Energy and the Republican Party

Conservative Values in Action

June 2012

executive summary

The current American Energy Paradigm exists in opposition to core conservative values. The century-old paradigm—ostensibly gasoline powered automobiles and the national electrical grid comprised of regional power plants and transmission lines—is a common theme in America's common problems:

- U.S. Foreign policy is inconsistent and significantly motivated by maintaining access to oil rather than promoting global political self-determination;
- Our national security is threatened by the vulnerability of the national electrical grid from terrorists and space weather. Additionally, our military bases have little capability to operate in the absence of the grid;
- The Department of Defense is spread thin and our troops are put in harm's way securing access to oil;
- The U.S. economy is in dire need of manufacturing jobs, undermining U.S. economic strength and the American family;
- Small businesses and conglomerates alike struggle to turn a profit while infrastructure costs from transportation and utilities continue to rise; and,
- Family budgets are strained by high gas and utility prices, which also put inflationary pressures on the products we buy, further limiting spending power.

Though there is little discussion about it in Republican circles, the current American Energy Paradigm is inconsistent with core conservative values: it does not reflect our respect for human dignity; perpetuating it does not display prudence; maintaining it is often unjust; and its existence accelerates the growth of centralized governmental power and the influence of large corporations. Yet the GOP has largely ignored energy as a focal point for the party, ceding the issue to the Democrats who traditionally link energy policy to climate change.

The confluence of American woes and the decidedly un-conservative impacts of the American Energy Paradigm has created an opportunity for the Grand Old Party to reassert its belief in core conservative values, while simultaneously advocating policies that will improve the lives of present and future citizens.

The goals of this report are to:

1. Define a conservative point of view on energy in America;
2. Focus GOP creativity on energy solutions that match our values;
3. Engage and inspire the GOP around energy; and,

4. Link conservative values and energy use, for today and tomorrow.

And to do all these things in the belief that the development of a comprehensive Republican energy policy, consistent with conservative values, best meets the future needs of America and her citizens.

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introduction

Over the last four centuries each leading global economic power has ridden an emergent fuel resource into supremacy: Holland in the 17th century with wind and hydro power; Britain in the 18th and 19th century with abundant coal; and in the last century, the United States with oil. In fact, it's not hyperbole to say that America was propelled to prominence in the 20th century by our use of oil and electricity.[1]

The downside so far has been that each country able to seize a unique energy opportunity has lacked the wherewithal to manage the next one. One generation's innovations became a later generation's entrenchments. The infrastructure created by these successes eventually became economic obstacles to progress.[2]

Does this have to be the American destiny? Maybe.

Today in America:

- High gas and utility prices strain family budgets—preventing more family fun and investing for the future.
- Communities reflect the "ability" to commute, not the desire to commune.
- The U.S. has lost numerous manufacturing sectors, leaving many to work at jobs until a better one comes along instead of having careers and professional stability. Furthermore, rising middle-class unemployment may be having a deleterious effect on the institution of marriage as economic struggles pull marriages apart and unemployed men are increasingly unattractive potential marriage partners for women.
- Small businesses and global conglomerates struggle to turn profits under the weight of mounting infrastructure costs.
- America's wilderness and its wildlife, where Americans turn for a moment's respite, are being erased by electrical wires and mining.
- The U.S. is funding both sides of the war on terror—paying billions of dollars in oil revenues to hostile countries that will recycle those revenues to attack American troops and America at large. The U.S. is funding the very threat America opposes.
- Utility bills increase on average 7% a year, and yet Americans remain vulnerable, through no fault of their own, to power outages.

The wasteful and thoughtless use of energy is the common theme that runs through our common struggles.

The American narrative has never been a biography, told in the past tense, laying claim to deeds done by our ancestors. The American narrative has always been a hypothesis—a wonder filled expression of possibility, to be proved daily by the combined expression of our pursuit of the American Dream. The American narrative is always the story of tomorrow.

Tom Brokaw's book *The Greatest Generation* is not an eternal declarative. It is a gauntlet waiting for the confluence of events and an awakened generation of Americans, once again united by a common cause, in this case managing the next energy opportunity, to ensure America's preeminent global position.

America's wasteful use of energy can no longer be viewed as just a political or scientific debate that requires resolution through study or legislation. The American energy orgy, as it is today, is a common enemy to our country, to our families, and to our dreams.

Ending our thoughtless production of energy is now the most pro-American, patriotic issue of our time.

Americans must sever their ties to America's energy paradigm because, though it will be painful, doing so is in keeping with America's most cherished values.

To where, then, shall Americans look for answers? For years, Democrats have been advancing the issue of global climate change and have been leaders in proposing energy legislation to mitigate emissions. However, this singular focus, particularly when combined with the fact that a significant number of Americans are skeptical about the veracity of climate science and/or the impact of humans on it, has limited the potential of proposals from Democrats.

The Republican Party has eschewed engagement on effective energy legislation for two reasons. First, the party is the home for many climate change skeptics who doubt the science, don't conclude there is a sense of urgency, and/or object to government being the driving force behind change. Secondly, the proposals from the Democrats are inconsistent with Republican ideas of governance.

It is the Republicans, then, with the greatest potential to catalyze constructive changes in America's use and production of energy. If the energy discussion is decoupled from "climate-change," and the links between energy and traditional conservative values can be made, then perhaps an inspiring vision for a New American Energy Paradigm can be put forth that promotes American exceptionalism for the next century, while the Republican Party spearheads these changes with policies that are rooted in addressing the personal and immediately relevant needs of American families and businesses. Additionally, by pursuing energy policies that are consistent with traditional Republican core values, the GOP can reiterate and emphasize those values through their actions to a skeptical and cynical electorate.

Who is the republican party?

Like any organization, the Republican Party is a *group of unique and complicated individuals* who have, for a variety of reasons, chosen to identify themselves with a political party that supports American conservatism. Two problems emerge from that broad definition. First, because individuals are unique and complicated, there are a multitude of competing interests, as varied and numerous as the membership itself. Speaking to a Republican farmer from Iowa would be a very different experience than speaking to a Republican Wall Street banker. Addressing diverse and sometimes opposing viewpoints in the same audience presents significant challenges. Doing so requires use of common language and shared values that transcend individual interests.

This illuminates the second problem. There is no agreed upon body of dogma that defines American conservatism, at least not as a part of a commonly used lexicon or expression of values. In *Ain't My America*, author Bill Kauffman describes the "values once associated with Conservatism—decentralism, liberty, economy in government, religious faith, family-centeredness, parochialism, smallness."[3]

Defining the GOP, though, can be simplified by thinking in the aggregate. If addressing a gathering of Republicans in a single group, many of the audience's self-interests are likely to be checked at the door as the group assumes the larger task of developing and manifesting consensus on objectives and means. This simpler definition—thinking of the Republican Party as a *single group* rather than a collection of individuals—provides the best hope for defining a group need, though care must be given to avoid generalizations that reflect personal biases. Consequently, it is best to speak

about core values, rather than specific means of reflecting those values, since those means are more likely to illuminate differences rather than promote Party cohesion.

History of conservative thought

To take such a section titled the "History of Conservative Thought" and reduce its content to a few pages is foolhardy in the extreme. However, a brief timeline helps to illuminate potential areas of commonality.

The Republican Party was born in the anti-slavery movement in the 1860s, seeing slavery as a great evil, and with the Democratic Party primarily seeking to perpetuate the practice. Former George W. Bush speechwriter Michael Gerson writes, in *Heroic Conservatism,* "Another side in the argument [on slavery] was taken by Senator Stephen Douglas, Lincoln's political rival. He used his skills to defend 'popular sovereignty,' which he defined bluntly: 'We must allow the people to decide for themselves what is good or evil.' Douglas believed that each state and territory should determine the status of slavery within its borders. 'I care more for the great principle of self-government, the right of the people to rule, than I do for all the Negroes in Christendom.' The majority would determine morality."[4]

Lincoln opposed Douglas's pandering saying, "I should like to know if taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares all men are created equal upon principle, and making exceptions to it, where it will stop. If one man says it does not mean a negro, why not say it does not mean some other man?"[5]

Half a century later, Theodore Roosevelt brought something new to Republican politics: an emphasis on environmental stewardship. He wrote, in 1915, "Fertile plains, every foot of them tilled, are of the first necessity; but great natural playgrounds of mountain, forest, cliff-walled lake, and brawling brook are also necessary to the full and many-sided development of a fine race."[6] Roosevelt was a firm believer in the importance of conserving our national resources—our land—for future generations. These were sentiments established by Edmund Burke, the English statesmen often referred to as the founder of modern conservatism, and one day to be echoed in the words of Barry Goldwater, often regarded as the father of the conservative movement in whose shadow the GOP moves today. Goldwater wrote in *The Conscience of a Majority*, "While I am a great believer in the free enterprise system and all that it entails, I am an even stronger believer in the right our people to live in a clean and pollution-free environment."[7]

Lincoln gave voice to the idea that there are higher moral truths that need attending.

The ideas of environmental stewardship were deeply connected to the conservative principles of prudence and being faithful to enduring moral truths, namely that citizens must be faithful stewards of the gifts they've been given, and they must protect those gifts so they may be bequeathed to future generations.

Russell Kirk's 1953 book, *The Conservative Mind*, gave new voice to Burke's ideas, and expounded on them, developing six canons of conservatism:

1. A belief in a transcendent order, which Kirk described variously as based in tradition, divine revelation, or natural law;
2. An affection for the "variety and mystery" of human existence;
3. A conviction that society requires orders and classes that emphasize "natural" distinctions;
4. A belief that property and freedom are closely linked;
5. A faith in custom, convention, and prescription; and,
6. A recognition that innovation must be tied to existing traditions and customs, which entails a respect for the political value of prudence.[8]

It's hard to see in modern politics how these canons have been applied, and they are seldom given voice. Kirk's language is transcendent—his ideas the result of years of reflection and study. Only a minority of Republicans today, on K Street or Main Street, could be ample apologists for them. But they keep resurfacing, at least by implication, in conservative thinking. Recent apologists include S.E. Cupp and Brett Joshpe, who defend and promote them as conservative cornerstones in their 2008 book, *Why You're Wrong About the Right.*[9] Kirk's words, while slumberous, remain a part of the conservative culture, and endure as a place to begin creating a common language.

Goldwater's conservatism gave rise to the modern conservative era, but, ultimately, he was marginalized by unpopular political decisions he felt were consistent with American values—not unlike Stephen Douglas. He voted against the Civil Rights Act in 1964 based on his interpretation that two aspects of it were unconstitutional. His conviction was political suicide, though one must admire his adherence to his values, if not his conclusions. But the fact remains that Goldwater promoted conservative environmental stewardship principles, and advocated for an unobtrusive federal government. This latter battle cry still echoes clearly in today's Tea Party Movement.

Ronald Reagan's presidency, in the minds of many Republicans, remains the high-water mark for modern conservatism, with its rhetoric directed at a strong national defense, decreased taxes, and opposing communism by advancing the moral superiority of democratic capitalism.

In many ways, Reagan's presidency separates the traditional conservatism, extending from Burke to Goldwater, from the conservatism we see on TV today. Rod Dreher, the author of *Crunchy Cons,* says of the latter, "Conservatism has become associated chiefly with free-market triumphalism, tax-cutting, nationalism, and a moralism that is rarely connected to a more holistic understanding of what life in families and communities should be about."[10] For all practical considerations, this is the conservatism that informs Republican thought today. Little time is given to addressing the moral authority and compassion of traditional conservatism. Some of the *policies* that emerged from conservatism have now become values in and of themselves, rather than understanding that those policies were simply the means of living out the conservative mindset.

some conservative canons

Conservatism is not an immutable body of dogma. It is as diverse as the people who claim it as their own. However, there are some consistent tenets that seem to span the infinite number of credible ideologies within conservative thinking that have brought me to the following synthesis. In order to avoid assuming universal

acceptance of these values, I will present them in the first person to reflect that these are my own conclusions, though such a disclaimer cannot absolve me from accusations of presumption.

First, and foremost, is the belief in the **dignity of human life**. Thomas Jefferson made this the absolute cornerstone of America and her political system by declaring, "All men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." All human life has equal worth. No life is worth more than another. Some individuals may achieve more, or acquire more, throughout their lives, but each human life is possessed of dignity that should be cherished and valued. The dignity of human life requires that it should never be in involuntary servitude to any other person or power. This we call **liberty**, which is the means by which human dignity is respected and maintained.

With that in mind, my second canon of conservatism is **sacrifice**. Given the importance on human life, when one individual selflessly gives up his life—either literally through death for another, or through a life of service to others—that sacrifice should be honored. Conservatives esteem the service of America's men and women in the military because they have voluntarily given their lives in service to the nation, and knowingly put themselves in a position where that sacrifice may cost them their life. And I hold in the highest regard Medal of Honor recipients who took their sacrifice to the realm of the divine. Likewise, there is a common respect for the life of Jesus, who lived a life of service, and made the ultimate sacrifice in its pursuit.

The means by which conservatives live this canon is by committing to participating in voluntary social structures and communities such as family, friends and neighbors, not in the pursuit of selfish interests but in the service of others. These traditional relationships are the foundation of the American social structure. These are the "greater goods" to which we make personal sacrifices every day.

My third canon of conservative thinking is **prudence**. This is a word infrequently used today, but it encompasses much: self-discipline, shrewd personal conduct, good judgment in the use of resources, and caution.

The concept of investment applies here as well. To invest, you must have acquired something tangible, you must have protected that asset, and you must be willing to put it at risk in order to grow it into something more. But such risks are taken wisely, not carelessly. To not invest at all is to stagnate and whither. To invest recklessly is to eschew our responsibilities in the future. Neither is prudent.

Prudence reminds us that there is a debt owed to those who have come before us, and there is a responsibility to our descendants. Nothing can be consumed today without acknowledging that its present existence is the result of a previous investment, either by others, or by our own labors. And our present consumption prevents future use of the same. These attitudes can be referred to as **thanksgiving** and **stewardship.**

As a corollary, conservatives value customs, conventions and continuity. Not as a way to "preserve" the past but rather as an acknowledgment that there is no need to reinvent the wheel. What worked yesterday is a good starting point for today. It is not the means, per se, that conservatives seek to perpetuate, but rather the values that have endured the test of time.

Related to both human dignity and prudence, and so not its own canon, is **peace**. Never should a human life

be thrown haphazardly into harm's way. The defense of our values requires the voluntary sacrifice of some lives, but never should government or citizens be cavalier about such actions. In fact, with so much at stake, the extreme exercise of prudence ought to be the expectation.

America has a history of finding peace through strength. Prudence dictates that we are cautious, and caution impels us to preparation. In this case we shrewdly deploy the resource of those service-minded members of our military. But we avoid foreign entanglements that unnecessarily risk American lives, not disrespecting the dignity of their life, but prudently caring for those soldiers who have offered so much to their country. We must be faithful stewards of their willingness to sacrifice. Honoring the troops means safeguarding their spirit of sacrifice.

A fourth canon of conservatism is **justice**, which might also be referred to as accountability. People are responsible for their choices, and there are natural consequences for all things. Hard work is rewarded. Sloth is impugned. It dignifies human life when people are able to keep what they have earned. As such, property and liberty are closely related.

Conservatives tend to believe there is an enduring moral order passed through families, traditions and conventions that establishes the basic premise of right and wrong. We trust these enduring moral orders to illuminate their path.

The **rule of law** is an important aspect of justice. Society and tradition decide on certain social norms, and living within those norms demonstrates respect for others. To violate those laws is to minimize the importance of others and to disrespect humanity. Those who choose to violate the law are choosing to remove themselves from society. Behaviors have consequences: both positive and negative.

Consequently, people receive justice when they are held accountable for their decisions and behavior. If people misbehave and are not punished, there is no justice. If people work diligently and are denied the fruits of their labor, they too are denied justice.

As a result, conservatives believe in **capitalism**. Russell Kirk, the author of *The Conservative Mind,* said "Getting and spending are not the chief aims of human existence; but a sound economic basis for the person, the family, and the commonwealth is much to be desired. To be able to retain the fruits of one's labor; to be able to see one's work made permanent; to be able to bequeath one's property to one's posterity; to be able to rise from the natural condition of grinding poverty to the security of enduring accomplishment; to have something that is really one's own."[11]

The fifth and final canon is **restraints on power**. Wherever and whenever possible, power should be kept in the hands of private persons and local institutions. The concept of subsidiarity (never should a higher agency do what a smaller or private agency can do as well or better) should be a fundamental principle. The government should avoid interference in economic markets in a way that distorts those markets.

Our founding fathers established two governments. The first, under the Articles of Confederation in 1776, was designed to minimize the power of the federal government. The fact that such a government was established first reflects the initial inclinations of the Founders to keep power away from the federal government.

Too weak to effectively lead the united colonies, the Founders hit delete on Government v 1.0 and gathered in Philadelphia in 1787 to write the code for v 2.0. We

must conclude, as they did, that there is a greater role required for the federal government than our libertarian prejudices suggest, but its powers should be restrained whenever possible. The Founders gave the Congress the power of the purse to constrain the authority of the executive branch. Likewise, in the American Constitutional Democracy, one means available to Americans to constrain the reach of the federal government and limit the global reach of our military is to limit the federal purse by keeping taxes low.

Lastly, stemming from several canons, is **charity**. Charity entails a voluntary sacrifice and an acknowledgement that some are less fortunate than others. The conservative belief in natural consequences is not a heartless justification for economic and social Darwinism. Justice, though canonical, is yet subservient to respecting the dignity of human lives through sacrificial giving and thanksgiving.

Despite a prejudice to see these values endure, it is critical to note the importance of the need for change over time. Change is consistent with the five canons described above. Actions create reactions and those reactions create change. "Investment" hopes that the nature of change will be growth, but understands it may be depreciation. Our ancestors bequeathed their legacies to us and we conserved the best parts, applying them to a new world, and transmitting those to our children who will do the same. Our objective is "conservation," not "preservation." The goal of conservatives is not to remake America in the image of Colonial Williamsburg, but to take all that is exceptional about America today—founded in the wisdom of our national journey—and perpetuate the American dream for generations to come.

Thinking towards new ideas, Kirk wrote, "Rejecting things out of hand makes for a rejection of truths that are otherwise hidden. Digging deep enough, we find ideas that ultimately converge, even when, on the surface, they contradict each other."[12]

energy in america: trend analysis

When moments of change present themselves, people's minds begin to open to new possibilities. The current American malaise has been a drain on the American spirit since 9/11. The Greek mathematician Archimedes once said, "Give me a lever long enough, and a fulcrum on which to place it, and I shall move the world." The confluence of economic, social and political woes surrounding the American Energy Paradigm has produced such a mechanism. It will take political and commercial leadership, and innovation, to act as a lever to shift the American Energy Paradigm into an enduring system for the centuries to come. The fulcrum on which such a lever is placed is the "impetus for change," either as a result of citizen insistence, or as a result of a great crisis. Yet the lever and fulcrum do not operate in a vacuum. "Work" must be done to use the lever as an irresistible force, reducing the proverbial "immovable object" to an easily muted concept. The source of that work is the focus of this report.

The importance of energy in the lives of Americans cannot be overstated. In fact, the ubiquity of energy consumption in America means that in virtually every important issue facing Americans, there is an energy

America is best served when the legacy of conservatism is doing what is *right*, not merely what is *prescribed*.

component. Families need financial relief. The unemployed need jobs. Businesses need to turn profits. The economy is vulnerable to oil price spikes. American leadership needs leverage in foreign policy. Our national security needs to be strengthened both militarily and economically. Our troops need to have their sacrifices respected. America's natural resources are being consumed with little regard for future generations. American land needs to be protected for recreational activities and future agricultural uses. Taken together, these issues ought to foster an atmosphere of receptivity for the challenge of creating a New American Energy Paradigm.

National Security

In the global war on terror, we are funding both sides of the conflict. U.S. dependence on Persian Gulf oil is only 18 percent of our 11.8 million barrels of imported oil, or about 2.1 million barrels of oil per day. At $95 per barrel, about $73 billion per year flows into the coffers of Middle Eastern governments, most of which are strategically unstable at best. Several of these countries, chief among them Saudi Arabia (accounting for two-thirds of our Middle East imports), directly support terrorism. In fact, the classified portion of the 9/11 Report makes direct connections between Saudi Arabia and the terrorist hijackers. Additionally, the Institute for the Analysis of Global Security notes, "Individuals and charities from the Persian Gulf—mainly from Saudi Arabia—appear to be the most important source of funding for terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda. According to an October 2002 Council on Foreign Relations report of an Independent Task Force on Terrorist Financing, Osama bin Laden and his men have been able to accumulate millions of dollars using legitimate businesses such as charities, nongovernmental organizations, mosques, banks and other financial institutions to help raise and move their funds."[13]

According to Terrence Jeffrey, "John McCain made virtually the same argument in December [of 2007] in his own energy speech. 'Al-Qaida must revel in the irony that America is effectively helping to fund both sides of the war they caused,' he said. 'As we sacrifice blood and treasure, some of our gas dollars flow to the fanatics who build the bombs, hatch the plots, and carry out attacks on our soldiers and citizens. Iran made over $45 billion from oil sales in 2005, and it is the No. 1 state sponsor of terrorism.'"[14]

Not only does the U.S. purchase of oil fund terrorism, oil infrastructure is a high-priority, high-reward target for terrorists. General James Conway, the Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, confirms, "When we killed bin Laden, we saw oil tanker designs on his work desk."[15]

General James Conway, the Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, confirms, "When we killed bin Laden, we saw oil tanker designs on his work desk."

Even if the U.S. bought no oil from the Middle East, the money would still flow in that direction. The global oil market is a crude game of whack-a-mole. If the United States replaced its Persian Gulf purchases with more oil from Canada and Mexico, for example, whoever was previously buying those barrels of oil from Canada and Mexico would have to purchase elsewhere. Because the global oil supply is constrained by capacity and OPEC policies, those buyers would have little choice but to

turn to where the U.S. used to get is oil; namely the Middle East.

For now, the global oil supply is secure, but only because producers have self-interest in making it so. In 1776, Adam Smith wrote in *The Wealth of Nations*, "It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner but from their regard for their own self-interest."[16] Similarly, it is not due to the benevolence of the world's oil suppliers that we get our oil, but from their regard for their own interests. Our oil supply is secure not because our government threatens to use force against those who would make it insecure, but because the world's oil suppliers want to make money.

U.S. oil consumption is not the only energy threat to our national security. The U.S. electrical transmission grid is a significant point of vulnerability as well. Because the electrical grid is so massive and connected across the nation, we have seen how even minor glitches can have devastating impacts. In 2003, an ice-covered tree fell on power lines in Ohio, and shut off power to the Northeast affecting 45 million people. In the summer of 2011, an electrical worker in Arizona switching out a capacitor accidentally caused a power outage for six million people in southern California.

The Government Accounting Office reported in 2009 that 31 of the Department of Defense's 34 most critical bases around the world rely on commercial electrical power grids.[17] The report goes on to say, that during the GAO's survey of these installations, "at least 24 of the 34 most critical assets experienced some electrical power disruptions—lasting up to seven days—during the three-year period from January 2006 through December 2008, and the missions supported by three of those critical assets were adversely impacted by electrical power disruptions".[18] A 2008 report by the Defense Science Board Task Force reports that the commercial electrical grid is "brittle, increasingly centralized, capacity-strained, and largely unprotected from physical attack, with little stockpiling of critical hardware".[19]

Additionally, the commercial electrical grid is vulnerable to cyber-attack, solar flares, and electromagnetic pulse. With the United States pursuing "smart grid" technology in which computers and the internet are increasingly involved in the delivery of electrical power in order to improve efficiency and make cheaper, nighttime, power available to customers, this creates an ever growing number of points of attack for cyber terrorists.

Space weather, or solar flares, is also a growing threat. For example, according to the National Earth Science Teachers Association, "On March 13, 1989, at 2:44 am, a transformer failure on one of the main power transmission lines in the Hydro Quebec system precipitated a catastrophic collapse of the entire power grid. The string of events that produced the collapse took only 90 seconds from start to finish. There was no time for any meaningful intervention. The transformer failure was a direct consequence of ground-induced currents from a space weather disturbance high in the atmosphere. Six million people lost electrical power for nine or more hours".[20]

Solar storms tend to run on an eleven-year cycle, with the last period of maximum solar activity being in 2001. A calculator is not needed to figure out that the next expected period of maximum solar activity is just around the corner. With new technology, the intensity of space weather can be more accurately forecast. These technologies have lead Mausumi Dikpati, a solar scientist at the National Center for Atmospheric Research, to predict that the 2012 solar cycle is likely to be 30-50% more intense than the one in 2001.[21]

Whether that dire prediction proves true or not, the National Academy of Sciences reported in 2009 that any future solar storm, similar to one documented from 1859, could take years to recover from, since commercial grade transformers are manufactured overseas, have long lead times (up to a year), and there are virtually none "in stock" if failures occur. The report describes such an event this way: "Impacts would be felt on interdependent infrastructures with, for example, potable water distribution affected within several hours; perishable foods and medications lost in 12-24 hours; immediate or eventual loss of heating/air conditioning, sewage disposal, phone service, transportation, fuel resupply and so on. Banks might close, and trade with other countries might halt. Emergency services would be strained, and command and control might be lost."[22]

The net effect is that the massive, global, interconnected systems of oil production and delivery, and electrical power generation and delivery, have made individual Americans more vulnerable than ever to catastrophic effects outside of our control.

Where conservatives wish to limit the reach of power and government, we have become intrinsically enslaved to a transportation system and electrical system that (quite literally) puts power in the hands of the federal government and global business conglomerates whose objectives of profit and perpetuating the paradigm supersede citizen concerns. This is a situation that conservatives ought to find untenable. Prudence is seldom a factor in our thinking about the situation as it stands today. While the current paradigm has some obvious advantages, perpetuating it into the next century must be done freely acknowledging the vulnerabilities we are creating while we avoid the costs and hardships of change. The thoughts of Adam Smith from *The Wealth of Nations* might deserve careful reflection: "Defense is superior to opulence."[23]

Foreign Policy

George Washington is often credited with encouraging the United States to avoid foreign entanglements in his farewell address. These specific words he did not pen. Though the misattributed quote may be a fair synopsis of thoughts he did record: "The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations."[24] Unfortunately, today's U.S. foreign policy is unquestionably more influenced by the Carter Doctrine than the ancient dictation of our first Commander in Chief.

In 1980, President Jimmy Carter declared the United States would use whatever means necessary, including military force, to defend its interests in the Middle East, and our interests in the Middle East (with apologies to Israel) are singular: oil. This has not only affected U.S. foreign policy, it has affected the perception of conservatism.

Throughout the pages of history, chronicling the conservative narrative, is a consistent anti-war theme reflecting the values mentioned above (and to be discussed in greater detail below), and President Washington's suggestion that we keep our hands out of other countries' cookie jars. Five of the last eight presidential terms, since Carter's proclamation, have been served by Republicans, leaving them mostly responsible for applying the Carter Doctrine. While the history of the GOP may be decidedly anti-war, America's insatiable need for oil, and our national belief that

gaining access to it, wherever it may be found, is our "right," has forced the United States into several wars. This has altered (hopefully temporarily) the perception of Republicans—now seen as warmongers and imperialists.

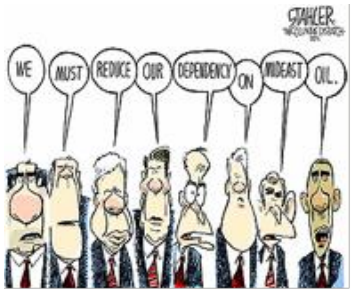
Authenticity and transparency would be the best defense against those perceptions. Employing those tools would require only that our national government explicitly state, "Yes, this is a war for oil." Yet despite the Carter Doctrine's historical veracity, no President employing it has had the temerity to utter those words. War justifications have been several, and have attempted to invoke "higher values" (such as the search for weapons of mass destruction, or liberating the Kuwaiti people) downplaying the strategic importance of oil in foreign policy decision making. Over time, this has eroded the historical culture of conservative anti-imperialism and peace, morphing how present-day Republicans feel, vote and view America's place in the world.

In 2010, the U.S. consumed about 19.1 million barrels of oil per day. Of that, we imported 11.8 million barrels per day, or 62 percent of our oil needs.[25] Of our imported oil, about one-third comes from Canada and Mexico. Surprisingly, only 18 percent of our imported oil comes from the Persian Gulf.[26] However, because so much of the rest of the world oil supply comes from the Persian Gulf, disruptions in the flow of oil from the region would have catastrophic effects on global supply and worldwide pricing.

In 1990 the United States conducted Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm to prevent Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein from acquiring Kuwaiti oil reserves. Author Kevin Phillips recalls that, "When President George H.W. Bush [1990] mobilized American forces, he commented matter of factly that 'our jobs, our way of life, our own freedom and the freedom of friendly countries around the world would all suffer if control of the world's great oil reserves fell into the hands of Saddam Hussein.'[27] Moreover, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney argued that if Hussein got control of Kuwait, he would be 'in a position to be able to dictate the future of worldwide energy policy, and that gave him a stranglehold on our economy.'"[28]

In the wake of 9/11, the George W. Bush administration orchestrated the invasion of Iraq. The public justification was that the effort was to oust Hussein and eradicate Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. Yet the U.S. military's first objectives were to secure oil fields, refineries and ports—objectives indicating that securing Iraqi oil fields may have been the primary priority.

Despite four decades of repeated White House rhetoric that we need to reduce our dependence on Middle Eastern oil, U.S. foreign policy makers remain handcuffed by our vital need for oil. When considering sanctions or military actions against Iran for pursuing weapons grade nuclear capabilities, the U.S. must always keep in mind that Iran has the ability to not only remove their oil from the global market, but to disrupt the movement of oil tankers through the Straits of Hormuz.



As noted above, the 9/11 Report documented direct links between the terrorists and the government of Saudi Arabia. However, on December 29, 2011, the Obama administration announced that it would sell $30 billion worth of F-15s to the Royal Saudi Air Force.[29] In public, the Saudi regime is a key U.S. ally in the Middle

East, and there are certain benefits to maintaining that relationship. Yet those reasons stem from the critical role of oil in the U.S. and global economy. Absent those justifications, the F-15 deal is nothing more than rewarding America's enemies, and is hardly indicative of conducting foreign policy from a position of strength.

American strategic oil interests in the Persian Gulf have pushed an emerging power like China to look elsewhere for oil to avoid coming in conflict with the United States. China has been increasing its investments in Africa (China gets more oil from Angola than from Saudi Arabia[30]), and has for years been trading with Sudan, unfazed by the civil war taking place within. The U.S., on the other hand, has been pressured to be more responsive to Sudanese genocide, but has been limited in its ability to act because doing so would infringe on Chinese oil interests in the region. Securing America's Future Energy (SAFE), a Washington-based think tank on energy, published a report in September of 2008 concluding, "Oil dependence undermines national security and the conduct of foreign policy by limiting U.S. strategic flexibility, strengthening foreign adversaries, and exacerbating geopolitical competition for resources."[31]

None of this is terribly surprising, though cynics, optimists, pessimists and realists could tarry for hours over the causes and effects. The British scholar E.H. Carr wrote in *The Twenty Year's Crisis, 1919-1939*, "Whatever moral issues may be involved, there is an issue of power which cannot be expressed in terms of morality."[32] Americans are rightly proud of being stewards of the world's longest-running democracy. Its citizens hope to echo Jefferson's manifesto into the far corners of the world. Yet the practical realities of 21st Century geo-politics resist the moral ascendancy of U.S. foreign policy. Robert Kaplan, writing about University of Chicago professor and noted author and political scientist, John Mearsheimer, in the February 2012 issue of The Atlantic, notes that Mearsheimer "thinks that while states rightly yearn for values-based foreign policy, the reality of the anarchic international system forces them to behave according to their own interests."[33] And nowhere are the political realities of 21st Century geo-politics more apparent than in the global petroleum trade.

For decades the U.S. has been called upon to use its military and economic might to defend and promote liberty around the world. Conservatives, respecting human dignity and valuing personal liberty, ought to be champions of these international struggles for human rights. The extent to which the U.S. should be involved may be debatable, but there is no doubt that currently U.S. foreign policy is more often guided by self-interest than motivated by promoting the "higher values" of conservatism that prioritize the advancement of liberty and the promotion of political self-determination for citizens of emerging nations. The U.S. should always pursue those policies that are in our best interests (what nation doesn't?), but it would be best if U.S. foreign policy makers were not handcuffed in developing effective policy by having access to global oil as serious strategic limitation.

Support for the Troops

If peace is indeed a cherished means of demonstrating prudence and a respect for human dignity, the current U.S. energy paradigm does little to promote it. In pursuing the Carter Doctrine for the last thirty years, U.S. presidents continue to send America's sons and daughters to war for what amounts to personal convenience for Americans. Kevin Phillips remarks, "Voters have come to expect cheap gasoline, electricity

and gas and oil heating—as well as the comfort, mobility and personal independence that hydrocarbons facilitate."[34]

The use of our military troops has clearly been required to keep the machine in motion. However, doing so reflects the attitude that keeping oil prices low is more important than the lives of our servicemen. We are willing to risk our blood and treasure in a reckless manner to maintain the status quo, and this has certainly been born out in U.S. military actions in the Middle East over the last two decades.

Another telling development in the willingness of the U.S. government to put our troops in harm's way for oil interests was the creation of the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM). Until its establishment in February, 2007, military operations in the region fell under U.S. Central Command. However, with the growing awareness that the U.S. would benefit from decreasing reliance on oil from the Persian Gulf, and the reality that U.S. demand for oil would continue to increase, new oil markets became increasingly important.

In 1999, Exxon Vice-President Harry Longwell pointed the way: "Considering the discoveries we've already made [in West Africa] and the potential for more, we expect that future operations in Africa will account for a significant portion of Exxon's worldwide production."[35]

Michael Klare and Daniel Volman provide additional background. "A high-level body appointed by President Bush in February 2001, the National Energy Policy Development Group (NEPDG) was chaired by Vice President Dick Cheney, and its final document is often referred to as the 'Cheney Report.' The Cheney Report highlighted Africa's potential to supply an ever-increasing share of the America's energy needs. 'West Africa is expected to be one of the fastest-growing sources of oil and natural gas for the American market,' the report states. Moreover, 'African oil tends to be of high quality and low in sulfur, making it suitable for stringent refined product requirements.'"[36]

In his 2006 State of the Union address, President Bush announced that the U.S. would "replace more than 75% of our oil imports from the Middle East by 2025."[37]

With the Cheney Report in mind and newly established geo-strategic objectives announced, President Bush established AFRICOM. While public statements surrounding its establishment focus on terrorism—the politically palatable raison d'être—securing African oil seems to be the more important motivation. In an interview with *Wall Street Journal* writer Greg Jaffe, General Charles Wald, the Deputy Commander of U.S. forces in Europe said, "A key mission for U.S. forces [in Africa] would be to insure that Nigeria's oilfields, which in the future could account for as much as 25 percent of all U.S. oil imports, are secure."[38]

Lest we be inclined to point fingers solely at President George W. Bush, President Obama is also strengthening strategic ties to African oil. The Obama Administration's first National Security Strategy, issued in 2010, stresses the need to "embrace effective partnerships" on the [African] continent, highlighting a number of priorities, including "access to open markets, conflict prevention, global peacekeeping, counterterrorism, and the protection of vital carbon sinks."[39]

Rather than using the awareness of "a need to decrease reliance on Middle Eastern oil" as an impetus for innovative systemic change at home, the federal government seems determined to eschew the conservative values of prudence and a respect for

human life by being poor stewards of the voluntary service of military members.

The Economy

The 2008 Republican Party Platform has this to say about energy: "All sources of domestic energy should be made available and artificial constraints on infrastructure, including costly environmental regulations, removed."

Yet, the use of the Department of Defense to protect and defend the free flow of oil amounts to a direct financial subsidy to the oil industry. (This is in addition to the more than $2.82 billion in direct subsidies U.S. oil companies added to their balance sheets in 2010.)[40] Oil companies reap the direct benefits from militarily-secured lines of distribution while the American taxpayer foots the bill through taxation to support rapidly growing defense budgets. According to the Center for Naval Analysis, in 2010 the U.S. spent $74 billion protecting oil in the Middle East alone.[41] At a time when trillion dollar annual budget deficits are increasingly difficult to justify, extraordinary expenses to perpetuate a problematic paradigm seem particularly profligate.

Clearly, any lengthy discussion on the economic ramifications of U.S. energy policy could be a book unto itself. With that in mind, a brief discussion of areas of economic importance will have to suffice.

The U.S. is in critical need of new, vibrant manufacturing sectors, and pursuit of a New Energy Paradigm has the potential to do just that. "The Green Energy Economy," says Hal Harvey, a Stanford engineer and a member for the first Bush administration, "is a $5 trillion business and if we fail to be serious players in the new energy economy, the costs will be staggering to this country."[42] Over the last fifty years, the U.S. has increasingly become a service-economy as opposed to a manufacturing economy. Manufacturing output now accounts for only 13 percent of GDP.[43]

The U.S. still ranks as the first or second largest producer of manufactured goods in the world,[44] depending on what statistics you read. However, most of the gains in productivity over the last 50 years have come as a result of mechanization—replacing low-wage, unskilled workers with automation. At the end of the first decade of the 21st Century, the United States had lost over six million manufacturing jobs—about one out of every three. Though the American population has doubled since the end of the Great Depression, today there are about as many workers employed in manufacturing as there were some 70 years ago.[45]

Since the end of the Cold War in 1989, and the advent of globalization, a nation's strength is determined less by its military might and more by its economic power. Now, more than ever before, economic security *is* national security. As the U.S. looks to retain its place as a global superpower, ensuring the strength of our economy is critical. Doing so also provides opportunities for Americans to work, a fundamental component of respecting human dignity, as well as providing opportunity for just rewards for just labors.

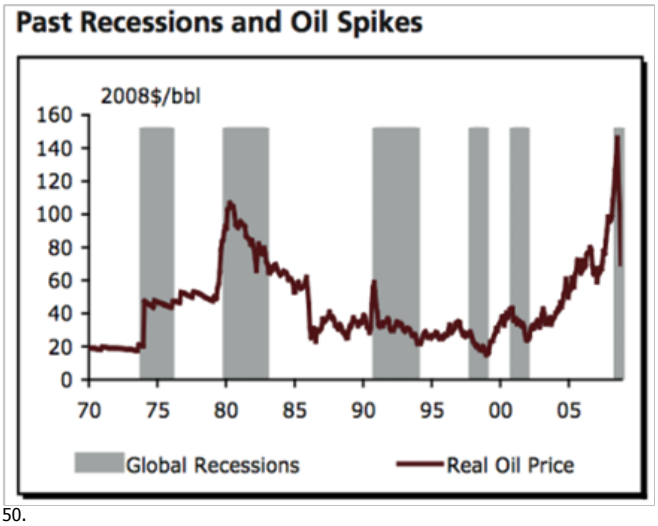
The loss of manufacturing jobs may be having a fascinating, though harmful, effect on the institution of marriage. Kate Bolick writes in The Atlantic, "The erosion of the traditional marriage and family structure has played out most dramatically among low income groups, both black and white. According to the sociologist William Julius Wilson, inner city black men struggled badly in the 1970s, as manufacturing plants shut down or moved to distant suburbs. These men naturally resented their downward mobility, and had trouble making the switch to service jobs requiring a different

style of self-presentation. The joblessness and economic insecurity that resulted created a host of problems and made many men altogether unmarriable. Today, as manufacturing jobs disappear nationwide (American manufacturing shed about a third of its jobs during the first decade of this century), the same phenomenon may be under way, but on a much larger scale."[46]

Despite America's strong manufacturing output, the U.S. trade deficit continues to grow, and "petroleum imports are the largest single contributor to the U.S. trade deficit. In 2010, the U.S. imported more than nine million barrels of petroleum and petroleum products per day, valued in excess of $300 billion."[47] This trade imbalance undermines the value of the U.S. dollar. While the dollar remains the global reserve currency, demand remains artificially high, propping up the dollar's value. However, the lack of manufactured goods available for export decreases the real value of the dollar, putting the U.S. in a precarious situation should the global economy ever decide to replace the dollar as the global reserve currency with a "basket of currencies," as has been bandied about now for several years.

As corporations, both big and small, look to shed overhead, energy efficiency becomes increasingly important. Conservatives can advocate for energy efficiency for businesses on the grounds that, by making businesses more profitable, new jobs are created, wages rise, and consumer confidence grows. To reiterate Kirk's words, "Getting and spending are not the chief aims of human existence; but a sound economic basis for the person, the family, and the commonwealth is much to be desired."[48]

Any modern economy (and the U.S. is no exception) is adversely affected by high energy prices. In a link that should come as no surprise, "each of the last five major downturns in global economic activity has been immediately preceded by a major spike in oil prices."[49]



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Changes to the American Energy Paradigm should occur with the goal of easing the burden on American family budgets. With gas prices hovering between $3.00 and $4.00 a gallon, fuel costs—which are non-discretionary in most American families—soar, and take money away from other categories such as retirement savings, college savings, and discretionary spending. In fact, rising oil prices and utility rates affect everything that is made and transported within the U.S., adding inflationary pressures to all goods and services. Thus, driving those costs down through changes to our energy paradigm increases the robustness of the U.S. economy in a myriad of ways.

Overall, the United States is lagging behind in the development of new energy technologies. China leads the world in solar panel manufacturing (despite also leading the world in the erection of new coal-fired plants). Germany, never known for its sunny climate, is a global leader in solar panel deployment. Spain is the world's leader in wind power. Here at home, where musicals laud Oklahoma's blustery days, only one of the three largest wind farms in the country is American

owned.[51] Leading up to the 2008 election, the Center for American Progress published a report titled "Green Recovery" in which they noted that green manufacturing could create 800,000 manufacturing jobs over two years.[52]

Business Profitability

Small businesses, and global conglomerates alike, struggle to turn profits under the weight of mounting infrastructure costs.

Aluminum block letters hanging on the wall behind the reception desk in the administrative offices of the Empire State Building proclaim it as the "world's most famous office building." Though this is an opinion reflective of American ego-centrism, it is a difficult conclusion to dispute. Built in only 18 months and completed in 1931, for over 80 years it has been a symbol of American excellence and the rewards of free markets.

In 2008, the Empire State Building's owner, Anthony Malkin, made a decision to invest in energy efficiency. He had one singular purpose: to cut costs. By making the building more energy efficient it would become more profitable. Mr. Malkin had two secondary considerations. First, was to "prove or disprove the cost-effectiveness of energy efficiency retrofits."[53] As the project went on, Mr. Malkin notes, there became another objective: to create a replicable model for other commercial office buildings.[54]

According to Paul Rode, the chief engineer with Johnson Controls, who oversaw the work, there were 78 different energy efficiency ideas considered.[55] Through rigorous cost analysis, ownership worked with five corporate partners to implement eight of them: a radiative barrier, tenant demand control ventilation, tenant day-lighting, lighting and plugs, balance of direct digital controls, chiller plant retrofit, VAV air handling units, building windows and tenant energy management.[56] The final cost of the energy efficiency retrofits was $13.2 million, creating an annual savings of $4.4 million, yielding a three year payback or return on investment.[57]

The energy efficiency retrofits have not only reduced overhead for ownership, but they have added to the value of the Empire State Building as a desirable place in which to be a tenant. As policy makers look for ways to help businesses return to profitability, encouraging energy efficiency retrofits creates positive and immediate economic benefits for businesses, decreasing their overhead, increasing their profitability, improving their ability to forecast energy costs, and creating jobs through construction and business growth.

Yet it is not just big businesses looking to capture an energy dividend. Small businesses, as well as families, are getting involved of their own accord, with or without government incentives.

Gary Brown lives in Byron, Georgia, and is a small business owner. He and his friends, demonstrating the creativity, innovation and initiative that are at the heart of the American entrepreneurial spirit, came up with an interesting solution to rapidly rising fuel costs in 2008. They noted that their farm tractors got many more miles to the gallon than their pickup trucks. Suspecting Washington and Detroit collusion, he and his buddies decided to take an old tractor engine, rebuild it, and put it in a Ford F-250. Brown now gets 40-50 miles per gallon in a pickup truck that used to yield 15 miles to the gallon—downhill and with a tailwind. He tells his story this way in *Shade Tree Conversions*:

> I came home from work in August of 2005 and my wife told me that a category 4 or 5 hurricane was about to strike the Gulf coast in the

vicinity of New Orleans. I knew the oil companies would use this natural disaster to skyrocket the price of fuel and I was right on target. I tried to get people to cut back on their use of this necessary evil. I knew unless the American people reduced the amount of fuel they consumed while it was $3.00 a gallon, the oil companies would probably never let it get below that record price again.

In my lifetime I have become painfully aware of the oil companies ability to escalate fuel prices for almost any reason. The American people have been pushed around time and again by these corporate bullies. The oil companies try to tell us they are not gouging us, but then they make record profits, in some cases ten times what they had been profiting in recent years, but they are not "gouging" of course!

After the hurricane did its damage to the Gulf coast, the oil companies did exactly what I predicted. They have taken advantage of us. I call it financial rape.

I'm self-employed and I can tell you firsthand our small business was down about 50%. Our sales were cut so drastic (sic) that our overhead (operating expenses) exceeded our profits 12 straight months in a row. People were upset about the price of fuel and I don't blame them, so they weren't buying anything but bare necessities.

My business is a small equipment reconditioning company. We rebuild used late model equipment and sell it to other small businesses or individuals. When the fuel prices skyrocketed, the sales slowed down and we were left holding the bag.
I contacted five other small business people and asked them to meet me at my business one Tuesday night. We all talked about how our small businesses had been hurt by the high fuel prices. We had finally survived the 9/11 tragedy and its resulting business slow down.

The first night we met we mostly talked about how bad our businesses were doing. It was on the second night that we started working on some way to get our businesses going again. One person told us that there were some federal loans available to help restart our businesses, but as usual there were more strings tied to it than a parachute.

When a small business gets hit like we were, for every $1 we go in debt during bad times, it takes $4-$5 to pay back the debt when things pick up. We pondered several ways of getting not only our small businesses out of this financial dilemma, but also the American people.

I remember the "Oil Embargo" of the seventies. Congress voted to freeze wages and prices, so the oil companies shut off the flow of oil. I remembered the long lines at the service stations. The oil companies seem to have a stranglehold on our nation. I believe the only way to reduce the oil company's stranglehold is to reduce the amount of fuel we use.[58]

Mr. Brown's feelings about oil companies may be open for debate, but his economic situation is not. The recessed American economy has placed enormous burdens on small business owners and families. Gasoline for the majority of Americans is an absolute necessity—a locked cell on their budget spreadsheet. Rising fuel costs strain those budgets, removing money that might otherwise be available to invest in growing the business and hiring, or from families wishing to increase their savings rates for retirement or college. Additionally, those same rising fuel costs make everything else small businesses and families purchase more expensive by driving up the transportation costs of bringing products to markets. South Carolina State Senator Dick Elliot says, "[The high cost of fuel] is breaking families, it's breaking businesses, it's wreaking havoc with the economic system… all over the nation."[59]

There are also major economic impacts from the lost revenue during power interruptions, and the costs to repair damages when power interruptions are the result of natural disasters such as hurricanes, floods, tornadoes and earthquakes. Roberta Stauffer concludes, "No matter who ends up paying the damages, insurance companies or individual businesses, power outages are costly. Even brief outages caused by minor disturbances in power transmission systems cause an estimated $3 billion to $5 billion in damages each year in the United States. Outages are also costly to the utilities themselves."[60] Renewable power sources can help prevent the kind of extended outages that keep the cash register closed. Stauffer's report recalls the positive experience of the Harmony Resort in the U.S. Virgin Islands:

> A recent example of this benefit involves the Harmony Resort facility at Maho Bay Campground on St. John, one of the U.S. Virgin Islands. In mid-September [1995], Hurricane Marilyn swept 115 mile-per-hour winds across the island, tearing roofs off buildings and knocking out electricity and phone service. The recycled building materials used to construct the Harmony facility survived the winds, as did its PV systems. According to Stanley Selengut, president of Maho Bay Camps, Inc., the systems' battery banks never faltered and were once again replenished by the solar panels when the storm passed and sun reappeared. Campground staff remained at Harmony during the hurricane period and were among the few Virgin Islanders who had light, refrigeration, hot showers, flush toilets, and the ability to communicate with the outside world.[61]

With these considerations in mind, it is clear that perpetuating America's problematic petroleum paradigm is an affront to the needs of individuals and businesses.

Community Living

There is no section of this report with less empirical support than this one. Yet to omit it would be to miss an important opportunity. Taking up residence in the ideological condo-complex called conservatism are both "communitarians" and "libertarians." On the surface, it might be tempting to compartmentalize the two groups as a living, breathing oxymoron. Yet they have more in common than one might first suspect.

The communitarian prizes voluntary community with friends and family. His motivations are likely to be spiritual as he adheres to enduring truths about the nature of personal fulfillment resulting from a life of service, sacrifice, and hard work. He takes great

pleasure in communing with natural things—with life as it was meant to be—unfettered by compromises to modern life. He is likely to eschew consumerism, preferring to invest his time and resources in experiences and relationships rather than in possessions. He will enjoy the company of his neighbors and invest in their lives. He will not have a bumper sticker that says, "He who dies with the most toys wins." In fact, he'd probably rather not have a car on which to put a bumper sticker in the first place.

The communitarian is likely to have a fondness for local farmers and an agrarian lifestyle: living off the land and working side-by-side with family and friends to create things. In short, he will value self-sufficiency. But the word "self" will have a communal definition.

The libertarian prizes the rights of the individual over all else. He will remind you that "Goldwater emphasized individual choice and believed that each individual citizen was responsible for his or her own spiritual development. Conservatives, Goldwater thought, 'should stand for freedom and only freedom.'"[62] He will want to encourage all people to choose whatever they want from life's offerings as long as others are not harmed. He believes his body and his property are his own and no other person or government should be able to force him to act or not act in a specific manner. The Libertarian Party Platform notes that libertarians "believe that being free and independent is a great way to live;" "Libertarians recognize the responsibility we all share to preserve this precious heritage for our children and grandchildren;" "We want a system which respects the individual."[63] In short, the libertarian will value self-sufficiency.

Buried in those broad descriptions are similarities and differences. The connection with energy lies in the idea that both the communitarians and the libertarians find great fulfillment and satisfaction in going it alone. The communities or homes in which they live reflect a desire for self-sufficiency. Each is likely to eschew modern consumerism and look to their community or their immediate family to be the source and object of their joy.

The current American Energy Paradigm, then, ought to represent an uncomfortable dependence on the outside world. The libertarian should be uneasy about the stranglehold gasoline has on his mobility; and the tenuous availability of electricity required to pursue his liberties.

Likewise, the communitarian is likely to abhor the cold, impersonal and distant design of American communities that has served to isolate Americans in mortgaged monuments to achievement.

In general, mainstream conservatives value the traditional relationships of family and community as well, though they do so with less ideological fervor. Today our communities are, more often than not, reflective of our ability to commute, rather than our desire to commune. The suburbs are distant places that are not designed to foster community interaction: the sprawling exurbs, less so, at least when the daily commute is taken into consideration. According to the Texas Transportation Institute (part of Texas A&M University), in 2009 the average American spent 36 hours per year stuck in traffic beyond the normal commute time, well more than double the 1982 average of 14 hours per year.[64] This lost time impinges on family time, work productivity, family finances and, often, mom's generally sunny disposition.

Today, though, we see new communities being designed that are more reflective of the benefits that come from neighborly, engaged communities, and often

they are designed around energy efficiency in order to maximize the use of time and money.

The increasing financial pressures on families are prevalent, and people are looking for ways to decrease their overhead. The gigantic McMansions of the 80s and 90s, reflective of a liberal use of land and money, may be on the outs as conservatives discover that they don't need all that space. Smaller homes cost less to build and buy, and they cost less to heat and cool. They take less time to clean (i.e., more time with the kids) and they generally encourage more family interaction. Furthermore, communities designed around sustainability usually have well-kept common areas for child's play, dog walking and communing with neighbors. Having these common areas reduces the need for each person to have a large yard that costs money to purchase and maintain. Such developments also require less land. In short, these communities are designed to "conserve."

The trend in these types of communities is called "multi-use," meaning people live, work and play in greater proximity. Again, this increases community interaction and investments, and decreases commuting time and expenditures. These types of communities are popping up all over America—Salt Lake City, Denver's Stapleton Development, and around Washington D.C. Metro stops like Roslyn, VA, to name a few. Potentially, these communities offer the opportunity to demonstrate new paradigms for electrical power generation and delivery.

America the Beautiful

One of the great blessings bestowed on America is our land. It is a vast and wonderful place. Edmund Burke, Theodore Roosevelt, Russell Kirk and Barry Goldwater all wrote extensively of the joy in the conservative soul from the natural beauty around us. These natural beauties are rejuvenating and uplifting. Here in America, they are the source of great wealth, and the creator of prosperity as well. We have ample natural subsistence to last millennia. We have the luxury of being able to feed ourselves without the need for imports.

"The environment" (just saying it invokes liberal connotations) once was, and still should be, a conservative priority. The liberal talk radio host (a rarity, to be sure) Bill Press writes, "I believe that one of the stranger contradictions about contemporary politics is how saving the environment came to be known as a liberal issue—embraced by Democrats, but ridiculed by Republicans. It shouldn't be that way, and it wasn't always."[65]

Three issues of great importance to the conservative come out of our thanksgiving for our great physical nation: biblical stewardship, protecting the outdoors for recreation, and eminent domain.

biblical stewardship

Stewardship issues are not unique to Bible-believing conservatives, though many, if not most, conservatives possess a deep spirituality and belief in God. This characteristic tends to enhance the sense of thanksgiving and stewardship in conservative thinking.

For those who are scripturally literate, the most often quoted text concerning the relationship between humans and the earth is in Genesis: "So God created humankind in His image, in the image of God He created them; male and female He created them. God blessed them, and God said to them, "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth" (Gen.

1:27-28 NRSV). This is often referred to as the "dominion text" and its key provisions are that God gave humans "dominion" over all of creation and humans should "subdue" the earth.

There are many Evangelicals today who take this text at its face value: humans should subdue the earth and rule over it. Taken in this context, little thought needs to be given to stewardship for future generations—somehow, God's plan will unfold. The resources we have today are the result of Divine benevolence and exist for our sole use and benefit. This line of thinking often dovetails with apocalyptic thinking and "Rapture Theology" that foretells the second coming of Christ. Within this camp, adherents are likely to see doom and gloom climate prognostications as potentially the means by which the end of the world is brought. Any human attempt to forestall God's plan to bring about the end-times would make one an agent of the Anti-Christ.

A brief exegesis of the Genesis text is useful. McCormick Theological Seminary Professor Theodore Hiebert does the heavy lifting:

> The inescapable fact about the biblical term "dominion," from the Hebrew verb radah, is that it grants humans the right and responsibility to rule, to govern the rest of creation. It establishes a hierarchy of power and authority in which the human race is positioned above the rest of the natural world. Such a conclusion is clear from the use of radah elsewhere in the Old Testament, where it is employed for the rule of the head of the house over household servants (Lev. 25:43) and of Solomon's officers over his conscripted labor force (1 Kings 5:16 [Hebrew, 1 Kings 5:30]). On the international scene, radah is used for the rule of Israel's king over Israel's enemies (1 Kings 4:24 [Hebrew, 1 Kings 5:4]), or for the rule of Israel's enemies over Israel itself (Lev. 26:17). In all cases, radah signifies the power, control, and authority of one individual or group over another.
>
> Similar conclusions may be drawn about the phrase "subdue the earth" in Gen. 1:28. The verb "subdue," from the Hebrew kavash, depicts a hierarchical relationship in which humans are positioned above the earth and are granted power and control over it. The verb kavash is even more forceful than radah, describing the actual act of subjugation, of forcing another into a subordinate position. It is used for military conquest, where the same phrase used in Gen. 1:28, "subdue the earth/land," can be employed to depict the destruction and occupation of conquered territory (Num. 32:22, 29). It is also used of the king's forcing his people into slavery against God's wishes (Jer. 34:11, 16), and of rape (Esther 7:8; Neh. 5:5). In many of these cases, the abuse {19} of power is patently obvious.
>
> Within this textual context, several clues have been discovered suggesting that dominion was understood in it as benevolent rule characterized by restraint. One of these clues is the image of God itself, a feature of this account that emphasizes human distinctiveness and authority. Yet if the image of God

> means that humans have not a special essence but a special function or task, and if that special function is to act as God's representative or authorized agent on earth, as some have claimed (Bird 1981, 137-44), then human rule is not absolute, but is to be carried out in accordance with the intention and design of the divine sovereign who delegated it. And if that divine sovereign exercises power benevolently as Genesis 1 in fact depicts God as doing—bringing all of life into existence, considering it all good, placing it all within a {20} harmonious ecosystem—then humans, as God's representatives or agents, should exercise the power granted them in order to achieve the same ends.[66]

Biblical study can often be as problematic as the use of statistics—a case can be made for virtually anything. However, further Old Testament study on the relationship between man and the earth leads the inquisitive to Leviticus: "The land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is mine; with me you are but aliens and tenants. Throughout the land that you hold, you shall provide for the redemption of the land" (Leviticus 25:23-24). Here God defines the relationship in clear terms: man is but a tenant, taking care of what belongs to God. Implied is that God will re-rent it to the next generation. But the text is clear that man is to be responsible while he is in possession of what belongs to God.

Martin Palmer is the CEO of the Alliance of Religions and Conservation based in the UK. In a personal conversation he highlighted other relevant theological ideas:

- God's covenant with Noah is with the "world," all that flies, all that walks and all that swims. It is a covenant with humanity within the fullness of creation.
- In 1 Colossians 1:15-18, Paul says that Jesus Christ is the first fruit of all creation. So God's covenant with Noah is renewed and enhanced by the covenant God makes with Christ.
- In John 3:16 ("And God so loved the world….), the "world" is really the natural world (the greek word kosmos-- κδσμον.) So God's gift of His Son for us, creates a covenant between God and all of creation.[67]

Being conservatives, we have an abiding sense that we must take care of what we've been gifted, use it wisely, and pass it responsibly to those who come after us. God Almighty has given us this earth and given us dominion over it. But dominion implies more than just power. It comes with the attendant duty to care for it. It is not solely for our use, but for the use of future generations. As those before us have cared for the earth and passed it to us, we too share that obligation.

Similarly, while we have dominion over our children we raise them with tender care, investing in them with our time, money and love that they may grow and prosper: likewise with the planet. We share a sacred obligation to think about the future.

The magnitude of these gifts is astounding. Newt Gingrich cataloged America's abundance in April of 2009: "Let's be clear: our energy crisis is not due to a lack of American energy resources. We have more coal than any other country in the world. There are 86 billion barrels of oil and 420 trillion cubic feet of natural gas lying undeveloped offshore. Shale-oil reservoirs in parts of Colorado and Utah could hold upwards of 1 trillion barrels of oil--more than three times the proven reserves

in Saudi Arabia. Nuclear power is a clean source of energy that produces zero carbon emissions. It generates 20 percent of America's electric power today, and with the right investment, could generate far more."[68] This is a situation that has dramatically improved since his writing, with the discovery here in the U.S. of vast expanses of oil and natural gas trapped in shale formations that can now be recovered through hydro fracturing.

But to what extent will conservatives go to preserve the past at the expense of the future? What damage will be done to our fertile soil and our open spaces in pursuit of those riches? The current American Energy Paradigm exacts a great toll on Americans as stewards of her bounty for future generations. Former Congressman Mickey Edwards writes in *Reclaiming Conservatism,* "The great conservative thinkers considered humans the stewards of the planet. Many of today's conservatives seem to believe less in maximizing freedom or safeguarding the planet than in maximizing profit. If our children suffer, so be it."[69]

outdoorsmen

Many conservatives enjoy the outdoors, whether in the aesthetic sense of Burke and Kirk, the practical sense of those who work the land for subsistence, or those who recreate by hunting, camping, and hiking.

All around us, our natural playgrounds are under attack from America's Energy Paradigm. According to the Sportsmen Alliance for Marcellus Conservation, the Marcellus Shale fields in western Pennsylvania "have a rich heritage of hunting, fishing, trapping and other outdoor traditions on public and private lands—the very places targeted for Marcellus Shale gas drilling. Passed down from generation to generation, these sporting traditions have become a part of the cultural and social fabric. Hunting and fishing is not just a pastime, though—it is also big business. According to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, more than $8.4 billion in revenue is generated in Pennsylvania, New York and West Virginia—the three largest Marcellus Shale states—from fishing, hunting, and wildlife-related recreation. And across the region there are over 13 million sportsmen and women whose interests are at stake.[70]

The situation is similar out West, on the Pinedale Anticline in Pinedale, Wyoming. "Approximately 100,000 big-game animals migrate through, and seasonally use, the upper Green River area, making it an American Serengeti. Mule deer, pronghorn, moose, sage grouse and other game species use all or portions of the PAPA [Pinedale Anticline Project Area] throughout the year. The New Fork River and Green River, both world-class trout fisheries, are within the PAPA and support thousands of anglers per year."[71]

These popular hunting and fishing areas are diminishing with the encroachment of new oil exploration. Todd Tanner is a conservationist and writer who has watched unamused as the Pinedale Anticline is being slowly erased. "Land that used to be critical habitat for mule deer, pronghorn and sage grouse has been bulldozed, roaded and drilled until it looks more like a vast industrial site than some of the best winter range in Wyoming."[72] "In short, the Bureau of Land Management is taking valuable wildlife habitat that they've been entrusted to manage, land that belongs to every single American, and turning it over lock, stock and barrel to energy companies who have very little incentive to protect the public domain."[73]

The effects of the BP oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico are reaching outdoorsmen all the way to Montana. Bob Sanders, of Conservation Unlimited in Montana, says, "Many teal and diving ducks winter along brackish

coastal wetlands. Oil is toxic to crustaceans, invertebrates, and submergent plants that ducks eat, so it's killing their food source. And oil gets on their feathers. They sink and drown."[74] This has resulted in diminished hunting opportunities for Montanans.

Electrical transmission lines to carry increased capacity are a high-wire plaid, crisscrossing the nation at the expense of our natural bounty. Even when the power being generated is clean wind power, our reliance on a national electrical grid comes at the expense of traditional conservative values. BrightSource Energy's Ivanpah solar power project in the Mojave Desert is worth considering. The project will erect a solar collecting tower, 400 feet tall. 173,000 garage door sized mirrors will be computer controlled to reflect sun light to the top of the tower where it will be collected and used to heat water to over 1000 degrees creating steam that will drive turbines creating more than 370 megawatts of power—enough to power at least 144,000 homes.[75] On the surface, this is all good: renewable power produced in the desert. However, in order to produce the power, 3500 acres of public land have been wiped out, more than six square miles. The devastation will affect birds, insects, desert tortoises and plant life. Additionally, thousands of miles of transmission lines will need to be built to deliver the power to American homes.[76] These latter statistics would usually be the ammunition liberal groups would use to execute the erection of such a project. However, the fear of climate change has forced adversaries to make important concessions in the name of mitigating the effects of climate change. Conservatives with an inclination to support conservation are also complicit. Yet, this hypocrisy is a result of assuming that the national electrical grid is still a paradigm worth perpetuating. Appendix I discusses another way forward, one that would be in keeping with conservative traditions of conservation.

The Ivanpah project, though, is an example of values-based concessions Americans are making in support of a system that is exists in opposition to core conservative values.

eminent domain

Particularly in the case of transmission lines, eminent domain is increasingly being used to take private lands from citizens. Given the conservative emphasis on justice and property, this should be particularly insulting. Ross Seyfried's story in Oregon is instructive:

> The Elksong Ranch encompasses 7,000 acres of mixed conifer forest and rolling hills outside La Grande, Ore. The ranch is home to large numbers of elk, the fruit of many years' labor resulting from owner Ross Seyfried's dream to "find a piece of land, rehabilitate it and make it an elk factory." Seyfried, a fourth-generation rancher from Colorado, renowned marksman and writer, spent more than five years finding a place that fit his criteria – one that could produce elk and serve as a model for how landscapes can recover given the right vision and a nurturing hand.
>
> While Seyfried was addressing restoration challenges, he never dreamed that his next challenge would involve defending his property against the encroachment of power lines to support renewable energy production in Oregon. One day while going about his ranch duties, Seyfried noticed surveyors placing markers through the middle of the Elksong. The markers plotted

> a preferred route for a proposed transmission line. Until then, Seyfried had been unaware of this project – and he didn't like learning of it unexpectedly, after markers already were set in place. The proposed transmission line through the Elksong formed a section of the larger Boardman to Hemingway line proposed by Idaho Power.
>
> Seyfried, a lifelong hunter-conservationist, is like most Americans in that he supports renewable energy and economic development. But he does not support the invasion of workers, trucks and metal power lines crossing a land that has experienced incredible conservation gains simply through reduced human activity. The threat of a power line running across the Elksong and his hard work being squandered is enough to possibly drive this self-described "conservation fanatic" out of the Oregon country and away from the Elksong.[77]

For conservatives, stories like Seyfried's are disheartening in the extreme. The fact that utilities and governments could have accumulated so much power that an individual's property can be absconded (even at a "market price") clearly points to a system deeply opposed to our values. Energy sprawl is an affront to everything conservatives believe.

how republicans win

Actively advocating for the creation of a New American Energy Paradigm presents several benefits to Republicans. These include having an opportunity to specifically state conservative values, and proposing legislation stemming from those values; invalidating climate change as the primary impetus for energy legislation; and addressing the personal and relevant concerns facing Americans today.

Seize the Political Momentum

For Republican politicians, advocating for an energy revolution provides an opportunity to verbalize core values and demonstrate commitment to them.

One obstacle—and an opportunity—stems from whether conservatives can effectively link changes to our energy system to core values that have always been in place, but that have gradually been marginalized. The pursuit of a New American Energy Paradigm wouldn't represent an ideological change, but rather the practical, and focused application of conservative values to a common theme in the common problems of every American. A new, inspiring language, steeped in traditional conservatism, needs to be carefully applied in order to demonstrate consistency rather than flip-flopping.

In today's hyper-partisan political climate, it's worth noting, if not emphasizing, that from the standpoint of values, there is commonality between the intellectual and theoretical values often espoused by "progressives," (used frequently as a synonym for liberals and democrats) and the conservative values outlined thus far. In a December 20, 2011, article entitled "The Real Attack on the Spirit of Christmas Comes from the Right Wing," Robert Creamer, the author of *Stand Up Straight: How Progressives Can Win*, writes, "I believe that progressive values—love your neighbor and empathy—are our greatest evolutionary treasure. Progressive values: that we're all in this together, not all in this alone; unity not division; hope not fear; equality not subjugation; the premise that if each of us is better

educated all of us will be wiser; that it is not true that for me to be richer you have to be poorer—but rather that if each of us is more prosperous, all of us will have more opportunity; that our success comes from cooperation and mutual respect. These progressive values are the most precious assets that will give human beings the ability to make it through that gauntlet—and to create a truly democratic society."[78] There are only semantic differences between Creamer's synthesis and the conservative values presented above: community, human dignity, opportunity, and investment.

Author Bill Press further hints at the idea of missed opportunities from commonality, writing, "Even many Democrats today would agree that we need smaller government, lower taxes and spending, tougher anti-crime measures, and less Washington meddling in our daily lives."[79]

Yet the mental models of party identification make communication between conservatives and progressives difficult. The language exists to foster cooperation, but the two sides would likely view the other with great suspicion, as if, though using the same words and trying to make the same points, one side was trying to hoodwink the other through a nefarious rhetorical sleight of hand.

On Sunday, April 1, 2012, Vice President Joe Biden appeared on CBS's "Face the Nation" with Bob Schieffer, where the VP said, "This [America's current situation] is about the middle class; and what affects middle class people? Their jobs, being able to own a home, being able to live in a safe neighborhood, being able to send their kids to college. It's about their dignity."[80] How many Republicans watching that morning said, "Yes! The Vice President has got it right?" More likely, Republicans glossed over the emergent common ground.

From a long-term, national perspective, the commonalities are good news. They create opportunities to build a consensus among all Americans for a New Energy Paradigm. But seizing this opportunity is time sensitive. If values-driven progressives are the first to take the initiative, advancing a New Energy Paradigm consistent with these values, rather than using climate change as their impetus, two things might happen. First, Democrats would gain the upper hand in being seen as the party willing to address the personal and relevant concerns of Americans. And, second, the opportunity to actually create a New American Energy Paradigm might be lost, as Republicans would likely see both energy *and* climate change as the causes of the Left, increasing their ambivalence and resistance.

Focus on Values

The Republican Party needs to re-brand itself as the Party of conservative consistency, and a party concerned with the personal and relevant needs of Americans.

21st Century political rhetoric has created a climate where there are both "Republican values" and "conservative values," and they often don't mesh.

In 1994, Newt Gingrich became the Speaker of the House. According to former Congressman Mickey Edwards, "Under Gingrich's leadership, conservatives became Republicans first and conservatives second (a factor that eventually led to the strange sight of a "conservative" Congress creating major new spending programs and fueling record deficits)… Instead of the Republican Party becoming an arm of conservatism, however, the reverse happened. The GOP swallowed the [conservative] movement."[81] The sole aim of political parties is to attain and maintain power, and Gingrich's tenure was singularly focused on defeating the

Democrats. He espoused the same big-government ideology of the political left. His objective was not the promotion of good governance through applied conservatism, but a Republican coup d'état. His legacy lives on in Congress and in the culture of 21st Century Republicanism. Edwards summarizes Gingrich's effect nicely: "When party comes first, principle does not come second; it gets lost altogether."[82] And liberal commentator Bill Press agrees: "They might still call it conservatism, but it wasn't the same animal."[83]

If the GOP is willing to begin talking about the current American Energy Paradigm as an affront to conservative values, the GOP can begin to rebuild the foundation of the Party, not as the Party that seems to simply exist to oppose the Democrats, but as a party that stands for something valued and worthwhile.

The Republican Party has the opportunity (if not the need) to change the way in which it operates. This is good for America. Not simply because managing the next unique energy opportunity is necessary for America to retain its preeminent global position; and not just because conservative politics is good for America (though about half of Americans would argue the opposite); but also because the Democrats would benefit from a similar shift away from doing business as usual. The GOP has the opportunity to model a better political process while simultaneously promoting their values, which are far more universal than their policies.

Be Personal and Relevant

While the climate change debate may be of great concern to many in a theoretical sense, it lacks a sense of urgency to most Americans. Very few of us are concerned that our pet polar bear is going to make it through the night; nor are many of us worried that our home towns will flood anytime soon, creating an American Atlantis. Most people don't feel personally threatened by climate change because it is vague, abstract, and difficult to visualize. For most of us, more pressing concerns grab our attention, like car payments, school loans, an ailing child, and health insurance. Changing America's Energy Paradigm addresses these issues head on. Republicans win by understanding and sympathizing with the personal and relevant concerns of American citiizens.

Simon Sinek, the author of "*Start with Why: How Great Leaders Inspire Everyone to Take Action*," says (repeatedly) in a Ted.com video, "People don't buy *what* you do. They buy *why* you do it."[84] This might be one reason why climate change legislation has been difficult to pass: people don't buy it as a cause worthy of the costs. However, people will almost always vote in their self-interest and, while climate change is vague and abstract, energy is specific and immediate.

> "People don't buy *what* you do. They buy *why* you do it."
> Simon Sinek

The Tea Party

A significant factor for many elected Republicans today is the Tea Party Movement. On its surface, the Tea Party Platform (below) appears entirely consistent with core conservative values. However, supporters of the Tea Party movement are insisting on a rigid and dogmatic application of these principles, which is creating strong divisions within the Republican Party. Consequently, the movement has come about as a

competitive force from within against Republicans rather than an attempt to help Republicans define their own values and support GOP candidates.

Movement goals of the Tea Party movement, which are as follows:

1. Eliminate Excessive Taxes - Excessively high taxes are a burden for those exercising their personal liberty to work hard and prosper as afforded by the Constitution. A fiscally responsible government protects the freedom of its citizens to enjoy the fruits of their own labor without interference from a government that has exceeded its necessary size, scope and reach into the lives of its citizens.

2. Eliminate the National Debt - By implementing fiscally conservative policies at all levels of government, progress can be made toward eliminating the U.S. National Debt. Massive increases in the National Debt have created and continue to create a huge burden for the next generation of Americans, thus imperiling the country's short-term and long-term economic health and prosperity.

3. Eliminate Deficit Spending - All deficit spending must be eliminated immediately. We insist that government representatives at all levels maintain a fiscally responsible budget and balance the books as would be expected of any American business.

4. Protect Free Markets - America's free enterprise system allows businesses to thrive as they compete in the open marketplace and strive toward ever better services and products. Allowing free markets to prosper unfettered by government interference is what propelled this country to greatness with an enduring belief in the industriousness and innovations of the populace.

5. Abide by the Constitution of the United States - The *U.S. Constitution* is the supreme law of the land and must be adhered to without exception at all levels of government. This includes the *Bill of Rights* and other *Amendments* to the *U.S. Constitution* and their provisions designed to protect states' rights and individual liberties.

6. Promote Civic Responsibility - Citizen involvement at the grassroots level allows the voice of the American people to be heard and directs the political behaviors of our representatives at both the local and national level so they, in turn, may be most effective in working to preserve the life, liberty and pursuit of happiness of this country's citizens.

7. Reduce the Overall Size of Government - A bloated bureaucracy creates wasteful spending that plagues our government. Reducing the overall size, scope and reach of government at both local and national levels will help to eliminate inefficiencies that result in deficit spending which adds to our country's debt.

8. Believe in the People - The American people, given their guaranteed freedoms, will thrive in a democratic, capitalist environment which allows individuals to strive toward ever greater achievements, innovations and the efficient production of needed and valued goods and services.

> **9. Avoid the Pitfalls of Politics -** American politics is burdened by big money from lobbyists and special interests with an undue influence on the peoples' representatives. The Tea Party movement is seen as a threat to the entrenched political parties and thus is the continual target of smear campaigns and misrepresentation of its ideals. We choose not to respond to these attacks except to strongly and explicitly disavow any and all hate speech, any and all violence as well as insinuations of violence, and any and all extreme and fringe elements that bring discredit to the Tea Party Movement. We are a peaceful movement and respect other's opinions and views even though they do not agree with our own. We stand by the Tea Party beliefs and goals and choose to focus our energies on ensuring that our government representatives do the same.
>
> **10. Maintain Local Independence -** The strength and resilience of a grassroots movement is the ability of citizens at the local level to determine their own platforms, agendas and priorities free of an overriding central leadership. Exercising the clearly stated message of the Tea Party movement by its nature involves discourse about which policies and candidates best hold to our stated principles, and these various opinions should flourish and evolve at the local level.[85]

If Republicans begin talking about creating a New Energy Paradigm consistent with conservative values, they will be simultaneously respecting the core concerns of the Tea Party, contributing to Party unity.

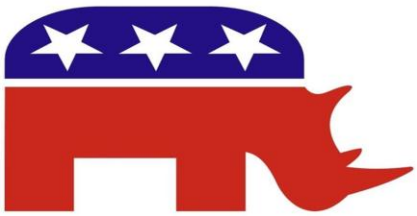
The global economic climate is empowering Tea Party principles as well. Many view the European economic collapse as foreshadowing for the United States, if our economic policies (many of which are frighteningly similar to those in Europe such as deficit spending and excessive national debts) are not changed. If a singular theme emerges from Tea Party ideology it is fiscal: lower taxes and limited federal budgets. This global economic climate gives weight to Tea Party ideology, if not the movement itself.

And yet a New American Energy Paradigm would address the fiscal concerns raised by the Tea Party: limiting spending, and the reach and scope of the federal government.

As insightful and enduring as the American system of government is, it was never intended for an uninvolved electorate. Yet apathy rules the day in modern politics. The greatest effect of this voter apathy is that small, well-organized, and vocal organizations can have a disproportionate amount of influence over the political process. Take, for instance, Agenda 21. Agenda 21 was a 100-page resolution in the United Nations in 1992 to encourage nations to conserve natural resources and land by promoting urban living. Two decades later, Tea Party activists are killing "smart growth" projects in cities across the United States, fearful that "Government will control how hot your shower may be, how much air conditioning or heat you may use," writes Tom DeWeese of the American Policy Center, an intellectual parent of the end-Agenda 21 movement.[86] DeWeese has been speaking out against Agenda 21 for years, with little to show for it, until he took it to the Tea Party in 2009. The message began to take root, and sprouted like bamboo when talk show host Glenn Beck gave it fourteen minutes of airtime on Fox News.[87]

Therefore, the Tea Party's concerns over smart growth policies have become another impediment to addressing America's energy-related woes. Yet, a New American Energy Paradigm, if properly designed, should

address these specific concerns. A New American Energy Paradigm, where energy production is analogous to a home appliance (see Appendix I), would allow citizens to create and use as much power as they want independent of corporate monopolies and government interference, thus promoting liberty. In fact, citizens opposed to Agenda 21 should be the strongest supporters of local, diverse and distributed power generation. Rather than representing a change that offends their values, a conservatively designed Energy Paradigm would respect their concerns.



The Tea Party, in an attempt to brand themselves the keepers of true Republican (and by extension, conservative) orthodoxy, has been known to call non-Tea Partiers "RINOs": Republican In Name Only. The use of RINO as a pejorative has had the effect of pressuring mainstream Republicans to take sometimes uncomfortable positions. However, tackling energy from a conservative standpoint would allow Republicans and the Tea Party to rediscover the common ground that should unite them.

how americans win

This report is intentionally non-prescriptive about what a New American Energy Paradigm might look like. Specific proposals are easily refuted and would reflect the author's limited imagination. Rather, it is best to trust the collective creativity of America to create something enduring and innovative. In our lifetimes technology has radically changed the way we live in unexpected ways. For example, we couldn't anticipate in 1980 the importance of the personal computer. We couldn't anticipate in 1990 the rapid spread of the Internet and the acceptance of email. We couldn't anticipate in 2000 the iPad, Twitter and Facebook. With history as our tutor, all we can say with certainty is that the coming decades will bring the continuous march of technology across the landscape of the modern world.

As *American Theocracy* author Kevin Phillips points out, sustaining global preeminence is likely to require having the wherewithal to manage new energy opportunities. In order to do so, America must invest in innovating those opportunities. In order to be consistent with conservative values, a New American Energy Paradigm should allow for independent operation and foster citizen involvement. Without being prescriptive, it might be helpful to envision that power generation, for transportation and electrification, would be analogous to a household appliance. Americans would produce as much energy as they needed for whatever power needs they have. As such, we would be unconstrained in our consumption, except the requirement to use less than we produce—much in the same way that we can use as much air conditioning in our homes as our budget and HVAC system can handle.

It has taken America about 100 years to create the energy paradigm we have today—to develop the transportation infrastructure and electrical grid on which we depend so heavily. So it would not be surprising if creating a New American Energy Paradigm took another 50 to 100 years. But time goes quickly. It was only 50 years ago that America committed to putting a man on the moon. And it's been only 31 years since Ronald Reagan took office. In retrospect, both of these events seem like recent history to most middle-aged Americans.

So how might Americans benefit from a New Energy Paradigm? In short, such a paradigm shift would address all of the issues mentioned above in the "Energy

Trend Analysis" section. Eliminating our need for fossil fuels would allow U.S. leaders to conduct foreign policy without having to appease the whims of unscrupulous, resource-rich nations. Diminishing oil revenues flowing into the Middle East would contribute to winning the Global War on Terror the same way the U.S. won the Cold War: by bankrupting the enemy. Eliminating the national electrical grid would make the U.S. less susceptible to terrorists and cyber terrorists as well as lessen the impact of potential space weather events. Minimizing our need for oil would protect the U.S. economy from oil price-induced recessions, contributing to a more robust and sustainable economy. Power generation from an appliance would eliminate utility bills and minimize transportation costs, allowing Americans to keep more of their hard-earned wages for long-term savings, higher education, and spending to spur the economy along. Minimizing our need to protect and defend oil production and lines of distribution would limit the number of global conflicts requiring U.S. intervention, saving America money and protecting our volunteer soldiers from needless conflicts. Eliminating the need for oil production here at home and electrical transmission lines conserves our fruited plains and amber waves of grain for recreation and farming for our generation and generations to come. This also reduces the instances of citizens ceding their land to unrestrained powers as a result of eminent domain. Saving our land reflects our spirit of thanksgiving for the bounty God has provided us. Creating a New Energy Paradigm inspires the great entrepreneurial spirit of Americans to commit to another grand challenge, innovating new industries, manufacturing new products, demonstrating the benefits of free markets, and putting Americans to work in emerging economies.

Two related topics deserve greater exploration.

Oil Prices and Crisis

Not long ago—the late nineties, in fact—gas prices were around a dollar a gallon. In the summer of 2008, the average price for a gallon of gasoline rose above four dollars and something akin to a crisis may have been brewing. But those prices soon dipped back below four dollars. Since then, Americans have simply adjusted to a new normal. In reading reports and books published over the last decade about the relationship between the price of a barrel of oil and the U.S. economy, there is much gnashing of teeth over the dire prospects for the U.S. economy if oil were to reach and (heaven forbid!) stay above $40 per barrel! (Sarcasm intended.) Yet the price of oil has been hovering around $100 per barrel for well over a year now.

Slowly adjusting expectations may have created the perception that there is no crisis when there actually is one. It's worth noting again that a spike in oil prices preceded five of the last six recessions in the United States. The last significant spike occurred in the summer of 2008, yielding those four-dollar per gallon costs at the pump. Whether economists believe our economy is still technically in a recession or not is a moot point to the majority of Americans floundering in a stagnant economy. But this is a connection not being repeatedly made in the press: that high oil prices, more than any other factor, may be the major contributor to the American economic malaise. Americans are the frog in the frying the pan and the water is uncomfortably hot, but not yet boiling.

While economic factors play out slowly in the American psyche, the Iranians may be doing their best

to provide an immediate oil crisis. On December 28, 2011, Iranian First Vice President Mohammad-Reza Rahimi said that if the U.S. carries out economic sanctions against Iran for pursuing its nuclear program, Iran would blockade the Straits of Hormuz, through which 20 percent of the world's oil passes. This alone could send oil prices back towards their 2008 levels.[88]

As mentioned above, space weather, or solar flares, has the potential to knock out portions of the U.S. electrical grid for a year or more. Now *that* would be a crisis that would get people's attention.

Energy Matters (Climate Change Doesn't)

Absent such nearly apocalyptic occurrences, Americans are generally unconcerned about the current Energy Paradigm. Many Americans (mainly on the political left) view global climate change as a crisis, but that is not an opinion shared by many Republicans), and, even under the worst scenarios, there are few immediate negative impacts for the generations alive today. Climate change, though perhaps a crisis from an anthropological point of view, is not perceived as an immediate and relevant threat to Americans today. This is a viewpoint supported by a November 2011 survey conducted by Yale and George Mason Universities, in which more than 50% of responders said that climate change will either affect them "only a little" or "not at all."[89] New York City journalist Keith Kloor attended the 2011 "Climate, Mind and Behavior" Conference at the Garrison Institute in up-state New York. Kloor recently noted on the Yale Forum on Climate Change & the Media website, "…. most people don't feel personally threatened by climate change because it is vague, abstract, and difficult to visualize. Additionally, for most of us, more pressing concerns grab our attention, like car payments, school loans, an ailing child, and health insurance. Those crowd-out space for future threats. Cognitive scientists have referred here to the 'finite pool of worry.' In other words, our brains can handle only so many problems at a time."[90]

So where climate change fails to motivate Americans to make changes, a New American Energy Paradigm would address the things that matter most to Americans: lower fuel costs, fewer security vulnerabilities, fewer conflicts to fund with blood and treasure, increasingly profitable businesses, a recovering economy, protection of our natural resources for recreation and our progeny, and less government intrusion in our lives.

The opportunities arising from Conservative ownership of creating a New American Energy Paradigm are important to America and the world. Innovating a New American Energy Paradigm in the next half century will place America in a leadership position and contribute to our moral authority in dealing with other nations, stemming from consistency and transparency of our values in action. Additionally, it will save Americans money, protect our natural resources and national playgrounds, reflect our interest in future generations, increase business profitability, reflect the widely held belief in limiting the reach of the federal government, protect our military troops, increase national security, and create a greater range of foreign policy options.

A solar storm has the potential to knock out parts of the electrical grid for up to a year.

instruments of inertia

The Current System Works (Well!)

Entrenched interests create tremendous inertia to maintain the current American Energy Paradigm. First, and quite importantly, the current energy paradigm *works* on the most basic level. In short, the current paradigm is fossil fuel powered automobiles and the national electrical grid; and they both work for what they are designed to do. With apologies to the Amish and the residents of Mackinac Island, Michigan, it is safe to say that the pursuit of the American dream has taken place in an automobile. Furthermore, the ability to be productive has come as a result of the efficient creation, distribution and use of electricity. Notwithstanding the occasional spike in gas prices and power outages, most Americans do not give gas or electricity a second thought. These things are just a systemic part of modern society, like flush toilets. Occasionally, power outages interrupt American lives, sometimes for several days. But the question is never "if" power will come back on, but "when." The problem with the energy paradigm isn't that it doesn't do what it's meant to do. Rather it's that it does so in a manner that negatively impacts so many other aspects of American life. Americans have simply grown accustomed to making these compromises.

A few decades ago there was a commercial that illuminates an American attitude. If memory serves (and it better, because Google was no help), it was for Maxwell House coffee. An elderly woman in the kitchen; a grandson; a can of Maxwell House. The youth asks why grandma still uses Maxwell House. She replies, "When something works, you stick with it." This attitude reflects current American thinking on energy. As previously noted, in many ways, there's much to appreciate about the current American Energy Paradigm. In fact, most people who give energy any thought at all might want to make only minor tweaks to the system—"Gas could be cheaper. Can we increase domestic supply to drive down costs?" "Power outages are frustrating. Can we improve reliability? Will making the grid 'smart' improve costs?" Consumers aren't very innovative, particularly in solving problems they don't know they have. Henry Ford once noted, "If I had asked the people what they wanted they would have said 'faster horses.'"

In the energy world, faster horses are in the pen. Shale gas and shale oil are becoming increasingly prevalent. Their arrival provides useful and effective answers to many of the issues presented in this report. They are not without their merits, but, unfortunately, many Americans see them as a solution in and of themselves, as opposed to being effective bridges to a new future.

With apologies to the Amish and the residents of Mackinac Island, Michigan, it is safe to say that the pursuit of the American dream has taken place in an automobile.

Hydro-fracking as a mining technique has made available significant quantities of natural gas, which is more difficult for New Energy Paradigm advocates to dismiss as a viable way to perpetuate the old energy paradigm, particularly because at current prices (near $1/gallon equivalent) it is substantially less expensive than gasoline. In fact, on April 12, 2012, natural gas fell below $2.00 per 1000 cubic feet, its lowest level since January 28, 2002.[91] It also burns cleaner so it is likely to

receive liberal support to accelerate its acceptance into the American market place. And, conveniently, it works within the current transportation fuel infrastructure.

Hydro-fracking is not without its problems and opponents, though; the most concerning is the potential for wastewater to contaminate local wells and aquifers. Yet, technology may soon invalidate this argument, too. The EnvironmentalLeader.com recently reported, "Ecologix Environmental Systems, an Atlanta-based wastewater treatment company specializing in the oil and gas industry, has designed a mobile integrated treatment system for hydraulic fracturing that allows the re-use of water for future drilling."[92]

Yet all this new domestic supply is not likely to have the positive economic effects one might expect. With global oil prices now hovering around $100 per barrel, it is cost effective to pursue oil and gas resources that have traditionally been too expensive to pursue. Shale oil here in the U.S. is now plentiful. Oil from tar sands in Canada is cost effective as long as oil prices stay high enough to justify the expense of producing it. Together, the increased availability of domestic resources mitigates some of the arguments against oil's place in the American Energy Paradigm—namely foreign policy and national security concerns.

Yet this domestic petroleum abundance will simply become a part of the global oil system and, thus, vulnerable to the pricing considerations that define the global petroleum market, mitigating the effects domestic supplies can and will have on gas prices and the attendant economic effects.

In fact, the vagaries of the global energy market will dictate that fuel prices remain high even with an increase in domestic supply, contrary to everything you learned in your Econ 101 class. The primary source of new domestic supply is what *Time* magazine dubbed "extreme oil."[93] This is oil that comes from deep-water drilling, shale oil, tight oil and oil sands. All of these technologies have been around for years. However, they are expensive, and with oil prices historically in the $20 per barrel range, it was not economically viable to produce this oil. With the cost of oil holding at $70 to $110 per barrel it now becomes economical to go after the oil buried deep in these environments. However, the high cost to produce this oil (production costs alone range from $50 per barrel for oil trapped in shale formations to over $100 per barrel for some offshore, deepwater wells) means that the price of oil cannot drop back to the $20-$30 barrel range that yielded $2.00 per gallon gas. Oil companies simply can't charge customers less than their cost of production. And if OPEC were to engage in pricing practices that dropped the global price of oil, it would no longer be economically feasible to continue to produce this extreme oil at all.

Mario Loyola is a senior analyst at the Armstrong Center for Energy and the Environment. Contrary to the above, he voices a strong opinion that domestic supply can bring about a reduction in gas prices, in his article "*Past the Pump: Exploiting our oil reserves would transform our economy*," in the April 2, 2012, issue of National Review. While his conclusions about domestic supply being a force for lower gas prices is disputed here, his synopsis of the benefits of lower gas prices themselves are not: "Cheap energy….would make U.S. manufacturing much more competitive abroad, lowering unemployment, increasing income, and reducing the account deficit. It is an achievable goal and we should spare no effort to achieve it. Displacing two million barrels per day of imports would wipe out perhaps a fourth of U.S. current-account deficit, which would dramatically strengthen economic fundamentals and lead to a significant increase in national income. That

would increase tax revenue, and reduce the deficit without a tax raise. That in turn would allow investments to come into balance with savings, while increased income and reduced unemployment would make it possible to cut government spending without major adverse short-term effects. The country's whole economic outlook would improve, and the impact on global energy prices could even spur a worldwide recovery."[94]

This report freely acknowledges that national change will be a process not an event. Toward that end, many bridges will be required to reach the desired destination. The temptation to view a new abundance of domestic, clean fuel as the destination itself, rather than a useful bridge to a completely different future, may yet prove to be the strongest instrument of inertia.

Jobs

But there are others. A great many Americans are invested in the current American Energy Paradigm, from gas station owners to multinational corporations, and from coal-producing communities to the Department of Defense. These are powerful interests and they have important concerns that should not be casually dismissed. Changes to America's Energy Paradigm will be perceived to negatively affect many people's immediate lives and livelihood.

The livelihood issue begins and ends with jobs. Twelve of the top fifteen oil-producing states in the U.S. voted for Republican candidate John McCain in the 2008 presidential election. And five of the top six coal-producing states (accounting for 75% of U.S. coal production) voted similarly. Additionally, hydro-fracturing technology has increased oil and gas production significantly in many states, creating jobs and economic opportunities that would be welcome under the best of circumstances, but which, under the current cloud of economic troubles, are now ever more welcome. Republicans will not be quick to alienate traditionally supportive constituencies.

Many of the residents of the regions producing new domestic oil and gas supplies are thriving as a result of increased economic activity, and see their livelihood and quality of life tied to perpetuating the current model. Though many of these Americans are also directly affected by the negative consequences of our energy paradigm, they view their ability to earn an income as their primary concern (and who can blame them?). Politicians who advocate for changing the system will be perceived as threats to the future of their districts.

Change is Expensive

Even without the occupational ties to the energy industry, many Americans will view change as necessitating financial expenditures to move from one paradigm to another. Change is difficult under the best of circumstances, but it is made more difficult when people think it's going to come at their expense. Hybrid and electric cars are available but they're expensive. Home improvements to make a house more energy efficient, or adding solar panels, require capital outlays. Infrastructure changes in roads, communities and electrical transmission lines will be the purview of governments. In the recessionary climate in which we find ourselves, there is little financial flexibility for individual initiative creating a sense of impotence.

Change Takes Time

Another source of inertia is the multi-generational nature of creating a New American Energy Paradigm. People, especially politicians, are hard-pressed to commit to endeavors they know they will not see concluded. One can only imagine that the first rock cutters assigned to the Egyptian Pyramids were difficult to motivate given that they would never see the fruits of their labors. If President Kennedy had suggested the U.S. put a man on the moon in 75 years, NASA might have perished faster than warm bananas.

Subsidies

America's extended recession, combined with bloated federal budgets and Europe's economic meltdown, is also contributing to a shortsighted approach to America's energy situation.

Republican Congressman Mike Pompeo was elected in 2010 to represent Kansas's 4th Congressional District and immediately took a place on the Energy and Commerce committee. He has been a vocal opponent of renewable energy initiatives based on the fact that they are the beneficiaries of significant federal subsidies. In a September 2011 article for the *Washington Examiner*, Pompeo (with Jeff Flake –R-AZ) writes:

> Unfortunately, some conservatives -- trying to promote national security -- fall into the same trap of arguing for alternative energy subsidies. Interests ranging from solar to wind, from propane to biodiesel, from natural gas to algae, purport to provide the key to America's energy and national security needs, but having the president or Congress pick winners and losers in the energy sector is neither practical nor principled.
>
> We can agree that having less oil imported from the Middle East would improve America's national security interests. But we also agree with the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. Mike Mullen, who said, "Our national debt is our biggest national security threat." In 2009 alone, the government gave more than $18 billion in handouts to a wide variety of energy sources, including wind, hydrogen, natural gas, oil and ethanol. With the federal debt estimated to hit $25 trillion by 2021, the United States must get its financial house in order. It cannot continue throwing billions of taxpayer dollars away on federal energy subsidies.
>
> Phasing out market-distorting energy subsidies (and preventing the expansion or creation of new ones for the "latest, greatest" technology) must be part of the strategy. Subsidies such as fuel tax credits for ethanol, hydrogen and natural gas are set to expire soon. There is no reason to pile on our debt while simultaneously distorting the market for fuel products. It is far better to allow market competition to determine which alternative energy sources will succeed.[95]

Pompeo's article highlights some established and legitimate Republican values in action—minimal government involvement, fiscal responsibility, and an emphasis on the efficacy of markets. Yet Pompeo fails to acknowledge that military protection for oil production,

and lines-of-transportation, amounts to a free subsidy to the industry. He fails to acknowledge that 30 years of enforcing the Carter Doctrine effectively means the federal government *has already picked the winner*. And he fails to acknowledge the critical role energy plays in harming the U.S. economy, as a result price volatility and increasing our trade deficit, as well as by eroding family finances.

Pompeo's position is easier to understand when you know that he is the former President of Sentry International, a global business that manufactures, distributes and sells equipment used in oilfield and industrial applications. While some aspects of Pompeo's observations are conservatively inspired, and to be lauded, his presentation of the discussion as a zero-sum game is inaccurate. Creating a New American Energy Paradigm can be done by eliminating all subsidies, contributing to U.S. energy independence, and promoting the efficacy of markets.

Yet his attitude is reflective of current thinking, which is to simply find ways to improve the ancient paradigm—buy faster horses—rather than create Power v 2.0 as a new and improved version attendant to American interests, and addressing lessons learned in the creation of the first American Energy Paradigm.

This animosity surrounding the climate change discussion creates two more potential sources of inertia: the Democrats and the media.

Media

In vilifying the Democrats for the last quarter century, TV and radio hosts have often taken aim at climate change, an issue they believe Al Gore invented for political expediency. The conclusions from this supposition have supported perpetuating America's Energy Paradigm, belittling the importance of renewable power sources, and advocating for a "drill baby drill" strategy of increasing domestic supply of oil in order to a) avoid increased government regulation; b) promote corporate interests; and c) effectively say to Americans that if "drill baby drill" is pursued it will be done so as a tacit repudiation of climate change. All of these positions have created a mindset in many Republicans that energy and climate are one and the same. Talk show hosts have staked their credibility on denying climate science and eschewing its remediations, and their listeners are now invested as supporters of the same mentality. Both hosts and audiences are intrinsically committed to the Democrats being wrong. As such, advocating for changes to America's Energy Paradigm is likely to be viewed as at least tacit validation of Democratic initiatives, and result in immediate and visceral opposition in Republican circles.

> "If I had asked the people what they wanted, they would have said faster horses."
>
> Henry Ford

Talk show hosts on TV and radio make their living with their opinions. They have the luxury of being consistent in their messaging because they're accountable only to their own integrity and consistency. They are never responsible for building consensus. Since so many of these pundits are Republican voices, particularly on the radio, they have been a steady tide of bombast against climate science and, thus, in promoting the status quo since such perpetuation validates the scientific buffoonery of global warming.

While a New American Energy Paradigm might be completely consistent from a conservative perspective, the media might well resist its advocacy for fear that their audiences will believe them to now be supporting the Democrat's agenda.

Democrats

Republican support for a new energy paradigm, even absent any acknowledgement of the veracity of climate change, will no doubt have positive effects on atmospheric carbon levels. Yet, the Democrats may very well oppose Republican leadership and messaging, in order to ensure that the issue of climate change is not invalidated. In the past, attacks on climate science have created an atmosphere where climate change groups have felt compelled to evangelize for the cause as a form of scientific apologetics, rather than simply to advocate for the implementation of beneficial policies, regardless of the motivation from which they stem. Climate change advocates must become comfortable with political pragmatism and eschew evangelism as a necessary outcome.

Lastly, as in any debate there is room for reasonable people to disagree, and, so, it should not be presumed that the biblical case for stewardship will receive universal acceptance. Disparity of biblical interpretation leaves room for some people of faith to draw different conclusions. For example, previously, Martin Palmer's assertion that the Greek word "kosmos," translated in John 3:16 as "the world," meant "the natural world," was noted. Palmer's interpretation of the greek "kosmos" is most likely textually and contextually inaccurate. Kosmos more likely refers to the people of the earth. But his willingness to see what he wants is indicative of the broad communication issues when discussing stewardship theology with evangelicals.

Many books have been written, and more will be, on managing change. The conclusion is: people don't like it, particularly when it challenges long-held assumptions and beliefs, and is thought to come at their expense. Changing one's mind is seldom an event, but rather is a process unfolding over time. Even the most open-minded person is likely to encounter resistance within himself.

conclusion

The current Republican approach to energy is to attack climate science, simultaneously advocating perpetuation of the current American Energy Paradigm while expanding the supply of American petroleum resources through increased drilling for gas and oil. Furthermore, the ubiquity of the national electrical grid and its relative technological soundness, encourages minor tweaks rather than systemic changes. America, in general, and Republicans in particular, are managing the past rather than creating the future, while accepting a paradigm that exists in contrast with our espoused values.

Roughly a third of America is unmoved by climate change and is content to perpetuate a problematic paradigm despite the fact that virtually all Americans are negatively impacted by the very existence of that paradigm.

Advocates for clean energy are everywhere today—on the Left and the Right. Yet the only vision being presented to America at large comes from the political Left and is based in the perceived truth of global climate change. They have a vision for a "clean energy" economy or some derivative thereof. But that vision is

not compelling to conservatives and Republicans who are enticed by neither the claims of global climate change nor the policy measures proposed by liberals in pursuit of carbon mitigation.

With carbon mitigation as the foundation of the Left's vision, it is no wonder that the words chosen to communicate that vision have evolved as they have: "green," "clean," "sustainable," "carbon-free," "renewable," "environmental," "climate change," and "global warming." Yet these words comprise several steamer trunks full of baggage for conservatives and Republicans.

In the aggregate, conservatives fail to see climate change as a critical and pressing issue, and, in fact, many would view support for it as perpetuating a destructive lie on the American people. The vision presented so far does not motivate and inspire Republicans. This vision does not paint an exciting future for conservatives who see no need to go where the vision is pointed. This vision is not credible and will not be acted upon by conservatives.

The authors of *Leading Organizations through Change,* have this to say about "visions:"

- "A vision helps you see the importance of getting where you want to go and understand why some paths there are better suited to some organizations than others." [97]
- "… a vision helps contextualize the purpose of everything that gets done in an organization. The vision inspires, motivates and creates a sense of purpose that organizational members can buy into." [98]
- "A vision articulates where the organization is headed and what it is trying to accomplish. A vision projects an exciting future and is realistic." [99]
- "For a vision to serve its function and guide the organization surely forward, it must be believed and acted on by members at all levels of the organization." [100]

How, then, to create a compelling, exciting and inspiring vision for America's future? First, there must be an exciting vision for a New American Energy Paradigm that meets the needs of American citizens, and this is best accomplished by inventing a New American Energy Paradigm consistent with core conservative values. The reasons for proposing changes to a system that, admittedly, works fairly well, must be based in the core values of the organization.

Yet it must extend beyond Sinek's "why." The destination itself must be one that is worthy of the effort. A New American Energy Paradigm, innovated and designed with conservative principles at its core, has yet to be articulated to the American people. Absent an inspiring destination, decisive action will never occur.

For the Republican Party, an incredible opportunity awaits. A New American Energy Paradigm responds to the personal and relevant needs of every American. Articulating its creation presents Republicans with an opportunity to showcase their values and extend their reach across party lines and highlight the benefits of authentically conservative governance.

The American stories with energy plots and sub-plots, being written today, are the stories around which the GOP can extend its brand, and promote the core values of the Party that are so often reflected in the homes of all Americans: support for the military, stewardship, the economy, jobs, American exceptionalism, foreign policy, the global war on terror, liberty, business profitability, hunting and land conservation.

These values are at the center of the conservative mindset. Yet conservatives diminish the advancement of their cherished ideas by allowing the discussion and

treatment of a symptom (climate change) to interfere with addressing the underlying cause of the malady—the current American Energy Paradigm.

It is time for all Americans to rethink their position on America's Energy Paradigm. Not because of a belief in climate change, but because a New American Energy Paradigm supports everything that is good for America.

Ultimately, a New American Energy Paradigm is the most patriotic pursuit any citizen can support.

appendix i

Pondering the Future

When I was a talk radio host, one of my favorite topics was to pose the following scenario and question. When my grandparents were born in the late 1800s, the day-to-day life was virtually unchanged from 2000 years ago: people burned candles for light, they burned wood to cook and heat their homes, and they rode horses for transportation. You could very well drop one of the twelve apostles into this era, and he would have felt fairly at ease. Yet, just 68 years later, we put a man on the moon. If you had suggested to my grandfather that in just 68 years we would put a man on the moon, he might well have responded, "How are you going to build a ladder that long?" None of the technology existed that would one day make such a flight of fancy a reality. So, what would I have to suggest to you will happen in 68 years—by 2080—that would make you just as incredulous?

The discussion was always interesting, but it was hard to get away from simply improving on technologies that already exist and envisioning their use in a new environment.

The current American Energy Paradigm took 100 years to create. So it seems reasonable to assume that reinventing it may take fifty to one-hundred years or so to make a complete transition. So as we envision what the future might look like, don't think about time frames; just imagine how a new energy paradigm might look.

If I were to advocate for any specific energy future, it would be this: local, diverse and distributed power generation. In some circles these are called Distributed Power Systems (DPS). The Brookings Institute issued a report in October, 2011, titled "Assessing the Role of Distributed Power Systems in the U.S. Power Sector." The report includes the full range of benefits from local, diverse and distributed power.

> "These include improved efficiency of the distribution system, reduced strain on the grid during peak demand period, greater reliability, environmental and land-use benefits, possible job creation, the harnessing of untapped energy resources, and other region-specific benefits. They also include the security value of DPS, both as a means of decreasing the vulnerability of the civilian grid to disruption and attack" (Brookings, page X).
>
> The report continues, "Advocates of DPS see them as a means of harnessing local sources of generation to enable commercial, residential and industrial electricity consumers to bypass the centralized system of generation and dispatch and, in many cases to meet their own electricity needs. They also highlight the ability of many distributed technologies to increase the efficiency of power delivery through avoided transmission and distribution (T&D) losses, reduced capital expenditures on T&D, the conversion of waste heat and energy to useful power and the ability to harness distributed renewable resources through systems such as rooftop solar installations. Others stress their potential to decrease electricity- system vulnerability through the diversification of the power supply portfolio and the "islanding" of generation and distribution. They also see the potential for DPS technologies to be adopted by the military to improve the operating efficiency of bases and expeditionary missions. The most ardent supporters of DPS see them as holding the potential to revolutionize the U.S. power sector through the

> replacement of the existing power system with new local markets for electricity based on networks of small-scale generation and informed consumption."[103]

Each of these benefits is consistent with core conservative values, and, thus, local, diverse and distributed power systems emerge as at least possible vision of the future.

Energy as an Appliance: Every Building a Power Plant

Imagine if there were no such things as a household oven or a home refrigerator. How would that affect your daily food preparation? In short, you'd be forced to eat out all the time. You'd have to go to a restaurant to eat, where they would gather the food and using their big, industrial machines turn the raw product into something that individuals could consume. This would be costly and cumbersome. Yet this is the model we've grown accustomed to for household electricity. We allow big business to take the natural resources and create power, which they then distribute to us.

In a world without home ovens or refrigerators, certainly someone would quickly invent them. In fact, they did. And we ought to be peering over the edge of the horizon for a day when energy generation is also done by an appliance. Only then will we be free to use as much as we want when we want. We will force ourselves to be energy efficient, because we won't want to waste energy on things that aren't productive, such as maintaining the house at 72 degrees or the refrigerator at 36 degrees or the hot water at 120 degrees.

MIT Professor Dan Nocera has discovered a way to make solar power available 24 hours a day perhaps creating the appliance discussed above. This is, of course, one of the knocks on solar power—the sun has a fairly well established history of disappearing every night. However, Nocera has discovered how to inexpensively and safely store unused solar power generated during the day for use while the other side of the planet bellys up to the bar.

Solar panels are fitted to a house or building. The electricity generated powers the building all day. Unused power is directed to a fuel cell where it splits water into its components, hydrogen and oxygen. This is done cheaply and easily by using a cobalt-based catalyst. Cobalt is an inexpensive and plentiful element. The hydrogen and oxygen are stored separately in a fuel cell. At night, the fuel cell recombines the two elements releasing electricity to power the house.

In effect, the house becomes its own power plant. The feasibility of this is fairly short term. Homes and buildings can be made more energy efficient through existing, inexpensive technologies like LED lights, vastly improved insulation, more energy efficient appliances and motion sensors. Heating and cooling can be improved through heat pumps that pull air at a constant temperature from the ground and deliver it to the structure. These simple demand-reduction efforts significantly reduce the power needed from the solar panels. Even with today's technology in solar panel efficiency and demand-reduction measures, the simple inclusion of Nocera's device places this future well within our reach. Imagine the possibilities as solar panel efficiency continues to rise.

The family car will be electric, recharging nightly from the home's power generation and during the day offices and shopping centers will have recharging stations using the power they are generating on-site.

For the consumer and businesses, there are no more utility bills. The homeowner's utility bill is now a part of a home purchase as the power generating infrastructure

is part of the home. This effectively amortizes the utility bill over the life of the mortgage, locking in the charge to create energy. Additionally, because the infrastructure is part of the house and home mortgages are tax deductible, you've essentially made your utility bill a tax asset.

For worst case scenarios, homes can be fitted with a backup propane generator in case the sun doesn't shine for extended periods or if the solar panels fail. Ultimately, the power generation simply becomes another household appliance like an air conditioner or a refrigerator.

Community Generation

Businesses with huge power needs and some communities may yet need more power or additional backup power. Doyle Brewington with TST Power Tube may have the answer here. Brewington's company makes the Power Tube. Here's how it works. A deep hole is drilled into the ground, about six inches in diameter, until the hole reaches a point where the earth is about 250 degrees Fahrenheit. The hole is filled with a ceramic "heat riser" that efficiently conducts heat to the surface. In the top of the hole is placed a small turbine engine. The turbine is filled with an isopentane/isobutene fluid that vaporizes at low temperatures. The Power Tube vaporizes the liquid using the heat delivered from below. This heated, expanding vapor drives the turbine to generate electricity. The Power Tube is a closed loop system so the vapor is captured and condensed back into a liquid, where the process repeats itself.

The Power Tube can be sized from one to ten megawatts continuously. Let's assume we have a smaller Power Tube--one megawatt. If it makes this amount of power for one hour, it has made one megawatt hour. Not a megawatt PER hour. That would be 1 megawatt divided by 60 minutes (MW/h). Rather is one megawatt, continuously and instantaneously, FOR AN hour (MWh). A typical U.S. home needs about two kilowatt hours of power. So, a 1MWh Power Tube can supply 500 homes with their needed 2 kwh of power.

Imagine now that communities, military bases and business parks are built around Power Tube stations. The community produces its own power and power is connected only to community users. Again, automobile power is provided in the same way as above.

For the conservative, these visions of the future untether our government from needing to import oil. Our troops are no longer deployed to faraway places to secure oil. Foreign policy makers are free to engage other countries without the looming specter of petroleum repercussions. Our economy becomes an innovative manufacturing juggernaut turning out solar panels, Power Tubes and fuel cells for export. Our land is conserved for future use, unburdened from exploration and exploitation. Home owners are released from crippling and unpredictable utility and fuel bills freeing up money for personal investing, college, and discretionary spending. We can be proud of our stewardship of our gifts from above for future generations. Middle Eastern countries will lose their economic ability to support terrorism until they can reinvent their economies. The U.S. reduces its vulnerability to terrorist attack, solar weather and other grid outages. Military bases operate as energy islands. The power we create on our property is created for us and used by us. Prudence, justice, dignity and restraints on power are all respected.

Space Based Solar

If you'd really like to expand your horizon (though this image violates "restraints on power"), imagine a

world in which solar power is gathered in space and beamed to the earth using microwaves to substations for distribution. However, the electricity is now wireless (Tesla predicted this years ago and it is technically feasible today but with very low efficiencies), and transmitted out in the same way that radio waves or the internet are. Electricity is just a ubiquitous airborne quantity and our homes, cars and electronics simply "connect" to the electricity the same way our computers automatically connect to the internet.

We cannot "Harry Potter" ourselves into this world. Many bridges will be required to get us to this future: natural gas, wind, nuclear, efficiency, and more domestic drilling. Those bridges will not only buy time for technology to catch up, but will ease the transition for individuals and communities whose livelihoods are currently linked to the existing paradigm. These are important considerations.

Oil will probably never disappear, even in the longer term. No matter how big I dream, I simply can't imagine how to power a modern military on anything other than fossil fuels. They have high energy content, they are relatively safe and they are mobile. I just don't know how you fly an F35 using something other than liquid fuels, though the U.S. Air Force and the Navy have both flown aircraft using biodiesel. However, if oil loses its significance in the domestic economy, the U.S. has all the oil it needs. We are still the third largest oil-producing nation in the world.

When our first design criterion is to create a New American Energy Paradigm that is consistent with conservative values, a future of unbridled American supremacy is easy to see. In fact, advocating for a conservatively based New American Energy Paradigm is the most patriotic issue of our time.

appendix ii

Compromise and the American Political System

This is another section that could fill a small library. However, in the climate of extreme partisan politics in which we find ourselves, I wanted to make one final observation. There is historical precedence for compromise in American politics that ought to be of great relevance. The Founding Fathers came together in the summer of 1787 to draft a new constitution. These great men were chosen to promote their ideas, and the interests of their constituents, but they ultimately subjected themselves to the greater good represented by the consensus of the group. They had a common goal of creating a new government, and while many spoke loud and long, most went home having compromised on many issues that were important to them.

It is ironic that politicians speak today so highly of the great work done by the Founding Fathers, as if each of the 55 of them was possessed of some divinely inspired insight in which they all miraculously arrived in Philadelphia in one accord, which is not to say they arrived in a Honda.

It is not as if they showed up in Philadelphia and discovered a surprising unity while discussing the agenda. "YOU want a bi-cameral legislature? So do I. With the Senate having equal representation and the House having proportional representation? That's exactly what I was thinking. Checks and balances? I'm for those, too. Slavery? I agree—let's leave that for another day. Okay! We're all in agreement. Cheese-steaks and beer at the Liberty pool!!"

Nor was it the case that each of them was the caretaker of 1/55th of a puzzle if only the gatekeepers and the key masters could come together.

Certainly, the individual Founders were great in ways that volumes of books have covered. Though some of the most renowned thinkers were absent. Jefferson was in France; Adams in London.

No, the genius of the Founding Fathers was their collective willingness to compromise. They did not let "great" be the enemy of "good." They did not trifle over attempts to create something perfect. Though several hoped, and voiced their belief, that they were undertaking something of eternal significance, it's safe to say that by the time they left Philadelphia in September, they were hardly convinced they had accomplished that goal. Their first order of business after establishing the form of the government was to address how to change the form of the government, if by chance they'd made a mess of it. (Article I: the Legislature. Article II: the Executive. Article III: the Supreme Court. Article IV: how the states relate to the federal government. Article V: Amendments.) Instead, they did what they could, holding fast to the highest values, and setting aside smaller interests. And from this process of personal submission to the greater good, each of them emerged with their individual historical significance enhanced a hundred-fold.

Today's politicians would do well to reflect on the true genius of the Founding Fathers. Their most instructive legacy was not the product, but rather the process—collectively creating greatness through compromise and a commitment to a shared vision.

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about the author

Drexel Kleber is the President of The Drexel Group, Ltd. A 1988 graduate of the United States Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colorado, Mr. Kleber subsequently flew KC-10 air-refueling aircraft in Gulf War I. Afterwards, he flew the Boeing 737 at Randolph Air Force Base in San Antonio, Texas, where he also began taking seminary classes through Dallas Theological Seminary and Southwest Baptist Theological Seminary. His studies were cut short when United Airlines came calling after fourteen years of active duty military service. After flying and instructing for United Airlines for six years, and in the wake of 9/11, Mr. Kleber left United and returned to San Antonio with his family of five children to pursue more entrepreneurial endeavors. This experience highlighted the difficulties facing small business owners and budding entrepreneurs. Meanwhile, he also pursued stand-up comedy which subsequently opened the door to hosting a conservative talk radio program, Kicking the Anthill with Drexel Kleber, on AM 930, KLUP. It was here, on conservative talk radio, that Mr. Kleber began to notice the decidedly unconservative nature of the American Energy Paradigm and its far reaching affects into the lives of everyday Americans. In the economic slowdown of 2008, the program lost its primary sponsor and Mr. Kleber took a job in Washington, D.C., with a former guest on the program, at the Office of the Secretary of Defense's Power Surety Task Force whose mission it was to "help reduce the use and transportation of fossil fuel at DoD Forward Operating Bases." Mr. Kleber was a frequent public speaker on the importance of making energy a strategic consideration in order to make the military more lethal, more expeditionary and more mission capable. After two years at the Power Surety Task Force, Mr. Kleber returned to flying, this time in Afghanistan with Presidential Airways where he simultaneously completed his Master's Degree in Strategic Communication and Leadership from Seton Hall University.