

116TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. RES. 109

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

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 7, 2019

Ms. OCASIO -CORTEZ (for herself, Mr. HASTINGS, Ms. TLAIB, Mr. SERRANO, Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York, Mr. VARGAS, Mr. SPAILLAT, Mr. LYNCH, Ms. VELÁZQUEZ, Mr. B. LUMENAUER, Mr. B. RENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania, Mr. CASTRO of Texas, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Ms. JAYAPAL, Mr. K. HANNA, Mr. T. ED LIEU of California, Ms. PRESSLEY, Mr. WELCH, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. NEGUSE, Mr. NADLER, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. POCAN, Mr. TAKANO, Ms. NORTON, Mr. RASKIN, Mr. CONNOLLY, Mr. LOWENTHAL, Ms. MATSUI, Mr. THOMPSON of California, Mr. LEVIN of California, Ms. PINGREE, Mr. QUIGLEY, Mr. HUFFMAN, Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN, Mr. GARCÍA of Illinois, Mr. HIGGINS of New York, Ms. HALLAND, Ms. MENG, Mr. ARBAJAL, Mr. CICILLINE, Mr. COHEN, Ms. CLARK of Massachusetts, Ms. JUDY CHU of California, Ms. MUCARSEL -POWELL, Mr. MOUTON, Mr. RIJALVA, Mr. MEEKS, Mr. SABLAN, Ms. LEE of California, Ms. BONAMICI, Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York, Ms. SHAKOWSKY, Ms. DE LAURO, Mr. LEVIN of Michigan, Ms. MCCOLLUM, Mr. DESAULNIER, Mr. COURTNEY, Mr. LARSON of Connecticut, Ms. ESCOBAR, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. KATING, Mr. DEFAZIO, Ms. SHOUB, Mrs. TRAHAN, Mr. GOMEZ, Mr. KENNEDY, and Ms. WATERS) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and in addition to the Committees on Science, Space, and Technology, Education and Labor, Transportation and Infrastructure, Agriculture, Natural Resources, Foreign Affairs, Financial Services, the Judiciary, Ways and Means, and Oversight and Reform, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

# RESOLUTION

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

Whereas the October 2018 report entitled “Special Report on Global Warming of 1.5 °C” by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and the November 2018 Fourth National Climate Assessment report found that—

(1) human activity is the dominant cause of observed climate change over the past century;

(2) a changing climate is causing sea levels to rise and an increase in wildfires, severe storms, droughts, and other extreme weather events that threaten human life, healthy communities, and critical infrastructure;

(3) global warming at or above 2 degrees Celsius beyond preindustrialized levels will cause—

(A) mass migration from the regions most affected by climate change;

(B) more than \$500,000,000,000 in lost annual economic output in the United States by the year 2100;

(C) wildfires that, by 2050, will annually burn at least twice as much forest area in the western United States than was typically burned by wildfires in the years preceding 2019;

(D) a loss of more than 99 percent of all coral reefs on Earth;

(E) more than 350,000,000 more people to be exposed globally to deadly heat stress by 2050; and

(F) a risk of damage to \$1,000,000,000,000 of public infrastructure and coastal real estate in the United States; and

This has major implications for the built environment and for human settlement patterns. It will create shrinking cities in the wake of disaster and growing cities in the face of migration. How will we house those displaced? How will we deal with cities in ruin?

Global warming activity has been majorly concentrated in the west in the last century - the US is responsible for 1/3rd of the world's carbon emissions and Europe for 1/4th - yet it's effects are disproportionately seen in the developing world that houses the majority of planet's population. How does human activity among populations who have prospered though carbon emissions change to mitigate the displacement of those who did not benefit but now also stand to be displaced by their effects? How is global social justice implicated in local policies in the United States for climate mitigation?

(4) global temperatures must be kept below 1.5 degrees Celsius above preindustrialized levels to avoid the most severe impacts of a changing climate, which will require—

(A) global reductions in greenhouse gas emissions from human sources of 40 to 60 percent from 2010 levels by 2030; and

(B) net-zero global emissions by 2050;

Whereas, because the United States has historically been responsible for a disproportionate amount of greenhouse gas emissions, having emitted 20 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions through 2014, and has a high technological capacity, the United States must take a leading role in reducing emissions through economic transformation;

Whereas the United States is currently experiencing several related crises, with—

(1) life expectancy declining while basic needs, such as clean air, clean water, healthy food, and adequate health care, housing, transportation, and education, are inaccessible to a significant portion of the United States population;

(2) a 4-decade trend of wage stagnation, deindustrialization, and antilabor policies that has led to—

(A) hourly wages overall stagnating since the 1970s despite increased worker productivity;

(B) the third-worst level of socioeconomic mobility in the developed world before the Great Recession;

(C) the erosion of the earning and bargaining power of workers in the United States; and

“Will require” tasks which could be led by technocrats, including architects, but must be led by the frontline. Dozens, hundreds, thousands of scopes of work, fields of activity will need distributed leadership, and from skilled people.

The construction industry is a huge cause of climate change.

In terms of political theory, this is the most compelling part of the document because it acknowledges the US role in planetary dynamics and exchanges. Most everywhere else the document adopts a nation-state model of governance that tend to opportunistically interiorize “goods” and off load “bads” to other places and people. Maintaining a strong recognition and commitment of US priorities, relative to global dynamics, is key to making the deal new rather than falling back on old habits of American exceptionalism and nationalism.

This is crucial, social justice is an undeniable part of climate change, in cause and effect. The Architecture Lobby seeks to emphasize these connections in light of a historical tendency to separate architecture from social and environmental justice.

Architects can be key negotiators of badly needed access agreements. But that is not adequate--there are not enough architects to get the all the GND mobilization work done. We need to formulate the access agreements and radiate to citizen actors.

Collective bargaining is itself a form of resilience against concentrated power and decision making that corners profits through environmental exploitation.

The government must provide funding to support large-scale public sector work.

(D) inadequate resources for public sector workers to confront the challenges of climate change at local, State, and Federal levels; and

(3) the greatest income inequality since the 1920s, with—

(A) the top 1 percent of earners accruing 91 percent of gains in the first few years of economic recovery after the Great Recession;

(B) a large racial wealth divide amounting to a difference of 20 times more wealth between the average white family and the average black family; and

(C) a gender earnings gap that results in women earning approximately 80 percent as much as men, at the median;

Whereas climate change, pollution, and environmental destruction have exacerbated systemic racial, regional, social, environmental, and economic injustices (referred to in this preamble as “systemic injustices”) by disproportionately affecting indigenous peoples, communities of color, migrant communities, deindustrialized communities, depopulated rural communities, the poor, low-income workers, women, the elderly, the unhoused, people with disabilities, and youth (referred to in this preamble as “frontline and vulnerable communities”);

Whereas, climate change constitutes a direct threat to the national security of the United States—

(1) by impacting the economic, environmental, and social stability of countries and communities around the world; and

(2) by acting as a threat multiplier;

Whereas the Federal Government-led mobilizations during World War II and the New Deal created the greatest

The form the AEC industry took during the mobilization for the New Deal, with many buildings not being attributed to a single architect and emphasis being placed on buildings that served their purpose rather than buildings as marketing tools, sets a precedent for how we can move forward beyond the limitations of conventional development.

middle class that the United States has ever seen, but many members of frontline and vulnerable communities were excluded from many of the economic and societal benefits of those mobilizations; and

Many of these exclusionary tactics were achieved through housing policy -- redlining, etc.

Whereas the House of Representatives recognizes that a new national, social, industrial, and economic mobilization on a scale not seen since World War II and the New Deal era is a historic opportunity—

Addressing labor displacement as we transition away from fossil fuels will be a critical component to rally support for this bill. Regions heavily dependent on coal/oil jobs will find such proposals to be more harmful than good without a consideration of how to supplement their existing economic dependency on fossil fuels.

(1) to create millions of good, high-wage jobs in the United States;

(2) to provide unprecedented levels of prosperity and economic security for all people of the United States; and

(3) to counteract systemic injustices: Now, therefore, be it

1 Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Rep-  
2 resentatives that—

3 (1) it is the duty of the Federal Government to  
4 create a Green New Deal—

5 (A) to achieve net-zero greenhouse gas  
6 emissions through a fair and just transition for  
7 all communities and workers;

8 (B) to create millions of good, high-wage  
9 jobs and ensure prosperity and economic secu-  
10 rity for all people of the United States;

11 (C) to invest in the infrastructure and in-  
12 dustry of the United States to sustainably meet  
13 the challenges of the 21st century;

How is this possible? Is responsible to propose?

1 (D) to secure for all people of the United  
2 States for generations to come—

3 (i) clean air and water;

4 (ii) climate and community resiliency;

5 (iii) healthy food;

6 (iv) access to nature; and

(vi) work  
(vii) housing

7 (v) a sustainable environment; and

8 (E) to promote justice and equity by stop-  
9 ping current, preventing future, and repairing  
10 historic oppression of indigenous peoples, com-  
11 munities of color, migrant communities,  
12 deindustrialized communities, depopulated rural  
13 communities, the poor, low-income workers,  
14 women, the elderly, the unhoused, people with  
15 disabilities, and youth (referred to in this reso-  
16 lution as “frontline and vulnerable commu-  
17 nities”);

18 (2) the goals described in subparagraphs (A)  
19 through (E) of paragraph (1) (referred to in this  
20 resolution as the “Green New Deal goals”) should  
21 be accomplished through a 10-year national mobili-  
22 zation (referred to in this resolution as the “Green  
23 New Deal mobilization”) that will require the fol-  
24 lowing goals and projects—

**“stopping...pre-  
venting...repair-  
ing” are actions  
that require  
information  
gathering,  
analysis of needs  
and synthesis of  
policy and  
programs that  
intersect with the  
physical environ-  
ment. TAL can  
assist or lead in  
locating and  
evaluating  
concepts and  
source options.**

<p>How can architects and planners help to define what 'resilience' means. Could we help orchestrate these community-defined projects?</p>	1 2 3 4	<p>(A) building resiliency against climate change-related disasters, such as extreme weather, including by leveraging funding and providing investments for community-defined projects and strategies;</p>	<p>(v) by providing new social infrastructure</p>
<p>'Building resiliency' can't just focus on single-building resiliency, as it largely has up to this point through the implementation of standards like LEED or Passive House.</p>	5 6 7 8 9	<p>(B) repairing and upgrading the infrastructure in the United States, including—</p> <p>(i) by eliminating pollution and greenhouse gas emissions as much as techno-</p>	<p>Repairing and upgrading infrastructure is not enough -- there also has to be a rethinking of the entire thing. How does a new infrastructure consider both the physical and the social - ie how does a new physical infrastructure make possible different ways of life, different social relations, different ways for humans to support each other?</p>
<p>Architects can do so not only by reducing emissions from individual buildings, but also by thinking big. As experts in the built environment, we can provide more integrated and visionary proposals for the necessary transformation of the built environment.</p>	10 11 12 13 14 15 16	<p>logically feasible;</p> <p>(ii) by guaranteeing universal access to clean water;</p> <p>(iii) by reducing the risks posed by climate impacts; and</p> <p>(iv) by ensuring that any infrastructure bill considered by Congress addresses climate change;</p>	<p>The carbon-motivated technological fixes likely implied here are neither clean nor renewable nor zero-emission.</p>
<p>A key to supporting GND mobilization is that proposals are not from above, or not just from above (architecture's creative 'n' savvy vision) but also proposals that emerge through listening, iterating, inflecting to and working with the frontline--a frontline that we are members of as precarious workers...community charrette vs mayoral commission.</p>	17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24	<p>(C) meeting 100 percent of the power demand in the United States through clean, renewable, and zero-emission energy sources, including—</p> <p>(i) by dramatically expanding and upgrading renewable power sources; and</p> <p>(ii) by deploying new capacity;</p>	

1 (D) building or upgrading to energy-effi-  
2 cient, distributed, and "smart" power grids,  
3 and ensuring affordable access to electricity;

Maximum energy efficiency should not be the goal. Durability is a quite enlightened and interesting parameter for a proposal such as this, much more on target architecturally and ecologically than the other parameters listed.

4 (E) upgrading all existing buildings in the  
5 United States and building new buildings to  
6 achieve maximum energy efficiency, water effi-  
7 ciency, safety, affordability, comfort, and dura-  
8 bility, including through electrification;

Could (E) speak in the aspirational language of (F) or better..."spurring massive growth in clean creativity; in design and construction that emphasizes cooperation, community, appropriate scale, opportunity, e.g. for privacy communication, exchange, personal creativity, respect

9 (F) spurring massive growth in clean man-  
10 ufacturing in the United States and removing  
11 pollution and greenhouse gas emissions from  
12 manufacturing and industry as much as is tech-  
13 nologically feasible, including by expanding re-  
14 newable energy manufacturing and investing in  
15 existing manufacturing and industry;

What type of "massive growth" - private development? We demand regulation and funding of projects so that massive growth can serve the 99% and put an end to the existing neo-lib housing market.

This is also a place where architects can exercise agency through our ability to choose/identify materials, projects, and programs; this includes disrupting exploitative supply chains and development strategies.

16 (G) working collaboratively with farmers  
17 and ranchers in the United States to remove  
18 pollution and greenhouse gas emissions from  
19 the agricultural sector as much as is techno-  
20 logically feasible, including—

- 21 (i) by supporting family farming;
- 22 (ii) by investing in sustainable farm-  
23 ing and land use practices that increase  
24 soil health; and



This provision should exclude urban agriculture, which is highly unsustainable on account of very high required inputs relative to food output.

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(iii) by building a more sustainable food system that ensures universal access to healthy food;  
(H) overhauling transportation systems in the United States to remove pollution and

Once a world-systems/ecosystems view of electric vehicles is studied, EVs yield nearly as much, and in some cases as much, carbon emissions as hydrocarbon fuel powered cars. So electric vehicles should be flagged here as they are not zero-emission systems. Additionally, the uneven ecological and economic exchanges that presuppose electric vehicles reflect one of the most blatant forms of inequality and underdevelopment in this document.

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greenhouse gas emissions from the transportation sector as much as is technologically feasible, including through investment in—  
(i) zero-emission vehicle infrastructure and manufacturing;  
(ii) clean, affordable, and accessible public transit; and  
(iii) high-speed rail;  
(I) mitigating and managing the long-term adverse health, economic, and other effects of pollution and climate change, including by providing funding for community-defined projects and strategies;  
(J) removing greenhouse gases from the atmosphere and reducing pollution by restoring natural ecosystems through proven low-tech solutions that increase soil carbon storage, such as land preservation and afforestation;  
(K) restoring and protecting threatened, endangered, and fragile ecosystems through lo-

and rethinking access to housing. There is already a housing crisis as it is. Increased frequency of natural disasters will greatly exacerbate this issue. Mitigating the long-term effects of climate change must include housing.

1 cally appropriate and science-based projects  
 2 that enhance biodiversity and support climate  
 3 resiliency;

We must support the equitable redevelopment of brownfields, cleanup of superfund sites, and their reuse of polluted lands for clean energy projects, to promote denser and more sustainable approaches to local land use.

4 (L) cleaning up existing hazardous waste  
 5 and abandoned sites, ensuring economic devel-  
 6 opment and sustainability on those sites;  
 7 (M) identifying other emission and pollu-  
 8 tion sources and creating solutions to remove  
 9 them; and

Again, what kind of economic development? This needs to be qualified, just like the "massive growth" clause.

Can part of this include the formation of a governmental agency that employs architects, planners, and landscape architects in order to overhaul the built environment? This implies that we will not simply implement policies, programs, and projects developed before we are brought in. Rather, we need to be brought into discussions at the beginning and have a voice envisioning new ways of building, planning, and living. Adopting open-access and open-source practices, that is to say, transitioning from a property/ownership dynamic to one that emphasizes strategic access and common collaboration would reduce production pressure, increase overall good availability for use and maximize innovation.

10 (N) promoting the international exchange  
 11 of technology, expertise, products, funding, and  
 12 services, with the aim of making the United  
 13 States the international leader on climate ac-  
 14 tion, and to help other countries achieve a  
 15 Green New Deal;  
 16 (3) a Green New Deal must be developed  
 17 through transparent and inclusive consultation, col-  
 18 laboration, and partnership with frontline and vul-  
 19 nerable communities, labor unions, worker coopera-  
 20 tives, civil society groups, academia, and businesses;  
 21 and  
 22 (4) to achieve the Green New Deal goals and  
 23 mobilization, a Green New Deal will require the fol-  
 24 lowing goals and projects—

(O) supporting new modes of construction and financing; mitigate for rising costs caused by improvements. Real estate cannot continue as it is -- there has to be some protection against the normal resident bearing the cost of all the improvements (as opposed to developers). THE CRISIS SHOULD NOT BE EXPLOITED.

 is a profession, where do we fall??  
 Architects must work with gov, and contribute to the GND building policies and plans.

Before the public, the front line, realizes benefits from its ownership, all the design and construction work has to be led by architects. GND work will generate federal contracts. Multi million dollar services and billion dollar construction contracts are very plausible. Also Fed \$s get distributed to sovereign entities though block grants. Woeful process, not nimble at best, wasteful at worst, not green, not "transparent and inclusive consultation, collaboration, and partnership with frontline and vulnerable communities, labor unions, worker cooperatives, civil society groups, academia, and business" to quote the resolution. So how are the social (and environmental?) impacts of these contracts managed by the Green New Deal? How do they work in favor of participation by frontline, when at the heart of them is hostility to the frontline? It is an area where architects could help both the GND policy team and help themselves? Can the GND have GND contracts?

- 1 (A) providing and leveraging, in a way that  
 2 ensures that the public receives appropriate  
 3 ownership stakes and returns on investment,  
 4 adequate capital (including through community  
 5 grants, public banks, and other public financ-  
 6 ing), technical expertise, supporting policies,  
 7 and other forms of assistance to communities,  
 8 organizations, Federal, State, and local govern-  
 9 ment agencies, and businesses working on the  
 10 Green New Deal mobilization;
- 11 (B) ensuring that the Federal Government  
 12 takes into account the complete environmental  
 13 and social costs and impacts of emissions  
 14 through—  
 15 (i) existing laws;  
 16 (ii) new policies and programs; and  
 17 (iii) ensuring that frontline and vul-  
 18 nerable communities shall not be adversely  
 19 affected;
- 20 (C) providing resources, training, and  
 21 high-quality education, including higher edu-  
 22 cation, to all people of the United States, with  
 23 a focus on frontline and vulnerable commu-  
 24 nities, so that all people of the United States

1 may be full and equal participants in the Green  
 2 New Deal mobilization;

**Development of new green technologies must benefit the public and not be driven entirely by corporate profit.**

3 (D) making public investments in the re-  
 4 search and development of new clean and re-  
 5 newable energy technologies and industries;

6 (E) directing investments to spur economic  
 7 development, deepen and diversify industry and  
 8 business in local and regional economies, and  
 9 build wealth and community ownership, while  
 10 prioritizing high-quality job creation and eco-  
 11 nomic, social, and environmental benefits in  
 12 frontline and vulnerable communities, and  
 13 deindustrialized communities, that may other-  
 14 wise struggle with the transition away from  
 15 greenhouse gas intensive industries;

**This sort of democratic/participatory engagement will help to avoid the disenfranchisement that accompanied many of the New Deal's large infrastructure projects.**

16 (F) ensuring the use of democratic and  
 17 participatory processes that are inclusive of and  
 18 led by frontline and vulnerable communities and  
 19 workers to plan, implement, and administer the  
 20 Green New Deal mobilization at the local level;

**We must focus on locally driven, bottom-up community development plans, and strive to build equitable neighborhoods by confronting the growing challenge of gentrification.**

21 (G) ensuring that the Green New Deal mo-  
 22 bilization creates high-quality union jobs that  
 23 pay prevailing wages, hires local workers, offers  
 24 training and advancement opportunities, and

**Can this mobilization include support for the unionization of architects?**

**This should include immigrant workers, particularly climate refugees.**

1 guarantees wage and benefit parity for workers  
 2 affected by the transition;  
 3 (H) guaranteeing a job with a family-sus-  
 4 taining wage, adequate family and medical  
 5 leave, paid vacations, and retirement security to  
 6 all people of the United States;

**YES! Including Architects and other licensed professions.**

7 (I) strengthening and protecting the right  
 8 of all workers to organize, unionize, and collec-  
 9 tively bargain free of coercion, intimidation, and  
 10 harassment;

**EMPLOYERS, are you listening?**

11 (J) strengthening and enforcing labor,  
 12 workplace health and safety, antidiscrimination,  
 13 and wage and hour standards across all employ-  
 14 ers, industries, and sectors;

15 (K) enacting and enforcing trade rules,  
 16 procurement standards, and border adjustments  
 17 with strong labor and environmental protec-  
 18 tions—

19 (i) to stop the transfer of jobs and  
 20 pollution overseas; and

**Stopping pollution overseas involves decreasing consumption at home.**

21 (ii) to grow domestic manufacturing  
 22 in the United States;

23 (L) ensuring that public lands, waters, and  
 24 oceans are protected and that eminent domain  
 25 is not abused;

1 (M) obtaining the free, prior, and informed  
 2 consent of indigenous peoples for all decisions  
 3 that affect indigenous peoples and their tradi-  
 4 tional territories, honoring all treaties and  
 5 agreements with indigenous peoples, and pro-  
 6 tecting and enforcing the sovereignty and land  
 7 rights of indigenous peoples;

8 (N) ensuring a commercial environment  
 9 where every businessperson is free from unfair  
 10 competition and domination by domestic or  
 11 international monopolies; and

12 (O) providing all people of the United  
 13 States with—

14 (i) high-quality health care;

15 (ii) affordable, safe, and adequate  
 16 housing;

17 (iii) economic security; and

18 (iv) clean water, clean air, healthy and  
 19 affordable food, and access to nature.

Æ

**Housing is a human right. Climate crisis will require massive amounts of new housing, but it cannot be funded through private developers. The government needs to provide new programs the help fund Public, Coop, CLT and other formats.**