

DO THE MATH
Featuring Bill McKibben

[Transcript]

Ch.1 - Introduction

BILL MCKIBBEN: Like most people, I'm not an activist by nature. There's really not that many people whose greatest desire is to go out and fight the system. My theory of change was I'll write my book, people will read it and then they'll change but that's not how change happens. So I've been kind of forced to go against my sense of who I'm most comfortable being. It seems like it's the thing that's required now. I think it's probably required that an awful lot of us do things that are a little hard for us. Make a little noise. Be a little uncomfortable. Push other people to be a little uncomfortable. This is really the fight of our time.

NEWS ANCHOR: *It is official, 2012 was the hottest year in the United States since weather scientists started keeping record.*

NEWS ANCHOR: *2012 was not only the warmest year on record, but also the second most extreme featuring tornadoes wildfires and massive drought.*

NEWS ANCHOR: *Rising seas due to climate change.*

NEWS ANCHOR: *Heat trapping gasses from burning oil, coal and gas.*

NEWS ANCHOR: *10.9 billion dollars in profits? People look at this and they say 'that's a world turned upside down.'*

REP. FROM ENERGY COMMITTEE: *Listening to your testimony makes me even more convinced that we need to act to prevent cataclysmic climate change.*

REP. ELLISON: *BP cut corner after corner and now the whole gulf coast is paying the price.*

NEWS ANCHOR: *How can you justify the record profits you're making?*

CEO EXXON: *Well, our business is one of very large numbers.*

Title Screen: DO THE MATH

BILL MAHER: *Ok, let's bring on Bill. He's an environmentalist and president and co-founder of 350.org.*

STEVEN COLBERT: *... And my guest Bill McKibben.*

DAVID LETTERMAN: . . . *Our nation's leading environmentalist.*

BILL MCKIBBEN: We started this thing called 350.org. We're going out and building the kind of political movement that will change things. We just announced this road show out across the country to simply take on the fossil fuel industry. People are just lining up to try and get involved in this fight.

BILL MCKIBBEN: Wow, thank you all. Thank you all so much for being here today – it is a great, it is a great pleasure for me to get to be here tonight. And one of the gifts for me of these last few months was getting, tiring as it was in a sense, to travel around the country. And one of the things that was great was just being reminded of what an incredibly beautiful place this is. We got to Denver and it was gorgeous but the air was full of smoke from fires still burning in December after the biggest fire season ever and we got through that gorgeous farmland, much of it, 60% of it is still in a federally declared drought. But it's also worth just saying that it's a terrible thing to take a world this beautiful, and for the sake of out-sized profits for a few people for a little while, lay it to waste.

Tonight's the start of the last campaign that I may really get to fight, not because I'm getting tired but because the planet is getting tired. In the world that we've built where our institutions aren't working the way they should, we have to do more than we should. That news doesn't depress me. In a sense, it excites me because I think we know what we need to do. I think we've peeled away the layer of the onion. I think we've gotten to the very heart of things. As of tonight, we're taking on the fossil fuel industry directly. The moment has come that we have to make real stands. We're reaching limits.

The biggest limit that we're running into may be that we're running out of atmosphere into which to put the waste products of our society, particularly the carbon dioxide that is the ubiquitous byproduct of burning fossil fuel. You burn coal, or oil, or gas and you get CO₂, and the atmosphere is now filling up with it. We know what the solutions for dealing with this trouble are. Many of the technologies we need to get off fossil fuels and onto something else. The thing that's preventing us from doing it is the enormous political power wielded by those who have made and are making vast windfall profits off of fossil fuel.

GUS SPETH: Well there have been a lot of efforts by scientists to try to estimate whether we are living sustainably in the sense of whether we are consuming planetary resources at a rate that can be continued. The threat that this combination of climate change, water shortages, food shortages, and rising energy prices is enormously troubling to anybody who's aware of the data and the ways these issues could play out.

JULIET SCHOR: You can't keep increasing your economy infinitely on a finite planet. One of the things that humanity is facing is the need to dramatically reduce its carbon footprint over the next forty years and we're talking in the wealthy countries about 80 to 90 percent reductions.

BILL MCKIBBEN: We're no longer at the point of trying to stop global warming, too late for that. We're at the point of trying to keep it from becoming complete and utter calamity. We shouldn't have to be here tonight. If the world worked a rational way, we shouldn't have to be here. 25 years ago, our scientists started telling us about climate change. I played my small role in that by writing the first book about all of this in 1989 for a general audience. A book called "The End of Nature." If the world worked as it should, our leaders would have heeded those warnings, gone to work, done the sensible things that, at the time, would have been enough to get us a long way, where we needed to go. They didn't and that's why we're in the fix we're in.

VAN JONES: This is the biggest emergency the human family has faced since it came out of the caves. There is nothing bigger.

BETSY TAYLOR: All these issues matter. Immigration and health care and education but this one is really about the physical change of the planet.

LESTER BROWN: We all have been saying, 'we need to save the planet.' But as I think about it the planet is going to be around for some time to come. What's at stake now is civilization itself.

BILL MCKIBBEN: Our most important climatologist Jim Hansen had his team at NASA do a study to figure out how much carbon in the atmosphere is too much. The paper they published may be the most important scientific paper of the millennium to date, said we now know enough to know how much is too much. Any value for carbon in the atmosphere greater than 350 parts per million is not compatible with the planet on which civilization developed and to which life on earth is adapted. That's pretty strong language for scientists to use. Stronger still if you know that outside today the atmosphere is 395 ppm CO₂ and rising about 2 ppm per year.

Everything frozen on Earth is melting. The great ice sheet of the arctic is reduced by more than half. The oceans are about 30% more acidic than they were 30 years ago. Because the chemistry of seawater changes as it absorbs carbon from the atmosphere. And because warm air holds more water vapor than cold, the atmosphere is about 5% wetter than it was 40 years ago. That's an astonishingly large change.

DR. JAMES HANSEN: There's more energy coming in and being absorbed by the Earth than there is heat being radiated to space. Which is exactly what we expected because as we add greenhouse gases to the atmosphere, it traps heat. Now we can measure that and that's the basis by which we can prove that human made impacts on atmospheric composition are the primary cause of the climate change that we're observing.

BILL MCKIBBEN: So let's get to work. We're calling this 'Do the Math' and we're going to do some math for a moment. Just 3 numbers, okay? I wrote about them in a piece last summer for Rolling Stone. A piece that went oddly viral. It was the issue with Justin Bieber on the cover. But here's the strange thing, the next day, I got a call from the editor saying, "Your

piece has gotten 10 times more ‘likes’ on Facebook than Justin Bieber’s.” Some of that, some of that is doubtless the result of my soulful stare, you know. But mostly, it’s because we managed to lay out this math in a very straightforward way that people needed to understand, as we were going through what turned out to be the hottest year that America has ever experienced. Before we get to those three numbers, here’s where we are so far. We’ve burned enough coal, gas and oil to raise the temperature of the Earth 1 degree. What has that done? There was a day last September when the headline in the paper was “Half of the polar ice cap is missing.” Literally, I mean, if Neil Armstrong were up on the moon today he would see half as much area of ice in the arctic. We’ve taken one of the largest physical features on the Earth and we have broken it.

Chapter 2 - The Numbers

BILL MCKIBBEN: Shall we work through the numbers? There are three and they’re easy. The first one is two degrees. That’s how much the world has said it would be safe to let the planet warm. In political terms, it’s the only thing anybody has agreed to. Some of you may remember that climate summit in Copenhagen. There was only one number in the final two-page voluntary accord that people signed. Only one number in it: 2 degrees. Every signatory pledged to make sure the temperature wouldn’t rise above that. The EU, Japan, Russia, China, countries that make their money selling oil, like the United Arab Emirates, the most conservative, recalcitrant, reluctant countries on Earth – even the United States. If the world officially believes anything about climate change it’s that 2 degrees is too much.

Second number. Scientists have calculated how much carbon we can pour into the atmosphere and have a reasonable chance of staying below 2 degrees. They say about 565 more gigatons. A gigaton is a billion tons. That’s not a perfect chance. That’s worse odds than Russian roulette, you know. It sounds like a lot. It is a lot – 565 billion tons of CO₂. The problem is we pour 30 billion tons a year now and that number goes up 3% a year, do the math and it’s about 15 years before we go past the threshold. So that’s sobering news.

But the scary number is the third number. The third number was the important one and the new one. And it came from a team of financial analysts in the United Kingdom. And what they did was sit down with all the annual reports and SEC filings and things, and figure out how much carbon the world’s fossil fuel industry, how much they had already in their reserves. And that number turned out to be 2795 gigatons worth of carbon. 5 times as much as the most conservative governments on Earth say think would be safe to pour into the atmosphere. That’s not even close. I mean, it’s 5 times more. And once you know that number, then you understand the essence of this problem.

NAOMI KLEIN: What the fossil fuel industry is doing is locking us into a future that we can’t survive. That humanity cannot survive. And we know this because just at the end of 2012 we heard this from three different conservative sources simultaneously. The World Bank, The International Energy Agency, Price Waterhouse Cooper – hardly a hippie outfit –

all told us that if we do nothing but more than the same, if we dig up those reserves, we are headed towards four to six degrees warming Celsius.

BILL MCKIBBEN: These numbers show, and I want to be absolutely clear here. These companies are a rogue force. They're outlaws. They're not outlaws against the laws of the state, they get to write those for the most part. But they're outlaws against the laws of physics. If they carry out their business plan, the planet tanks. We have all the engineers and entrepreneurs we need. The thing that's holding us back above all else is the simple fact that the fossil fuel industry cheats. Alone among industries, they're allowed to pour out their waste for free.

VAN JONES: Nobody should be able to pollute for free. You can't, I can't. We can't walk out of here and go litter for free. If you do, you get a fine. If you run a small business, you can't just go dump all the garbage in the road. You got to pay to have it hauled away or you get a fine. The only people who can pollute for free are these mega-polluters when it comes to carbon: big oil, big coal. If you get a \$25 fine for littering, you're going to pay \$25 more than all of the industrial polluters have ever paid in 150 years for the carbon they've been dumping. That's how whacked this whole thing is.

BILL MCKIBBEN: It's almost how we define civilization. You pick up after yourself, unless you're the fossil fuel industry, then you pour that carbon into the atmosphere for free. And that is the advantage that keeps us from getting renewable energy at the pace that we need. We should internalize that externality. The only reason we haven't is because it would impair somewhat the record profitability of the fossil fuel industry and so they have battled at every turn to keep it from happening. These are rogue companies now. Once upon a time, they performed a useful social function.

PHIL RADFORD: For a long time the U.S.'s engine was fossil fuels like oil and coal to power trains, to power cars, to power industry. In the mid 1900s we realized that there were consequences. If you look at industries like coal now, we just did a report with Harvard Medical School that showed that if they actually paid for what they're doing to us, what we're paying indirectly for that electricity, coal would cost anywhere from three to four more times its current cost. They would be out of business and that is just financially and morally bankrupt.

REP. HENRY WAXMAN: When a utility burns coal, it is the cheapest source of fuel but they're not paying the full price. The externalities, the additional costs to society, to human health, to the environment, are not factored in as a cost of doing business. We subsidize the fossil fuel industries

NAOMI KLEIN: We are paying them to continue to keep polluting and this means all kinds of things. It's tax breaks, it's loans, it's the fact that armies protect their pipelines and protect their trade routes.

REP. HENRY WAXMAN: You're helping them stay on top and preventing their competitors, like renewable fuels, from competing. What we need is a level playing field.

NAOMI KLEIN: We could be using that public money, taxpayer money, to make the shift to green energy.

BILL MCKIBBEN: Occasionally they will pretend to be seeing the light. Ten years ago BP announced that their initials now stood for 'beyond petroleum' and they got a new logo and they put some solar panels on some gas stations and they invested a tiny bit of money, a pittance, in solar and wind research. Even that proved too much. Three years ago they sold off those divisions and said that from now on they are going to concentrate on their core business, which turned out, basically, to be wrecking the Gulf of Mexico.

Why are they so fixated on hydrocarbons? Because these are the most profitable enterprises in human history. The top five oil companies last year made \$137 billion, that's \$375 million every day. That's a lot of money. They got \$6.6 million in federal tax breaks daily; they spent \$440,000 a day lobbying congress. Rex Tillerson, the head of Exxon, made \$100,000 a day. Which, by the way, none of my favorite talking points is that climate scientists make up their findings because they're in it for the grant money.

The only problem that these companies have now is that the scientists are watching in real time as they pull off this heist and it's getting harder to deny. In fact, they're beginning to kind of admit what's going on. Last summer for the very first time, the CEO of Exxon, Mr. Tillerson, gave a speech in which he said, "Yes, it's true, global warming exists."

REX TILLERSON [EXXON CEO]: *Clearly there is going to be an impact, so I'm not disputing that increasing CO2 emissions in the atmosphere is going to have an impact. It will have a warming impact.*

BILL MCKIBBEN: But since the only way to stop that would be to take a hit to the company's profitability, he immediately tried to change the subject.

REX TILLERSON [EXXON CEO]: *It's an engineering problem and it has engineering solutions.*

BILL MCKIBBEN: Really? What kind of engineering solutions were you thinking?

REX TILLERSON [EXXON CEO]: *Changes to weather patterns that move crop production areas around, we'll adapt to that.*

BILL MCKIBBEN: Look – all respect -- but that's crazy talk. We can't move crop production areas around, okay. 'Crop production areas' are what people in Vermont refer to as farms, okay. We already have farms every place that there is decent soil on Earth. It is true that Exxon has done all it can to melt the tundra but that does not mean that you can just move Iowa up there and start over again. There's no soil.

If fossil fuel companies want to change, here's how we'd know they were serious. One, they would need to stop lobbying in Washington. Two, they'd need to stop exploring for new hydrocarbons. The first rule of holes is that when you're in one, stop digging, okay. And the third thing they'd need to do is go to work with the rest of us to figure out the plan where they turn themselves into energy companies, not fossil fuel companies and figure out with the rest of us how to keep 80% of those reserves underground.

The thing that really does make this almost pathological is the fact that when we already have five times as much carbon we can possibly burn. I mean, Exxon alone, \$100 million a day exploring for new hydrocarbons. By this point we're scraping the bottom of the barrel. I mean, we're in the tar sands, we're doing shale oil, we're doing fracking, we're doing mountain top removal, and we're doing deep sea drilling. We're taking apart the Earth to look for the last bits of gas and oil and coal.

Chapter 3 - 350.org

I find that when I get depressed, the best antidote, by far, is action and I think that that's true for most people. The problem with climate change is that it seems too big for any of us ourselves to take it on and indeed it is. It's only when we're working with other people, as many other people as possible, that we have any hope. So that's why I spend my time trying to build movements. I think it's the only chance we've got. Anybody can get involved. There's always stuff to be done and more of it all the time and that's what movements look like.

We started 350.org in 2008 – and when I say “we,” I mean me and seven undergraduates at Middlebury College. We had the deep desire to try and do some global organizing about, really, the first global problem this planet's ever faced. And we spread out around the planet and for the next year or so, we found people all over this Earth who wanted to work with us. And we asked them all to take one day – our first big day of action was in the fall of 2009 – we said, “Will you all join us for one day? Will you do something on that day to take this most important number, ‘350,’ and drive it into the information bloodstream of the planet?” For the next 48 hours, pictures just poured in, many a minute. Before it was over, there had been 5,200 demonstrations in 181 countries. CNN called it the most widespread day of political activity in the planet's history.

NEWS ANCHOR: *Communities across the globe have gathered today to rally for solutions to climate change.*

NEWS ANCHOR: *(In Spanish)*

NEWS ANCHOR: *The rally was part of locations around the globe.*

NEWS ANCHOR: *Hundreds of environment campaigners gathered at the university.*

BILL MCKIBBEN: So we've gone on since then to do more of these big days of action. We work in every country but North Korea. We've had about 20,000 rallies or so and we've gone on to do more direct things: Spearhead the fight against the Keystone pipeline; organize the largest civil disobedience action in 30 years.

NEWS ANCHOR: *Now the high stakes battle over whether the Obama administration should approve a major oil pipeline bisecting the U.S...*

NEWS ANCHOR: *...Would transfer tar sand from Alberta, Canada down to the Gulf of Mexico.*

NEWS ANCHOR: *The type of oil the pipeline would carry is far more toxic.*

NEWS ANCHOR: *...Among the dirtiest of all fossil fuels.*

NEWS ANCHOR: *This pipeline has proven to be very controversial.*

NEWS ANCHOR: *It's up to the federal government to decide whether or not to give Keystone XL the green light.*

MICHAEL BRUNE: The tar sands is destructive in and of itself. But it's also symbolic of a way of developing, a way of growing our economy that just can't be sustained.

PRESIDENT OBAMA: *Right now a company called TransCanada has applied to build a new pipeline to speed more oil from Cushing to state of the art refineries down in the Gulf coast. And today I'm directing my administration to cut through the red tape, break through the bureaucratic hurdles, and make this project a priority.*

BILL MCKIBBEN: August was the beginning of the people's veto of this whole proposal. We will never give up until the very idea of Keystone XL is dead and buried.

JIM HANSEN: Tar sands are the turning point in our fossil fuel addiction. The fundamental fact is that as long as fossil fuels are the cheapest energy, they will continue to be used. The solution is to begin to put a price on carbon emissions.

BRUCE BOETTCHER: We, the American people, should not have to sacrifice our land and water to meet TransCanada's bottom line.

REV. LENNOX YEARWOOD: We stand here right now because we are at our lunch counter moment for the 21st century. President Obama, do the right thing!

KEYSTONE ACTIVIST: We are at a tipping point in America's history for this environmental movement.

KEYSTONE COORDINATOR: If you are going to be risking arrest, you're going to be lining

up on this sidewalk.

JESSY TOLKAN: When I saw the acts of civil disobedience in front of the white house, people saying, ‘I will not let this Keystone pipeline be built. I won’t let us be committed to an energy plan based on fossil fuels.’ You know, the people that got arrested in front of the white house, those were not people who were all self-identified environmentalists. Those were farmers and ranchers, those were people from indigenous communities, those were business leaders, those were grandparents, and moms and dads. We’re really starting to see an expansion of the group of people that are fighting this fight. But we have a lot further to go on that.

BILL MCKIBBEN: I’ve been forced to do things I didn’t imagine I’d ever do. Stand up on a stage in front of thousands of people, go to jail. We’re probably not going to be able to stop them all one pipeline, one mine, at a time. We’re also going to have to play offense. We think one thing the fossil fuel industry cares about is money so that’s what we’re going to go after. You want to take away our planet and our future, we’re going to try and take away your money. We’re going to try and tarnish your brand. This industry has behaved so recklessly that they should lose their social license, their veneer of respectability.

We need these guys to be understood as those outlaws against laws of physics and we need to take away some of their power, and there’s a lot of ways we’re going to do it. One tool, the first tool, is divestment. We’re going to ask or demand that institutions like colleges or churches sell their stock in these companies. The logic could not be simpler: If it’s wrong to wreck the climate, it’s wrong to profit from that wreckage. That argument has worked in a big way exactly once in U.S. history.

NEWS ANCHOR: *There have been scattered violent incidences in the afro and mixed race neighborhoods. Authorities return fire without warning.*

NEWS ANCHOR: *Organized local and committed students urged the university to divest itself of all investments in South Africa.*

BILL MCKIBBEN: That’s what happened during the fight against South African apartheid when, in 155 colleges and universities, people convinced their boards of trustees to sell their stock. And when Nelson Mandela got out of prison, one of his first trips was to the U.S., and he didn’t go first to the White House, he went to Berkeley to say ‘thank you’ to the University of California students who had forced the sale of 3 billion dollars worth of apartheid-tainted stock.

Text on Screen: 1. A freeze on new fossil fuel investments. 2. Wind down existing fossil fuel investments in five years.

BILL MCKIBBEN: Here’s what we demand: 1 – No new investments in fossil fuel companies. 2 – A firm pledge over the next five years that they will wind down their current positions. It’s not unreasonable; it’s hard, but it’s not unreasonable. I’ll give you a

piece of news. The first college in the country to divest all its stock from fossil fuel companies is a college in Maine called Unity College with a 13 million dollar endowment and none of that 13 million dollars at this point is in fossil fuels, any place.

DR. STEPHEN MULKEY: Divestment, really in one sense, was a no-brainer for us. When you look at other institutions and their struggle with whether or not to divest, it really boils down to one, simple thing: willingness.

BILL MCKIBBEN: The mayor in Seattle, he said, “I spent the afternoon with my treasurer and we’re figuring out how we’re going to get the city’s funds out of fossil fuel companies.”

STUDENT SPEAKER: Welcome everyone to our event tonight, “Divesting from Fossil Fuels” – a conversation with students from Barnard, Columbia, The New School, NYU, Hunter College.

DR. STEPHEN MULKEY: Students are asking for divestment. The fact that we have over 250 movements on different campuses around the country means that we have severely challenged that veneer of social respectability.

BILL MCKIBBEN: They understand – like the religious denominations and cities that are also doing this – they understand what those numbers mean.

DR. STEPHEN MULKEY: It’s inconsistent with the reason these institutions exist for them to continue to invest in something that is dedicated to the destruction of civilization.

SOPHIE LASOFF: We’re asking the administration at NYU to divest the university endowment from the fossil fuel industry. We can reinvest in our antiquated infrastructure and make our buildings more energy efficient. People are always looking for this silver bullet; instead, it’s the silver buckshot. How this campaign fits into the greater scheme of things is that this is just one of those ways in which we can take action.

VAN JONES: These are the kind of solutions that the universities should be leading on and they should be saying, “We’re going to take the money that’s piled up in our endowment that, right now, is either doing nothing or doing harm and we’re going to take that money away from the problem makers and give it to the problem solvers.” Once you know what’s evil – now if you’re ignorant, you get a pass – but once you know what’s evil, you have a moral responsibility to withdraw your energy from it.

REP. ELLISON: We are participating in the destruction of our own world, even if we don’t want to, because the fossil fuel industry is so intertwined in so many aspects of American life. They rely on our cooperation to continue what they’re doing. But what if we said no?

MICHAEL BRUNE: The divestment work is a piece of that and what it does is it has the ambition of transforming hundreds, thousands, of institutions in the U.S. to be allies rather than adversaries.

JESSY TOLKAN: We, as everyday people, have so much power. If you are a member of a church, you have the ability to work with your fellow congregants to make sure that your church is not investing in fossil fuel companies. If you are a student on a college campus, not only do you have the opportunity, I think you have the responsibility to work with your fellow students to make sure that your institution of higher learning is not investing its endowment in the companies that are destroying our future and this planet.

RICHARD CIZIK: We have to send a message, a very clear message to big oil and big energy, that we are going to hold them liable and we are going to divest if they won't, themselves, begin to change.

Ch. 4 – Solutions

BILL MCKIBBEN: There is nothing, and I mean nothing, radical in what we are talking about here. All we're asking for when we talk about climate change is a planet that works the way it did for the last 10,000 years. A planet that works the way the one we were born onto works. That's not a radical demand -- that's, if you think about it, a conservative demand. Radicals work at oil companies. If you wake up in the morning to make your \$100,000 a day and you're willing to alter the chemical composition of the atmosphere, then you're engaged in a more radical act than anyone who ever came before you. And our job is to figure out how to check that radicalism, how to bring it to heel, how to keep it from overwhelming everything good on this planet.

And here's the good news – since I've been giving you lots of bad news – here's the good news: There's plenty we can do. The long-term solution to climate change is very clear. We need to make the leap to renewable energy and we need to do it quickly, which will be hard. It'll be the hardest thing we've done since gearing up to fight World War II or something, but it's by no means impossible.

REPORTER: Everyday when the sun comes up, we are bathed with enough energy to supply all the power we need for five years across the globe.

LESTER BROWN: When I feel a little overwhelmed with all the things we need to do, I go back and reread the economic history of World War II. It was just a matter of months, enough in the U.S. automobile industry, to go from producing cars to tanks, planes and ships. It didn't take decades to restructure the U.S. industrial economy, it didn't take years – it was done in a matter of months. And if we could do that now, then certainly we can restructure the world energy economy over the next decade.

SUSAN CASEY-LEFKOWITZ: It's going to require some hard choices. It's going to require a real change in how we get our energy and how we move around. But the good news is that we have the solutions, we have the ways. We know what we need to do to get to a world where we're not burning as many fossil fuels.

MICHAEL BRUNE: Why would we build a thousand mile pipeline, taking almost a million barrels of oil from the most carbon intensive fuel source in the planet, when wind energy is a whole lot cheaper and a whole lot cleaner? Why would we drill in the Arctic, when we know that solar power can meet our energy needs across the country? Why would we frack our countrysides and our watersheds, when we know that energy efficiency would save more energy than natural gas can provide? I think we're coming to that point now where extreme energy sources are so bad that the questions and these challenges are going to become easier and easier.

REP. HENRY WAXMAN: Our whole economy is going to be dependent on how we respond to this crisis. Competition between countries will be between those who will be advanced in developing the technology and who will be selling it to others or those who stay back and don't seize the opportunity.

BETSY TAYLOR: We should never underestimate our ingenuity and resolve. Those people that say we can't do anything about this do not know who we are, do not know what we can do.

JESSY TOLKAN: I think this is the moment where we dig deep and say, "Okay, we are ready." The solutions are in front of us and no longer in good conscience can any of us – every day citizens, elected officials, religious leaders – stand idly by.

MAJORA CARTER: All the big problems that we have, they all have very local solutions. And finding what those solutions are actually result in a whole bunch of different benefits from an environmental standpoint, economic standpoint, and social aspects.

VAN JONES: We are in a situation where we're going to have an ecologically sustainable economy for everybody or, ultimately, we won't have one for anybody. It's just the smart thing to do, to bet on the future and to begin to invest in the future. The past has a lobby and it is a well-paid lobby, and it comes right out of big oil and big coal. The future doesn't have a lobby, until now. We have to be as sophisticated as the system we're trying to change.

SENATOR BERNIE SANDERS: The legislation that Senator Boxer and I are introducing, with the support of the leading environmental organizations, actually addresses the crisis. A major focus is a price on carbon and methane emissions.

BILL MCKIBBEN (addressing Congress): I think a lot of people wonder, maybe still wonder, whether our political system is up to this task.

BILL MCKIBBEN: In the largest sense, I don't know if we can win this fight. There are scientists who think we've waited too long to get started. Clearly the power on the other side is enormous. Every once in a while, I get discouraged. There was a TV reporter that was sort of grilling me, saying, 'Well this just seems impossible. You're up against the

richest industries on earth. This just seems like one of these David and Goliath stories. What chance do you have?’ And I was thinking, ‘you’re right, this is terrible.’ But then I thought – and since we’re in church, maybe this is apropos – I thought, ‘I know how that David and Goliath story comes out: David wins, against the odds,’ okay. I don’t know if we’re going to win, but we have a real chance.

MICHAEL BRUNE: We know that civil disobedience has helped to achieve great things. It’s helped to secure for women the right to vote, it’s helped to end segregation. And so we know that we can’t win on climate change if we continue to dither and we continue talk about it but not do anything. We have a moral catastrophe on our hands.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY JR.: We have to do this because our democracy has been subverted; our laws have been subverted; because I say this is criminal and I say that not lightly. When you have no recourse in our democracy, legally or democratically, we not only have the right but we have the duty to break the law to show our discontent.

REV. LENNOX YEARWOOD: As a nation, we can come together. This is not about republican or democrat – it’s about humanity.

BILL MCKIBBEN: We’re connected to each other and that organizing has got to be the basis for this kind of larger fight.

BILL MCKIBBEN (addressing Keystone demonstration): We’re very glad to be here. Some of us are especially glad to be here because we’re glad to be out of jail, where we spent much of yesterday in this demonstration about the Keystone pipeline. That’s, of course, one of the reasons that Americans are descending on this city this week.

NEWS ANCHOR: *Thousands of people marched past the White House and urged President Obama to take strong measures to combat climate change.*

NEWS ANCHOR: *This is the second high profile event organized in a week by groups including the Sierra Club and 350.org.*

CRYSTAL LAMEMAN: I’m here because I have an obligation to my children, my ancestors, our future generation. If this pipeline goes through, it will be at the cost of human life. When disaster strikes, it’s not going to know race, color, or creed.

MICHAEL BRUNE: The fossil fuel barons, their lawyers, their spin-doctors, are losing their grip on our country’s psyche. We’re not going to create the clean energy economy when one side beats the other. We’re going to win when we all come together for solutions that work for all of us.

MIKE TIDWELL: And the good news is that, in this country, when we finally decided that we’re going to take action on a moral question at the center of who we are, we tend to respond – when we respond – explosively.

VAN JONES: That is the epic struggle of this century and we're going to meet it. If we don't, we won't have a 22nd century. Whenever a great generation stands up, it stands up based on idealism. It stands up based on moral courage and that's what's happening now. This is the last minute, in the last quarter, of the biggest, most important game humanity has ever played.

REV. LENNOX YEARWOOD: The reality of our movement is this: if we fail, the consequences are dire.

BILL MCKIBBEN: None of you could be in a more important place than you are right now – part of this battle against the very deepest problems we've ever faced. Very few people on Earth ever get to say, "I'm doing the most important thing I can be doing on any place in the planet at this moment in time," but you guys get to say that because you are on the front lines of this all-important battle.

I think we can win this fight. I think we can win it if we act as a community. If we do not do anything that would injure that community but instead build and knit that community together in a way that allows it to take powerful action. We know the end of the story. Unless we rewrite the script, it's very clear how it ends with a planet that just heats out of control. So, that's our job, to rewrite the story.

BILL MCKIBBEN (addressing Keystone demonstration): All I ever wanted to see was a movement of people to stop climate change and now I've seen it! Today, at the biggest climate rally by far, by far, by far, in U.S. history. Today I know we're going to fight the battle, the most fateful battle in human history is finally joined and we will fight it together.

[END]