berrick, through an act of truly  
17 tremendous corporate generosity, donated the areas of  
18 Homestake that were needed for this science  
19 laboratory. They donated it to the State of South  
20 Dakota Science and Technology Authority.

21 This donation included the underground  
22 workings of the 8,000 foot deep mine, consisting of  
23

1 excavated rooms, along with 370 miles of drifts and  
2 tunnels, 7,700 acres of mineral rights, and 186  
3 acres above the ground, which contain numerous  
4 buildings.

5 This transfer of ownership was one of the  
6 key factors that allowed South Dakota to move  
7 forward in securing the DUSEL at Homestake.

8 Currently, the Science and Technology  
9 Authority has reentered the mine and is redeveloping  
10 an interim laboratory at various levels, including  
11 the 4850 foot level, for experiments, as plans for  
12 the deep-level facility continue to be developed.

13 The development of the Deep Underground  
14 Science and Engineering Laboratory at Homestake, is  
15 perhaps the single greatest opportunity for the  
16 State of South Dakota in this century.

17 The impact that it will have on science,  
18 research, and education, will truly be realized for  
19 generations. Already, our legislature, in  
20 conjunction with a gentleman, a businessman in South  
21 Dakota, T. Denny Sanford, have already contributed,  
22 between legislative activity and this private  
23

1     businessman, over \$100 million to invest at this  
2     location.

3                 I'm very happy that Patrick Garver is  
4     here today to accept this award for Berrick. Mr.  
5     Garver was personally involved at every step in this  
6     project, and he continues to be a partner in our  
7     effort.

8                 Ladies and gentlemen, Patrick Garver is a  
9     gentleman. Patrick, if you could please come  
10    forward, on behalf of Berrick Gold, I want to share  
11    with you that it's not very often that a state buys  
12    an abandoned mine. And Patrick was very serious in  
13    discussing with us, the implications of what goes on  
14    when you purchase something of this size.

15                And he wanted to make sure that every  
16    single eye was dotted and every T was crossed. He  
17    wanted to make sure that we recognized the cost  
18    involved in protecting this piece of property, this  
19    special piece of property.

20                But throughout literally years of  
21    negotiations, he stuck with us; he worked through  
22    the challenges that we had, and he could see the  
23

1 gleam of what could happen in our state, if, rather  
2 than mining gold, we started to mine knowledge deep  
3 underground.

4 This would not have happened without Mr.  
5 Patrick Garver or without the truly magnanimous gift  
6 from the Berrick Gold Corporation, to the citizens of  
7 South Dakota, that we get to share with scientists  
8 from throughout the United States and around the  
9 world.

10 Mr. Garver, thank you very much on behalf  
11 of all of us.

12 (Presentation made; applause.)

13 MR. GARVER: Well, I understand that I'm  
14 about the last thing on the agenda before  
15 adjournment, so I don't want to say very much.

16 I will say that it was really terrific to  
17 work with the State of South Dakota, and,  
18 particularly, Governor Rounds. He proved to be  
19 extremely determined and extremely entrepreneurial,  
20 and that's something that we'd like to see in all of  
21 the places where we do business.

22 In this case, it was a joy -- it was a  
23

1 long slog, but it was a joy to work together, and I  
2 really appreciate the opportunity.

3 GOVERNOR ROUNDS: Thank you, Patrick.

4 (Applause.)

5 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Okay, now we're going  
6 to move to adopting the policies that we have before  
7 us.

8 Just a very quick reminder that there's  
9 an NGA Centennial Celebration at the Ronald Reagan  
10 Building and International Center, which is right  
11 across the street, starting at 4:00. All are  
12 welcomed and encouraged to attend. Your presence  
13 there would be appreciated.

14 Next, we move on to voting and  
15 consideration of various policy positions. These  
16 policies were originally sent to the Governors in  
17 February, early February.

18 The packets you have received, reflect  
19 those policies, with any amendments that the  
20 Executive Committee and other standing committees  
21 have considered and are putting forth. To expedite  
22 matters, we're going to ask each committee chair to  
23

1     briefly describe and move the adoption of the  
2     committee reports.

3                 We have to do the first one out of order.  
4     Governor Rendell, because of a scheduling issue, has  
5     to leave, so, Governor Rendell, can you take up the  
6     Executive Committee portion of this, then we'll go to  
7     the policy committees.

8                 GOVERNOR RENDELL:   Fairly quickly,  
9     because I know you're all dying with interest to get  
10    this done, the Executive Committee recommends the  
11    adoption of one new policy that's EC-8, State  
12    Countercyclical Funding.

13                This policy was originally adopted by the  
14    Executive Committee as an interim policy, but under  
15    our Bylaws, it must be adopted by the full  
16    Association as a continuous policy, and since the  
17    stimulus debate will continue, it's necessary to  
18    adopt an amendment in the nature of a substitute.  
19    The substitute is at your table, in the purple.

20                I would like to move for the adoption of  
21    this substitute.   Does anybody second it?

22                CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY:   Governor Rendell

23

1 moves adoption. Anybody second?

2 GOVERNOR CARCIERI: Second.

3 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Governor Carcieri

4 seconds. Any discussion?

5 (No response.)

6 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: All those in favor,

7 say aye.

8 (Chorus of ayes.)

9 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Opposed, say no.

10 (No response.)

11 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: The motion prevails.

12 Governor Rendell?

13 GOVERNOR RENDELL: The Executive

14 Committee also recommends the reaffirmation of

15 existing policies EC-1, State Grant Programs; EC-4,

16 Public Pay and Pension Plans; EC-9, Federal Tax

17 Policy; and EC-11, Representation in Congress for

18 the United States Citizens of the Northern Marianas

19 Islands, and lastly, we recommend reassigning EC-

20 12, which is the Streamlining State Sales Tax

21 Systems, to the Economic Development and Commerce

22 Committee.

23



1                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Do you make that  
2    motion?

3                   GOVERNOR RENDELL: I so move.

4                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Is there a second to  
5    Governor Rendell's motion?

6                   GOVERNOR BEBEE: Second.

7                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Governor Bebee  
8    seconds. Any further discussion, comments, or  
9    questoins?

10                  (No response.)

11                  CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Seeing none, all  
12    those in favor, say aye.

13                  (Chorus of ayes.)

14                  CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Opposed, say no.

15                  (No response.)

16                  CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: The motion prevails.

17    Does that conclude your report, Governor Rendell?

18                  GOVERNOR RENDELL: It sure does.

19                  CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Thank you, sir.

20    Next, we're going to go to Governor Rounds, Economic  
21    Development and Commerce Committee Chair. Governor  
22    Rounds?

23

1                   GOVERNOR ROUNDS: Thank you, Mr.  
2   Chairman. The Vice Chair, Governor Granholm, was  
3   simply not able to attend this session, sir.

4                   First of all, the Committee recommends  
5   adoption of the NGA Membership of four -- to the  
6   NGA, membership, four existing EDC policies,  
7   including amendments to three policies and the  
8   renewal without substantive change, of one policy.

9                   They are EDC-02, Transportation  
10   Conformity with the Clean Air Act; EDC-9, Air  
11   Transportation; EDC-13, Surface Transportation; and  
12   EDC-15, the Rural Economy.

13                  On behalf of the Committee, Mr. Chairman,  
14   I move the adoption of our policy recommendations.

15                  CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Is there a second to  
16   Governor Rounds's motion?

17                  GOVERNOR HENRY: Second.

18                  CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Governor Henry  
19   seconds. Any discussion?

20                  (No response.)

21                  CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Seeing none, all  
22   those in favor, say aye.

23

1 (Chorus of ayes.)

2 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Those opposed, say  
3 no.

4 (No response.)

5 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: The motion prevails.  
6 Governor Rounds, does that conclude your report?

7 GOVERNOR ROUNDS: Yes.

8 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Thank you. Next,  
9 we'll move to Governor Carcieri, Chair of the  
10 Education, Early Childhood and Workforce Committee.  
11 Governor Carcieri?

12 GOVERNOR CARCIERI: Thank you, Governor.  
13 The Education, Early Childhood and Workforce  
14 Committee discussed the issue of Innovative  
15 Governor-Led Strategies to Improving Struggling  
16 Schools. We heard from Dr. Pedro Guerra, who is the  
17 Executive Director of Education, had a lively  
18 discussion where Governors then themselves presented  
19 Governor-led strategies in their states to improve  
20 student achievement.

21 We did adopt two policies, all without  
22 changes, and recommend to the NGA membership, the  
23

1       reaffirmation of ECW-4, Early Education, Head Start,  
2       and Other School Readiness Programs; and an  
3       amendment in the nature of a substitute, for ECW-2,  
4       Education Reform.

5                       So, I'd ask for those to be passed  
6       unanimously.

7                       CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Governor Carcieri so  
8       moves. Is there a second to his motion?

9                       GOVERNOR PATRICK: Second.

10                      CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Governor Patrick  
11       seconds the motion. Any discussion?

12                      (No response.)

13                      CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Seeing none, all  
14       those in favor, say aye.

15                      (Chorus of ayes.)

16                      CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Those opposed, say  
17       no.

18                      (No response.)

19                      CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: The motion prevails.  
20       Thank you, Governor Carcieri.

21                      Next is Governor Douglas from the  
22       Committee on Health and Human Services. Governor  
23

1 Douglas?

2 GOVERNOR DOUGLAS: Mr. Chairman, we had a  
3 great, spirited session yesterday, a discussion  
4 about long-term care in light of the demographic  
5 realities that the country is facing and the cost  
6 pressure it places on states, as well as individuals  
7 and families.

8 We talked about some strategies for  
9 reducing costs, some private sector investment, some  
10 innovative approaches that a couple of states are  
11 using to address the challenge of long-term care, and  
12 keep more people at home, rather than going into  
13 institutions in order to improve their quality of  
14 life, a very important and timely topic.

15 We approved amendments to aid eight  
16 existing policies, three of them in the nature of a  
17 substitute. They are in the packet that's been  
18 distributed to all the Governors, and I move that  
19 they be considered en bloc.

20 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: All right, thank you,  
21 Governor Douglas. He so moves. Is there a second?

22 GOVERNOR LINGLE: Second.

23

1                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Governor Lingle  
2       seconds the motion. Thank you, Governor Lingle.  
3       Any discussion?

4                   (No response.)

5                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: All those in favor,  
6       say aye.

7                   (Chorus of ayes.)

8                   CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Opposed, say no.

9                   (No response.)

10                  CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: The motion prevails.  
11       Next is Governor Manchin. Is Governor Manchin here?

12                  (No response.)

13                  CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Governor Hoeven, I  
14       think you were going to do the report for him.  
15       Governor Hoeven from the Committee on Natural  
16       Resources.

17                  GOVERNOR HOEVEN: Governor Manchin asked  
18       that I present the report on his behalf and on  
19       behalf of the Natural Resources Committee.

20                  There are five policies that we have for  
21       your approval. They are: NR-5, Transportation  
22       Conformity with the Clean Air Act; NR-8,

23

1 Environmental Compliance at Federal Facilities; NR-  
2 12, Endangered Species Act; NR-17, Land Management  
3 and Land use Planning; and NR-19, Low-Level  
4 Radioactive Waste Disposal.

5 We'd ask that you approve all of these  
6 five policies, and I will make that motion  
7 accordingly.

8 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Is there a second?

9 GOVERNOR HENRY: Second.

10 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Governor Henry, thank  
11 you. Any discussion?

12 (No response.)

13 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Seeing none, all  
14 those in favor, say aye.

15 (Chorus of ayes.)

16 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: Opposed, say no.

17 (No response.)

18 CHAIRMAN PAWLENTY: The motion prevails.

19 Governor Rendell was going to put in a pitch for the  
20 Summer Meeting in Philadelphia, but if you had one of  
21 those Philly stake and cheese sandwiches that he was  
22 offering yesterday, you had a taste of his

23

1       hospitality and what's to come for the Summer.

2                       Again, it's our Centennial meeting, and I  
3       hope all Governors will make a grand effort to  
4       attend. I think it's going to be a wonderful,  
5       historic, and hopefully also a good business meeting  
6       for us, come this Summer in Philadelphia.

7                       Thank you all for attending. This  
8       adjourns the 2008 Winter Meeting of the National  
9       Governors Association.

10                      (Whereupon, at 3:30 p.m., the meeting was  
11       adjourned.)

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