

Manuela Kropp, policy advisor, European parliament

Reader based on results of conference "Just Transition" 5 December 2016 in Brussels

Conference organised by the Delegation DIE LINKE. in the European Parliament, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brussels in cooperation with transform! europe on 5 December 2016 in Brussels

The Paris agreement on climate change should accelerate the decarbonisation of the global economy, since, for the first time, all countries have committed to become carbon neutral by the end of this century. Europe should achieve carbon neutrality by 2050. Writing this reader in May 2017 it is still not sure if Trump and the U.S. will pull out of the climate agreement. Whereas ambitious objectives have been established in the climate agreement, the concrete strategy to make the low-carbon industry a reality in Europe is still to be developed. This is especially true in regions which rely heavily on carbon intensive activities and which often remain important employment providers.

For this reason we have invited mayors and local politicians from coal regions in Germany, Poland and Spain, trade unionists, members of parliaments, politicians from different member states and parties and climate activists to discuss the concept of "Just Transition" and possible opportunities and barriers to its implementation.

Programme:

Welcome and Introduction

Cornelia Ernst (Member of European Parliament, Die Linke, GUE/NGL)

Martin Schirdewan (Director of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Foundation Brussels office)

Maxime Benatouil (transform! Programme Director)

SESSION 1: What is to be done? Points of view from regions to be affected by the coal phase-out -

Facilitator: Claire Roumet (Director of Energy Cities)

Leszek Swietalski (Secretary General of "Union of Rural Municipalities of Poland", Poland)

Janusz Piechocki (Mayor of Margonin, Poland)

Torsten Poetzsch (Mayor from Weißwasser, Lusatia, Germany)

Sofia Ciércoles (Mayor of Andorra, Teruel, Aragon, Spain)

Peter Singer (Chair of Group DIE LINKE. in Regional Council Cologne, Germany)

Discussion

SESSION 2: Arguments and Proposals for a Just Transition: Trade Unions' Voices -

Facilitator: Paloma Lopez Bermejo (Member of European Parliament)

Benjamin Denis (European Trade Union Confederation, ETUC)

Matthew Lay (Vice-President of the European Public Service Union Utilities Standing Committee and National Officer at UNISON)

Jose Luis Villares (Confederacion sindical de comisiones obreras, CCOO, Spain)

Marc Delepouve (Syndicat national de l'enseignement supérieur SNESUP-FSU, France)

Discussion

SESSION 3: Arguments and Proposals for a Just Transition: Left Parties' and Green Parties' Voices -

Facilitator: Cornelia Ernst (Member of European Parliament)

Thomas Domres (Member of Parliament, DIE LINKE, Parliament Brandenburg, Germany)
Jana Pinka (Member of Parliament, DIE LINKE., Saxonian Parliament, Germany)
Claudia Beamish, Member of Scottish Parliament, Scottish Labour Party, UK)
Jeremie Zeitoun (Parliamentary Assistant Claude Turmes (MEP, The Greens)
Inger V. Johansen (Red-Green-Alliance, Denmark)
Kate Hudson (National Secretary, Left Unity, United Kingdom)
Konrad Rychlewski (RAZEM, Poland)
Discussion

SESSION 4: Assessments of on-going regional experiences -

Facilitator: Marlis Gensler (Rosa-Luxemburg-Foundation)
Walter Wendt-Kleinberg (Ruhr Area, Germany)
Rolf Czeskleba-Dupont (Red-Green-Alliance, Denmark)
Maité Llanos (Trade Unions for Energy Democracy, Geneva)
Molly Walsh (Friends of the Earth Europe, Brussels)

Concluding Remarks and Next Working Steps -

Facilitator: Martin Schirdewan (Director Rosa-Luxemburg-Foundation Brussels)

Jean-Claude Simon (facilitator of the transform! Working Group on Energy)

Manuela Kropp (Policy Advisor to MEP Cornelia Ernst, European Parliament)

Maxime Benatouil (Transform, Programme Director)

READER based on results of conference:

Welcome and Introduction:

Cornelia Ernst, Member of European Parliament, GUE/NGL:

The necessary coal phase-out and the transition to renewable energy generation has to be a *just* transition, the structural change must be supported financially and politically by member states and the European Union. Coming from a coal region, Saxony in Germany, **which had already experienced one transition in the beginning of the 1990s** (German re-unification) and huge losses of jobs and deindustrialisation in the region, it is of utmost importance to ensure a "just" transition. The Alter Summit¹ on 25 - 26 November 2016 in Brussels is a good example showing how stakeholders from the labour movement and the climate movement could join forces and cooperate to promote the idea of a just transition.

Martin Schirdewan, director of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brussels:

Just transition is a policy issue that is influenced at European level but implemented at regional level, that is why local representatives, mayors and trade unions have to be involved. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brussels decided to work in two fields: **strengthening of progressive policy forces** providing alternatives to what is proposed by the European commission on energy policy. Secondly, **creating a network** bringing together the different interest groups, aiming at the policy approaches that unite us rather than looking at the ones separating us. Just transition touches upon: how can we organise decent work? How can we ensure the **democratic factor** in it? How can we make sure that the transition will be sustainable? How can we bring in gender equality? There are so many differences

¹ Declaration by Alter Summit "Rights4ALL" November 2016 http://www.altersummit.eu/alters

between us - but to quote Marx: every step of true movement is better than a thousand different programmes.

Maxime Benatouil, programme director of transform! europe:

As the European foundation of the political left we consider the discussion on just transition as part of the concept of **productive transformation** which represents one of our key programmes. We step up to the plate to discuss just transition and the different approaches on energy policy with our national partners in the political family. We reach out to different partners such as **ecological organisations and trade unions** to provide a space for discussion and elaboration of common strategies. The energy transition is inevitable! The direction of development, the shape it takes and the pace is still to be agreed upon. We strive for an energy transition, which is socially fair for workers in the carbon sector. Besides, we have to tackle the issue of energy poverty, which is a rising problem across Europe.

Session 1: What is to be done? Points of view from regions affected by a coal phase-out

Leszek Swietalski, Secretary General of Union of Rural Communes in Poland (URCRP):

Representing 600 members the URCRP (municipalities and rural areas) aims at raising awareness on decarbonisation among its members. We need to focus on mitigating climate change, on supporting renewable energy and on closing coal mines which are not cost effective. Diversifying the energy mix and support for renewable energies contribute to enhancing the security of supply. Hard coal and lignite should play a lesser role in the energy mix of Poland in the future. Today, energy costs in Poland are one of the highest compared to our neighbouring countries. Therefore, Poland lost competitive advantage and, consequently, foreign investment due to high energy costs. To reach the diversification of energy sources, state subsidies and EU funding are needed - e.g. subsidies for coal mines could be earmarked and spent on renewables. Currently, subsidies for renewable energy are cut in Poland, and some politicians are suggestive of avoiding energy price hikes. If the central government is not eager to support wind farms, it utilises taxation to increase the price of wind energy - the land of the wind farm is taxed, the turbine is taxed, the tower is taxed. The flow of tax revenues is directed to other regions than the area where the wind farm is located. But this policy will be a dead end: instead public debates on just transition need to be held, bringing together stakeholders from different backgrounds, promoting community energy and local programmes such as the replacement of obsolete coal boilers, organisation of fairs for renewable energy technologies, installation of sensors measuring the actual emissions affecting municipalities surrounding mines. We create low emission plans, modernise buildings by energy efficiency measures, promote combined heat and power, and the installation of PV panels. Municipalities surrounded by coal mines such as Katowice, try to get proper funding to install measuring units and sensors to measure emission levels in our regions. Coal has to be substituted by the limitless resource of renewables!

Janusz Piechocki, Mayor of Margonin, Poland:

The community of Margonin (6.500 inhabitants) is located in the Northern part of the Voivodeship Greater Poland. If you compare the structure of energy consumption of the EU and Poland, it is obvious that the EU relies heavily on gas whereas Poland relies on coal power generation. Unfortunately, among the **15 most polluted cities** in the EU, 13 are situated in Poland. The three most polluted countries in the EU are Bulgaria, Italy and Poland. The amount of people dying because of polluted air is more than 40.000 inhabitants per year in Poland. The share of renewable energy in the final energy consumption was seven per cent but now Poland will not be able to achieve the target of 20 % renewable energy in the final energy consumption. In Margonin the biggest wind farm in

Poland is situated which is the **biggest tax payer** of our commune - thanks to it we are entitled to additional subsidies from the EU. Taking the revenues generated by the wind farm, 30 km of road could be modernised, a new transmission station was built, and a power line of medium voltages that supplies power to the new facility employing 100 people. We gain 17% of annual property tax by the wind farm and **increased general investment in the community** (playgrounds, bike lanes, new local roads, new pavements, new water playgrounds). The myth is saying that wind farms destroy tourism but our commune proves that the opposite is true. The wind farm renders possible the creation of new jobs, new SMEs and the cultural activities in the city. In 2017 an EU funded programme will finance the installation of PV cells for citizens.

https://www.dielinke-europa.eu/kontext/controllers/document.php/636.1/3/2e4a.pdf

Torsten Poetzsch, Mayor of Weisswasser, Germany, Co-chair of "Die Lausitzrunde":

The Lausitzrunde (roundtable of mayors and municipal representatives in Lusatia, 23 members, representing one million inhabitants of Lusatia) brings together local politicians and mayors of Lusatia in Brandenburg and Saxony aiming at finding a common ground on questions of structural change. The impact of the coal phase-out will be as serious as the process of de-industrialisation which took place after the German reunification in the 90s: collapse of glass industry, reduction of working places in open pit mines and in the coal power plant Boxberg). The consequence was a severe reduction of the number of inhabitants of Weisswasser: 1990 - 37.000, 2016 - 16.000. But there are rays of hope: tourism became a driving force for the regional economy, highly educated people at the age of 30 years to 40 years returning to the region find employment in small and medium enterprises. Three UNESCO labels have been granted to the region, our municipality was awarded the European Energy Award for providing charging stations for e-cars. Measures to be taken to tackle structural change: subsidies for infrastructure, investment in broad band, funding for social and cultural projects, an independently managed structural fund for the region, financial support for municipalities which lack the co-funding for European structural funds is of utmost importance. The goal of the "Lausitzrunde" is the establishment of Lusatia as a "European model region" to simplify the application for funding and subsidies and to fuel innovation in the region instead of relying on coal in the long run. The nearby coal power plant generates waste heat which is used for heating buildings in the region. For this reason it should not be shut down.

Sofia Ciércoles, Mayor of Andorra, Teruel, Aragon, Spain:

In the 60s mining started the industrial development of the region which used to rely on agriculture and stock farming before. By the end of the 70s we started to construct a technical centre, providing employment for 4.000 miners (less than 100 miners today). At the beginning of the year 2000 the region still relies on mining while the provincial government started to diversify the regional economy. With the support of the autonomous and provincial government together with the social players, mainly CCOO and UGT, the public institutions decided to trigger an economic programme, but towards the end of 2008 the economic crisis hit the region severely and companies which were set up only two years before (e.g. construction) had to shut down. Around this time another company for plastic was going to set up providing 60 jobs in a village of 8.000 inhabitants, but it had to close down as well. The town council endeavours to set up economic services attracting new companies by offering economic and social services. The generation of energy makes up a large part of the Spanish GDP, and plays an important role in generating revenues for my region. The existing power station in Andorra represents a large portion of the revenue of the region, 1.5 million Euro, compared to an annual budget of 6.5 million Euro we dispose of as a town council. It ensures that 140 families can make a living in the region, without it the whole region would die. At the moment all town councils

in the region are actively fighting to implement the necessary investment in our power station to ensure that it meets European standards. If we do not succeed, the power station has to close in 2020. The central government needs to regulate the energy sector and define a **minimum strategic reserve of national coal** to ensure security of supply. An alternative to the mono-culture of coal is needed, but a prerequisite for **re-industrialising the region are sufficient funds**, and the progressive, but not sudden, closure of coal mines. The nationalisation of coal mines, the introduction of a safeguard clause for coal mines, an international regulation of coal production, an eco-tax on coal, training of young people, micro-credits for start-ups and cooperation with other municipalities are required. However, the national government has not yet taken a decision neither on closing coal mines nor on provision of sufficient funding.

Peter Singer, Regional Council of Cologne, Germany:

Situated in the Rheinisches Revier (municipalities of Aachen, Düren, Heinsberg, Euskirchen, Neuss, Rhein-Erft-Kreis) the regional council is in charge of providing advice on local and regional development, measures concerning urban development, house building, transport and leisure, and approval and monitoring of bringing into service of power plants. In the region three open pit mines and lots of coal power plants provide employment to 9.000 people directly, and 9.000 people indirectly. The coal phase out is certain, coal-based energy generation is a dying industry, we need to step up to the plate. The existing open pit mines and coal power plants serve exclusively the generation of electricity (waste heat is not used) - when the open pit mines are shut down, the coal power plants have to close too, because the import of coal is economically inefficient. To date no coal phase-out plan has been drafted yet for the Rheinisches Revier. The regional government of North Rhine-Westphalia decided to shrink the open pit mine Garzweiler while guaranteeing the running of the two other open pit mines until 2040. The left group DIE LINKE. in the German national parliament tabled a law on coal phase out - by 2035 the last coal power plant shall be shut down. Our group is the driving force in the discussion on just transition and the coal phase out, however, to facilitate a just transition we are reliant on financial support for the creation of new industrial jobs. In 2012 the initiative "Innovations region Rheinisches Revier" (innovation region Rheinisches Revier) was founded, but it does not develop proposal meeting the requirements for a just transition because representatives linked to the coal sector are present to a large extent. Its members propose swimming lakes, tourism and the service sector as a prospect for economic development. However, the existing technological knowledge in the region needs to be used for creating new industrial jobs, e.g. in the sector of storage, otherwise the technological knowledge will be lost for the future. A roundtable should discuss the question how to finance structural change with funding from the federal state, the federal government and the EU.

https://www.dielinke-europa.eu/kontext/controllers/document.php/671.f/5/7d5cf9.pdf

https://www.dielinke-europa.eu/kontext/controllers/document.php/672.3/b/013466.pdf

Claire Roumet, Director of Energy Cities, Brussels:

Summarising the panel, the economic story of coal regions has to be reinvented in order to make sure that just transition is accepted and shared. The example of Margonin in Poland reveals the economic development prospects for regions relying on renewable energy: the wind farm in **Margonin is a "cash machine"**. There is the need for a new solidarity mechanism between rural and urban areas to increase the number of supporters for just transition. South Limburg, in the South of the Netherlands,

sets an example as a former coal region: today the region avails of geothermal projects benefitting the technical expertise of former coal miners.²

Discussion after Session 1: Questions asked touched upon the financing of the transition, which funds to use, as well as which political level should be addressed (the local, regional, national government? The European level?). The MEP Xabier Benito Ziluaga (Podemos) explained the relation between the closing of mines and coal power plants - there might be the option for Spanish coal power plants situated at the coast to import lignite if mines are closed which will obstruct the transition to renewable energy. Torsten Poetzsch explained that the current challenge in his region is how to replace the source of heating if the coal power plants are shut down. Inger Johansen demanded to address the European economic policies which reduce the capacity of municipalities to spend more money, e.g. on transition. Giorgos Chondros from SYRIZA explains that 12% of energy in Greece stems from coal and that SYRIZA is planning to phase out coal. But at the same time Greece faces huge challenges: energy poverty, widespread poverty in general and the constraints imposed by the austerity policy. Kuba Gogolewski pointed out that the buzz word of "just transition" could be misused to slow down the process of a transition to renewable energy generation. In particular in Central Eastern European countries (Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria³) which rely heavily on coal or gas and face high rates of unemployment the trade unions and governments use the argument of workplaces to slow down the transition. José Luis Villares from the Spanish trade union CCOO criticised the German government for having built recently three power stations running on coal (in 2012 and 2013), and the question is if the just transition will be just only for a few.

Session 2: Arguments and proposals for a just transition: Trade Unions' Voices

Benjamin Denis, European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC):

ETUC's members are 90 national trade union confederations from roughly 40 countries and 10 sectorial EU-wide trade unions. Representing so many trade unions means you have to cope with a wide set of interests, situations in terms of energy mix, economic situation etc. Speaking in terms of climate change we have often lively, challenging discussions with colleagues who have to deal with the concrete impacts of de-carbonisation on a daily basis. Many workers were hit gravely by the consequences of globalisation, liberalisation of many sectors, attempts to weaken social protection systems, to weaken workers' rights - many colleagues have been brought to court just because they used their right to strike. We have to bear in mind that **de-carbonisation is taking place in that social and political context.** Some people in the room suggested that "just transition" is a delaying strategy, but that is not the case - just transition means that we acknowledge the need for transition because

² In the beginning of this century, gas prices were rising sharply and public interest in low CO2 energy options increased in the Netherlands, driven by climate concerns. See: Victor van Heekeren, Guido Bakema, The Netherlands Country Update on Geothermal Energy, Proceedings World Geothermal Congress 2015, Australia, April 2015

³ Poland - 50% of primary energy supply from coal; Hungary - 31% of primary energy supply from gas, 10% from coal; Romania - 18% from coal; Bulgaria - 36% from coal (that is twice the EU average.) Production in 2015: Poland 72 million tonnes of hard coal, 63 million tonnes of lignite; Bulgaria 36 million tonnes of brown coal and lignite; Hungary 9.3 million tonnes of lignite. (Source: https://euracoal.eu/euracoal/)

"There are no jobs on a dead planet!" ^{4 5} ETUC and the International Trade Union Confederation ITUC have recognised many years ago that the clock is ticking, that climate change is happening, for this reason we endorsed the objective put in the Climate Agreement of Paris that the EU needs to become carbon neutral in 2050.6 In the preamble of the Paris agreement there is a clear reference to just transition: countries have committed to base their de-carbonisation strategies on concepts of just transition and on decent work. This reference to just transition must be used to request countries to include just transition when implementing de-carbonisation policies and drafting the nationally determined contributions (NDCs). At EU-level we have proposed to set up a just-transition-fund⁷ which would be created in the context of the revision of the European emission trading system (ETS) for the post-2020 period. The idea is to set aside a certain amount of allowances and spend its revenues gained through auctioning to support workers and communities relying on CO2-intensive activities. The second pillar of our EU-strategy is the governance process, launched by the European commission in the context of the "Clean Energy Package" (so-called winter package) on the energy union on 30 November 20168. The governance system based on policy planning and reporting needs to be further developed by the European commission providing concrete guidelines how member states take account of the social dimension of de-carbonisation. The impacts on the labour market must be assessed, and member states should foresee a set of policy instruments to create quality employment. If we compare the CO2-emissions per capita there are relevant differences between member states: in Latvia 3.6 tonnes of CO2 are emitted per capita; in Luxemburg 20.7 tonnes of CO2 are emitted per inhabitant, for Poland the figure is 8.4 tonnes, for Belgium it is 9.1 tonnes. There is no serious de-carbonisation strategy without a strong decrease and phase-out of coal consumption in the EU. However, while focussing on coal, one should not forget other economic sectors contributing heavily to CO2-emissions, such as transport and agriculture. Furthermore, there is a social dimension in the way of presenting CO2-emissions: A molecule of CO2 to heat a house in Poland or Romania is not equivalent to a molecule of CO2 emitted by a Ranger Rover in Brussels.

Matthew Lay, Vice-President of the European Public Service Union Utilities Standing Committee and National Officer at UNISON, United Kingdom:

The concept of just transition has been subject in a lot of debates in EPSU (European Public Service Union)¹⁰ for the last few years. Within the energy sector this debate has been a feature of all work programmes within our standing committee for public utilities, and in the EU's electricity sector social dialogue committee. Within the EPSU-movement we have long recognised that there can be no jobs on a dead planet. But, in turn we have sought to find solutions to **how we can address climate change and at the same time, secure employment** for workers in the affected sectors of economy. How can

⁴ https://www.etuc.org/no-jobs-dead-planet-0

⁵ ETUC project: Industrial Regions and Climate Policies: Towards a Just Transition? (in different languages) https://www.etuc.org/sites/www.etuc.org/files/publication/files/ces low carbon economy gb.pdf

⁶ Regional strategies are needed for a just transition. Press release by ETUC.

https://www.etuc.org/press/needed-regional-strategies-just-transition-low-carbon-industry#.WRM1hE2weUk

⁷ In December 2015 ETUC demands just transition fund. (When writing this report in May 2017 the council of the EU is still debating whether it will agree to set up such a fund. The European parliament had accepted to set up a just transition fund when it voted on the reform of the European emission trading system.) https://www.etuc.org/documents/position-structural-reform-eu-emissions-trading-system#.WRQuuE2weUk

⁸ Link to website of European commission on the clean energy package, legislative proposal https://ec.europa.eu/energy/en/news/commission-proposes-new-rules-consumer-centred-clean-energy-transition

⁹Map by eurostat, CO2 emissions per inhabitant in the EU and in developing countries http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/mapToolClosed.do?tab=map&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tsdgp-410&toolbox=legend

¹⁰ representing workers in the sectors of energy, waste, water, health

we transform the energy sector that it can deliver and retain a scale of employment and reach the objective of carbon-free generation and supply of energy? It has to be said: in some parts of the energy sector we are losing the debate. Workers are fearful of losing their jobs, which are relatively good, and their livelihoods. And they are reverting to a position of a "security-first"- mindset. This position is not helped when carefree politicians deny climate change and demand reversal of environmental protection and investments in carbon-free strategies. We must respond not simply by labelling those workers as irresponsible but address their concerns. Growing up as I did in a coal mining area in England I witnessed at first hand the devastation of Thatcher's pit closure programme. Some of these communities that were affected still not recovered 30 years later. In the U.S. we have recently witnessed the election of Trump who has a strong backing of many energy workers, particularly traditional blue collar workers in places like Pennsylvania who have been convinced that their only secure livelihood is by rejecting the climate change process. We cannot both demand environmental change and at the same time not have an industrial strategy that makes it clear how we are going to keep the lights on, homes warm, and workers in good and secure employment. Without such a strategy workers in the energy sector will eventually reject the cause of others to support reform. For EPSU and my own trade union UNISON just transition, the journey of workers to move from polluting to non-polluting employment, is therefore massive. We are not just seeking words or paper commitments, we are seeking actions, otherwise, we ourselves recognise the consequences are dire. It is for that reason that we went with a small delegation to COP21 to lobby for the inclusion of the requirement of just transition into the wording of the legal in the Paris climate change agreement. We failed, it only made it to the preamble. We support the cause for the European "just-transition-fund" funded through environmental levies in the European emission trading system (ETS). Such a fund needs to have many billions of Euros available over many years to deliver the scale of change that is required to support just transition. The greatest challenge we face is the political will that is required. As it stands the liberal free market is totally unsuitable at the moment to deliver just transition because it needs proper planning, an infrastructure to address the needs of workers and climate change simultaneously. Rather than seeking to put workers against environmentalists, we should recognise that workers and environmentalists are seeking similar things, and many would describe themselves as both. With the right political will to support the strategic direction required we could deliver just transition we need and move it on from simply a convenience slogan. The examples of actions required include the renewal of the transmission network to accommodate local renewable generation, the development of significant carbon-capture-storage projects (CCS), and something I believe would be a game changer: the transformation of the methane-gas-supply across Europe into a hydrogen-supply-system providing carbon-free-gas to homes and businesses. Such a supply system could critically utilise the skills of thousands of workers because the technology already exists. Finally, we require a massive energy efficiency programme that meets the best standards in Europe. But such developments are unlikely in the present market place because they require investments to be made for the long term, producers to support efforts to reduce energy consumption, and clear political direction. After the Second World War Europe rebuilt itself driven by a political will that never again should conflict rage across the shores. In truth, nothing less than such a political will across Europe will suffice to deliver just transition we need, otherwise, we will all pay a very heavy price.

José Luis Villares, Head of extractive industries in Confederacion sindical de comisiones obreras, CCOO, Spain:

In 1998 we took up the challenge of a transition by order of the EU to cut down jobs in the coal sector.¹¹ At first, we tried to match the needs of mining regions which are often isolated from the ecological and technological axes, **by providing infrastructure for transport, communications, water**

¹¹ See: Commission decision, 3 June 1998, on the granting by Spain of aid to the coal industry in 1998 (98/637/ECSC)

supply, cleaning of tourist locations. Most funding was directed to regions where the scale of job losses was the highest. The challenge was how to spend the available funding in order to make business projects more accessible and more realistic. Around 17.000 jobs were lost in the coal sector, but around 14.000 jobs have been created - new jobs outside the mining sector. We needed to come up with a formula for re-activating and re-training the mining work force, in particular, training for young people so they would find employment in sectors other than the coal industry. A foundation was set up, providing study scholarships for Spain or abroad and funding for managers of newly founded businesses trying to prepare for the other types of economic activities. For the period 2006 -2012 the pace of foundation of enterprises slowed down because there were less financial resources at our disposal, but we kept working on infrastructure development, information, training and supporting actual business plans for new start-ups. At present, in former mining regions we find much higher unemployment than in other parts of the country, constant rural exodus, lower rate of education, and lower rate of female employment. In general, it seems that the central government has abandoned these mining regions, leaving the regions stranded, in stagnation, poverty and social exclusion. Politicians made use of the available funding in order to get rid of planned investments in mining regions and spent the money for other purposes which had nothing to offer to former mining workers: creation of museums, swimming pools and social and cultural centres, 90% of those are closed today because they cannot be maintained. There were a number of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) which we had helped to get started but eventually failed because of lack of funding. Particularly after 2011, politicians failed to respect their agreements with the trade unions and eliminated all support for the mining regions. 12 The only chance of starting the transition is to pool the available resources, including funding from the European level in a coordinated approach (e.g. studies on best practices across Europe) which avoids squandering the funding with the local governments. To date there are 3.000 jobs depending directly on coal in Spain, jobs to be maintained until we have found a viable alternative.

https://www.dielinke-europa.eu/kontext/controllers/document.php/638.d/e/3d1e.pdf

Marc Delepouve, Syndicat national de l'enseignement supérieur SNESUP-FSU, France:

The energy transition towards renewable energy sources is inevitable and requires an ambitious political programme, aimed at environmental and social improvements. Without delay, the EU must decide on a wide research programme free from the power of international markets and from the power of transnational companies. This wide research programme should be coordinated across Europe and be based on scientific collaboration, avoiding anti-scientific competition among interested scientists. Besides its technological aspects, the energy transition must include a transformation of economic production, consumption patterns, societal organisation, ways of life, and thus a transformation of mindsets, values and aspirations. The earth population must take responsibility for this transition. Each individual must support it and participate in it with solidarity and responsibility. In order to achieve this, Europe and its member states must deeply rethink their research policies, including research beyond technology. For instance, it is absolutely necessary to develop research on society foundations and models, drawing on the legacy of thinkers and philosophers, anthropologists and historians, as well as on the most recent and ongoing experiences of democratisation, emancipation and empowerment.

¹² Subsidies to coal mining regions were cut in 2011/2012 by more than 60%. In 2012 the coal subsidies were cut to 111 million EUR, down from 301 million EUR in 2011. Spain has lost around 40.000 jobs in the mining sector over the past 20 years due to pit closures.

Session 3: Arguments and proposals for a Just Transition: Left Parties' and Green Parties' Voices

Thomas Domres, Member of regional parliament Brandenburg, Germany, left group DIE LINKE.:

Since 2009 the left party DIE LINKE, forms part of the federal government in Brandenburg, and supported the initiative "No new open pit mines" ("Keine neuen Tagebaue")¹³ but could not ensure a parliamentary majority for this initiative. Neither the social democratic partner in the government nor the trade union IG BCE (trade union for mining, chemicals and energy industry) are keen on closing open pit mines. The left party in Brandenburg demands the coal phase-out in Brandenburg by 2040. The development of renewable energy is necessary but there are a lot of general conflicts in the realm of energy. In April 2016 two demonstrations took place in front of the federal parliament in Brandenburg: one in favour of wind farms, the other one against wind farms. 45.000 inhabitants of Brandenburg signed the popular petition demanding stricter rules for wind power plants (it failed, 80.000 signatures were necessary, but nevertheless, the question remains: how to achieve social acceptance of renewable energy. The European regional development fund (ERDF)¹⁴ in Brandenburg is mainly spent on: storage technologies, enhancement of energy efficiency, remodelling of the heat market, power to gas (generation of gas through excess electricity generated by wind). In the run-up to the next government programme the left in Brandenburg would like to exclude the opening up of new open pit mines, in cooperation with the federal state Berlin which is worried about the deteriorating water quality (due to coal mining in Lusatia)¹⁵. The left party in Brandenburg opposed the taking over of the German lignite assets of Vattenfall by the Czech utility EPH, but unfortunately, the state of Brandenburg did not appear as a buyer. The concept of the European model region affects all levels - the European, the national, the regional and the municipal level. The municipalities must not be dropped by national and European politics - we have to take into account cross-border approaches such as the Polish municipalities when designing proposal for an economic development agency. The funding is available but currently we lack reasonable project proposals and it would be interesting to receive more project proposals from the roundtable Lusatia (Lausitzrunde).

https://www.dielinke-europa.eu/kontext/controllers/document.php/637.7/2/e17.pdf

Jana Pinka, Member of regional parliament Saxony, Germany, left group DIE LINKE.:

To date there is no real cooperation among the federal states of Saxony and Brandenburg concerning a just transition, the former cooperation in the Lausitzforum failed because of different approaches to structural change. The left group in the Saxonian parliament has **tabled a draft law¹⁶ claiming a fund of 10 Mio. Euro annually** for structural change at the state level. The same is necessary at the European level, sufficient funding as well as concepts for just transition. Neither at European level, nor at national or regional level can I detect any concepts how to tackle structural change. The political pressure needs to be stronger and to come from the opposition in parliament because the Saxonian

¹³ http://www.kein-tagebau.de/index.php/de/ (German), http://www.kein-tagebau.de/index.php/en/ (English)

¹⁴ Website of European commission on the operational programme of Brandenburg for funding period 2014-2020 http://ec.europa.eu/regional-policy/en/atlas/programmes/2014-2020/germany/2014de16rfop004

¹⁵ After extraction ceases the groundwater levels rise again and sulphuric acid is produced. As a result, the flooded pits and groundwater acidify. (Coal Atlas 2015, Heinrich Böll Stiftung, p. 16) https://www.boell.de/en/dossier-coal-atlas-facts-and-figures-fossil-fuel

¹⁶Link to the draft law tabled by the left group how to tackle structural change in coal regions in Saxony, 2015 (German) http://edas.landtag.sachsen.de/viewer.aspx?dok_nr=1398&dok_art=Drs&leg_per=6&pos_dok=201

government coalition does not present any phase-out scenario. Instead, the federal state government focuses increasingly on expanding coal mining and coal power plants to offer economic prospects. The successor of Vattenfall, EPH (coal mining company) is benefitting from favourable company conditions facilitating an accelerated authorisation process for mining activities. It would have been advisable to buy Vattenfall because these questions about ownership of raw materials need to be tackled as well as the role of raw materials as part of the whole service complex and value chain. Buying Vattenfall and transforming it into a state owned company would have given the Left the opportunity of phasing-out coal by 2040. Profits could have been set aside, safety and security would have been promoted, employment could have been secured. Unfortunately, the left group in the Saxonian parliament did not follow my suggestion to buy Vattenfall. The successor of Vattenfall, the Czech company EPH, will guarantee the existing employment until 2020, but cannot answer the question how to secure employment after that date. There is no security deposit set aside, the coverage of costs for recovery is unclear, renaturation has not been promoted either. Problem: every year the agreements on projects for structural change have to be negotiated anew which creates uncertainty of the future undermining the support for a just transition in the region. The Left in Saxony has been asking for five million EUR a year to be taken from the Saxonian budget for research activities on structural change and land rehabilitation.

https://www.dielinke-europa.eu/kontext/controllers/document.php/639.d/1/658.pdf

Claudia Beamish, Member of Scottish Parliament, Scottish Labour Party, United Kingdom:

Many of us remember the ruthless shift from deep mining to the poorly regulated spread open cast mining with heavy transport on rural roads, exposure to dust and noise, poor working conditions in frequently un-unionised work, and the stalling of green futures from communities and unrestored sites. With regard to wind farms in Scotland there have been many missed opportunities in relation to ownership and financial benefits to communities. As part of the just transition I am bringing an onshore fracking-ban bill to the Scottish parliament which will hopefully be successful. We do not need onshore fracking as a "transition fuel" in the fight against climate change, instead we must move to new jobs and sustainable energy systems. To focus on Scotland and the UK, Mark Carney, the governor of the Bank of England has said that it is a historic chance to mainstream climate finance and turn risk into opportunity. Michael Bloomberg, chairing an G20 industry task force said it is due to deliver a set of recommendations how companies should voluntarily disclose climate related financial risks. Companies should contribute to the just transition process, financially and in every way. There is a lot of work going on the topic of divestment, for instance when students staged a sit-in and urged such a traditional institution as the University of Edinburgh Court to divest from the heaviest fossil fuel emitters.¹⁷ ¹⁸ We have a right as pension holders in public utilities to know where our money is going. In the Scottish parliament we passed our climate change act in 2009 which was forged on a crossparty basis setting annual targets to lower emissions. A draft energy strategy will be presented by the Scottish government. There will be key opportunities for Scottish labour in terms of the bills that are coming forward including a warm-homes-act. We have to take all aspects into account: make sure that skills are transferable, investment in research and innovation, generation of sustainable energy, create synergies between heating, transport and storage, take into account the cooperatives and communities' obligations and the potential of rural areas. Today's conference will help to combat the fear of change by businesses, by parliamentarians and local representatives, by unions and by communities. It is challenging for the Scottish labour party to move forward with unions' concerns, such as current conditions for workers in the North Sea. The shadow cabinet secretary for

¹⁷ https://gof<u>ossilfree.org/uk/press-release/edinburgh-students-occupy-over-university-refusal-to-divest/</u>

 $^{^{18}\,\}underline{\text{https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/may/26/university-edinburgh-divest-fossil-fuel-student-protestors}$

environmental and climate change developed a discussion paper across all portfolios to discuss the way forward: including roundtables, NGOs, and unions. In Edinburgh¹⁹ there are **strong cooperative models to be found**²⁰ which can be used in Scotland and other European countries. Next week, Friends of the Earth Scotland and unions will organise a conference²¹ to further develop just transition processes and structures.

Jeremie Zeitoun, policy advisor to Claude Turmes, member of European parliament, political group The Greens, pointed out that "green has to be social" and that citizens and workers should be part of the transition. Her refers to the "one million climate jobs - campaigns" in different member states, but underscores that fossil fuels are still too profitable because of the non-functioning of the European carbon market (the European emission trading system). This problematic constellation is perpetuated in the clean energy package presented by the European commission on 30 November 2016: here the market based approach is continued, the useful means of priority of dispatch for renewable energy is attacked and limited to small renewable energy plants. The proposed subsidy schemes such as auctions will not be effective for small cooperatives which can hardly compete with big energy companies.

Inger V. Johansen, Red-Green-Alliance, Denmark:

The Red-Green-Alliance is the most left-wing political party in the Danish parliament with 14 seats out of 179. The situation in Denmark always looks very progressive when it comes to green policies, however, I have to disillusion you because we have faced the threat of fracking in Denmark (until TOTAL pulled out of Denmark). Even worse, the parliament has adopted a bill on the extraction and trade of uranium, following the Greenland Home Rule parliament's adoption to extract uranium. But as trade with uranium is a security matter the Danish Government/Parliament has accepted to take on this responsibility. With regard to renewable energies the previous years have been fruitful: we can still rely on existing wind farms although the former green majority in the Danish parliament does not exist anymore. Our party is still working within an energy agreement concluded in 2012 with a majority of parties in the Danish Parliament under the then Social Democratic-led government, aiming at creating a secure framework for Danish energy policy perspectives and securing investment in sustainable energy, energy efficiency, the energy system and in research and development of new green technology. However, working within the framework of this agreement is becoming increasingly difficult under the auspices of the present right-wing government. Our party is drafting an updated climate and energy plan, the first one we presented in 1995. In order to achieve the two-degree-target of the Climate Agreement of Paris the total transition to 100% clean energy has to be achieved the latest in 2040, and not in 2050, as projected by some governments. As an intermediate step a cut of greenhouse gas emissions by 50% in 2020 at the European level is necessary. Our party's climate and energy plan focuses on the reduction of energy consumption, esp. in transport, industry, agriculture, and to some extent in heating. We plan to phase-out fossil fuel consumption because we would like to achieve an economy which will be 100% driven by electric power generation, and a reduction of the use of biomass. The main pillar of our plan: technological transition, but democratically controlled which poses a challenge because it touches upon the balance of power in society. From our political

¹⁹ Memorandum of Understanding, Agreement promoting cooperative business models http://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/downloads/file/6414/cooperative business models agreement pdf 50kb

²⁰ Community power has been instrumental in helping Scotland establishing itself as a leader in renewable energy. The Scottish government set its unique target of "locally and community owned energy" of 500 MW by 2020. http://www.communitypower.eu/en/uk.html

²¹ Report of the conference: http://www.foe-scotland.org.uk/sites

point of view it is necessary to demonstrate it is possible to develop a welfare society without burning or extracting fossil fuels. On the one hand we are already cooperating closely with climate justice organisations to promote a just transition but on the other hand we have to **strengthen our links with trade unions** ensuring that the fight for social justice and creation of climate jobs is taken into account.

Kate Hudson, National Secretary, Left Unity, United Kingdom:

The only viable solution to the challenge of climate change will be a green-red-economy: green in the sense of rapid progress towards emissions targets and sustainable energy derived from renewables. Red in the sense of a planned process backed by legislation and state investment. It is not only an ideological position but a survival position, too. In UK we had the worst of both worlds: the coal industry was destroyed by Thatcher for political reasons and subsequently the mining communities have become an employment wasteland. The failure to re-invest in the de-industrialised areas, the failure to adequately support renewable energies - all these things have prevailed in Britain. The dominance of the free market rather than sustainable industrial development has been strengthened. A crucial factor is to engage the workforce, there is evidence that transition works best if workers are involved in the planning process. There are lessons to learn from "defence-diversification" which is a transitioning process from military industrial jobs to more peaceful endeavours. This is a big debate in the UK, currently around the question of jobs and the nuclear weapons' sector²². In fact, it was one of the first policies that Jeremy Corbyn²³ adopted when he was first campaigning to be leader of the labour party. It is crucial to get the trade unions on board for the defence-diversification policy because two big trade unions recruiting in this sector obstructed the change of labour party policy. The key factors for transition in this sector are advance planning, sufficient resources, and political direction at national and local level. An example from the USA: this process has been enshrined in law, legislated in 1988, the "Base Realignment and Closure Act" which is a five-year-process of the federal government ensuring maintenance of local employment. It includes an office of "economic adjustment" which addresses negative effects of structural change on manufacturing communities and the creation of alternative local employment. Over the period 1991 to 2000 13 bases were closed and in all cases more new civilian jobs were created following the closure. Examples from Europe: the EU converse programmes of the 1990s were not always effective because it depended on the cooperation between the local city and national government. All examples show the necessity of central and local government funding for transition, re-training, infrastructural development and government action as a legal requirement for investment planning and workers' participation. This process cannot be left to market forces.

Konrad Rychlewski, RAZEM (left party), Poland:

The new conservative government in Poland is heading back to medieval times - not only in the field of energy policy, unfortunately: our government is even against introducing provisions on boilers and minimum coal quality standards. The proposed 40 billion euro investment package²⁴ by the government will be spent on coal, primarily on expanding the lifespan of our current coal power plants although most of these plants are obsolete by now. Instead of wasting money on procrastinating the

²² Document "Defence Diversification" by Jeremy Corbyn, August 2015; https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/jeremyforlabour/pages/111/attachments/original/1439209889/DefenceDiversification.pdf?1439209889

²³ https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/06/jeremy-corbyn-plans-uk-nuclear-disarmament-70-years-hiroshima

²⁴ http://energetyka.wnp.pl/energetyka-bez-problemu-znajdzie-170-mld-zl-na-inwestycje,284748 1 0 0.html (in Polish); http://www.rynekinfrastruktury.pl/wiadomosci/tchorzewski-170-mld-zl-zaplaca-spolki-na-nowe-bloki-55950.html (in Polish)

switch to renewable energy sources, thereby making this transition even more costly - both from an economic but also a social standpoint - we need to shift our investments towards renewables as soon as possible. Most of our power plants are obsolete and need to be upgraded, this could extend the life of installation by 10 to 15 years. This will give us enough time to transform the generation of energy in a steady, visible and cost-effective manner. We demand to phase out coal within the next 10 to 20 years. Because we have the necessary technological know-how at our disposal and at the same time the proper resource back-up. If we continue to invest in obsolete power units, if we subsidise coal heavily²⁵, we will end up with power plants that cost more and produce higher CO2-emissions. A lot of Polish regions would be appropriate for renewable energy investment: there is a huge potential for thermal sources, biomass, solar and wind power generation. Bridging the divide between people currently working in the traditional energy sector and proponents of renewable energy sources is one of the key elements of a just transition - this will never be achieved if the transition is left to free market forces. Combining the effects of new provisions on boilers, investments in upgrades to the electrical grid, energy efficiency and renewable energy sources would bring an unprecedented economic boost to local communities throughout Poland, creating well-paid, sustainable jobs which cannot be relocated to countries outside the EU.

Session 4: Assessment of on-going regional experiences

Walter Wendt-Kleinberg, Ruhr Area, Germany:

Walter Wendt-Kleinberg has been working for 20 years with miners to be affected by job losses and has experienced the **layoff of 12.000 employees** between 1998 and 2005. When subsidies for coal were diminished shutdowns of an establishment and relocation of employees were the consequences. The trade union IG BCE (union for mining, chemicals and energy industries) started the programme **"out of work - into work"** ("aus Arbeit - in Arbeit") where every employee could utter his / her preferences with regard to future employment, their skills and expectations. Around 20 meetings each year were organised to discuss these issues with the miners affected. The **work councils and the IG BCE** did ensure that the process happened in a social way: they actively sought new jobs and tried to match them with the people available. There was the option for employees to work on a trial basis for six months in a new enterprise and to return to the former employer. The deadline for the complete close down is in 2018 and a lot of employees could take the option of early retirement because of their age. The company RAG AG (formerly Ruhrkohle AG) will be the first company in the industrial landscape to **disappear in a socially way.**

Rolf Czeskleba-Dupont, Red-Green-Alliance, Denmark:

From the 1980s to 2014 the capacity of wind turbines in Denmark was multiplied with 100, and this development was not the result of centralised research activities but of a **massive grass root movement** where SMALL companies developed wind turbines benefitting from a market promoted by visionary politicians (e.g. Hermann Scheer in Germany). We have to be aware that this is real background for the economic success of big companies such as ENERCON today²⁶. Since the 1970s "red-green-alliances" were developed because the question how to substitute imported oil gained

²⁵ POLITICO, Polish government chokes on coal, 28 December 2015 http://www.politico.eu/article/poland-duda-szydlo-coal-emissions-pollution-cop21/

²⁶ ENERCON is the fourth largest wind-turbine manufacturer in the world and has been the market leader in Germany since the mid-nineties. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enercon

political momentum. Combined heat-and-power-production, reduction of heating demands of buildings, wind power generation and development of energy plans without nuclear power were promoted. In the 1980s the conservative government introduced "absentee-ownership" for wind mills, a model which runs counter to locally owned wind power plants. In the 1990s feed-in-tariffs and guaranteed prices were established and played an important role in supporting the growth of renewable energy. Later on, the cooperative model from the early development came under pressure from neoliberal approaches favouring capital intensive projects by support schemes facilitating the market entry of big global players. In 2014 the Danish government even sold a share of 9% to Goldman Sachs and offered this company extraordinary concessions, e.g. a right to veto against political plans on energy policy. To sum it up: new red-green-alliance supporting on-shore wind as well as near-shore wind are required. The income streams shall be re-directed to foster local and regional development. The main barrier against a just transition is the globalised absentee ownership! https://www.dielinke-europa.eu/kontext/controllers/document.php/640.d/1/353.pdf

Maité Llanos, Trade Unions for Energy Democracy, Geneva:

TUED is representing about 50 unions and organisations, trade unions at national, regional, local and global level. We need to have a fair representation, and in order to ensure a just transition from the bottom-up trade unions have to be involved. TUED welcomes the fact that "just transition" is mentioned in the preamble of the Paris Agreement but unfortunately there is nothing mentioned in the text which could describe the concept of just transition in more detail. The TUED-network was born from the idea that the transition is NOT inevitable if we do not mobilise ourselves (e.g. against subsidies for fracking). We cannot assume that we are going towards a green economy just because someone has agreed on it on paper.²⁷ We need to ally with forces against the free trade agreements which will restrict anything local authorities can do today in terms of guaranteeing a just transition. With the dispute-settlement-clause companies can challenge national, regional and local policy decisions. Take the case of Ontario in Canada where they wanted to establish a green-social-energy tariff but had to withdraw the plan because they were sued by companies.²⁸ Another challenge: we have to build alliances with forces fighting against austerity - either we set the agenda or someone else will set the agenda, such as increasing the budget for militarisation and for measures stopping climate refugees coming to Europe.²⁹ We have to negotiate our demands and points with other social actors. Women have to be the leading force to ensure a just transition because they are often the ones hardest hit by climate change. A new narrative based on commons has to be created: the idea of goods shared by all of humanity, a fair and equitable use of public goods.

-

²⁷ TUED, Bulletin 53, November 2016, "Not Just a Transition, a Transformation" http://us4.campaign-archive2.com/?u=f221f934e081bc32b8fcd79e2&id=971cc1ddc6

²⁸ http://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/industry-news/energy-and-resources/wto-rules-against-ontario-in-green-energy-dispute/article5461941/

Molly Walsh, Friends of the Earth, Brussels:

Maité Llanos just pointed out that the energy transition is not inevitable because it could be stopped. I come from a slightly different perspective: I think the energy transition is very likely but it could go a couple of ways: an unplanned, un-democratic and un-fair energy transition, or a democratic one where we take ownership, making the energy production a common good. The unplanned, undemocratic energy transition will bring about the results we deplore in former coal mining regions in UK. We know that Thatcher destroyed the coal mining industry for the very reason that they had such a strong union force. But it might be a warning to us what has become of the regions today. The pride of coal mining workers has to be respected and taken into account. Environmentalists need to understand that kind of pride, especially when talking about "dirty" jobs - a notion I am increasingly uncomfortable with. Once that pride is taken away we see something unpleasant happening to the social fabric - it becomes a breeding ground for populism. The good case scenario for the energy transition: we need to take ownership of the means for energy production, as progressive movements and as trade unions.³⁰ Because the centralisation of energy production is not good for progressive actors, it leaves a lot of power in the hands of those who own capital. We need to have a frank conversation between environmentalist and unions who could be the actors driving an energy transition. We, the environmentalists, need to ask ourselves: how often are we actively campaigning for a just transition? If we talk about green jobs, we have to make sure that these are good jobs, unionised, social benefits provided. Otherwise, we will see the breakdown of our bargaining power and the energy transition will not be just.

Concluding remarks and next working steps

Jean-Claude Simon, transform! working group on energy:

Firstly, we need to raise awareness on the need for a just transition because it is still too easy to deny it. In the process of just transition eco-friendly **municipalities and ecological communities** must play an important role. But on the other hand the **top-down approach** is needed as well: the state level and the European level must intervene by sufficient funding to support the just transition. And we have to face the fact that a just transition will not be enough: we need a fundamental change of the economic system - this could be further elaborated by research projects. Our initiative has to be profoundly **anti-capitalist**, otherwise it will not be. Look at the plans the fossil fuel industry has for us: fossil fuel companies are valued at the stock exchange according to their proven reserves (in coal, oil, natural gas). If you look at their evaluation and plans: they have proven access to reserves of fossil fuels four times the volume of fossil fuels that has been burnt so far since the 18th century. This will **increase the global temperature by 16 to 25 degrees**. In her book "This changes everything. Capitalism vs. the climate" Naomi Klein describes the plans of some companies to invest in **geo-engineering** such as solar radiation management³¹ - they can make profit out of climate change.³² For this reason the fossil fuel industry does not refrain from burning all of their reserves. We have to focus on the **anticapitalist**, **eco-socialist plan!**

³⁰ http://www.communitypower.eu/en/

³¹ Naomi Klein describes how several studies on the impact of volcanic eruptions (which create stratospheric sulfate aerosols and reflect the sunlight, an effect the solar radiation management would like to copy) change the patterns of rainfall on earth, disadvantaging regions in Africa (Sahel) and in Asia.

³² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jdaxehd0cF0 (Link to speech by Naomi Klein, 2014 at Bioneers Annual Conference)

Manuela Kropp, poliy advisor to MEP Cornelia Ernst, European parliament:

In June 2016 the GUE/NGL, the RLS and transform organised the first workshop on energy policy where we brought together the members of GUE/NGL and NGOs. This workshop was a success because we could agree on a position paper on energy policy - this is a first step to **overcome the different approaches on energy policy** within our political group. There is no need to discuss if we need a just transition. Or if the funding is available - take UK which spent 500 billion Euro to save the banks during the financial crisis. The technological solutions for a just transition are available, even in the challenging heating sector. We need to **build stronger political coalitions** to make a just transition happen. We have to link the discussion on just transition with the demand to **ending austerity policy** because public money needs to be spent to mitigate climate change. In the current funding period 2014-2020 the financial resources for the European regional development fund and the European social fund **have been cut for the benefit of the EFSI** (Juncker-Fund)³³. That is problematic because in the Juncker-Fund the regions and municipalities do not have any say how the money is spent, instead the projects are selected by an expert group within the European commission. This has to be reversed because the **European structural funds are needed** to finance steps towards a just transition.

Maxime Benatouil, transform programme director:

Transform is part of Alter Summit network which had organised a huge conference on social rights with a topical workshop on just transition last week. By the end of 2017 and at the occasion of COP 23 in Bonn Alter Summit is thinking about coming together and taking action and holding an event in on this occasion in Germany. Besides, Alter Summit will continue to support public transport campaigns and is involved in fighting mega-projects. Today was the kick-off for the process to be followed-up-for this reason we will organise another conference on just transition by the end of 2017, as well as two topical workshops on energy poverty and asymmetric developments within the EU, between core Europe, Southern Europe and Eastern European countries. We have to give more space to the people affected by the energy transition and need to create a new narrative to reach out to these people more efficiently.

As a follow-up the delegation DIE LINKE. in the European parliament, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and transform!europe will organise the **next conference on "Just Transition" on 4 December 2017** in Brussels.

Further Reading:

- Trade Unions for Energy Democracy, Not Just a Transition, a Transformation, Bulletin 53, November 2016 http://www.climatejusticeaotearoa.org/2016/11/08/5031/
- Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Brussels, Progressive Industrial Policy for the EU? December 2016 http://www.rosalux.eu/publications/progressive-industrial-policy-for-the-eu/
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brüssel, Energiedemokratie in Europa, Juli 2014
 https://www.rosalux.de/fileadmin/rls_uploads/pdfs/sonst_publikationen/Energiedemokratie-in-Europa.pdf

³³ Most of the funding of the EFSI (Juncker-Fund) is spent on motorways, airports and gas infrastructure. http://bankwatch.org/news-media/for-journalists/press-releases/juncker-investment-plan-deep-reforms-necessary-sustainable

- Benatouil, Delepouve, Simon, A New Energy to change Europe, May 2016, transform!europe http://www.transform-network.net/fileadmin/migrated/news_uploads/edossier_anewenergytochangeeurope_fin_al.pdf
- ETUC Project, Industrial Regions and Climate Policies: Towards a Just Transition?
 https://www.etuc.org/publications/etuc-project-industrial-regions-and-climate-policies-towards-just-transition#.WRXLC02weUk
- Change Partnership, Integrating the Just Transition into Europe's industrial, climate and energy framework, December 2014 http://www.changepartnership.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Integrating-the-Just-Transition1.pdf
- International Labour Foundation for Sustainable Development, Unions4climate. Reducing emissions from the workplace and creating jobs, December 2014
- Kropp, Manuela, Report on workshop "The future of renewables and the electricity market design in the European Union", June 2016 http://www.dielinke-europa.eu/serveDocument.php?id=620.daa.pdf
- Members of European Parliament, GUE/NL, Our proposals for a democratic, social and sustainable energy union, June 2016 http://www.dielinke-europa.eu/serveDocument.php?id=633.6103.pdf
- Mitglieder des europäischen Parlaments, GUE/NGL, Unser Konzept für eine soziale, demokratische und nachhaltige Energieunion, Juni 2016 http://www.dielinkeeuropa.eu/serveDocument.php?id=634.2dc7.pdf
- Declaration by Alter Summit, Rights4ALL, November 2016 http://www.altersummit.eu/altersum
- Common appeal to European leaders by European civil society organisations and trade unions, The Europe we want, March 2017
 https://www.foeeurope.org/sites/default/files/other/2017/the-europe-we-want-just-sustainable-democratic-and-inclusive_new.pdf
- Trade Unions for Energy Democracy, Energy Transition, Are we winning? Working Paper No.
 http://unionsforenergydemocracy.org/resources/tued-publications/tued-working-paper-g-energy-transition-are-we-winning/
- Foundation for European Progressive Studies, The new social contract, A Just Transition, Brussels 2016 http://www.feps-europe.eu/assets/362179e8-4b00-4b7c-b773-83152be604f2/2016-09-28-summarydiscussionjusttransitionpdf.pdf
- International Labour Organisation, Guidelines for a just transition towards environmentally sustainable economies and societies for all, 2015
 http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/---emp-ent/documents/publication/wcms 432859.pdf
- ETUI, Bela Galgoczi, Greening industries and creating jobs, Brussels 2012
 https://www.etui.org/Publications2/Books/Greening-industries-and-creating-jobs
- ETUI, Eloi Laurent, Philippe Pochet, Towards a social-ecological transition, 2015 http://www.etui.org/Publications2/Guides/Towards-a-social-ecological-transition.-
 http://www.etui.org/Publications2/Guides/Towards-a-social-ecological-transition.-
 https://www.etui.org/Publications2/Guides/Towards-a-social-ecological-transition.-
 https://www.etui.org/Publications2/Guides/Towards-a-social-ecological-transition.-
 https://www.etui.org/Publications2/Guides/Towards-a-social-ecological-transition.-
 https://www.etui.org/Publications2
 https://www.etui.org/Publications2
- Campaign against climate change, One Million Climate Jobs, 2014
 http://www.campaigncc.org/sites/data/files/Docs/one-million-climate-jobs-2014.pdf
- Brie, Michael (Hrsg.), Futuring, Perspektiven der Transformation im Kapitalismus über ihn hinaus, Münster 2014
- IG Metall, Neue Abgasnormen als Chance nutzen, Dezember 2016
 https://www.igmetall.de/docs 20161014 160922wegewerk IGM 064 Abgasgrenzwerte B
 roschuere DE 4e50b28bbe6265630249f0bdb7323adfc596e77e.pdf

- S. partner, Syndex Group, Industrial regions and climate change policies, December 2015 https://www.etuc.org/sites/www.etuc.org/files/document/files/en_silesia_ircp-syndex_report.pdf
- TouchStone, A Green and Fair Future https://www.tuc.org.uk/sites/default/files/documents/greenfuture.pdf
- Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, Greening the Heartlands of Coal in Europe, February 2014 https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/greening the heartlands of coal in europe.pdf
- Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Coal Atlas 2015 https://www.boell.de/en/dossier-coal-atlas-facts-and-figures-fossil-fuel

Link to video of the conference (English translation): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DWz6q6srWy4

Manuela Kropp, Policy Advisor, European Parliament, Office of MEP Cornelia Ernst (GUE/NGL) Committee for Industry, Research and Energy (ITRE)

Tel. +32 2 2847660, Mail: manuela.kropp@ep.europa.eu