The Green New Deal for Europe

10 Pillars
“It’s sloppy to call any + all climate plans ‘Green New Deal’ policies. Green New Deal policies center jobs + justice in frontline, working communities as we transition our economy + infrastructure. Not all climate policies are the same.”

Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez

The European Parliament elections delivered a clear mandate to incoming MEPs: confront the climate and ecological emergencies.

Millions of people marched in the streets of Europe to demand a just transition, and millions more voted to deliver it.

Europe’s leaders now have an historic opportunity to put forward an ambitious and pragmatic plan to transform Europe in the transition to renewable energy — and an historic obligation to make it a reality.

In Europe, as in the US, this plan often goes by the name of the Green New Deal. And in the run-up to the European Parliament elections, several different Europarties expressed support for implementing it.

But as AOC points out, not every environmental policy counts as a “Green New Deal.”

To qualify, environmental policies must do more than tax and tinker: They must transform, creating an economy that is more prosperous, more just, and more sustainable than ever before.

As the new European Parliament prepares to take its seat, beware: a Green New Deal must live up to these 10 basic pillars — or it is not a Green New Deal at all.
Meeting the Scale of the Challenge
The science is clear: We must limit the global temperature rise to 1.5 degrees and reverse the collapse of our natural systems, or risk it all.

The Green New Deal for Europe meets the scale of this challenge, investing at least 5% of Europe’s GDP each year in the transition to renewable energy, the reversal of biodiversity loss and other environmental breakdown, and the shared prosperity of all European residents.

It will build an economy that enables Europe to flourish while respecting planetary boundaries, restoring natural habitats, clean air and soil health around our continent.

Responding to the Great Depression in 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized the need to go beyond small-scale reforms to initiate a radical transformation of the American economic system.

The Green New Deal for Europe brings this ambition across the Atlantic and into the twenty-first century. It calls not only for a reduction in carbon emissions. It demands a wholesale transformation of our systems of production, consumption, and social relations — rewiring our systems of material production for reproduction: recycling, reuse, repair and care.

Nothing short of this ambition can call itself a Green New Deal.
Pressing Idle Resources into Public Service
Like the US one century ago, Europe remains caught in an extended period of economic instability. Even in prosperous economies like Germany, precarity is rising and households are struggling to find a productive place to invest their savings.

The Green New Deal provides the answer.

Like the original New Deal, its premise comes from the work of the economist John Maynard Keynes, who demonstrated that a fiscal stimulus can guide economic recovery.

The proposal calls on the European Investment Bank to provide this stimulus by issuing green investment bonds that can deliver a return to Europe’s ailing savers.

In other words, the Green New Deal presses Europe’s idle resources into public service — without placing the burden of the transition on the shoulders of everyday Europeans.

The Green New Deal calls on public institutions to drive the economic and social transformation to confront the climate and environmental crises.
Empowering Citizens & Their Communities
Europe’s green transition will not be top-down. It must empower citizens and their communities to make the decisions that shape their future.

The Green New Deal is infused with democracy. It provides clear mechanisms for citizen assemblies and local governments to make meaningful decisions about the development of their communities, municipalities, and regions.

And it ensures that, wherever possible, Europe’s new energy systems are publicly-owned and democratically controlled.

Like Roosevelt’s Works Progress Agency, the Green New Deal for Europe will create a new public body that puts citizens in the driver’s seat of Europe’s green transition.

In particular, frontline communities most affected by the climate crisis must have adequate resources to redress the degradation of their living conditions.

The democratic principle of the Green New Deal also applies in the workplace. The jobs created by green investment must protect worker rights and build greater control over the firms so workers share in the value they create.
Guaranteeing Decent Jobs
Europe today is mired in a mix of unemployment and underemployment. Precarious jobs are on the rise, and millions of people have been forced to leave their communities in search of jobs that will support their basic needs.

The Green New Deal will invest in communities across Europe to ensure that green investment creates high quality, skilled and stable jobs that enable all citizens to support their families, leaving no community behind.

More than that, it will ensure a just transition for all workers in high carbon industries—promising secure employment, well-paid training opportunities and homes for all who need them.

And the Green New Deal must finally recognise the role of care in our economy, ensuring not only that housework, childcare and care for the elderly are recognised and rewarded, but also that activities which contribute to the regeneration of our natural systems play a central role in our economy.

The Green New Deal for Europe provides a decent job to all those who seek one.
Raising the Standard of Living
The Green New Deal for Europe creates public prosperity in place of private wealth, substituting consumption for what really matters for Europe's communities.

The Green New Deal goes well beyond a job guarantee. It raises the standard of living across our continent in numerous ways, from investments in health and education to investments in arts and culture.

By reclaiming unused homes for public use, the Green New Deal will address the crisis of housing insecurity that has left so many people homeless or at risk of eviction.

By rewiring Europe's energy grids, retrofitting homes with good insulation, and providing clean, public transportation for all, the Green New Deal will reduce the cost of living for all households. By reversing biodiversity loss and eliminating pollution, the Green New Deal will allow all communities to enjoy clean air, fresh water, and local nature reserves.

And by investing in a more sustainable economy, the Green New Deal will reduce the number of hours we work each week and provide more space for community engagement.

In the process, it will help build resilience for communities at the frontlines of the climate and ecological crises.
Entrenching Equality
Social and economic inequality remains far too high — both within countries and between them.

Over the last four decades, wealth inequality has dramatically increased within European countries: the top 1% captured as much economic growth as the bottom 50%.

Between countries, too, the standard of living remains extremely uneven, with significant variations in income, unemployment rates and pollution.

Meanwhile, our societies remain stratified by race, sexuality, gender, age, and ability, creating durable barriers to social justice and collective well-being.

The Green New Deal attacks the forces of inequality and builds a new society of solidarity.

Just like Roosevelt’s New Deal, the programme will overhaul the financial system. Rather than privatizing the gains from the green transition — as the Juncker Plan of 2015 has done — the Green New Deal will ensure that public investments build public wealth.

But unlike the original New Deal, the programme will target social barriers, eradicate discrimination against minorities, and ensure that the ecological transition is inclusive to all.
Investing in the Future
Repairing our environment means developing radically new tools: from new modes of public transport and more efficient battery storage, to agricultural practices that revitalise our soil and forestry that replenishes our forests.

That is why the Green New Deal for Europe includes a research and development initiative that can bring together the scientific community to develop exciting new solutions to climate and environmental breakdown.

Many of our greatest advancements in technology have happened with government research and funding—from the internet to touch screens, jet engines to rockets, GPS to search engine algorithms. But the way our economy is structured means that while the state invests in research and carries all the risk, the private sector reaps all the rewards—and pays almost no taxes on its profits.

The Green New Deal must ensure that society benefits directly from the investments that it makes in new tools, using the proceeds to invest in further innovation and deliver on the promise of greater social liberation from the working week.

The Green New Deal is more than an environmental adjustment programme. It is an investment in the future of our societies, and an opportunity to reimagine it.
We must abandon GDP growth as the primary measure of progress. Instead, we need to focus on what matters.

The obsession with economic growth, as measured by Gross Domestic Product (GDP), is not only a primary driver of the climate and environmental crises, encouraging countries to pursue reckless economic policies while ignoring their environmental and social costs.

It is also a misguided measure of our collective well-being.

The Green New Deal must move beyond the dogma of endless GDP growth and adopt more holistic measures of human progress. Equality, environment, happiness and health: there are scores of indicators that we must incorporate into our assessment of Europe’s progress.

The Green New Deal focuses Europe’s institutions on stimulating areas of social, moral and educational improvement, while designing an economy that privileges social reproduction over material production.

Not only does this take pressure off our living planet, it also makes it possible to accomplish the rapid energy transition we need.
Supporting Climate Justice Around the World
Europe has an historic responsibility to lead this global effort. For over two centuries, European countries have encouraged aggressive pollution and resource extraction that have directly harmed other countries around the world.

The Green New Deal for Europe must redress this colonial legacy.

It must redistribute resources to rehabilitate overexploited regions, protect against rising sea levels, and guarantee a decent standard of living to all climate refugees. And it must ensure that Europe’s green transition does not simply export pollution elsewhere in the world, or rely on the continued extraction of resources from the Global South. The supply chain for Europe’s energy transition must be committed to principles of social and environmental justice.

Even as we pride ourselves on delivering aid to the Global South, European corporations extract much more in interest payments, resource theft, and wage arbitrage. To support a global green transition, the Green New Deal must put an end to these exploitative economic practices and, at last, respect the rights of communities everywhere — paving the way for environmental justice around the world.
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Committing to Action Today
The Green New Deal is not a framework, a treaty, or an agreement. It is a set of concrete actions that move us quickly toward our climate and ecological goals.

Even if every country in the world fulfilled its commitment to the 2016 Paris Agreement, we would be on course for three degrees of warming in this century and untold suffering as a result.

But no country has even come close to honouring its promises. This is what we have after nearly 30 years of global negotiations under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

The Green New Deal graduates us from negotiations to action. It’s not a soft political commitment for change. It’s not a piece of paper signed by participating states. It’s not a multilateral meeting or the photo opportunity that always follows.

The Green New Deal is a set of specific, credible measures targeted at every area of society. It is a package of specific measures that rapidly transitions us to a sustainable economy, pushes our democracies to new frontiers, creates shared prosperity, and builds a fairer world beyond our borders.

Nothing less will do.