

THE PEOPLE'S GUIDE TO

THE GREEN NEW DEAL

Presented by the UCSB Blum Center on Poverty, Inequality, and Democracy



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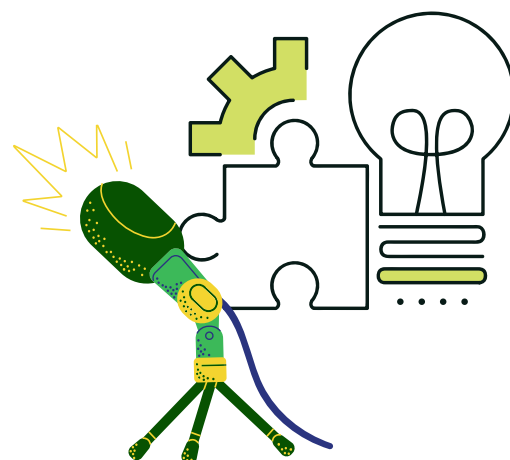
THE UCSB BLUM CENTER

The Guide was created by student leaders at the UC Santa Barbara Barbara Blum Center on Poverty, Inequality, and Democracy. The Blum Center's mission is to foster interdisciplinary, socially engaged research and learning about poverty and inequality; and to contribute to collective action that advances intersectional economic and environmental justice in our local communities, the United States, and around the world.



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This People's Guide to the Green New Deal has two goals. First, it aims to provide an **accessible overview** of what the Green New Deal hopes to achieve and why; when this proposal emerged and its historical roots; its main advocates, critics, and overlooked voices; and where and how the Green New Deal is being used by various stakeholders.

Second, this Guide aims to raise public awareness of the Green New Deal (GND) as a **democratic organizing framework** for **local communities** in working toward their own vision of a future rooted in **sustainable economic and environmental justice** that helps build a **more inclusive democracy** from the ground up.

HOW YOU CAN USE THIS GUIDE:



Inform yourself about the Green New Deal and its alternatives.



Share this knowledge within your networks.



Act in your local community and join the larger movement for climate action.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE GREEN NEW DEAL



"YOU CANNOT PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT UNLESS YOU EMPOWER PEOPLE, YOU INFORM THEM, AND YOU HELP THEM UNDERSTAND THAT THESE RESOURCES ARE THEIR OWN, THAT THEY MUST PROTECT THEM."

— Wangari Maathai, Kenyan environmental activist, founder of the ecofeminist organization Green Belt Movement, and first African woman to ever win the Nobel Peace Prize

CLIMATE CHANGE AND ITS IMPACTS: AN OVERVIEW

The world's leading climate scientists have given us a grim warning — we have **just over a decade to prevent further irreversible global damage** from climate change. Hurricanes in the Atlantic Ocean, Gulf of Mexico, and Caribbean have become more severe over the past 20 years. Fires in the Western United States burn for longer, and damage increasingly larger areas. All of the top 10 warmest years on record globally have occurred since 1998, and these warmer temperatures have expanded the reach of illnesses to new regions, such as an increase in Lyme Disease and West Nile Virus cases across the United States.

The effects of climate change are also **not experienced equally**. On a global scale, environmental refugees, those displaced by growing uninhabitable areas, are predominantly low-income people of color, and/or citizens of the Global South. Within the United States, communities of color are disproportionately impacted by the negative effects of climate change. These inequities are connected to the history and enduring legacies of colonialism and slavery, and a capitalist economic system that devalues labor and marginalizes communities of color.

The effects of climate change are putting pressures on our global economy, ecosystem, and society today, and will continue to have impacts over the long-term. Now, we must focus our efforts on not only preventing further harm, but also adapting to the harm that we cannot repair. This is what many climate activists, politicians, and human rights advocates hope to do with the **Green New Deal, a series of plans and goals focused on transforming the economic and social structures that sustain the interconnected crises of inequality and climate change**.

ORIGINS: THE NEW DEAL

The Green New Deal draws on important historical precedents. Specifically, it alludes to the **New Deal**, a large-scale recovery and reform program launched by President Franklin D.

Roosevelt to help American citizens overcome the devastating impacts of the 1930's Great Depression. The progressive plan included a series of government programs and acts to provide relief in key areas, such as housing, agriculture, business regulation, workers' rights, and the creation of a social safety net. Some of these initiatives included: the **Homeowners Loan Act** to prevent foreclosures by providing mortgage assistance; the **Agricultural Adjustment Act** to end agricultural surpluses and boost prices; the **National Labor Relations Act** (aka the Wagner Act), which recognized the rights of workers to organize and form unions and the obligations of industries to engage in collective bargaining; and the **Works Progress Administration** to provide jobs to the unemployed through public projects.

While the New Deal did not ultimately heal structural inequities, it facilitated many positive outcomes that have had a lasting impact on American society and its economy. Notably, it helped build a multi-racial working class political coalition that included the white working class, African Americans, and women. It created important benefits that still support many people today, such as Social Security, and unemployment insurance. However, New Deal programs were also built on an edifice of racial and gender exclusions that reinforced and deepened structural inequities over time.

With ambitions at the same scale (or arguably larger) than the New Deal, the Green New Deal aims to structurally transform the United States to achieve both environmental and economic justice.

ENTER THE GREEN NEW DEAL

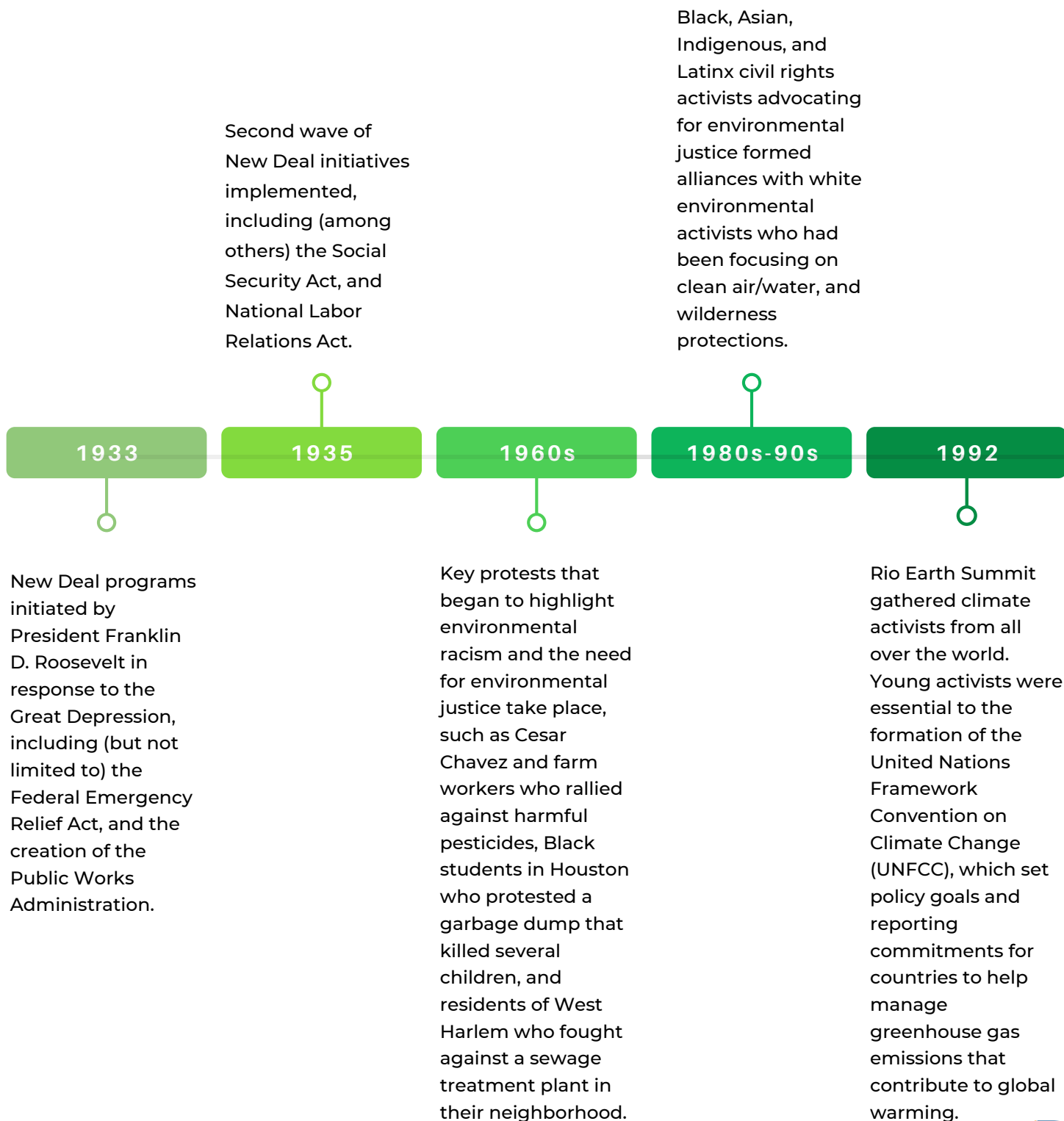
In February 2019, U.S. Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Senator Edward Markey introduced a joint resolution to Congress laying out a 10-year plan to achieve both **environmental and economic justice** in the United States. The plan included measures to achieve 100% clean energy by 2030 and zero carbon emissions by 2050, alongside reforms to achieve economic opportunity and security for all. It also underlined the need for a **just transition** and **new social contract** to ensure that everyone can participate in this clean economy. This requires creating new economic and social systems that address historical inequalities exacerbated by climate change.

This Green New Deal resolution was drafted by Rhiana Gunn-Wright and fellow policy-makers at the New Consensus think tank. Its proposals are on a scale not seen since the New Deal and WWII mobilization. Crucially, its proposals center environmental justice at their core in order to modernize the economy in a way that is sustainable for future generations. **Where the New Deal primarily focused on economic security, the Green New Deal seeks to combine economic security with environmental stability and social inclusion.**

Authors and advocates of the GND describe transformational aims of bringing employment, business ownership, and wealth-generating opportunities to communities underserved (and largely overlooked) by and since the New Deal. Notably, they affirm and center treaty rights and respect for Native American tribal land sovereignty, and explicitly prioritize the expansion of economic security and opportunity for women of all races to have the means to provide for themselves and their families into retirement.

KEY DATES IN THE GND TIMELINE

An overview of key moments toward economic and environmental justice ultimately contributing to the framework of the Green New Deal



A coalition of European Green Party leaders created the Global Greens "Green New Deal Task Force", which emphasized large scale public investment and jobs to help shift to a renewable economy. However, it gains little public traction.

2005-6

Kyoto Protocol became a global force in 2005, building off the UNFCC, that set binding obligations on industrialized countries to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. First adopted in Japan in 1997.

2007

Renowned journalist Thomas Friedman used "Green New Deal" as a rallying term in a New York Times article; the article popularized the term in academic and social circles.

2008-9

Recession of world economy likened to Great Depression of 1929, with the unprecedented pressure of the ecological crisis.

2019

Representatives Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-N.Y.) and Ed Markey (D-Mass.) formally proposed the Green New Deal to Congress in the US, with support from the youth activist group, the Sunrise Movement.


The Red Nation—a group of Indigenous activists—published the Red Deal, which pushed for an expansion of the GND that prioritizes Indigenous liberation, and for recognition of Indigenous communities' frontline struggle in the long history of environmental advocacy and activism. Other alternative GNDs also developed, including the Feminist GND, among others.

STRUCTURAL FOUNDATIONS

"ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM IS NOT JUST RACISM WITH AN ECOLOGICAL TWIST; RATHER IT REVEALS TO US THE GREAT DEPTHS OF RACISM ITSELF. RACISM IS ABOUT DOMINATION OF PEOPLE AND NATURAL RESOURCES; IT IS ABOUT CONQUEST OVER PHYSICAL SPACE, TANGIBLE GOODS, AND PEOPLE'S LABOR. IN OTHER WORDS, ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM FORCES US TO RETHINK EVERYDAY AND STRUCTURAL RACISM THAT MOST OF US ARE FAMILIAR WITH BECAUSE IT HAS ENORMOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE SOCIAL AND THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT THAT WE INHABIT."

— *"Racial formation, environmental racism, and the emergence of Silicon Valley"*
Park & Pellow, 2004

The Green New Deal argues that capitalism and a consumer-driven lifestyle are rapidly destroying our environment and communities. Rising temperatures driven by fossil fuels are contributing to massive disruptions to the livelihoods of Indigenous communities, sparking life-threatening refugee crises around the world, and **deepening inequalities across race, gender, class, and religious lines.**



Advocates of the GND argue that these unequal impacts underscore the need for a **profoundly intersectional lens toward climate change that places economic, environmental, and racial justice at the forefront.** An intersectional lens toward climate change ultimately recognizes how the oppression of Black, Indigenous, and People of Color is at the heart of ecological damage, and must be central within efforts to achieve economic and environmental justice.

WHAT IS: ECONOMIC JUSTICE?

Climate change **disproportionately affects marginalized communities** by amplifying structural inequalities in housing, food, healthcare, and employment.

The Green New Deal includes plans to address these socio-economic inequalities by:

- 1 **creating millions of green jobs to build the green economy** with fair, "family-sustaining" wages, as well as medical and retirement benefits
- 2 **establishing universal health care**
- 3 **securing access to clean air, water, and climate resiliency** for all homes
- 4 **ensuring financial security** for low-income communities and small businesses
- 5 **protecting and repairing healthy, sustainable environments** for the future

Source: Rhiana Gunn-Wright and Robert Hockett, *The Green New Deal New Consensus* (2019).

WHAT IS: ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE?

Environmental justice means that **people across all races, income levels, and national origin have a say in the development of environmental laws and initiatives.**

Having a voice in these decisions helps ensure that the negative consequences of climate change do not disproportionately affect one group more than another.

The GND centers intersectional environmental justice at its core, but fair participation from all groups cannot occur until economic needs are met. Therefore **environmental justice and economic justice are inextricably linked.**

Source: *Environmental Justice*, Environmental Protection Agency (2021).



OVERVIEW OF ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM

We know marginalized groups are disproportionately affected by climate change, but **why?**

Environmental racism refers to the systemic exploitation and bias that both structure everyday life, and rationalize taken for granted inequities. It can be seen in the rampant residential segregation that too often puts communities of color closer to harmful pollutants, as well as the erasure of Indigenous knowledge and resource claims. It is embedded in structures and ideological frameworks, but also in everyday consequences. The concept is also used as an organizing tool to illustrate how racism is not only embedded in social relations, but also within the environmental realm.

UNDERLYING RACIAL FRAMEWORKS

Park and Pellow (2004) highlight that one's position in society influences (and arguably determines) one's relationship to the environment. In a racialized social hierarchy, people of color are situated on the lower rungs, which justifies their concentration in work and neighborhoods that put them at higher risk of exposure to environmental hazards.

Source: Lisa Sun-Hee Park and David N. Pellow, *Racial formation, environmental racism, and the emergence of Silicon Valley Ethnicities* 4.3 (2004): 403-424.

Racial Ecology, a related framework, describes how certain groups are seen as "closer" to nature, thus more primitive. In the colonial history of the U.S., for instance, Indigenous people were seen by colonizers to be more animalistic, more "fit" for dirty environments, and in need of civility. This framework was used to justify the white appropriation of their land under the guise of "development."

Eco-fascism is an extreme variation of these racial ideologies, which places the burden of climate change, its causes and ramifications on people of color, often from the Global South. It suggests that issues such as overpopulation and immigration can be solved by the elimination of these groups, without interrogating the structures that have led to these crises.

Source: Jordan Dyett and Cassidy Thomas, *Overpopulation Discourse: Patriarchy, Racism, and the Specter of Ecofascism. Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* 18.1-2 (2019): 205-224.

ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM AT WORK

What does environmental racism look like?

INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

- **Indigenous groups in the Amazon, such as the Shawm people**, experience increased drought, leading to injury, death, and food insecurity.
- **The Aborigine people of Australia** face major ecological disruption, as their communities are situated in the majority of fire prone areas.
- **The Navajo Nation** has had more deaths per capita than any U.S. state during the COVID-19 global pandemic due to lack of running water and overcrowded housing.

Source: *Climate Change*, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs: Indigenous Peoples (2021).

AROUND THE WORLD

ENVIRONMENTAL REFUGEE CRISIS

- **Climate change** has meant the large-scale migrations of populations experiencing ecological degradation that render their homes uninhabitable.
- These communities, mostly from developing nations, have often been **poor, Black, Indigenous, and people of color**. In the future, the number and diversity of people who become environmental refugees is likely to grow.

Source: John Podesta, *The climate crisis, mitigation, and refugees*, The Brookings Institution (2019).

IN THE U.S.

REGIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM

- **Flint, Michigan** - a water crisis precipitated by undemocratic state government action that sent lead contaminated water into the households of this majority Black working-class community.
- **Hurricane Katrina** - disproportionately affected Black and Brown communities, who then received less aid than white survivors.
- **"Cancer Alley," Louisiana and Uniontown, Alabama** - stretches of oil refineries, factories, and landfills around Black communities.
- **Silicon Valley** - the production workforce is 70-80% Asian and Latino and 60% women. High levels of toxins, gases, and chemicals involved in electronics manufacturing have left this workforce 3x more likely to develop cancer, have miscarriages, and acquire diseases.

Sources: Connor Maxwell, *America's Sordid Legacy on Race and Disaster Recovery*, Center for American Progress: Race and Ethnicity (2018); Lisa Sun-Hee Park and David N. Pellow, *Racial formation, environmental racism, and the emergence of Silicon Valley*, *Ethnicities* 4.3 (2004): 403-424.

MOVING TOWARDS A "JUST TRANSITION"

The emphasis on a "just transition" to clean energy within the GND represents a commitment to address climate change that **intentionally strives to heal the underlying structures and impacts of environmental racism and systemic inequality, and avoids creating new divisions**. This means removing pollution sources from vulnerable communities, protecting communities of color with universal healthcare and resilient housing, and implementing a **wage replacement program** for fossil fuel workers and their families as they transition to green jobs. But, how will this just transition be achieved?

The Green New Deal proposes a new, "**radically inclusive social contract**" that would hold all members of society responsible for promoting inclusion, equity, and unity - regardless of race, citizenship status, gender, ability, and class.

Within the proposed GND framework, federal support would be allocated to communities and businesses through community grants, public banks, and public financing. Federal authorities would distribute resources, create opportunities, training, and high-quality education to all in order to foster equal opportunity.

The GND also calls for federal policy in support of workers' rights to organize, unionize, and collectively bargain free of coercion, intimidation, and harassment. In addition to proposing new human rights protections, the GND would maintain human rights rulings that have been fought for and established, like *Roe v. Wade*.

Source: Rhiana Gunn-Wright and Robert Hockett, *The Green New Deal*, New Consensus (2019).

A social contract represents the set of mutual responsibilities, expectations, and norms that tie citizens to their government and to one another.

Source: Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. *Social contract*, Encyclopedia Britannica, (2019).

Advocates of the GND argue that the current social contract is one where the "privileged and powerful" exclude those who are marginalized along class, gender, and racial divisions. Thus, citizens of marginalized communities do not receive the benefits of a just and reciprocal social contract. Their labor and service have not been returned in the form of protections, and often protection by the law explicitly works against their well-being. Advocates of the GND see examples of this flawed social contract in the racial wealth gap, the prison-industrial complex, and several other legacies of slavery and Jim Crow era policy.

FINANCING THE GREEN NEW DEAL



"... THE QUESTION OF HOW TO PAY FOR THE GREEN NEW DEAL MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE TREMENDOUS COSTS OF INACTION."

—the New Consensus, the architect of the GND Resolution presented to Congress

FINANCING THE GND

Advocates for the Green New Deal have proposed various budgets, ranging from trillions in investment, to the GND itself becoming a source of revenue in the long run. Others argue that the GND does not call for more funds from government, but rather, a redistribution of funds in alignment with new priorities, such as education over war, and healthcare over prison. **Since there is no one GND, there is no set budget.** The examples illustrate the diversity of relevant proposals from the 2020 presidential campaign for how to use the goals of the GND to advance economic and environmental justice.

SANDERS' PLAN

- Just transition for workers
- \$200 billion to Green Climate Fund and rejoining Paris Agreement

\$16.3 trillion
now but "will pay
for itself over 15
years"

- 20 million jobs
- 100% renewable energy for electricity and transportation by 2030
- 100% decarbonization by 2050

BIDEN'S PLAN

\$2 trillion
accelerated
investment, with a
plan to deploy
resources over his
first term

- More domestic jobs
- Community-driven decision-making
- Reform and extend tax incentives to generate energy efficiency and clean energy jobs

- 100% clean energy economy and net-zero emissions by 2050
- Infrastructure resilience
- Rejoin Paris Agreement

Sources: *The Biden Plan For A Clean Energy Revolution and Environmental Justice*, Joe Biden and Kamala Harris Official Website (2021). ; *The Biden Plan To Build A Modern, Sustainable Infrastructure And An Equitable Clean Energy Future* Joe Biden and Kamala Harris Official Website (2021).

WARREN'S PLAN

**\$10.7
trillion**

- Water infrastructure
- Building resiliency
- Affordable housing plan
- National Climate Bank Act

- 10.6 million new green jobs
- Carbon-neutral by 2030
- Emissions-free electricity by 2035
- 100% zero-emission vehicles by 2030 and electric vehicle charging infrastructure

VOICES AND VISIONS OF THE GREEN NEW DEAL



"TOO BLACK? SOMETIMES. TOO HOOD? SOMETIMES. TOO YOUNG? NOT REALLY."

— Rhiana Gunn-Wright, American author and Climate Policy Director at the Roosevelt Institute, in response to the question: "Do you feel as if you're too young [to have written the most high-profile GND resolution]?" on S1E8 of *The Weekly* in 2019

LEADING ADVOCATES

The push for the Green New Deal is rooted in collective, local, and grassroots actions - there is no one founder or leader. In this section we highlight a few key advocates for the GND, alongside grassroots leaders whose efforts to fight climate change and environmental racism embody the principles of the GND.

RHIANA GUNN- WRIGHT

Ms. Gunn-Wright wrote the most high profile version of the Green New Deal, in her former role as policy director for the New Consensus think tank. She is now Director of Climate Policy at the Roosevelt Institute.



REPRESENTATIVE ALEXANDRIA OCASIO- CORTEZ (D-NY)

Representative "AOC" introduced the GND resolution with Senator Ed Markey (D-MA) to Congress in 2019, and works with like-minded organizations to advocate for the plan. She is often profiled in the media as the face of the GND.

YOUTH AT THE FOREFRONT

Youth have been a major force within the GND movement. These young actors, alongside others, have been instrumental in initiating and executing Fridays for Future - a series of weekly, global "school strikes" on Fridays for climate justice begun by Greta Thunberg; college divestment campaigns; and organizing to support legislative efforts related to the Green New Deal.

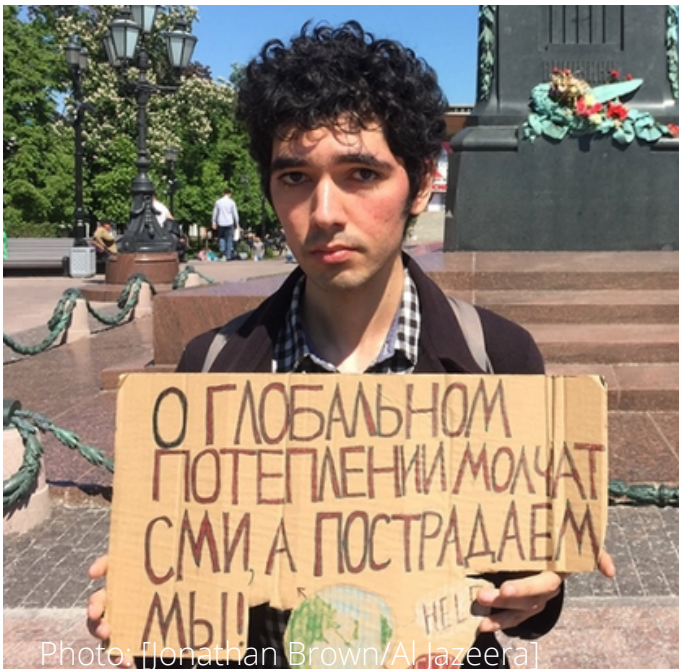


Photo: [Jonatnan Brown/Al Jazeera]

MAKICHYAN ARSHAK

Arshak is a Russian environmental activist of Armenian origin, whose protests were originally inspired by Greta Thunberg. In 2019 he staged a solo protest in Moscow, Russia for over 40 weeks as part of the youth-led initiative called Fridays for Future.



Photo: Getty Images

HOWEY OU

Ou is a Chinese environmentalist who skipped her high school classes for a week in 2019 to stage a solo protest in Giulín, China, inspired in part by of the youth-led initiative called Fridays for Future. Her protest went viral on social media within China and abroad. Despite being barred from school for her protest, Ou hopes to build an environmental grassroots movement across China.



Photo: Rachael Warner

VARSHINI PRAKASH

Prakash is an environmental activist, as well as the co-founder and Executive Director of the Sunrise Movement, a youth-led movement focused on climate action established in 2017. Sunrise has mobilized millions of voters over the past several presidential and primary elections. Most recently, they gave President Joe Biden a Climate Mandate to take drastic, FDR-level action on climate, including appointing a pro-climate cabinet and establishing the Office of Climate Mobilization in his administration.

Source: *The Team We Need to Combat the Climate Crisis*, Climate Mandate (2021).

VANESSA NAKATE

Nakate is a youth climate activist from Uganda where she was the first 'Fridays for the Future' activist. She also founded the Rise Up Climate Movement that works to amplify the voices of African activists regarding the dangers of climate change. She is well known for speaking out about the burdens climate change has posed on African nations and drew attention to the lack of diversity in the youth movement when she was famously cropped out of a photo with other youth climate activists, in which she was the only activist of color.



Photo: Getty Images

"Africa is the least emitter of carbons, but we are the most affected by climate crisis."

Source: Nakate, Vanessa. Twitter (2019).

INDIGENOUS ACTIVISTS

Indigenous communities are often overlooked in the media, and this continues to be the case in relation to the GND, though they have long been at the forefront of environmental movements.



TARA HOUSKA

of the Ojibwe Couchiching First Nation, is a water and land protector and environmental activist. She was on the frontlines protesting the Dakota Access pipeline in 2016, and is involved in a number of organizations highlighting the Native struggle in protecting their land. She advocates for Indigenous voices in policymaking, saying that "the consultation and consent of Indigenous people is crucial to sustain the land for generations to come."

Source: "Spotlight on Indigenous Activists." Lakota Law Action Center (2019).

NAELYN PIKE

of the Chiricahua Apache, is a climate activist who was the youngest person to speak to Congress, at just 13 years old in 2015. She helps to organize protests across the U.S. and works to protect Native sacred land and Indigenous peoples' rights.





MADONNA THUNDER HAWK

of the Oohenumpa Lakota, is a longtime climate justice and civil rights activist. She began her work with the American Indian Movement at age 20 and is still fighting for Indigenous social and environmental justice at 80 years old. She is well known for her organizing at Standing Rock when Indigenous groups were resisting the Dakota Access pipeline.

JOANN TALL

of the Oglala Lakota, has been an environmental activist for decades in the Indigenous community. She has organized to protect sacred land from uranium mining, and has also fought for Native peoples' rights to participate in discussions regarding their own land. She is a community educator, and informs community members about the negative impacts climate change has on health.



GREEN NEW DEAL CRITIQUES AND ALTERNATIVES



"IF EVERY STRUGGLE WERE MADE INTO A CLIMATE STRUGGLE, THEN EVERY STRUGGLE IN NORTH AMERICA MUST BE MADE INTO A STRUGGLE FOR DECOLONIZATION. THE SOLUTIONS OFFERED IN THE RED DEAL MUST ENTAIL A SOCIAL REVOLUTION THAT TURNS BACK THE FORCES OF DESTRUCTION. IT MUST PENETRATE THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL REALMS WITH EQUAL URGENCY AND FORCE."

- *"A Red Deal"*

Nick Estes, Lower Brule Sioux, author, assistant professor of American Studies at the University of New Mexico, co-founder of Indigenous resistance organization The Red Nation

GREEN NEW DEAL CRITIQUES AND ALTERNATIVES

Multiple resolutions and policy plans use the Green New Deal as a foundational framework, but propose key revisions. Some believe that the GND is too radical and that a more moderate solution is required to combat climate change. Others feel that the GND is not radical enough and the policy should focus on large scale structural changes. Below are a few notable examples.

A GREEN "REAL" DEAL

A resolution presented in April 2019 by Representative Matt Gaetz (R- FL) and the Citizens for Responsible Energy Solutions - a conservative leaning environmental advocacy non-profit organization.

The resolution includes strengthening U.S. patent rights to boost American solar power/hydropower companies. It does not phase out fossil fuels, and instead proposes a voluntary framework for companies to track carbon emissions.

Previous legislative activity by Gaetz focused on environmental change involved his sponsoring of a 2017 bill to abolish the Environmental Protection Agency.

Source: *Congressman Matt Gaetz Unveils the Green 'Real' Deal*, Congressman Matt Gaetz Official Website (2019).



A "RADICAL" GREEN NEW DEAL

The Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) proposed a "radical" GND in 2019, which centers around climate justice and immigrant justice, specifically the abolition of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. According to the DSA, ecosocialists, militarism, imprisonment, and the criminalization of immigrants are inherently tied to ecological degradation.

The DSA emphasizes the need to "de-commodify survival," so that the poor and working class no longer have to fight and navigate exploitation in order to live. They advocate for global demilitarization and international solidarity through anti-war principles. They also call for the redistribution of resources away from the worst polluters. The DSA's ecosocialist working group advocates for this Green New Deal.

Source: DSA's *Green New Deal Principles*, Democratic Socialists of America: Ecosocialists (2019); Michael Löwy, *What is ecosocialism?*, *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 16.2 (2005): 15-24.

ECOSOCIALIST PHILOSOPHY IN ACTION

Ecosocialism is an ideological framework that aligns the demands of climate activists with anti-capitalism. Ecosocialists argue that capitalism "endangers or destroys its own condition" and as such, is the foundational cause of climate change, environmental degradation, and racial and gender oppression.

Both GND supporters and ecosocialists agree that the current crisis has economic, social, and ecological dimensions; recognize threats posed to vulnerable groups; and highlight the need for greater coordination among these groups. In many ways, the GND's prominence allows ecosocialism to come to the forefront. Ecosocialists also emphasize that current production and consumption modes must fundamentally change so that the alternative to the current system does not become a form of **"green" or "clean capitalism"** under the guise of sustainability and equality.

Ecosocialists reject "green capitalism," which they propose is rooted in the idea that nature can be commodified and owned. Under green capitalism, land and the environment are the ultimate source of capital and the highest measure of wealth. Green capitalism advocates for an economic system in which governments own land and use governmental policy, as well as capitalist market systems, to overcome environmental issues.



A FEMINIST GREEN NEW DEAL

A coalition of women's rights and climate justice organizations that call for an intersectional feminist analysis of environmental policies that address climate change. Their priorities are that the Green New Deal:

- Center the leadership of women, especially women of color
- Shift from privatization and capitalism to collective, sustainable economic models
- Divest from the military
- Support climate policies that center those on the frontline—women of color, migrant and refugee communities, Indigenous women, and communities in the Global South
- Advance reproductive justice

Another core tenet of the Feminist GND is global responsibility. They believe that there is, in fact, "no such thing as domestic climate policy." A globally responsible GND works to close the wealth gap between the historically colonized and the colonizers. It also recognizes that the U.S. has been the worst carbon emitter, and that the Global South has endured the brunt of carbon emission repercussions. Feminist economics note the link between nature and traditional women's work in that both are exploited as infinite resources. Due to this, the Feminist GND seeks to give women and girls, especially of the Global South, recognition and actively centers them as stakeholders to be consulted moving forward.

The Feminist GND further asserts that the fight for climate justice and women's bodily sovereignty go hand in hand. On principle, they reject "false population growth alarmism" that fuels eco-fascism and blames women's reproductive capacities for "over-population." They also advocate for sexual and reproductive rights in all circumstances.



THE RED NEW DEAL

The Red Nation is a radical Indigenous organization working towards Native liberation and justice. It formed in 2014 in order to “address the marginalization and invisibility of Indigenous struggles within mainstream social justice and to fight against the ongoing destruction of Indigenous life and land.” The Red Nation is composed of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous activists, and started in Albuquerque due to the theft and erasure of Indigenous lands and rights, as well as the implications of climate change and nuclear development in Indigenous communities. These activists note that the Red Deal is not “new” since their goals are what Indigenous communities have been working towards for many years.

The Red Nation's Red Deal recognizes that the GND is a “step in the right direction to combat climate change,” but it calls for the divestment from colonial tools, including capitalism, the military and prison industrial complexes, and policing in order to redirect those resources towards equitable solutions as well as reinvestment in sustainable energy sources and technology.

The Red Deal has **four core principles** that set the foundation of a plan to heal the people and the planet:

- **What Creates Crisis Cannot Solve It** → divesting from systems that perpetuate environmental damage and harm to marginalized communities
- **Change From Below And to The Left** → recognizing "people power" as the most powerful form of democracy
- **Politicians Can't Do What Only Mass Movements Do** → community-led movements are most influential in enacting social change, and political reforms often only treat the symptoms of a crisis rather than the structures of power that created the crisis.
- **From Theory to Action** → making policy recommendations that can be used at any level of government and continuing to organize for the liberation of all people.



Photo credit: Katie Rodriguez/Unsplash

GLOBAL GREEN NEW DEALS

The Global GND is a 2020 initiative proposed by a coalition of two climate and social justice groups: The Leap and War on Want. This Global GND prioritizes the needs of vulnerable populations, specifically during and in reaction to the COVID-19 pandemic. They emphasize a bailout for people, and not corporations. They also advocate for rent and eviction freezes without debt or loans. The goal is to assert the human right to food, energy, and housing, through a redistribution of these resources and a larger reconstruction of international trade and finance regimes. The members of these organizations denounce capitalism and expose how COVID-19 both foreshadows the worsening climate crisis, and causes the capitalist global system to come to a halt, providing opportunity for a real dismantling of colonial capitalism.

Source: *Global Green New Deal: From Crisis to Justice*, The Global Green New Deal (2021).

The People's Policy, a socialist think tank, also drafted a resolution for a *Global Green New Deal* in 2019. It proposed specific financial actions for finance-rich countries to take to alleviate "climate colonialism." People's Policy thinkers call on the U.S. specifically - as the developed country with the most carbon emissions - to propose a renewed Global Green New Deal (GGND) that recognizes and seeks to rectify the global ramifications of the U.S.' expansive pollution practices. This resolution also explicitly asks that the U.S. donate \$680 billion annually to the Green Climate Fund of the United Nations, compared with the average of \$1 billion set under President Barack Obama and even less under President Donald J. Trump. They make these demands of the U.S. as a result of the country's historic inability to follow-through on financial commitments to climate relief.

The People's Policy's resolution posits that the "developing" world produces most of the world's carbon emissions, but will continue to do so only as long as developed nations avoid blame, and continue to go on without providing economic relief to the Global South.

Source: Jacob Fawcett, *The Global Green New Deal* People's Policy Project (2019).

PERSPECTIVES ON THE GREEN NEW DEAL FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH

The move for a GND is led by **global powers in the North**. There is a strong concern that "remedies" for these hegemonic nations often cause more risk and damage for resource-rich/finance-poor countries, as well as additional strain on manufacturing countries, like India and China. Policy-makers and activists from the Global South underscore that the GND could continue to "perpetuate inequality and ecological degradation in the Global South and in marginalized sections of society across the world that have, since colonial times, served as sacrifice zones for extraction and waste." The term for what they fear is *climate colonialism*.

CLIMATE COLONIALISM

Activists from the Global South and marginalized communities are often wary of GND resolutions as a result of their potential to deepen climate colonialism in efforts to "clean" up the Global North. They expose how the displacement of colonized peoples has not only occurred due to industrial and corporate growth, but can also continue through efforts to implement "clean" energy machines in areas inhabited by Indigenous, Black, Brown, and poor communities.

They argue that a truly "just transition" is one that follows and applies principles like those illustrated by Indigenous communities, and the Red Deal - it is decolonial in nature. A decolonial transition sets sights not only on cleaning up toxic environments, but ceasing to further displace peoples and exploit resources in the process.

STATE AND LOCAL GREEN NEW DEALS



**“ONE INDIVIDUAL CANNOT
POSSIBLY MAKE A DIFFERENCE,
ALONE. IT IS INDIVIDUAL EFFORTS,
COLLECTIVELY, THAT MAKES A
NOTICEABLE DIFFERENCE—ALL
THE DIFFERENCE IN THE WORLD!”**

— Dr. Jane Goodall, English
primatologist, anthropologist, and
environmental activist

CALIFORNIA

📍 STATE LEVEL

Assemblymember Rob Bonta (D-Alameda) first proposed a California Green New Deal in January 2019. He re-introduced it in January 2020 with key provisions including mitigating severe impacts of climate change, launching an immediate reduction in fossil fuel emissions, and planning for a Just Transition to the green economy which guarantees equal jobs and benefits for workers.

However, in May 2020, as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, legislators removed all of the bill's original environmental priorities, replacing them with fiscal pandemic recovery goals, some of which do consider climate action spending goals.

Notable Features

- 1) Prohibit businesses from accepting public funds for any long-term projects that emit GHGs or expand fossil fuel use
- 2) Adopt spending measures that require funding and workplace standards for a Just Transition

Source: *Assemblymember Bonta Launches California Green New Deal*, Assemblymember Rob Bonta: District 18 Official Website (2020).

Source: Miranda O'Brien and Ruth A. Perez, *The Green New Deal: How Far We've Come*, UCSB Climate Justice Student Lab (2021).



📍 LOS ANGELES

Mayor Eric Garcetti's office announced a Green New Deal for LA in 2019, which built off their *Sustainable City pLAN* launched a few years prior. Areas of focus include resilience for urban ecosystems, local water, clean buildings, and increased monitoring of industrial emissions.

Notable features

- 1) Build a zero carbon electricity grid to eventually achieve 80% renewable energy by 2036
- 2) Recycle 100% of wastewater by 2035, and getting 70% of water from local sources

Source: Eric Garcetti, *L.A.'s Green New Deal: Sustainable City Plan*, pLAN: L.A.'S Green New Deal (2019).

NEW YORK

📍 STATE LEVEL

After a huge push from the climate justice coalition, **NY Renews**, Governor Andrew Cuomo signed the *Climate Leadership and Community Protection Act (CLCPA)* in July 2019. The governor had put out his own "Green New Deal for New York" that did not address NY Renews' calls, before ultimately passing CLCPA into law. CLCPA has been described as the most ambitious, and one of the strongest, climate plans in the country.

Notable Features

- 1) Achieve 100% renewable energy by 2050
- 2) Created a Just Transition Working Group to ensure that vulnerable communities receive at least 40% of the funding allocated for environmental justice

Source: *Climate Act*, The Official Website of New York State (2020).

📍 NEW YORK CITY

NYC Mayor Bill de Blasio passed NYC's Green New Deal, also known as *OneNYC*, in 2019 and committed to reducing carbon emissions and using 100% clean electricity by 2050.

Notable Features

- 1) Addresses emissions caused by industrial agriculture by proposing to cut beef purchases by 50% and phasing out of processed meat purchases
- 2) Confronts income inequality by protecting tenants from displacement and supporting fair wage regulations

Source: Bill deBlasio et. al, *OneNYC2050: Building a Strong and Fair City*, OneNYC2050 1 (2019).





LOCAL GRASSROOTS EFFORTS USING THE GND AS A FRAMEWORK FOR ACTION

📍 ISLA VISTA, CA

Eco Vista is an environmental group working on implementing the GND in Santa Barbara's unincorporated community of Isla Vista (IV), which reflects a collection of related initiatives. They focus on Indigenous relations, culture, food, housing, and localized sovereignty.

Notable Features for economic and social justice

- 1) Repair infrastructure in IV
- 2) Increase mental health services
- 3) Waive healthcare fees and free clinics

Notable features for environmental justice

- 1) Install solar panels at University of California Santa Barbara
- 2) Green existing businesses
- 3) Focus on resilience and disaster relief

Source: *Projects*, Eco Vista Community (2021).

NEXT STEPS: GETTING INVOLVED, RESOURCES & READING

A scenic view of a coastline. In the foreground, a wooden fence with three horizontal rails runs across the bottom. Behind the fence is a grassy slope covered with many small yellow flowers. The slope leads down to a blue ocean. The sky is clear and blue.

"IT'S WHAT IS IN YOUR HEART, THAT FIRE LIT INSIDE YOU, AND THAT FIRE IS RISING IN THE YOUTH. YOU CAN FEEL IT. YOU CAN FEEL IT IN THE GROUND. YOU CAN HEAR IT IN THE TREES. YOU CAN FEEL IT IN THE AIR AS YOU BREATHE IT. BECAUSE THIS CHANGE IS HERE AND NOW AND IT'S UP TO YOU TO MAKE THAT CHANGE TOO."

— Naelyn Pike, Chiricahua Apache,
Indigenous rights and environmental
activist, co-leader of the Apache Stronghold

Get Involved Locally

MICOP (MIXTECO/INDÍGENA COMMUNITY ORGANIZING PROJECT)

- Uniting Indigenous leaders and allies to build community and self-sufficiency in Ventura County
- Organizing to advocate for community concerns; views community collaboration necessary to achieve a GND suitable for the Central Coast and build a movement tailored to local needs
- **To learn more, visit: mixteco.org**

CAUSE (CENTRAL COAST ALLIANCE UNITED FOR A SUSTAINABLE ECONOMY)

- Arguing for climate justice via rebirth of historically white institutions
- Strengthening resilience preparation for fires
- Protecting Farmworker rights during COVID-19
- Ending evictions
- **To learn more, visit: causenow.org**



ECO VISTA

- Working on an Eco Vista Green New Deal (located in IV) through an ongoing student-community collaboration, facilitated by two UCSB classes since Fall 2019.
- **To learn more, visit: <https://ecovistacommunity.com/eco-vista-green-new-deal/>**

Get Involved Locally



COMMUNITY ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL (CEC)

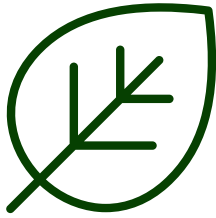
- Working to make plastic cutlery only available upon request in SB restaurants
- Hosting plastic and Foam free events
- Providing a place to recycle film plastics like ziplock bags, and retail carryout bags
- Implementing initiatives to solarize SB and Ventura
- **To learn more, visit: cecsb.org**

FOOD & WATER ACTION

- Fighting to end water shutoffs during the pandemic
- Promoting the Fracking Ban Act, Factory Farm Ban, and GND advocacy at the congressional level
- Based in DC, but has regional offices, including in Ventura, CA
- **To learn more, visit: foodandwateraction.org**

CENTRAL COAST CLIMATE JUSTICE NETWORK (CCCJN)

- Focusing on climate resilience in Santa Barbara and Ventura counties
- Forging regional partnerships to wield collective power for economic, social, and environmental justice
- **To learn more, visit: cecsb.org/central-coast-climate-justice-network**



What is the next step?

The climate justice movement has called attention to the global climate crisis with a sense of urgency and unrest about our current social, economic and political systems not working for all communities. Though social movements, such as Black Lives Matter and Occupy Wall Street, have galvanized attention toward the extreme levels of economic and social inequality we see today - the solutions proposed in the Green New Deal tackle environmental and socioeconomic injustice in a combined effort. While the two have been historically intertwined, solutions for these issues have rarely been addressed as a pair—until now.

This is not the responsibility of one community or group, but rather a cross-generational effort. Individuals can only go so far in their local, national, or even global activism advocating for climate justice. Ultimately, who should be held responsible? How can everyone do their part?

The first step to making change is getting informed.

This People's Guide provided a foundation for understanding the history, proposals, and actors behind this framework for economic and environmental justice. Now it's your turn. Get involved in the discussion. The time to act is now.

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