

C.3 – BROADER PROPOSALS THAT ADDRESS ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

The several hundreds of policy measures inventoried in Attachment C.2 are with only a very few exceptions compatible with capitalism, albeit in some cases with expanded state sectors. But a case can be made that capitalism inherently generates inequality, and that while the policies in C.2 can slow this dynamic down they can't stop it. Attachment **C.3.a** shows proposals that call for deep reforms in capitalism and in capitalistic societies that might more effectively address economic inequality. Attachments **C.3.b** and **C.3.c** go further and show proposals that entail an explicit break with capitalistic systems and norms.

C.3.a. ASSORTED CAPITALISMS

C.3.a.1. The Ideas and Institutions of Social Democratic Capitalism

Progressive economist David Kotz (2015) notes that every major crisis of capitalism – including the 1930s Great Depression, the 1970s stagflation and the 2008 Great Recession – was followed by major institutional reforms and a new social structure of accumulation that allowed revived capitalist growth and expansion. He says that globalized neoliberal techno-capitalism is on the verge of a new structural crisis. He suggests several forms that an eventual restructuring might take, including *Business-Regulated Capitalism* and *Social Democratic Capitalism*. Key elements of the latter are shown here:

Social Democratic Capitalism

1. Return of dominance of Keynesian ideas and theories

2. The Global Economy

- a) Shift to regulated trade agreements
- b) Barriers to free movement of financial capital
- c) Multinational approach to access to global resources

3. The Role of Government in the Economy

- a) Return of Keynesian fiscal & monetary policies aimed at low unemployment rate and acceptable inflation rate
- b) Reregulation of the financial sector
- c) Strengthened social regulation: environmental, occupational safety and health, and consumer product safety
- d) Return to strong anti-trust enforcement along with revised intellectual property laws, to reduce monopoly power in intellectual products as well as in other products
- e) Expansion of provision of public goods and services including infrastructure and education
- f) Public investment in new technologies including green technologies
- g) Expanded welfare state including higher minimum wage
- h) Return to a progressive income tax system

4. The Capital-Labor Relation

- a) Return to collective bargaining between companies & unions with strengthened rights of workers to organize
- b) An increased proportion of stable, long-term jobs

5. The Corporate Sector

- a) Return of co-respective competition
- b) Shift of corporate aims toward long-run performance
- c) Return to bureaucratic principles within corporations
- d) Financial institutions return to focus on providing financing for nonfinancial business and households

Source: Kotz, David M. 2015. *The Rise and Fall of Neoliberal Capitalism*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press

C.3.a.2. Accountable Capitalism and Stakeholder Governance

Many of the measures proposed to address economic inequality shown in Attachment C.2, and in C.3.a.1 as well, are some combination of redistributive or regulatory in nature. They take existing neoliberal shareholder capitalism as a starting point and:

- a) levy taxes on profits and/or incomes, the proceeds of which are distributed equitably to others, to
 - i) directly (social security, EITC), and/or
 - ii) indirectly as services (education, health insurance, defense); and
- b) regulate specific corporate and other activities so as to benefit non-shareholders (OHSA rules, union rights, environmental regulations).

An alternative or ideally additional set of measures seeks to **change the relations of power** that obtain between shareholders, workers and citizenry, and thus prevent serious inequality from arising in the first place. This practice has been adopted in several European and other countries but has rarely been seriously proposed in the United States.

In 2018 the [Roosevelt Institute](#) proposed (Palladino and Karlsson, 2018) a set of measures to establish what they called **accountable capitalism** through **stakeholder governance**. These entailed:

1. Boards of directors should be accountable to all stakeholders, notably including workers and civil society, not just shareholders.
2. Corporate purpose statements should include a requirement that corporations positively benefit society.
3. Large corporations should be federally chartered so as to institutionalize accountability regarding these two and other reforms.

The administrative and political practicability of such a system and its eventual success if established depends upon both the details of the reforms and the extent of societal support for and commitment to making them work.

In October 2018 U.S. Senator Elizabeth Warren (D-MA) introduced the [Accountable Capitalism Act](#), to establish such reforms in the U.S. The Act:

1. Requires American corporations with more than \$1 billion in annual revenue to obtain a federal charter which would obligate company directors to consider the interests of all corporate stakeholders.
2. Empowers workers at United States corporations to elect at least 40% of Board members. (This follows the German *Mitbestimmungsgesetz*, or “Co-determination Law,” first enacted there in 1976.)
3. Prohibits company shares owned by directors and officers of U.S. firms from being sold until 5 years after acquisition.
4. Prohibits U.S. firms from making any political expenditures without the approval of 75% of its directors and shareholders:
5. Permits the federal government to revoke the charter of a United States corporation if the company has engaged in repeated and egregious illegal conduct.

The Act was lauded by the liberal left ([Leonhardt, 2018](#)) and panned by the conservative right ([Ezrati 2019](#)), and has not moved beyond introduction.

C.3.a.3. United Nations Millennium/Sustainable Development Goals

The UN Millennium Development Goals (2000-2015) and successor Sustainable Development Goals (2015-2030) identify many of most widely-shared concerns of the contemporary human community. Realization of our archetypal scenario of **Balanced Equitable World** would require realization of these MDGs/SDGs. Importantly, the MDG/SDG initiatives were intended to be realized in and by the world pretty much *as it is*. These initiatives call for massive aid efforts and far-reaching reforms, but they don't call for radical structural change. Most of the world today is mostly capitalist, albeit coming in a mix of styles and flavors. Thus the success or failure of the MDG/SDG initiatives will be understood by many as an indication of the ability of today's mostly-capitalist world order to deliver on many of the most acute challenges of our time.

The more modest UN Millennium Goals and the more ambitious Sustainable Development Goals are described and discussed below.

UN MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS, 2000-2015

There are eight general **goals**, each of which has one or more specific **targets**, each of which in turn has one or more quantifiable **indicators** for monitoring progress towards the targets. Thus the first goal of "End extreme poverty" has the two targets shown, the second of which has the two quantifiable indicators "Proportion of population below minimum level of dietary energy consumption" and "prevalence of underweight children under 5 years of age". All together the eight goals have 19 targets and 60 indicators. See UNDP (2015) for the full roster.

GOALS / SELECTED KEY TARGETS

1. End extreme poverty - Halve the fraction of those w/ income < \$1/day; Halve fraction of those suffering from hunger
2. Universal primary education - Universal primary schooling completion
3. Promote gender equality - Eliminate gender disparity in schooling (preferably by 2005)
4. Reduce child mortality - Reduce the under-five mortality rate by 2/3
5. Improve maternal health - Reduce the maternal mortality rate by 3/4
6. Combat lethal disease - Halt and begin to reverse spread of HIV/AIDS, malaria and other major diseases
7. Environmental sustainability - Halve the ratio of those without access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation
8. Global developmental partnerships - Regarding trade, debt, youth, technology, affordable drugs & special needs

CRITICISMS OF THE MDGs

1. Lack of analytic justification for these specific goals and their targets
2. Many targets were ambiguous and many indicators were not easily measurable
3. Except for Goal #1 (poverty), little explicit attention was given to *equity*, so long as mean values improved
4. Environmental/ecological and agricultural/farmer concerns were given insufficient attention
5. Insufficient attention was given to the need for grassroots empowerment
6. Many targets were unrealistically ambitious, and simplistically looked to greater financial aid as the solution
7. Confusion: Were the targets really meant to be achieved, or were they aspirational motivators such that any level of improvement could be counted a success?

These is a large literature criticizing the MDGs. See the sources cited in the Results/Assessment section following.

RESULTS / ASSESSMENT

The respected website *Our World in Data* reported that of 17 key MDG targets, globally aggregated:

- * 5 (29%) succeeded (i.e., the target values were achieved or exceeded)
- * 2 (12%) came very close to success
- * 4 (24%) came about half-way to success

- * 3 (18%) barely made progress at all
- * 3 (18%) actually *regressed*

These results might be further aggregated to show that:

- * 11 (65%) succeeded or at least got half-way to success
- * 6 (35%) improved only minimally or actually regressed

By many standards of international development assistance 65% might be considered pretty good. OTOH, in high school 65% gets you a D.

Results varied by country and region. For example, for the important target of *50% reduction in extreme poverty* (Gibbs, 2015):

- * Southeastern Asia exceeded the target value by 16%
- * Southern Asia exceeded the target value by 12.5%
- * Northern Africa exceeded the target value, but only by 1.2%
- * Sub-Saharan Africa fell *short* of the goal by 12.5%

Important criticisms of the initiative after its conclusion included:

- * As achievement of various goals became unlikely, bureaucrats and politicians moved the goal-posts
- * Much of the funding provided was siphoned into debt and disaster relief, and into military spending
- * Where goals were successfully achieved, it was often unclear how much of that success would have happened even in the absence of the initiative (e.g. strong economic growth and thus poverty reduction in China)

A significant general criticism was that the entire MDGs initiative was a top-down affair driven by technocrats, and that it thus lacked buy-in from the mass constituencies who'd be most affected by the programs and whose support would be necessary for their success.

In the final [Millennium Development Goals Report 2015](#) UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon said, "The global mobilization behind the Millennium Development Goals has produced the most successful anti-poverty movement in history." Ban did acknowledge that "...great inequalities persist," and pledged to redouble efforts to reduce these in the successor development goals initiative.

Economist Jeffrey Sachs played key roles in the conception and implementation of the MDG initiative (see UNDESA 2004). He said that despite their inevitable first-time shortcomings the MDGs had set an agenda for focused communication and action that had never before been available, and that this "political and operational framework" was a major contribution in itself.

For additional assessment/critique of the MDG initiative see McArthur and Rasmussen (2018, 2017), Richie and Roser (2018), UNDESA (2016), UN System Task Force Team (2012) and Clemons and Moss (2004). See too the strong critique by Attaran (2005) and the reply from McArthur et al. (2005).

In the event, the MDG initiative was felt to be useful enough by enough member states, key constituencies and leadership within the UN and its many affiliated entities and partners that the decision was made to establish and prominently promote a follow-on initiative, the **2015-2030 UN Sustainable Development Goals**.

The [SDGs initiative](#), now formally a project of the [UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs](#) (UNDESA), sought to learn from and build on the MDG initiative. It dramatically expanded the number of goals and ramped up the level of ambition for all of them, and included resources for a major education, communications and publicity component. The new Sustainable Development Goals, as the name implied, sought to promote 'sustainability' and 'sustainable development' as a unifying meta-goal. It was intended that the UN, along with other global and national development institutions, and even entire countries, would refocus their development priorities so as to

align with the 17 SDGs. It was believed that doing so would allow inherently limited and diffuse resources to be focused in a way that would increase the likelihood of unambiguous successes.

The final set of **17 SDGs** had **169 targets** and **232 measurable indicators**. See [IAEG-SDGs \(2017\)](#) for a full account of these. The 17 SDGs are:

UN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS, 2015-2030

See the SDG link associated with each goal for background, targets and indicators, key challenges, current status and more.

1. No Poverty - End poverty in all its forms everywhere. [SDG 1](#)
2. Zero Hunger - Achieve food security and improved nutrition; promote sustainable agriculture. [SDG 2](#)
3. Good Health and Well-being - Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all. [SDG 3](#)
4. Quality Education - Ensure inclusive & equitable quality education & promote lifelong learning for all. [SDG 4](#)
5. Gender Equality - Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls. [SDG 5](#)
6. Clean Water and Sanitation - Ensure availability & sustainable management of water & sanitation for all. [SDG 6](#)
7. Affordable and Clean Energy - Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and clean energy for all. [SDG 7](#)
8. Decent Work & Economic Growth - Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all. [SDG 8](#)
9. Industry, Innovation & Infrastructure - Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization, foster innovation. [SDG 9](#)
10. Reduced Inequalities - Reduce inequality within and among countries. [SDG 10](#)
11. Sustainable Cities & Communities - Make human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, sustainable. [SDG 11](#)
12. Responsible Consumption and Production - Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns. [SDG 12](#)
13. Climate Action - Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts. [SDG 13](#)
14. Life Below Water - Conserve & safely use oceans/seas/marine resources for sustainable development. [SDG 14](#)
15. Life on Land - Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss. [SDG 15](#)
16. Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions - Promote peaceful, inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels. [SDG 16](#)
17. Partnerships for the Goals - Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development. [SDG 17](#)

The expanded set of goals brought a greater range of global/national/local development efforts under the SDG tent but it also increased the number and complexity of intersections, and thus the tradeoffs that would have to be negotiated. The SDGs were presented as “[transformational](#)” of the world system, but the tension between those who understood the agenda to be the accelerated success of current/conventional development efforts, and those who envisioned some deeper, planetary, normative break with the current world system, continued. Kotzé et al. (2022) charged that the SDGs were:

“...underpinned by strong (Western) modernist notions of development: sovereignty of humans over their environment (anthropocentrism), [individualism](#), competition, freedom (rights rather than duties), self-interest, belief in the market leading to collective welfare, [private property](#) (protected by legal systems), rewards based on merit, [materialism](#), quantification of value, and instrumentalization of labor.”

See also e.g. [Hickel](#) (2019, [2015](#)), [Montemayor](#) (2018), Costanza et al. (2016) and [The Economist](#) (2015).

Many mid-course assessments were conducted as the SDGs approached their midway point in the early 2020s. The predominant finding communicated was one of impending failure. [Biermann et al.](#) (2022) reviewed over 3000 scientific studies on the impacts of the SDG initiative published between 2016 and April 2021 and concluded that these impacts have:

“... been largely discursive, affecting the way actors understand and communicate about sustainable development. More profound normative and institutional impact, from legislative action to changing resource allocation, remains rare.”

[Moyer and Hedden](#) (2020) use the University of Denver [International Futures](#) model to project the trajectories of nine SDG indicator values for 186 countries to 2030, to assess how close these are likely to come, under current policies, to their target values. They find that these values are achieved in 53% of the cases. They conclude that “... alternative pathways of development forward are required” if we wish to realize the SDG target values by 2030.

The UN Secretary-General commissioned an independent [Global Sustainable Development Report](#) (UNDESA 2023) to prepare a high-level assessment of the SDG initiative. The *Report* found that out of 36 SDG targets assessed:

- * 2 (6%) were on track to be realized by 2030
- * 14 (39%) showed ‘fair’ progress and with effort could likely be realized by 2030
- * 12 (33%) showed limited or no progress to date
- * 8 (22%) were assessed as *regressing*, that is, likely to show values in 2030 further from the target than when the initiative began.

All of the mid-course assessments reviewed emphasize the need for massive additional funding if the SDG targets are to be realized. Estimates include:

- * United Nations: additional **\$5 - \$7 trillion/yr** for all or most SDGs to be achieved. (UNCTAD, 2014)
- * Brookings Institution: additional **\$2.6 trillion/yr** for developing countries to achieve SDGs. (Kharas and McArthur, 2019.)
- * IMF: additional **\$2.6 trillion/yr** to achieve infrastructure, health and education SDGs in low income/emerging market countries. (Gaspar, 2019)
- * World Bank: additional **\$1.5 - \$2.7 trillion/yr** to achieve infrastructure-related SDGs. (Rozenberg and Fay, 2019)
- * WHO: additional **\$370 billion/yr** to meet health-related SDGs in low and middle-income countries. (WHO, 2017)

Where are these funds to come from? A UN study (Dill, 2018) suggests four major sources:

- * real new sovereign debt by OECD countries
- * curtailed military expenditures
- * remittances to developing countries from their expats
- * increased official development assistance (ODA)

A Rockefeller Foundation report (Madsbjerg 2017) concluded that:

“The key to financing and achieving the SDGs lies in mobilizing a greater share of the \$200+ trillion in annual private capital investment flows toward development efforts...”

Finally, several mid-course assessments, mostly from the environmentalist sector, offered a critique of the SDGs quite at odds with those calling for renewed and intensified commitment and funding so as to realize the goals by 2030. The environmentalists offered a deeper critique, charging that there is a literally fatal flaw at the root of the whole SDG enterprise. As bluntly summarized by the [Stockholm Environmental Institute](#) (SEI and CEEW, 2022):

"... the world's social and natural biophysical systems cannot support the aspirations for universal human well-being embedded in the SDGs."

The debate over the MDGs/SDGs thus reduces to the same three contentions first articulated precisely half-a-century ago: that technology and capitalism will give us prosperity and growth indefinitely; that only socialism will allow us to grow equitably as well as indefinitely; and that ecological, social and technological constraints will allow neither capitalism nor socialism, nor any other economy, to grow indefinitely. In the short run techno-capitalism holds the higher hand; over perhaps the middle and certainly the long run that's unlikely to remain the case.

#

REFERENCES

- Attaran, Amir. 2005. "An Immeasurable Crisis? A Criticism of the Millennium Development Goals and Why They Cannot Be Measured." *PLoS Medicine*, 2,10. October.
- Biermann, Frank and T. Hickmann, D. Sénit, M. Beisheim, S. Bernstein, P. Chasek, L. Grob, R. Kim, L. Kotzé, M. Nilsson, A. Ordóñez Llanos, C. Okereke, P. Pradhan, R. Raven and Y. Sun. 2022. "[Scientific evidence on the political impact of the Sustainable Development Goals.](#)" *Nature Sustainability*, 5 (9): 795–800. 20 June.
- Clemens, Michael and Todd Moss. 2004. "The Trouble with the MDGs: Confronting Expectations of Aid and Development Success." *Center for Global Development*. September.
- Costanza, Robert and Lew Daly, Lorenzo Fioramonti, Ida Kubiszewski, Lars Fogh Mortensen, Kate E. Pickett, Kristin Vala Ragnarsdottir, Roberto De Vogli, Richard Wildinon and Enrico Giovannini. 2016. "Modelling and measuring sustainable wellbeing in connection with the UN Sustainable Development Goals." *Ecological Economics* 130. Aug.
- Dill, Alexander. 2018. [The SDGs are public goods – Costs, Sources and Measures of Financing for Development](#). Policy paper to the UN Inter-Agency Taskforce on Financing for Development. Basel Institute of Commons and Economics.
- Gaspar, V., D. Amaglobeli, M. Garcia-Escribano, D. Prady and M. Soto. 2019. "Fiscal Policy and Development: Human, Social, and Physical Investments for the SDGs." Staff Discussion Note 19/03, *International Monetary Fund*, Washington, DC
- Gibbs, Drusilla. 2015. [MDG Failures](#). Blog Post. *The Borgen Project*. 19 November.
- Hickel, Jason. 2019. "The contradiction of the sustainable development goals: Growth versus ecology on a finite planet." *Sustainable Development*, 27 (5): 873–884. September.
- Hickel, Jason. 2015. "Five reasons to think twice about the UN's Sustainable Development Goals." [Africa at LSE](#). 23 Sept.
- IAEG-SDGs - Inter-Agency and Expert Group on SDG Indicators. 2017. [Revised list of global Sustainable Development Goal indicators](#). UNDESA. March.
- Kharas, Homi and John McArthur. 2019. *Building the SDG Economy*. Washington DC: The Brookings Institution.
- Kotzé, Louis K. et al. 2022. [Planetary Integrity](#); Chapter 6 in: Frank Bierman, Thomas Hickmann and Carole-Anne Sénit, eds. 2022. *The Political Impact of the Sustainable Development Goals: Transforming Governance Through Global Goals?* London: Cambridge University Press. July.
- Madsbjerg, Saadia. 2017. [A New Role for Foundations in Financing the Global Goals](#). New York: Rockefeller Foundation. 19 September.
- McArthur, John and Jeffrey Sachs and Guido Schmidt-Traub. 2005. "[Millennium Development Goals 'not doomed to fail'.](#)" *SciDev.net*. 9 September.
- McArthur, John and Krista Rasmussen. 2018. [Change of pace: Accelerations and advances during the Millennium Development Goal era](#). *World Development*, Vol 105. May.
- McArthur, John and Krista Rasmussen. 2017. "[How successful were the millennium development goals?](#)" *The Guardian*. 20 March.
- Montemayor, Laura Ortiz. 2018. "[The trouble with the UN SDGs 2030 global goals.](#)" *Medium*. 3 May.
- Moyer, Jonathan D. and Steve Hedden. 2020. "[Are we on the right path to achieve the sustainable development goals?](#)" *World Development*, Vol 127. March.
- Ritchie, Hannah and Max Roser. 2018. [Now it is possible to take stock – did the world achieve the Millennium Development Goals?](#) *Our World in Data*. 20 September.

Rozenberg, J., and M. Fay. 2019. *Beyond the Gap: How Countries Can Afford the Infrastructure They Need while Protecting the Planet*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

SEI and CEEW. 2022. *Stockholm+50: Unlocking a Better Future*. Stockholm Environment Institute, Stockholm.

The Economist. 2015. "The 169 commandments: The proposed sustainable development goals would be worse than useless." 26 March.

UNCTAD – United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. 2014. *World Investment Report. Investing in the SDGs: An Action Plan*. New York: United Nations.

UNDESA – UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs. 2023. *Global Sustainable Development Report 2023: Times of crisis, times of change: Science for accelerating transformations to sustainable development*. New York.

UNDESA – UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs. 2016. [The Millennium Development Goals Report 2015](#). Apr

UNDESA – UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs. 2004. [Professor Jeffrey Sachs, Millennium Project](#). 28 Apr

UNDP - United Nations Development Program. 2015. [Indicators for Motivating the MDGs](#). 3 November.

UN System Task Team on the post-2015 UN Development Agenda. 2012. [Review of the contributions of the MDG Agenda to foster development: lessons for the post-2015 UN Development Agenda](#). 16 March.

WHO - World Health Organization. 2017. "WHO Estimates Costs of Reaching Global Health Targets by 2030." [WHO News Release](#).

Wikipedia entries for [Millennium Development Goals](#) and [Sustainable Development Goals](#).

C.3.a.4. The Great Reset

The Great Reset is the name of a multi-pronged initiative of the World Economic Forum purporting to offer a new vision of economic, societal, geopolitical, environmental and technological values, policies and practices intended to address many of the mounting challenges of our time, notably including threats to the environmental and growing economic inequality. The initiative was spearheaded by WEF founder and Executive Chair Klaus Schwab and endorsed by numerous world figures and institutions, including (then) Prince Charles, President Joe Biden and other heads of state, Joseph Stiglitz and other noted economists, and the UN, the World Bank, the IMF and other international institutions. Many on the progressive Left dismissed The Great Reset as a clumsy attempt by the WEF to drape its increasingly battered globalist neoliberal core *raison d'être* with a mantle of buzzwords lifted from the many ascendant world social movements, and in so doing come to be seen as an ally or partner and less as a target. See e.g. activist/author **Naomi Klein** (2020) and economist **Richard D. Wolf** (2020). More sustained criticism came from the far and alternative right, which quickly understood the Great Reset to be a major element of the metastasizing conspiracy of globalist elites planning to rule the world in the interest of transnational capital. These critics included **Alex Jones** (2022), **Laura Ingraham** (2023), **Glenn Beck** (2022), **Dinesh D'Souza** (2021) and **Marc Morano** (2022). Much of the right-wing account predictably overstates the role of a formal conspiracy at work, and it draws liberally on racist and nativist tropes, but its account of a techno/globalist/capitalist elite consciously working to shape and lead a New World Order is not fundamentally wrong, and overlaps significantly with much of the Left analysis.

The summary outline following is based on the book **Covid-19: The Great Reset**, by Klaus Schwab and Thierry Malleret (2020). The Covid-19 pandemic and our need to prepare for future pandemics is used as a hook for the book's narrative but is not a particularly *necessary* element of the Great Reset.

Summary outline of **Covid-19: The Great Reset** (Schwab and Thierry, 2020)

I. MACRO RESET

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

* Techno-Globalization is making everything more interdependent, move at higher velocities and more complex.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIETAL RESET

* Covid-19 hurts economic growth and is accelerating dysfunction of the world system, and reaction to this.

* Growth is also slowing due to population decline and aging.

* We must update GDP metrics, track income/wealth inequality, develop measures of resilience & sustainability.

* We need new social norms of respect for the environment, responsible eating, empathy and generosity.

* There will be more employment in caregiving, personal services, education and health.

* There is no conflict between economic, social and environmental values if we adopt "a more holistic and longer-term approach to defining progress..."

* Growing world crises will give rise to **massive wealth redistribution** from rich to poor and from capital to labor.

* These crises, plus Covid-19, sound **the death knell of neoliberalism**, which favors competition over solidarity, creative destruction over government intervention and economic growth over social welfare.

* Poor peoples' lives are precarious, essential workers are among the lowest paid, and inequality is increasing.

* But angry public protest could compel better pay and benefits and restrain growth of inequality.

* BLM protests against systemic racism have led to more general calls about economic justice and inclusiveness.

* Policy tools to fight unacceptable levels of inequality do exist and they often lie in the hands of governments.

* In the West the role of the state has been declining since the 1980s. Now **we need 'big government'** once again.

* We need big government to provide health and unemployment insurance, stronger social safety nets and more.

* Renewed trade union engagement will facilitate this process.

- * Shareholder capitalism values should be subordinate to the values of stakeholder capitalism.
- * Businesses should be held to account for social and environmental fractures.
- * Governments should strongly encourage public-private partnerships.
- * The financialization of the world should go into reverse.
- * For decades, the Social Contract has evolved to force individuals to assume greater responsibility for their individual lives and economic outcomes. This no longer works. Issues of 1) inequality, 2) the ineffectiveness of most redistribution policies, 3) a sense of exclusion and marginalization, and 4) a general sentiment of unfairness demand a renegotiation of the Social Contract. The new Social Contract must include:
 - 1) broader provision of social assistance, social insurance, healthcare and basic quality services; and
 - 2) greater protection for workers and especially the most vulnerable.
- * Further, we must listen to the demands of the young for radical change, as they will be leading the Great Reset.

GEOPOLITICAL RESET

- * Geopolitical trends: 1) chaotic end of multilateralism, but no hegemon, 2) vacuum of global governance, 3) rise of nationalism and 4) progressive and grudging rebalancing from West to East.
- * Conflict no longer driven by ideology but by nationalism and competition for resources.
- * Potential for an era of retrenchment, fragmentation, anger and parochialism.
- * Without global governance we could have 1) multiple state failures, 2) EU unraveling, and 3) US/China war.
- * Globalization has lifted hundreds of millions from poverty but has undermined working class jobs in the West and sparked the Great Financial Crisis of 2008, thus triggering the rise of right-wing and populist movements that promote nationalism and isolationism, e.g. Brexit and Trump.
- * Slowing and perhaps reversing of globalization will cost businesses and governments hundreds of billions
- * Likely rise of *regionalization*, e.g. the EU or RCPE for Asia. But companies will fear over-protectionism, e.g. limits on cross-border mergers & acquisition.
- * Major areas of contest: 1) control of global institutions; 2) trade (under conditions of contraction); and 3) capital flows (countries will e.g., prohibit foreign take-overs and restrict foreign direct investment).
- * No point trying to restore neoliberal hyperglobalism, but improved global governance is essential to reign in nationalism and protectionism.
- * Major challenges to global governance: US-China tensions, state fragility (e.g. in sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East).

ENVIRONMENTAL RESET

- * The experience of the pandemic holds lessons for successfully addressing climate change and biodiversity loss:
 - 1) We need to think about and address these challenges from within a new framework of *planetary health*;
 - 2) Mass behavior change is possible and can have an effect, e.g. working remotely, traveling less, bicycling, etc. during the pandemic reduced CO2 emissions by 8%.
- * Businesses and government leaders can follow the lead of the activists and practice:
 - 1) Enlightened Leadership: e.g. Prince of Wales, Andrew Cuomo can now say, “build back better.”
 - 2) Change in Behavior: motivated by risk aversion, we may now “disregard everything that we do not really need, and put into motion a virtuous circle for the environment.”
 - 3) Activism: not only activist activism, but “investor activism!”

TECHNOLOGICAL RESET

- * *The Fourth Industrial Revolution* has come true, technology will drive the future, and the pandemic will accelerate the pace of technology even further. Technology will benefit the consumer (more, better and greener things), the regulator (smarter, less onerous regulations) and the firm (technology will “... speed the relentless march of automation” and create “An army of delivery robots...”).
- * But caution is needed. E.g., contact tracing and tracking was key to the way Asian countries successfully controlled Covid-19, but the existence of this technology now raises privacy concerns. Thus Shoshana Zuboff warns against ‘Surveillance Capitalism.’ Yuval Harari, however, says the march of technology can’t be stopped.

II. MICRO RESET (INDUSTRY AND BUSINESS)

* To “prosper in the new normal”, business people have to ask:

1. Shall I encourage remote working for those who can do it?
2. Will I reduce air travel in my business?
3. How can I transform our decision-making to become more agile and to move faster and more decisively?
4. How can I accelerate the digitization and adoption of digital solutions?

MICRO TRENDS

* Micro Trends that for better or worse will characterize the Great Reset include:

1. *Acceleration of digitization*: Education, consulting, publishing will all be done online.
2. *Resilient supply chains*: Business will need to accept more border tariffs and restrictions.
3. *Governments and business*: Pressure for higher minimum wage, protection of gig workers, etc. will require “better alignment between public policy and corporate planning.”
4. *Stakeholder capitalism and ESG*: “Tax records, dividend payments and remunerations will become increasingly scrutinized for fear of incurring a reputational cost when a problem arises or is made public,” and business needs to prepare for this.
5. *Fostering employee and community goodwill*: Will be key to enhancing a brand’s reputation. Companies will have to prove that they treat their workers well, with improved labor practices and paying attention to health and safety as well as well-being. Activism used to be just 1) outside protects and 2) shareholder activism, but now includes 3) employee activism.

INDUSTRY RESET

* *Social Interaction and de-densification*: The Great Reset will have many and varied impacts on travel, tourism, hospitality, entertainment, retail, aerospace and the auto industry. Smaller firms/industries will be hurt more than big ones, except where in the in-person role is primary, e.g. airlines, airports, cruise lines, mass team sports.

* *Behavioral changes – permanent vs transient*: Purchasing and delivery will be increasingly and permanently online, as will education, real estate, and (probably) time spent at home. Unclear if cities will revive as centers of activity, or permanently diffuse. Prices in red states will fall dramatically, as population thins.

* *Resilience*: the combination of AI, the IoT and sensors and wearable technology “will produce new insights into personal well-being.” Banking: will be transformed by digitalization. Insurance: be prepared for mass litigation.

III. INDIVIDUAL RESET

REDEFINING OUR HUMANESS

THE BETTER ANGELS OF OUR NATURE... OR NOT

* In the Great Reset, will we become more caring and compassionate, or not? Natural disasters bring people together, but pandemics drive people apart (quarantines, lock-downs, masks). The 1918-19 Spanish flu killed 12 times more people than WWI did. As the flu got more intense, people became *less* willing to volunteer to help. In the coming time of poly-crisis, ***we are more likely to be motivated to retrench than cooperate.***

* However, we know intellectually that to prosper we need to cooperate rather than fight.

* So we face a philosophical debate about how to maximize the common good in the least damaging way possible.

* But what is the common good? Different moral theologians, philosophers and others differ.

* With respect to the pandemic, the conflict in every decision is about whether to use a utilitarian calculus or to stick to the sacrosanct principle of sanctity of life.

* Some say that recessions kill people as much as Covid-19 does, so the ethical choice is to foster ***herd immunity.***

* But recessions kill people because they are laid off and starve – what if, as in Europe, *they are never laid off?*

* Many countries have conflicts over whether lockdowns were too tough or too light.

* Also: should you wear a mask or not? These are ultimately moral/ethical choices. Is raising prices for needed

goods in an emergency fair? Most say no. Some economists say yes, because it discourages panic buying. large retail chains: didn't raise price on hand sanitizer, but limited the number that 1 person could buy.

* If in the future we abandon the posture of self-interest that pollutes so many of our social interactions, we may be able to pay more attention to issues like inclusivity and fairness.

MENTAL HEALTH AND WELL-BEING

* An epidemic of mental ill-health has engulfed much of the world. The pandemic has already made it worse.

* The epidemic of work-related stress, depression and anxiety seems to be continuously getting worse.

* We have to ask whether video conversations and mental well-being bad bed-fellows.

* A Great Reset would necessarily give these issues the priority they deserve.

CHANGING PRIORITIES

Long-deferred obvious questions may come to the fore. Do we know what is important? Are we too selfish and over-focused on ourselves? Do we give too great a priority and excessive time to our career? Are we slaves to consumerism? Here are some of these potential changes whose likelihood of occurrence is nonetheless greater than commonly assumed:

1. *Creativity*: In the next few years we will witness an explosion of creativity among start-ups and new ventures in the digital and biotechnological spaces. The most gifted entrepreneurs will have a field day!
2. *Time*: Becoming more psychologically resilient may require us to slow down and be mindful of the passing time.
3. *Consumption*: Some say that in the new era we will become more conscious of the consequences of our choices and habits and will decide to repress some forms of consumption. Other say the opposite, and in fact recommend that we *splurge!* The justification for thinking this is: the pandemic has acted as a dramatic eye-opener to the public at large on the severity of the risks related to environmental degradation. When a tipping point is reached, extreme inequality begins to erode the social contract and increasingly results in antisocial (even criminal) behavior often directed at property. In response, consumption patterns must be seen to be changing. How might this play out? Conspicuous consumption could fall from favor. Having the latest, most up-to-date model of whatever will no longer be a sign of status but will be thought of as, at best, out of touch, and, at worst, downright obscene. Positional signaling will be turned upside down. In a world beset by unemployment, insufferable inequalities and angst about the environment, the ostentatious display of wealth may no longer be acceptable.
4. *Nature & Well-Being*: In the new era, people will recognize the importance of nature in their lives and will change lifestyles: in the time we spend in nature, and in what we eat, how we sleep, how much we exercise.

IV. CONCLUSION

Pandemics, rising inequalities, a widespread sense of unfairness, deepening geopolitical divides, political polarization, rising public deficits and high levels of debt, ineffective or non-existent global governance, excessive financialization, environmental degradation: these are some of the major challenges we face. It is incumbent upon us to take the bull by the horns. A proper reset requires greater collaboration and cooperation within and between countries.

REFERENCES:

D'Souza, Dinesh. 2021. "[The Truth About 'The Great Reset'.](#)" Podcast. 5 February.

Klein, Naomi. 2020. [The Great Reset Conspiracy Smoothie](#). *The Intercept*. 8 December.

Wolf, Richard D. 2020. "[The World Economic Forum's 'Great Reset' Isn't One](#)." *YouTube video*. 29 October.

Ingraham, Laura. 2023. [Angle: Klaus & the Gang](#). Fox TV. 17 January.

Beck, Glenn. 2022. *The Great Reset: Joe Biden and the Rise of Twenty-First-Century Fascism*. Nashville, TN: Forefront Books.

Jones, Alex. 2022. *The Great Reset: And the War for the World*. New York NY: Skyhorse.

Morano, Marc. 2022. *The Great Reset: Global Elites and the Permanent Lockdown*. Washington D.C.: Regnery.

ATTACHMENT C.3. BROADER PROPOSALS THAT ADDRESS ECONOMIC INEQUALITY (cont.)

C.3.b. ASSORTED SOCIALISMS

C.3.b.1. EARLY MARXIST SOCIALISM (1848, 1848, 1917)

It's easy, and perhaps correct, to dismiss Marxist socialism as a tragic aberration of little relevance today. Still, during the mid-20th century somewhat over a third of the human community lived under some form of Marxist socialism. I show here programmatic excerpts from three source texts, and may reference these later.

A. MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY - February 1848 - Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

The authors recognize that communism can't be attained immediately and without the support of the proletariat. As initial steps they say that "...in most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable.":

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all rights of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a single, national bank with state capital.
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste-lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to work. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of all the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the populace over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc. etc.

B. DEMANDS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN GERMANY - March 1848

K. Marx, K. Schapper, H. Bauer, F. Engels, J. Moll and W. Wolff

1. The whole of Germany shall be declared a single and indivisible republic.
2. Every German, having reached the age of 21, shall have the right to vote and to be elected, provided he has not been convicted of a criminal offence.
3. Representatives of the people shall receive payment so that workers, too, can hold office.
4. Universal arming of the people. In future the armies shall be simultaneously labour armies... [which] shall produce more than is necessary for their upkeep.
5. Legal services shall be free of charge.
6. All feudal obligations, dues, corvées, tithes etc., weighed upon the rural population shall be abolished.
7. Princely and other feudal estates, together with mines, pits, etc., shall become the property of the state. The estates shall be cultivated on a large scale and with the most up-to-date scientific devices.
8. Mortgages on peasant lands shall be declared the property of the state. Interest on such mortgages shall be paid by the peasants to the state.
9. In localities where the tenant system is developed, land rent shall be paid to the state as a tax.
10. Private banks replaced by a state bank. Credit system regulated in the interest of the people. Paper money to gradually replace gold and silver coin, to cheapen universal means of exchange.
11. All the means of transport, railways, canals, steamships, roads, the posts etc. shall be taken over by the state, and be free for those with limited funds.
12. All civil servants shall receive the same salary, the only exception being that civil servants who have a family to support and who therefore have greater requirements, shall receive a higher salary.
13. Complete separation of Church and State. The clergy of every denomination shall be paid only by the voluntary contributions of their congregations. [over]

Marxist Socialism (cont.)

14. The right of inheritance to be curtailed.
15. The introduction of steeply graduated taxes, and the abolition of taxes on consumption.
16. National workshops; state guarantee of jobs for all workers and support for those incapacitated for work.
17. Universal and free education of the people.

C. SELECTED MEASURES PLEDGED BY THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIK) – 1917

sources: ChatGPT-4, Reed (1919)

1. Overthrow of the Provisional Government: The parliamentary government established by the social democrats and liberal democrats in February 1917 is to be replaced by an hierarchical structure of 'soviets' (councils) of workers, soldiers and peasants. Slogan: "All power to the Soviets."
2. Slogan: "Peace, Land, and Bread":
 - End Russia's involvement in World War I and seek peace negotiations with the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria)
 - Redistribute land from the aristocracy to the peasants
 - Ensure adequate food for the population
4. Nationalization: All major industries and financial institutions to be placed under state control.
5. Worker Control: Factories and firms to be managed by democratically selected councils of workers.
6. The Red Army: To be the major force protecting the gains of the revolution.
7. Worker and Peasant Unity: Past competition and conflict will be eliminated, and unity will be built.
8. Equality and Liberation: Gender equality and the liberation of oppressed nationalities within the Russian Empire.
9. Abolition of all aristocratic titles and feudal obligations.
10. Abolition of child labor. Free education and healthcare for all, including free evening classes for workers.
11. Establishment of the eight-hour work day and 40-hour work week

=====

C.3.b.2. DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATORY PLANNED SOCIALISM: Ideas and Principles

One-hundred sixty-seven years after *The Communist Manifesto* David Kotz (2015) offered nine principles as core features of a typical contemporary democratic socialism. In what ways do they differ, and in what ways similar?

1. Dominance of ideas of cooperation, equality, popular sovereignty, and the right to economic security
2. Social ownership of productive enterprises
 - a) Ownership by national, regional and local governments
 - b) Worker ownership
 - c) Cooperative ownership
3. Economic activity determined not by profit but by aim of satisfying individual & collective wants & needs
4. Participatory economic planning guides the allocation of resources and the distribution of income
5. Income distribution assures that everyone can live at a socially acceptable living standard
6. Every working-age person who is able to work is guaranteed a job
7. High level of provision of free or low-cost public goods including education, health care, public transportation.
8. Democratic political institutions
9. Guarantees of free speech and free association

C.3.b.3. SOCIALIST PARTY USA - 2022-2023 PARTY PLATFORM

The **Socialist Party USA** (SP-USA) was formed in 1973 following the three-way schism of the historic *Socialist Party of America* (SPA). The other remnants were 1) the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, now **Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)** and 2) **Social Democrats USA (SD)**. The SP-USA is the legal successor to the SPA and hews most closely to traditional American socialist program and strategy. As of 2019 it had a reported membership of ~ 1,500. In 2020 the SP-USA's nominee for President, Howie Hawkins, received 404,000 votes, 0.03% of the total. Hawkins was also the nominee of the Green Party that year, which may account for a large share of his votes.

PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY USA (2022-2023)

ECONOMICS

1. Worker/community ownership & control of corporations, with decentralized & democratic management plan.
2. A minimum wage of \$25 per hour
3. Withdrawal of the United States from neoliberal trade agreements, such as NAFTA
4. A full employment policy and a livable guaranteed annual income.
5. All financial and insurance institutions to be socially owned and operated by a democratically-controlled national banking authority, and include credit unions, mutual insurance cooperatives, and cooperative state banks.
6. Steeply graduated income and property taxes and a maximum income of no more than ten times the minimum. We oppose regressive payroll, sales and property taxes.
7. Restoration of the capital gains tax and luxury tax on a progressive, graduated scale.
8. Compensation to communities and workers affected by plant and military base closings.
9. Opposition to the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO
10. Cancellation of Third World debt.
11. A National Pension Authority to hold the assets of private pension funds.
12. Increased and expanded welfare assistance and unemployment compensation at 100% of a worker's income.
13. Federal investment in both urban and rural areas for infrastructure and economic development.
14. Tax benefits for renters equal to those for homeowners.
15. elimination of subsidies and tax breaks that benefit corporations and all other forms of corporate welfare.
16. Opposition to "corporate personhood" that illegitimately gives corporations rights
17. A 100-percent capital flight tax on runaway industry.

INTERNATIONAL

1. Closing of all U.S. military facilities at home and abroad that train foreign military and paramilitary personnel.
2. Immediate withdrawal of forces from all non-US territories offensively engaged by the US in the War on Terror.
3. Immediate lifting of the U.S. embargo against Cuba and an end to the U.S. occupation of Guantanamo Bay.
4. Endorsement of BDS, Right of Return, end of the occupation, creation of an inclusive, secular, and democratic Palestinian state. Opposition to the apartheid policies of the Israeli government and all aid to Israel.
5. Cut-off of all U.S. military aid to Colombia
6. Abolition of the CIA, the National Security Agency, and all other institutions of covert warfare.
7. Unconditional disarmament by the United States.
8. A treaty outlawing all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, including those using depleted uranium.
9. A near-term 50% military budget cut, with additional cuts to reduce the budget to < 10% of its current level.
10. Disbanding NATO and all other aggressive military alliances, and the closing of all overseas bases.
11. An end to U.S. arms sales throughout the world.
12. U.S. must pay off its debt to the UN, and its permanent membership on the UN Security Council must be ended.
13. A constitutional amendment requiring a binding popular vote on all issues of war or military intervention.
14. We support the right of soldiers to form unions to represent their views and interests.
15. The end of the manufacture and use of drones for domestic and international spying and warfare.
16. Repeal of the 2001 Authorization for Use of Military Force (AUMF).

LABOR

1. Any interested workers in a workplace can form a union, with no limits on topics of negotiation.
2. Public sector workers have a right to strike.
3. Unions are recognized when sufficient union cards signed.
4. Democratic control of all unions by their membership.
5. All workers can engage in collective action and self-representation regardless of union status.
6. Support for militant labor action, including boycotts, factory committees, secondary and sympathy strikes, sit-down strikes, general strikes, and the expropriation of workplaces.
7. Workers can hold shop meetings on company premises, elect their immediate supervisors, and administer health and safety programs through shop councils.
8. Repeal of the Hatch Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, and all "right-to-work" laws.
9. All workers, regardless of full or part-time status, to have full benefits.
10. Increased health & safety regulation of business, and increased role and power for OSHA.
11. Workers to receive full wages, health insurance, education and/or retraining, if they lose a job due to environmental transition, down-sizing, corporate dismantlement, or capital flight.
12. A 30-hour work week with no loss of pay and with six weeks annual paid vacation.
13. We call for unions to stop using union funds for electing candidates from the Democratic and Republican parties.
14. An end to the decades-long exclusion of farm workers and domestic workers from receiving overtime pay.
15. Abolition of unpaid internships throughout all industries, including nonprofit organizations.
16. An end to any academic requirements that force students to work without pay.
17. College and university students and workers, including athletes, interns, and graduate students, to unionize within and across their respective departments; student athletes to unionize within all athletic divisions.
18. Sex work is decriminalized; sex workers are guaranteed full health, social, and legal services, and working conditions are free from harassment, violence and exploitation.

HUMAN RIGHTS

LGBTQ+ People

1. All restrictions in law and the workplace on LGBTQ+ people, and all sodomy laws, are abolished.
2. All schools are to ban student violence and discrimination against LGBTQ+ people.
3. A federal ban on all forms of job discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity.
4. We will confront the heterosexism that provides the fertile ground for homophobic violence.
5. Transgender & nonbinary people can obtain drivers' licenses and government ID showing their gender identities
6. Transgender people have access to bathrooms and other public facilities consistent with their gender identities.
7. LGBTQ+ people cannot be discriminated against by adoption and foster care agencies and healthcare providers.

People of Color

1. Support affirmative action, civil rights, and anti-discrimination laws and programs to end institutional racism.
2. Federal reparations for the US role in the slave trade and the genocide of Native American nations, with the reparations programs administered by the oppressed communities themselves.
3. Support for efforts of POC to self-defense, self-determination, and to organize independently for their liberation.
4. English cannot be declared an official language. All language discrimination prohibited. All public and private institutions to provide services and materials in the languages of their communities.

People with Disabilities

1. Americans with Disabilities Act is fully enforced so that all public and private buildings, facilities, and modes of transportation are accessible to disabled people, and every effort is made to employ persons with disabilities.
2. Opposition to restricting the definition in the ADA of who is considered a person with a disability.
3. Full enforcement of Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 that mandates equal employment practices and physical accessibility for entities receiving federal funding.
4. Full funding support for people with physical, mental, and developmental disabilities, including home assistance, recreation centers, guaranteed income, voting access, and quality control in residential facilities.
5. People with disabilities who work part-time are to receive full Social Security benefits.

6. Establishment of affirmative action quotas for hiring people with disabilities at union wages.
7. Federal government cannot limit access to SSDI by restricting definitions of who is a person with a disability.
8. Full funding of high-quality education & training for people with disabilities, and an expansion of the Individuals with Disabilities In Education Act to include greater funding for the hiring of paraprofessionals in public schools.
9. Amend the Equal Credit Opportunity Act to include a prohibition against the denial of credit based on disability.

Seniors

1. No privatization of the Social Security system; no use of SS funds for any other purpose (eg debt relief).
2. The Social Security system to remain entirely within the public sector, funded by progressive taxation.
3. All state and local government workers are to be covered by the Social Security System.
4. Right of retirement at age 55; minimum annual retirement income of \$25,000 tax-free + annual COL adjustment.
5. A cap on Social Security benefits so that no beneficiary receives > 3x the income of those receiving the minimum.
6. An increase in home service, including home-delivered quality meals and provision of personal aid devices and physical therapy, so that older people can remain independent in their homes and community.
7. Jobs and training for seniors who do not wish to retire.
8. Publicly funded & democratically controlled senior centers for social/recreational/community activities
9. Elected advocates/ombudspersons by assemblies of seniors and caregivers to ensure the protection of residents' rights in nursing homes and a stimulating environment in group and nursing home situations.
10. A person has a right to die with dignity in a manner of their choosing.

Women

1. Every woman has a right to choose when, if, and how to have children, including the right to free, safe abortion on demand at any stage of pregnancy. Clinics providing abortion services must have full protection of the law.
2. The Hyde Amendment and all other legislation that limits access to abortion services must be repealed.
3. Full reproductive freedom requires removing all discriminating barriers to reproductive rights and health care.
4. All involuntary sterilizations is banned, as is medical research without a woman's full knowledge and consent.
5. Local governments to prioritize prevention of violence against women by educating, providing shelter for women and children, and vigorously protecting women from their abusers.
6. New parents receive 16 months paid leave. High-quality child care facilities are to be expanded and fully funded.
7. Women have full educational and training opportunities, comparable worth laws and affirmative action.
8. Open and equitable participation in discussion and decision-making require organizational structures based on mutual consideration and respect, rotating leadership, gender balance, and processes that welcome and enable.

Youth

1. Immediate ratification by the United States of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.
2. Provision of children's allowances to help ensure every child's basic rights and needs are satisfied in a stimulating, empowering, and caring environment.
3. Free, quality care and education for all children and young people, federally financed and community-controlled through democratically elected local boards that will include youth members.
4. Elimination of any and all forms of child abuse or neglect whether physical, mental, emotional, or sexual.
5. Abolition of military draft registration and an end to military recruiting in educational institutions.
6. Abolition of parental consent and notification laws for reproductive health services, including abortion.
7. Full sex education in schools, including on birth control, STD protection, and being LGBTQ.
8. Voting age to be lowered to age 15.
9. No age-based curfew laws.

HUMAN NEEDS

Arts and Culture

1. Formation of collectives, arts centers and schools, independent media, theaters and festivals to advance such cultural endeavors as music, poetry, prose, drama, dance, storytelling, visual art, and videography.
2. Guaranteed incomes and grants for artists and performers.
3. Schools and workplaces to be made available as cultural centers.

4. Full funding of community and school arts programs for people of all ages.
5. Full funding to keep libraries, museums, cultural centers, and historic sites open and accessible to all.
6. Preservation of writing, art, music, dance, oral traditions and audio-video arisen out of experiences of young and old, all nationalities and colors, sexual preferences, working, un- and under-employed, and disabled.
7. Artists of color, women artists, and disabled artists are to have autonomy in their creative work.
8. Artists have rights to form unions to protect labor rights & to form collectives to advance their artistic visions.

Education

1. Full and equal funding of public education; restoration of a comprehensive K-12 curriculum, including art, music, world languages and physical education; an end to all public funding of private, religious, and charter schools; and free tuition and full-time teachers with full benefits at post-secondary levels.
2. Equal access to higher education for all people; publicly funded higher education.
3. Forgiveness of all outstanding federal student loans.
4. Public child care starting from infancy, and public education starting at age three, with caregivers and teachers receiving training, wages, and benefits comparable to that of teachers at other levels of the educational system.
5. No merit pay for teachers, no standardized testing, no competition between schools in the same district, no sale of on-campus advertising to raise funds, and no dependence of post-secondary schools on corporate funding.
6. An egalitarian system that accommodates a wide range of teaching and learning styles. A maximum of 15 students per teacher for grades K-12, and a maximum of 50 students per teacher at the post-secondary level.
7. Vigorous affirmative action so that the faculty and student-body of all schools reflect the community at large regarding race/ethnicity, gender, and economic background.
8. Student, parent, and teacher control of curriculum, and the hiring and dismissal of school personnel, through formation of local school/community committees.
9. School boards to be accountable to students, parents, teachers, and school workers; and have student members.
10. Lifelong self-education, with retraining programs and transitional financial support for displaced workers.
11. Full health education, including sex education; input from parents, students, teachers, and health professionals.
12. No school-sponsored prayer or other religious practice in public schools; no limits on the teaching of evolution.
13. Free and open access to information, including the public ownership of all large databases.
14. Removal of police, private security and other police personnel from elementary, middle, and high schools.

Health Care

1. Immediate abolition of all private health insurance companies through creation of a single-payer health system, as a key step towards a fully socialized national health program with full medical, dental, vision, and mental health coverage for all. The new system would be publicly funded and controlled by democratically elected assemblies of health care workers and patients. It will improve and then replace Medicare and Medicaid.
2. The new system will emphasize preventive care, respect patients' privacy, give special attention to the physically and mentally disabled, and conduct treatment and research unimpaired by sexism, racism, or homophobia.
3. Full funding for AIDS research, prevention, and treatment. Full civil rights for people living with AIDS.
4. Public ownership and worker and community control of the pharmaceutical industry.
5. Educational programs to help prevent drug addiction; voluntary treatment programs for addicts and alcoholics; free, sterile needles for those still using IV drugs.
6. Funding to community mental health services for low-cost or no-cost treatment on a voluntary basis. No involuntary incarceration for treatment without due process.
7. People have the right to choose or refuse medical treatment, the right to die, and the right to assisted suicide.
8. Full community decision-making regarding creation, organization or elimination of public health care facilities.

Housing

1. Greater Section 8 housing subsidies; construction of low-cost, scattered-site, community-based, quality housing.
2. Rent control for all rental units, and the right of tenants to organize.
3. Creation of non-profit land trusts and socially owned, tenant-controlled housing cooperatives.
4. Housing rehabilitation that renovates and remodels existing homes to bring them up to housing and safety codes.
5. Abolition of home foreclosures.
6. A housing-first approach to addressing homelessness.

Transportation

1. A fully funded high-speed national rail system with fares low enough to be a viable alternative to automobile use.
2. Halt expansion of the interstate highway system and otherwise constrain the use of combustion-based transport.
3. Government-subsidized programs to expand safe routes for foot and bicycle paths.
4. Pedestrian ways accessible by mass transit that exclude vehicles from the downtown area of cities and towns.
5. Publicly funded development of renewable fuels.
6. Federally funded auto insurance.
7. Public ownership and worker control of the airline industry.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Bill of Rights

1. Repeal the USA PATRIOT Act, the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, and the 2012 National Defense Authorization Act; end the War on Terror.
2. Eliminate the Department of Homeland Security and the sweeping police powers accorded to it.
3. Exclude the military from domestic law enforcement.
4. Abolish the FBI.
5. Abolish all forms of censorship both legislative and institutional.
6. Support whistle-blowers in revealing acts of oppression towards the working class by the government.

Immigration

1. Give support to secular democratic states; assume that every citizen and resident has equal rights in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
2. End militarization of the United States/Mexican border.
3. All the undocumented are given unconditional amnesty. No fees are imposed on those receiving amnesty.
4. "Secret evidence" is disallowed in deportation hearings; immigration detentions and military tribunals are disallowed; all non-citizens on U.S. territory or in U.S. custody have a right to full due process and habeas corpus. Police raids in areas where immigrants congregate are disallowed.
5. "Guest worker" programs are discontinued.
6. Full citizenship rights apply upon demonstrating residency for six months.
7. The ICE agency is abolished.

Free and Fair Elections

1. Public financing of candidates for public office.
2. Strict limits on using personal funds in elections, both for one's own campaign and for those of other candidates.
3. All electoral representation is proportional to population only.
4. Uniform ballot access laws in all states that give all political parties a chance to have candidates on the ballot.
5. Eliminate the Electoral College and support instant run-off voting of all elected officials.
6. U.S. citizens may be disenfranchised by the federal, state, or local government only for extraordinary cause.
7. Greater access to mass media and media is made available to all parties and their candidates.
8. All U.S. territories, tribal reservations, and the District of Columbia have full congressional representation.
9. U.S. citizenship is extended to all residents of American Samoa.
10. All citizens incarcerated in jails and prisons have their right to vote restored.
11. All votes generate a mandatory paper trail, to allow for recounts and verification.

Legal Justice

1. All persons have access to free, quality, legal and court services with skilled and experienced attorneys of choice.
2. The criminal activities of politicians, corporate managers, and other privileged individuals have priority over minor infractions by working-class people. Fines are assigned at a sliding scale based on income.
3. Community release and other prison alternatives are expanded. A moratorium is placed on prison construction.
4. Prisoners and their families receive support to reduce ostracism, maintain family ties, and provide for non-degrading visitation.
5. All "Supermax" prisons and "prisons for profit" systems are dismantled.

6. All prison labor for profit, forced labor and the use of prison labor to perform state services is abolished.
7. Prisoners have a right to organize unions and cooperative groups to negotiate for better living conditions.
8. Independent, democratically elected police control and oversight councils are established, with full power to fire police and to arrest, detain, and indict police officers who commit any violation of laws or civil rights and liberties.
9. Police officers are replaced by community residents trained in conflict resolution who live in and serve the community under community control.
10. Community response services, crisis centers and shelters are available for victims of domestic violence, spousal and child abuse, and rape and incest.
11. The working class has a right to own and bear arms. Community-based public training is needed for gun owners.
12. Drug use is decriminalized, narcotics are regulated by doctors, funds spent on the "war on drugs" now support community-based, client-controlled rehabilitation programs.
13. The death penalty is abolished.
14. The prison-industrial complex is dismantled and mass incarceration of people of color is ended.
15. All non-violent offenders currently incarcerated are given amnesty.
16. Employers can no longer inquire about an applicant's past criminal record not directly related to the job.
17. Felons have their voting rights and civil rights restored.
18. The prison industrial economy is converted to ecologically sound production for use, not for profit.
19. All "3 strikes laws" and mandatory minimum sentencing requirements are abolished
20. All juvenile detention centers are abolished and replaced with educational, social, and economic supports.
21. The 13th Amendment is amended to strike the language regarding slavery "except as a punishment for crime."
22. The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, the 1984 Sentencing Reform Act, and the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) are repealed.
23. Qualified immunity for police officers is abolished and vicarious liability is established for police departments.
24. The Eleventh Amendment is repealed and sovereign immunity is abolished.
25. The power of courts to condition pretrial release on the posting of money bail is abolished.

Media and Intellectual Property

1. Large media companies are broken up so that no one company owns more than one newspaper, radio or television station, or television channel. Regulation of the communications industry is reestablished.
2. Satellite & cable companies are nationalized; revenues support innovative public visual & audio programming, over-the-air radio and television, cable and satellite programming, and community cable programming.
3. Newspapers and magazines are publicly funded. Any non-profit organization that publishes a journal would receive public funding in proportion to its paid subscriber list.
4. "Fair use" rights are maintained, e.g., the right to excerpt a copyrighted work in a review.
5. All existing copyright extension laws are repealed.
6. Forcing electronics firms to build "Digital Rights Management" into computers and appliances is opposed.
7. Private ownership of the Internet backbone is opposed.
8. At least 50% of total bandwidth is publicly owned; the Internet domain naming system is publicly controlled.
9. The internet becomes a free public utility; computers are distributed to individuals & families who need them.
10. All internet service providers must abide by restored net neutrality requirements.

ENVIRONMENT & ENERGY

Environment

1. The U.S. rejoins the global climate negotiations and accepts a major role in worldwide efforts.
2. Private companies assume full financial responsibility for prevention and clean-up of their own wastes, and for compensation of workers and residents adversely affected by environmental hazard.
3. Minority communities are protected from efforts to build toxic waste sites, incinerators, etc. in their vicinity.
4. Strong, enforceable endangered species protection that focuses on plant and animal habitat is prioritized.
5. New nuclear power projects are halted and existing plans phased out. Export of nuclear technology is banned.
6. Recycled glass, metals, plastic, paper, etc are used for public works projects such as roadways and parks.
7. Waste incinerators are shut down and landfills are phased out.
8. Open-pit mining operations are discontinued and the land is reclaimed at the mining company's expense.

Energy

1. Solar, geothermal, wind, hydropower, and biomass are developed to end dependence on fossil fuels.
2. Sliding-scale pricing that favors low-income people is used so that all people have access to utility services.
3. Mandatory vitrification of all spent nuclear fuel, control rods and other waste.
4. All imports of nuclear materials are banned, whether they are vitrified or not.

Agriculture

1. Organic standards, reduced federal price supports for non-organic crops, and strong conservation incentives.
2. Transition to public ownership & worker control of existing corporate farms, and a ban on new corporate farms.
3. Repudiation of all current farm debts for working farmers.
4. Family farmers whose land was taken in foreclosures are given their land back, or otherwise compensated.
5. A ban on irradiation of food is established.
6. Farm workers have a right to negotiate contracts with canneries.
7. Legislation requiring country-of-origin labeling on agricultural products is advocated for.
8. A ban on neonicotinoid pesticides and other measures helps prevent colony collapse disorder.
9. Low-cost loans, grants, and technical help given to farmers to help shift crops from non-essentials to staples.
10. The reintroduction of hemp farming is encouraged.
11. The practice of plowing under fields in order to manipulate market forces so as to increase price is banned.
12. Farmers have the right to save seeds.
13. The privatization of water, the creation of water markets, and water trading and a focus of strong opposition.
14. Environmentally destructive forms of production of meat and dairy foods, including hog confinements, cattle feedlots, and industrial poultry production, and banned.
15. Patents on biological organisms and genomes are discontinued.
16. Systems of ecologically based, sustainable, organic agriculture based on family farms and farming cooperatives successfully uphold all environmental and safety standards, and treat their livestock in a humane manner.
17. Socially owned enterprises in the areas of transportation, storage, and processing of agricultural goods, controlled by boards comprised of farmers, farm workers, and community members, proliferate.
18. Legislation requires that foods which contain Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs) are labeled as such.

Animal Rights

1. Pets are spayed and neutered to prevent the massive extermination resulting from overpopulation.
2. Entertainment that causes pain to animals is prohibited.
3. The fur trade is dismantled.
4. The Endangered Species Act is more effectively and inclusively enforced.
5. Animal experimentation for product development is banned.
6. Factory farming practices of overcrowding, drugging, and otherwise cruelly treating animals is prohibited.

#

C.3.b.4. Democratic Socialism American Style

The 1972 schism that generated the Socialist Party USA also gave rise, under the leadership of author Michael Harrington, to the **Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee** (DSOC). In 1982 DSOC merged with the **New American Movement** (NAM), which had roots in the 1960s student left, to form the **Democratic Socialists of America** (DSA). DSA believes in working in good faith with and within the Democratic Party, and in pushing strategically to move Democrats to “the left wing of the possible.” DSA membership hovered at about 5,000 for over thirty years. In the period 2015-2018 DSA experienced a dramatic surge of membership and activism in the wake of democratic socialist Sen. Bernie Sander’s presidential primary campaign and the subsequent election of Donald Trump to the presidency. As of 2023 DSA had some 90,000 members and close to 200 members serving in electoral office.

DSA is not a political party but rather a multi-tendency ‘big tent’ socialist association. It doesn’t have a single platform of policy positions but has staked out a myriad of official positions on policy matters. The book ***We Own the Future: Democratic Socialism American Style*** (2000), is a collection of policy-focused essays on topics of key interest to democratic socialists. The majority of the contributors appear to be DSA members, and while the text can’t be taken as official DSA policy it’s a fair reflection of the sorts of policies DSA would be likely to support. The positions shown in the following inventory were winnowed out from the essays in *We Own the Future*.

INVENTORY OF POSITIONS AND POLICIES GENERALLY CONSISTENT WITH DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

GOVERNING SOCIALISM

1. Democratic socialists will first need to win political office within the context of a capitalist state and demonstrate their **ability to govern**. With that established they can work to win **state power**, which will enable them to dominate and eventually deconstruct and replace the institutions of capitalism.
2. Constitutional reforms to “equal protection” language that has been used to invalidate policy focused on remediating past structural discrimination and racial injustice.

VOTING RIGHTS, CAMPAIGN FINANCE AND ELECTION REFORM

1. Fully national system of universal voter registration.
2. Automatic registration on first engagement with public agency (e.g. DMV); Election day registration.
3. Absentee ballots mailed to all registered voters.
4. Federal framework for state and local voting procedures, with strong enforcement provisions.
5. Amend US constitution to remove permanent disenfranchisement of those with criminal records
6. Move towards fully proportional representation in the Senate
7. Abolish the electoral college
7. Public financing of elections: small-donor matching, full candidate funding; donation via voter vouchers
7. Supreme Court should reverse *Buckley v. Veleo*, which defined all campaign contributions as free speech.
8. Make Election Day a national holiday.
9. Compulsory voting (Used in Australia: 91% of those registered vote. Ballots include “None of the above.”)
10. Socialists should only back candidates who refuse to take corporate or PAC money.
11. Eventually, ban corporations and unions from giving money to candidates or PACS.

CONFRONTING CORPORATE POWER

1. Limits on executive compensation at the expense of worker compensation.
2. Tough, creative application of existing anti-trust law to significantly impact economic inequality [p 128-9]
3. Modernization of antitrust laws to cover new abuses, e.g., monopolistic practices of the new platform economy.
4. Ban Facebook, Google and Amazon from buying new competitors or from trafficking in customer data.

5. Abolish compulsory arbitration, which works in favor of corporate management and against workers & citizens.
6. Get touch on corporate tax cheating.
7. Drastic reregulation of the financial sector.
8. Regarding tax policy:
 - * higher and strongly progressive rates of corporate taxation.
 - * repeal the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act; it was a corporate give-away.
 - * restore progressive tax rates with top marginal rates comparable to those used in the postwar boom.
 - * replace the estate tax with an inheritance tax, with inheritances treated mostly as normal income.
 - * remove the tax deductibility of interest on loans, used repeatedly in leveraged buyouts.
 - * have a progressive tax on wealth beginning at \$50 million
9. All corporations with assets greater than \$1 billion are to be federally chartered and require:
 - * worker and community representatives to be put on their boards,
 - * limits on the pay ratios between top executives and lowest paid workers
 - * limits on corporate political contributions.
10. New consumer legislation to:
 - * limit patent, trademark and copyright abuses in industries such as pharmaceuticals.
 - * restore basic consumer protections in industries from airlines to telecommunications.
 - * put lifesaving pharmaceuticals in the public domain sooner.
11. Establish public banks with an ethos of service to depositors rather than of exploitation, and at a scale such that the power of Wall Street is diminished. Break up the mega-banks.
12. Establish universal public broadband.
13. Phase out commercial utilities in favor of publicly owned and managed utilities.
14. Transfer ownership of the corporate sector to employees and the public by:
 - a. requiring a share of profits to be paid to employees in the form of stock; and/or
 - b. requiring corporations to pay their taxes in the form of stock; and/or
 - c. establish a Norwegian-style Social Wealth Fund

JOBS, WORKERS' RIGHTS, DEMOCRACY, EQUALITY and WEALTH

1. Establish a deep federal public jobs program, notably in infrastructure and caring economy jobs.
2. A federal guarantee of good-paying secure jobs
3. Eliminate all race and gender wage gaps.
 1. Protect and strengthen union bargaining rights and the role of unions overall; repeal the Taft-Hartley Act.
 2. Increased government employment and government contracts.
 3. Establish minimum wage: e.g. "Fight for \$15."
 4. Allow job benefits to be fully portable.
 5. Establish increased penalties for corporate violations of labor laws
 6. Mandate worker representation on corporate boards of directors
 7. Affirm & strengthen fundamental worker rights to strike, picket and engage in other collective action.
 8. Ensure that the benefits of technological change are shared with employees.
 9. To help citizens build wealth:
 - * establish Child Trust Accounts for all Americans at birth and accessible at age 18.
 - * forgive student debt
 - * disallow predatory lending
 - 10 Tax capital income as other income is taxed, i.e., progressively.
 11. Establish one or more public banks structured to serve the public and to embarrass private banks.
 11. Establish and support worker- and community-owned cooperative enterprises.
 12. Adopt "Bargaining for the Common Good" as part of local coalitional/intersectional strategies.

WHO GETS TO BE SAFE? PRISONS, POLICE AND TERROR; CRIMINAL JUSTICE

1. Investments in policing made as part of the War on Drugs and in the wake of 9/11 should be reduced.
2. Decriminalize drugs and drug use. Legalize marijuana.
5. Bring sentencing practices in line with those of most other nations.
6. Use funds freed up by 1-3 to invest in the communities harmed by decades of unjust criminal justice policies.
3. Provide enhanced treatment for individuals suffering from substance abuse.
4. Eliminate fines, fees, cash bails and other economic penalties that criminalize racialized poverty.
7. Elect district attorneys committed to progressive policies. End targeted prosecution of Black and Brown people.
8. Pursue *transformative justice*, defined as “a liberatory approach [that] seeks safety and accountability without relying on alienation, punishment, or state or systemic violence, including incarceration and policing.” [p171]
Transformative justice could include the community-run initiatives such as:
 - * *Healing Circles* to address sexual and domestic violence.
 - * *accountability procedures* to address harm when it occurs.
 - * *neighborhood patrols* and *sidewalk tabling* for free food distribution and conversation.
 - * *cop-watching*: networks of neighbors who keep an eye on police behavior.
 - *The ultimate goal is abolition of prisons and policing.
9. Until prisons are abolished, these liberal reforms should be pursued:
 - * limit or end the use of solitary confinement
 - * reform parole boards so that long-term and elderly prisoners can secure early release.
 - * prevent the expansion of jails and prisons or the construction of new ones.
 - * divert people from prison through the use of *restorative justice* programs.

GREEN NEW DEAL

“Green New Deal” refers to any of several omnibus initiatives, including comprehensive national legislation, that synergistically pull together progressive proposals concerning ecological integrity/climate change, racial and economic justice, financial system transformations, democratic governance, military spending and more. Recent major Green New Deal initiatives are in alignment with democratic socialist values and principles. See **Section C.3.a** regarding the 2016 proposal by Green Party presidential candidate Jill Stein; see **Section C.3.b** for the 2021 version of the proposal by Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Senator Ed Markey Green.

ON IMMIGRATION: A DEMOCRATIC-SOCIALIST CASE FOR OPEN BORDERS

1. “A socialist movement should demand nothing less than a vision of global liberation unbound by borders, where people’s movements across territories should be as frictionless as possible.” To do this “.. we need a transnational consensus on how to manage the tensions created by global inequality.” [p 111]
2. A model is Uganda, which “treats refugees as authorized migrants, provides many of them with land for resettlement and allows them to work and move relatively freely across the country, all while accessing internationally administered humanitarian aid.”
3. “There must be a universal right to free movement as well as universal rights to health, welfare, personal dignity, education and equality before the law.” [p 186]
4. Some progressives, e.g. Senator Bernie Sanders, oppose open borders because they say it undermines wages of long-time American workers. The socialist position should be that all workers, whether immigrants or long-time citizens, should have decent wages.

Preliminary steps to pave the way towards a borderless world:

5. The sanctuary movement can be expanded to protect immigrants from federal immigration enforcement
6. Cities can allow immigrants many forms of participation in civic life, free of federal immigration enforcement.
7. Let immigrant communities conduct many of their own affairs based on their own traditional law and custom.
8. Immigrants should be granted right of return; allowed to continue to respond to unfolding conditions in the homeland; participate in diaspora-based political movements; and invest remittances in the home community.
9. “The US should establish 1) equality of citizenship and 2) a form of global citizenship. The rights of immigrants

and those of nonimmigrants should be the same.” [p187]

10. “The US bill of rights can be built upon with the aim of expanding them universally regardless of nationality or citizenship: a universally accessible social welfare system, a system of resolving legal disputes with guaranteed due process of law; a system of democratic representation in government or direct democracy with free expression.”

ON FOREIGN POLICY

1. Oppose US-led state violence throughout the world, e.g.
 - * End US drone attacks that result in civilian casualties.
 - * End US support for the Saudi-led war in Yemen.
 - * Reduce US military aid going to Honduras and Israel.
2. Confront corporate and plutocratic power promoting US-led state violence. Example:
 - * Google employees who refused to consult on US drone warfare. [p196]
3. Build bottom-up solidarity with those who have been on the other end of US military interventions. Examples:
 - * US Veterans Against the War working with The Organization for Women’s Freedom in Iraq
 - * Afghans United for Justice
 - * Similar Yemeni, Kurdish, Syrian and other civil society initiatives.
4. Progressive US legislators should work with counterparts in such countries to strategize reparations.
5. Oppose US Republicans outreach to new right parties in Brazil, Hungary, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Russia, France, etc.
6. Build a *Progressive International* and an *International Green New Deal*, as suggested by Yanis Varoufakis.
7. The push for a Green New Deal, Medicare for All, Universal Basic Income, Job Guarantees, etc is taking place in the context of a global war economy employing hundreds of millions of workers. The success of our progressive proposals for the environment, health care, economic justice etc. *requires* the dismantling and conversion of the global war economy to a peace economy. We need a serious, practical plan to make this transition attractive.
8. Today’s most compelling progressive US foreign policy platform is that of the **Movement for Black Lives**. It:
 - * centers the divest-invest framework: e.g. divest from the war machine and invest in the community
 - * promotes slashing the military budget because it is one of the largest contributors to GHG emissions
 - * castigates US aid to human rights violators such as Israel
 - * castigates US drone warfare and dirty wars across the world: Somalia, Niger, etc.
 - * calls for the closure of hundreds of US military bases worldwide and domestically
 - * demand reparations to countries devastated by US war-making, e.g. Somalia, Iraq and Honduras
9. The US peace movement is often seen as old and white, and needs to make diversity, inclusion and equity a priority. Organizations that have begun this process include War Resisters League and About Face.

LIVABLE CITIES

1. New federal subsidies for construction of affordable housing, building on experience of community-controlled non-profit and limited equity coops, anti-suburban sprawl campaigns and anti-gentrification initiatives.
2. Discontinue subsidies for luxury developments
3. National-level rent stabilization legislation
4. Work at metropolitan scales or larger, to ensure that housing, transit, infrastructure, employment and more are considered and supported together.
5. Push for mixed-income social housing, with federal and state funds.
6. Renewal of federal funding for public transit: buses, light-rail, subways, regional rail, etc. to connect cities and suburbs and to discourage automobile use.
7. End massive federal subsidies for highways and tax breaks for commuter parking.
8. A federal “Green jobs and Infrastructure Program” to repair crumbling schools, bridges, parks and playgrounds and directed at most impacted cities/regions first.
9. Federal incentives for states and cities to adopt land-use regulations that limit unplanned suburban sprawl.
10. Replace outdated zoning laws that require large lot sizes and single-family housing with state-mandated inclusionary zoning laws so that existing suburbs – especially wealthy ones – will include affordable housing.
11. Federal and state funding should support green spaces and parks in underserved areas.

HEALTH EQUITY : RACISM AND THE LIMITS OF MEDICARE FOR ALL

1. A centerpiece democratic socialist policy objective is to ensure that all Americans have access to quality healthcare when they need it, regardless of economic or social status. The vehicle of choice to realize this objective is **Medicare for All**, a “ single-payer, national health insurance program to provide everyone in America with comprehensive health care coverage, free at the point of service.”
2. However, Medicare for All is not enough. “America’s long legacy of white supremacy makes universal guaranteed medical insurance inadequate to dismantle the racist barriers to equal health.” “Institutionalized racism produces unequal health outcomes that cannot be corrected by access to health care alone.” “Racial bias negatively affects the health care people of color receive even when they have equal access to medical insurance, including government provided insurance.” “Scientists are now uncovering the biological mechanisms that translate inequities in wealth, employment, health care, housing, incarceration and education, along with experiences of stigma and discrimination, into disparate health outcomes” “Democratic socialists must propose a health agenda that is anti-racist as well as universal.” “Health equity also requires eliminating the living conditions that unjustly damage the health of socially disadvantaged communities.” “Medical schools must train health professionals to be more structurally competent.”

THE FAMILY OF THE FUTURE

- * The reproductive justice framework situates birth control and abortion within a comprehensive program for justice that acknowledges that these tools have been used for ill, e.g., eugenics and genocide, as well as for good.
- * Reproductive justice advocates should recognize that mass incarceration, inadequate health and mental health care, poverty and inadequate housing must all be addressed if true reproductive justice is to be achieved.
- * Pro-choice advocates should oppose State voter ID laws, because voting restrictions help anti-choice candidates.
- * Free abortion on demand, at public hospitals. Training to perform abortions should be required in medical school, not an elective. Birth control also free and readily accessible.
- * Public sector funding for sex education, for young parents regardless of marital status, and structured to incentivize young fathers to spend more time parenting.
- * Universal twenty-four-hour high-quality communal child care and pre-school, provided as part of the public school system. Fees should be minimal and waived if unaffordable by any parent. Child care to be structured as worker/community/parent cooperatives. The care community in general should be unionized.
- * National expansion of public housing, cooperative housing and planned communities, with focus on inclusion.
- * Nontraditional families are ubiquitous, are motivated by preference and for survival, and should be affirmed. A family is any living arrangement of like-minded friends, lovers, biological relatives and non-biological relatives.
- * Technological progress allows the boundaries between people, machines and animals to be increasingly porous. Some feminist theorists say all children should be conceived & gestated externally. Genomic engineering will soon offer a wide range of reproductive choices. A socialist definition of family extends the very definition of the term.

DEFENDING AND IMPROVING PUBLIC EDUCATION

- * Free public higher education
- * Education should be rooted in social justice values that compliment and echoe the demands of striking teachers.
- * Education policy should replace standards-based accountability with policies of opportunity and equity.
- * Punitive sanctions to compel better student and teacher performance should be replaced with public funds for *capacity building* to help teachers asses factors underlying a school’s troubles and then to devise a plan of action.
- * Educators need to focus on the whole child – their physical health, emotional well-being, and social stability.
- * Community schools that include clinics, food pantries, warm clothing, and housing & job placement services for parents allow critical nonacademic needs that hinder a child’s academic performance to be met.
- * Standardized testing should not be used to rank students, but rather as a diagnostic tool to assist teachers.
- * School choice by parents typically exacerbates inequality. Instead, schools should invest the time and resources needed to engage parents as partners with teachers in the educational endeavor.
- * Newly popular zero-tolerance disciplinary polices have led to increased numbers of low income and minority students being suspended, expelled or arrested; other discipline strategies must be actively pursued.

- * Per capita funding for schools in poor communities and in affluent communities must be equalized.
- * Charter schools should be regulated but attempts to prohibit them would be prohibitively divisive.

CULTURAL WORK IN A DEMOCRATIC-SOCIALIST SOCIETY

- * The arts should be publicly funded, and should be free from censorship from either the left or the right.
- * Telecommunications companies that have a grip on our cultural communication should be broken up.
- * Cultural workers should be members of robust and inclusive unions.
- * New sites of cultural creation should be established and funded, especially in towns now lacking them.

== == ==

C.3.b.5. Thomas Piketty's proposal for *Participatory Socialism*

Thomas Piketty followed his best-selling *Capital in the 21st Century* (2014) with *Capital and Ideology (2020)*, in which he extends his analysis of capitalism historically across a wide set of ideological and politico-geographic realms. In the concluding chapter, "Elements for a Participatory Socialism for the Twenty-First Century" he offers just that. Key elements are outlined here.

PARTICIPATORY SOCIALISM

For Piketty, *participatory socialism* has two defining features:

1. Social ownership and shared voting rights in firms, and
2. Temporary ownership and circulation of capital.

He would realize each feature through the use of a particular instrument:

1. Social ownership of capital would be realized through "more extensive power sharing within firms."
2. Temporary ownership and permanent circulation of capital would be realized by "progressive taxes on large fortunes and use of the proceeds to finance a universal capital endowment..."

FURTHER DETAILS ON THESE AND RELATED ELEMENTS

I. SOCIAL OWNERSHIP

- a. Adopt the German-Nordic Co-determination model: Share voting rights within firms by having **half of board seats in all private firms, large and small, given to workers**, to be filled by election or other agreed-upon means. This can be extended to other key organizational bodies now populated exclusively by management.
- b. In addition, the voting rights of large shareholders in large firms should be capped.

2. PROGRESSIVE WEALTH TAXES AND CIRCULATION OF CAPITAL

Piketty acknowledges that private property will continue to play a role in a just society, but also believes that we need to prevent unlimited concentration of ownership. This will necessarily require:

- a) Progressive income taxes
- b) Progressive inheritance taxes
- c) Progressive annual wealth taxes [NB: wealth to include all real estate, business and financial assets, net of debt]

3. DIFFUSION OF WEALTH

Do this by:

- a. Establishing a **capital endowment to be given to each young adult** (at e.g. age 25) financed by the progressive tax on private wealth. This will diffuse wealth at the base while limiting concentration at the summit.
- b. Using the progressive income tax to finance "the basic income scheme and the social and ecological state."

4. THE PROGRESSIVE TAX TRIPTYCH: WEALTH, INHERITANCE, INCOME

Piketty suggests tax rates of these magnitudes as an illustration (see Table 1):

a. Progressive Wealth & Inheritance Taxes (for capital endowment)			b. Progressive Income Taxes (for basic income & social/ecological state)	
Multiple of average wealth	Annual wealth tax	Inheritance tax	Multiple of average income	Effective tax rate (includes social & carbon)
2	1%	20%	2	40%
100	10%	70%	100	70%
10,000	90%	90%	10,000	90%

The income tax includes social security tax, self-employment taxes, other payroll taxes and any other taxes based on income. Under Piketty's plan a household with wealth twice that of the average wealth would pay a 1% wealth tax and a 20% inheritance tax. A household whose income is twice that of the average income would pay an effective income tax rate of 40%. There would be additional, finer gradations beyond the three illustrative levels shown in Table 4.1.

Results of the progressive tax policies at the suggested illustrative rates (all values are approximations):

- a. The wealth tax brings in 5% of national income, allowing endowment at age 25 of 60% of average wealth.
- b. The income tax brings in 45% of national income. It allows:
 - an annual basic income of ~ 60% of average income after taxes;
 - funding of the social and ecological state, and all other public expenditures, at 40% of national income.

These results use USA and Europe as case illustrations (but would be similar for other large countries):

In Europe, average private wealth is 200,000 € per adult. Thus the capital endowment would be \$120,000 € per adult (received at age 25). In USA, average private wealth is \$226,000, and the endowment would be \$136,000.

The endowment is a public inheritance for all, at a date/age certain. This public inheritance would lower the average age of wealth holders, and "infuse new energy into society and the economy."

NOTES AND EXTENTIONS

A. Notes on Wealth

- 1. To discourage cheating and tax exile, governments in Europe, U.S. and elsewhere would need to change the terms of various treaties regarding public access to data on wealth holdings. New agreements would be needed to avoid double taxation. Countries should adopt exit taxes to discourage expatriation to avoid wealth taxes.
- 2. Participatory Socialism would likely require countries to amend their constitutions, e.g.:
 - Amendments that explicitly affirm progressive taxation as a fundamental principle.
 - Amendments that ensure that detailed information on income, wealth and taxes is available to all citizens.

B. Notes on Income

- 1. With adoption of progressive income and wealth taxes all indirect sales taxes and VATs would be abolished.
- 2. Piketty's **Basic Income** proposal: Those with no other income would be entitled to a basic income set at 60% of mean national after-tax income. This amount would decline as other income increased, but less than proportionately so as to maintain incentives. Piketty estimates that ~ 30% of the population would be eligible for some amount of Basic Income.
- 3. The Basic Income guarantee does not necessarily substitute for all other programs of public income support.

4. Piketty's 'social state' guarantees health care, education, pensions, employment, unemployment insurance, family benefits and the like, and entails ~ 45% of national income.

C. Education

1. We should invest less in elite educational programs and institutions and more in those that serve the disadvantaged. The amounts invested in the least advantaged primary and secondary schools should be substantially increased to make the overall distribution of educational investment by age cohort more equal. Average teacher pay should no longer be an increasing function of the percentage of better off students being taught, as it is now.

2. Every child should have a right to the same educational funding. Piketty suggests that € 170,00-250,000 represents the current funding level of the best funded 10% of each age cohort. If a student leaves school at 16-18 they would have consumed € 70-100,000 of their due, and could draw on the remaining € 100,000-150,000 for training, vocational education, etc.

3. To "counter the exorbitant growth of capital endowments of the wealthiest private universities... owing to the high returns their portfolios have yielded on international markets," we should raise the portion of the endowment that must be spent annually from the current 4-5 % to 10-15 %. Further, a progressive tax should be imposed on university endowments to finance an endowment fund for the poorest universities.

4. The purpose of these policies is "to increase the likelihood that disadvantaged students attend university." The key measure of disadvantage should be family income. However, the social backgrounds of students should be taken into account when considering admissions.

D. Progressive Taxation and Carbon Emissions

1. Piketty includes a progressive carbon tax as part of the progressive income tax modeled in Table 4.1 above.

2. Carbon tax proceeds must be used to fund the transition to renewable energy sources and to compensate middle and lower income households for the impact it has on their purchasing power, so as to preclude "Yellow Vest" opposition.

3. A carbon tax is difficult to structure progressively. One option is high taxes on goods purchased mostly by the affluent: boats, first class air travel, high-end culture and recreation, etc.

4. To address climate change we will need new norms, practices and standards in addition to taxation.

E. Ensuring an Egalitarian and Participatory Democracy

1. "Parliamentary democracy today is unable to stem the tide of rising inequality..." To remedy this we need:

- a. **Democracy equality vouchers** which would "... provide each citizen with an annual voucher worth, say, 5 euros, which could be assigned to the political party or movement of his or her choosing."
- b. Total prohibition of political contributions by firms
- c. Strict limitations on contributions from individuals, e.g., to no more than € 200 per candidate per campaign.

2. Extend the voucher model to **public sector budgeting**. Citizens could apply vouchers to various public sector programs or services. A forum to allow extensive public discussion, debate and deliberation would be necessary.

F. Just Borders

1. "Our generally accepted principles of national sovereignty conflict with our generally accepted desire for free trade." Piketty proposes that existing trade agreements be replaced with ambitious treaties that seek to promote

equitable and sustainable development. These would establish verifiable common goals regarding just taxation, CO2 emissions and more. Transnational assemblies could be established to allow democratic deliberation.

G. Transnational Justice

1. Piketty proposes that **regional transnational assemblies** comparable to the European Union be established for all countries: an African Union, an East Asian Union, an Islamic Union, and so on. These would collectively be responsible for global public goods such as climate, economic justice, trade and immigration. Each regional union would be composed of deputies from the component national parliaments, or could have deputies elected from within-national regions specifically for the transnational assembly.

2. Transnational assemblies could decide to approve rules to move towards **free circulation of people**. However, there could be constraints, e.g.

- a) people can come into a country to work, but if they don't have a job within 3 months, have to leave;
- b) 5-year wait until you are eligible for public assistance.

H. Concluding Comments

Piketty says that these proposals "... would lead us via concentric circles to a vast transnational democracy, ultimately resulting in just common taxes, a universal right to education and a capital endowment, free circulation of peoples, and *de facto* virtual abolition of borders."

He variously refers to this regime as one of *democratic federalism*, *social federalism on a global scale*, and *participatory socialism*.

He realizes that all countries can't be expected to agree to and adopt all these measures simultaneously, and suggest that groups of countries move as expeditiously as they can towards *codevelopment treaties*, while inviting other countries to join when ready.

ATTACHMENT C.3. BROADER PROPOSALS THAT ADDRESS ECONOMIC INEQUALITY (cont.)

C.3.c. THE GREEN NEW DEAL AND THE RED DEAL

C.3.c.1. THE GREEN NEW DEAL

The title “Green New Deal” has been applied to a variety of policy packages proposed in the US, the UK, Germany and elsewhere by activist groups, think tanks, the United Nations and other organizations. The version summarized below is that of the Green Party of the United States and was used by Green Party candidate Jill Stein in her 2016 presidential campaign. See the full Green New Deal proposal [here](#).

I – THE ECONOMIC BILL OF RIGHTS

1. Full employment rights: 25 million public sector jobs; of these, 16 million in Green jobs (see II.3 below).
2. Worker’s rights: the right to a living wage, to a safe workplace, to fair trade, and to organize unions.
3. Quality health care rights: single-payer Medicare-for-All.
4. Education rights: tuition-free, quality, federally funded, locally controlled public education system from pre-school through college. Forgiveness of current student loan debt.
5. Housing rights: Halt all foreclosures & evictions; restructure existing mortgages to affordable levels; low income rental assistance and public housing; homeownership assistance; non-profit community housing support.
6. Right to accessible and affordable utilities: provide heat, electricity, phone, internet, and public transportation through democratically run, publicly owned utilities that operate at cost, not for profit.
7. Right to fair taxation: increased progressivity.

II – A GREEN TRANSITION

1. Green business investment: grants, low-interest loans to small, locally-based companies.
2. Prioritize green research: wind, solar, geothermal; sustainable, nontoxic materials; closed-loop manufacturing cycles; organic agriculture and permaculture; sustainable forestry.
3. Green jobs: 16 million jobs in sustainable energy, energy efficiency retrofitting, mass transit, pedestrian infrastructure, regional sustainable organic agriculture and clean manufacturing.

III – REAL FINANCIAL REFORM

1. Reduce homeowner and student debt burdens to relieve debt overhang impeding economic development.
2. Nationalize the Federal Reserve, placing them under a Monetary Authority within the Treasury Department.
3. Break up the oversized “too big to fail” banks.
4. End public bailouts for banks, insurers, etc. Use the FDIC to reopen failed banks as solvent public banks.
5. Regulate all financial derivatives and require them to be traded on open exchanges.
6. Restore the Glass-Steagall separation of depository commercial banks from speculative investment banks.
7. Establish a 90% tax on bonuses for bailed out bankers.
8. Support the formation of federal, state, and municipal public-owned banks that function as non-profit utilities.

IV – A FUNCTIONING DEMOCRACY

1. Amend the Constitution to revoke corporate personhood.
2. Amend the Constitution to include a Voters Bill of Rights:
 - a voter-marked paper ballot for all voting
 - replace partisan oversight of elections with non-partisan election commissions

- make Election Day a national holiday
 - simplified, safe same-day voter registration
 - instant runoff voting and proportional representation.
 - full public financing of campaigns and free and equal access to the airwaves
 - abolish the Electoral College
 - restore the vote to ex-offenders
 - statehood for the District of Columbia
4. Commission a review of all federal preemption law and its impact on the practice of local democracy in the US.
 5. Create a federal Corporation for Economic Democracy to provide training, education & direct financing for cooperative development and for reforms to make all public & private sector organizations more participatory.
 6. Expand federal support for locally-owned broadcast media and local print media.
 7. To protect personal liberty: repeal the Patriot Act and sections of the National Defense Authorization Act; prohibit Dept of Homeland Security, the FBI and local police from suppressing freedoms of assembly and speech; end the war on immigrants.
 8. Reduce military spending by 50%; close foreign U.S. military bases; restore National Guard as our defense centerpiece; create a new round of nuclear disarmament initiatives.

[over]

NB: In early 2019 Democratic Party legislators began proposing major policy packages intended to address economic inequality. These included a new version of the Green New Deal proposed by Congresswomen Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (NY) and a wealth tax proposed by Senator Elizabeth Warren (MA). These and other proposals will be discussed in the final working paper.

C.3.c.2 THE RED DEAL : Indigenous Action to Save Our Earth (2021)

Authored by: **The Red Nation** – www.therednation.org

The Red Nation is “... a coalition of Native and non-Native activists, educators, students, and community organizers advocating Native liberation... formed to address the invisibility and marginalization of Native struggles within mainstream social justice organizing, and to foreground the targeted destruction and violence towards Native life and land... We are indigenous revolutionaries... [who oppose] colonialism, capitalism, heteropatriarchy, imperialism and white supremacy.”

10-POINT PROGRAM

“We demand an end to violence against native peoples and our nonhuman relatives through:

- 1) The Re-instatement of Treaty Rights
- 2) The Full Rights and Equal Protection for Native People
- 3) The End to Disciplinary Violence Against Native Peoples and All Oppressed Peoples
- 4) The End to Discrimination Against the Native Silent Majority: Youth and The Poor
- 5) The End to the Discrimination, Persecution, Killing, Torture, and Rape of Native Women
- 6) The End to the Discrimination, Persecution, Killing, Torture, and Rape of Native Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, and Two-Spirit People (LGBTQ2+)
- 7) The End to the Dehumanization of Native Peoples
- 8) Access to Appropriate Education, Healthcare, Social Services, Employment, and Housing
- 9) The Repatriation of Native Lands and Lives and the Protection of Nonhuman Relatives
- 10) The End to Capitalism-Colonialism.”

“This is a platform so that our planet may live.” It ...”encompasses the entirety of Indigenous America, including our non-Indigenous comrades and relatives who live here.” “It’s not the ‘Red New Deal’ because it’s the same ‘Old Deal’—the fulfillment of treaty rights, land restoration, sovereignty, self-determination, decolonization, and liberation. “ “The Red Deal is not a counter program to the Green New Deal. It’s a call for action beyond the scope of the U.S. colonial state.”

The Red Deal calls for “demilitarization, police and prison abolition, abolishing ICE, tearing down all border walls, Indigenous liberation, decolonization, land restoration, treaty rights, free healthcare, free education, free housing, full citizenship, equal protection for undocumented relatives, a complete moratorium on oil, gas, coal, and carbon extraction and emissions, a transition to an economy that benefits everyone and that ends the exploitation of the Global South and Indigenous nations for resources, safe and free public transportation, restoration of Indigenous agriculture, food sovereignty; restoration of watersheds and waterways, denuclearization; Black self-determination and autonomy, gender and sexual equality, Two-Spirit, trans*, and queer liberation, and the restoration of sacred sites.”

Red Deal action and advocacy campaigns are organized under three major focal areas and leading strategies:

1) DIVEST: END THE OCCUPATION

Defund Police/*La Migra*/Child Protective Services
End bordertown violence
Abolish incarceration (prisons, juvenile detention facilities, jails, border security)
End the U.S. Military occupation everywhere
Abolish imperial borders

2) REINVEST: HEAL OUR BODIES

Citizenship and equal rights for everyone

Free and sustainable housing for everyone
Free education for everyone
Free healthcare for everyone
Free and accessible public transportation for everyone
Suicide prevention
Non-carceral mental health services
Healthy, Indigenous, and abundant food for everyone
Clean water and air
Sexual and domestic violence services
End MMIWG (*Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls*)
Reproductive justice

3) CREATE JOBS: HEAL OUR PLANET

Clean, sustainable energy
Traditional and sustainable agriculture
Land, water, air, and animal restoration (above and below ground)
Protection and restoration of sacred sites
Enforcement of treaty rights and other agreements

FOUR KEY PRINCIPLES inform the practical work to achieve the Red Deal:

- 1) What Creates Crisis Cannot Solve It
- 2) Change Comes from Below and to The Left
- 3) Politicians Can't Do What Only Mass Movements Do
- 4) Theory informs effective Action

As described in the book, the Red Deal is centered on the needs of Native Americans in North America. But it was conceived to be applicable to the challenges faced by all opposed persons and communities worldwide, and a unified global movement is understood to be necessary if the Red Deal is to fully succeed anywhere at all.

=====

Sources for *The Red Deal*:

Jacobin article:

[A Red Deal \(jacobinmag.com\)](https://jacobinmag.com/2019/09/red-deal/)

Shortest summary of Red Deal:

[a-red-deal_full-working-draft_9-21-19-1.pdf \(wordpress.com\)](https://www.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/a-red-deal_full-working-draft_9-21-19-1.pdf)

The Red Deal Pt 1: End of Occupation:

[Red-Deal Part-I End-The-Occupation-1.pdf \(therednation.org\)](https://therednation.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Red-Deal_Part-I_End-The-Occupation-1.pdf)

The Red Deal Pt 2: Heal Our Bodies:

[red-deal-part-two-heal-our-bodies.pdf \(wordpress.com\)](https://www.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/red-deal-part-two-heal-our-bodies.pdf)

The Red Deal Pt 3: Heal Our Planet:

[http://therednation.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Red-Deal_Part-III_Heal-Our-Planet.pdf](https://therednation.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Red-Deal_Part-III_Heal-Our-Planet.pdf)

RELATED: THE PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONAL:

<https://progressive.international/about/en>

related: decolonizing solidarity (focus on aboriginal rights work by aboriginal-led organizations):

<https://decolonizingsolidarity.org/>