

November 11 - 12, 2019 Bass Lecture Hall LBJ School



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Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. Chair in Government/Business Relations



Institute for
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### Dear Friends,

The New Deal has become a leading symbol of our own age. This conference will explore plans for a "Green New Deal" in Europe and America -- and the "European New Deal" project of the Democracy in Europe Movement -- in light of the history of the original New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt's United States. Over two days, experts along with political leaders, leading journalists and activists from all across Europe, the United States and Canada will discuss the energy transformation necessary to meet the climate crisis and the associated social, labor, financial and economic policies.

The conference on "New Deals in Europe and America" is a project of the LBJ School of Public Affairs, in collaboration the Center for European Studies, the Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies, the Hans-Boeckler Foundation of Germany and the Institute for New Economic Thinking. It is the fifth in a series of biennial conferences on European/American issues, free and open to the public in Austin, Texas. Let me welcome you warmly as we look forward to two days of rich and fascinating discussion.

Yours truly,

James K. Galbraith

**Douglas Biow** 

Conference Organizers

am K. Jalkar ?

# Agenda

Monday, November 11, 2019					
8:00 - 8:30 AM	Check-in and Continental Breakfast				
8:30 - 9:00 AM	Introduction and Welcome James K. Galbraith, Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr. Chair in Government/Business Relations, LBJ School of Public Affairs				
	Video Greeting: Yanis Varoufakis, Member of Parliament and leader of the Democracy in Europe Movement, Greece				
9:00 - 10:30 AM	Session 1: The New Deal in the United States				
	Chair: Will Inboden, LBJ School of Public Affairs, The University of Texas at Austin				
	Thomas Ferguson, Director of Research, Institute for New Economic Thinking				
	Marshall Auerback, Research Director, RIWI				
	Maria Paola Del Rossi, University of Teramo, Italy				
	Michael Lind, LBJ School of Public Affairs, The University of Texas at Austin				
	Grzegorz W. Kolodko, Kozminski University, Warsaw, Poland				
10:30 - 10:45 AM	BREAK				
10:45 AM - 12:15 PM	Session 2: Macro and Monetary Economics of a New Deal				
	Chair: Raj Patel, LBJ School of Public Affairs, The University of Texas at Austin				
	Stephen Cohen, University of California at Berkeley (emeritus)				
	Yeva Nersisyan, Franklin and Marshall College				
	David Adler, DieM25 and EUI's School of Transnational Governance, Florence, Italy				
	Robert Pollin, Political Economy Research Institute, University of Massachusetts Amherst				
	Rui Tavares, Founder of Livre, former head of the Ulysses Project, Portugal				
12:15 - 1:45 PM	LUNCH in LBJ School Lobby				
	What are the Constraints for a Green New Deal?				
	Peter Bofinger, University of Wuerzburg, Germany				
2:00 - 3:30 PM	Session 3: Climate and Energy				
	Chair: Michael Marder, Department of Physics, The University of Texas at Austin				
	Sandra Benčić, Coordinator, "Možemo!" (Green-left party), Croatia				
	Amanda Masino, Department of Biology, Huston-Tillotson University				
	Jing Chen, University of Northern British Columbia				
	June Sekera, Heilbroner Center for Capitalism Studies, New School for Social Research				
3:30 - 5:00 PM	Session 4: Labor, Social Movements and the Politics of a New Deal				
	Chair: Peniel Joseph, LBJ School of Public Affairs, The University of Texas at Austin				
	Damon A. Silvers, Policy Director and Special Counsel, AFL-CIO				
	Harold Meyerson, Editor at Large, The American Prospect				
	Sebastian Dullien, Hans-Boeckler Stiftung, Germany				
	Chien-Yi Lu, Institute of European and American Studies, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan				
	John Judis, author, "The Nationalist Revival" and Editor-at-Large, Talking Points Memo				
5:00 PM	ADJOURN				

Tuesday, November 12, 2019					
8:00 - 8:50 AM	Doors Open and Continental Breakfast				
8:50 - 9:00 AM	Remarks from Hon. Katrin Jakobsdottir, Prime Minister of Iceland (video introduced by Halla Gunnarsdottir, special representative of the PM)				
9:00 - 10:30 AM	Session 5: The Role and Control of Finance				
	Chair: Rebecca McInroy, KUT Austin				
	Ken-Hou Lin, Department of Sociology, The University of Texas at Austin				
	Valur Ingimundarson, Professor, University of Iceland and Chair of the Board, EDDA – Center of Excellence				
	Jerome Roos, London School of Economics				
	Nicholas Shaxson, Author and Journalist, United Kingdom				
	Mikhaël Ayache, Economic Counselor, New York office of the Tresor, France				
10:30 - 10:45 AM	BREAK				
10:45 AM - 12:15 PM	Session 6: Wrap up and Steps Towards the Next New Deal				
	Chair: James K. Galbraith, LBJ School of Public Affairs, The University of Texas at Austin				
	Peter Bofinger, University of Wuerzburg, Germany				
	Grzegorz W. Kolodko, Kozminski University, Warsaw, Poland				
	Damon A. Silvers, Policy Director and Special Counsel, AFL-CIO				
	Sandra Benčić, Coordinator, "Možemo!" (Green-left party), Croatia				
	Rui Tavares, Founder of Livre, former head of the Ulysses Project, Portugal				
12:15 - 1:45 PM	LUNCH in LBJ School Lobby				
	Luncheon Keynote: Women and the Spirit of the New Deal				
	Kathryn Flynn, National New Deal Preservation Association				
1:45 - 2:00 PM	CLOSING REMARKS				
2:00 PM	ADJOURN				

### **David Adler**

Mr. Adler is a political economist from Los Angeles, California. He is currently the Policy Director of the Democracy in Europe Movement (DiEM25) and a Policy Leader Fellow at the School of Transnational Governance at the European University Institute.

He was previously a Rhodes Scholar at New College, University of Oxford and a Fulbright Scholar the Colegio de México in Mexico City. David's research and writing have appeared in the New York Times, the Guardian, and the Washington Post, among others.

### **Marshall Auerback**

Mr. Auerback is currently a research director for RIWI Corporation, a Canadian based global trend-tracking and prediction technology firm, working in long-term agreements across the security sector (e.g. US State Department), for multilaterals (e.g. World Bank, UN), and financial firms, collecting scientific opinion and trends data everywhere in the world. Prior to that, he was a financial market practitioner for over 30 years in Hong Kong, Tokyo, London, and New York, is also a Research Associate for the Levy Institute at Bard College. A prolific economics commentator (https://muckrack.com/marshall-auerback/articles) he has also worked as Director for Institutional Partnerships for the Institute for New Economic Thinking from July 2012-July 2015. Mr Auerback graduated magna cum laude in economics and philosophy with a BA from Queen's University in 1981 and received a law degree from Corpus Christi College, University of Oxford in 1983.

# Mikhael Ayache

Mr. Ayache currently serves as Economic Counselor and Deputy Financial Counselor at the New York office of the Department of Macroeconomic and Finance for the French Embassy in the United States.

Prior to his current position, Mikhael worked as a Vice-President for M&A and corporate development at Amundi, a Paris-based asset manager.

Mikhael started his career at the French Treasury in 2011. He initially worked as Deputy Head for the CIS countries unit, where he covered France's bilateral economic relationships with Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. In May 2013, he was appointed as Head of cash management at Agence France Trésor, the French debt management office.

A former graduate of the Ecole Nationale d'Administration (ENA), Mikhael holds a Master's degree in Public Affairs from Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po) and a Master's degree in International Law from Paris University.

### Sandra Benčić

Ms. Benčić is Coordinator of the green-left political party Možemo from Croatia which was established this year as a continuation and scaling-up of the municipal political initiative "Zagreb je Naš".

Since 1999, Mrs. Benčić has worked extensively as a human right and gender equality lawyer and policy analyst, human rights activist, and member of several civil society organizations and initiatives. She is also one of the founders of the first human rights foundation in Croatia: Solidarna: Foundation for Human Rights and Solidarity. Mrs. Benčić has worked as a policy analyst focused on public policies for reducing inequalities, and as a lecturer and trainer on topics related to EU institutions and regional development.

Currently, she is interested in fostering thematic and organizational platforms for green-left alliances on the local, national and international levels, and establishing a viable evidence base for Green New Deal politics.

### **Douglas Biow**

Professor Douglas Biow is the Superior Oil Company-Linward Shivers Centennial Professor in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Director of the Center for European Studies, and Director of the France-UT Institute. He is the author of five books: Mirabile Dictu: Representations of the Marvelous in Medieval and Renaissance Italy (Michigan, 1996); Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries: Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy (Chicago, 2002), the recipient of a Robert W. Hamilton Book Award; The Culture of Cleanliness in Renaissance Italy (Cornell, 2006), named a Choice Outstanding Title; In Your Face: Professional Improprieties and the Art of Being Conspicuous (Stanford, 2010); and, most recently, On the Importance of Being an Individual: Men, Their Professions, and Their Beards (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015). He has been the recipient of NEH, Delmas, and Guggenheim Fellowships.

### **Peter Bofinger**

Professor Bofinger is specializes in international and monetary economics at the University of Würzburg. From 2004 to 2019 he was a member of the German Council of Economic Experts, which is an independent advisory body to the German federal government. Previously he had been Vice-President of the University f Würzburg and an economist at the Deutsche Bundesbank. He holds a PhD and a habilitation ("venia legend") from the University of the Saarland. Peter Bofinger is a Research Fellow of the Center for Economic Policy Research London and a member of the standing field committees of the Verein für Socialpolitik on monetary policy and economic policy.

A focus of his research is on monetary theory and policy. He has worked intensively on the issues of European Monetary Union and on the prospects for further monetary and political integration in Europe. Recently he has discussed the implications of alternative models for the financial sphere (real models versus monetary models) for the analysis of interest rates and international capital flows.

### Jing Chen

Mr. Chen tries to understand life systems from the thermodynamic laws since he was an undergraduate student. He hopes to develop a mathematical theory of life systems parallel to classical mechanics as a mathematical theory of general systems. After many years of work, he, together with James Galbraith, developed a new economic theory based on biological and physical foundations.

This economic theory provides an analytical relation among major factors in economics: such as fixed cost, variable cost, investment horizon, discount rate and uncertainty. It provides a simple and consistent understanding on broad range of problems in economic systems, such as monetary policy, business cycles and the relation between government and businesses.

# Stephen S. Cohen

Professor Cohen was the co-director and co-founder of BRIE (Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy), University of California, Berkeley. His most recent book, *Concrete Economics: the Hamilton Approach* (with Brad DeLong), translated into Chinese, Japanese, Turkish, Korean, Portuguese was called by Paul Krugman in the New York Times an important new book and highly praised in the Financial Times. Prior to that: *The End of Influence: When Other Countries Have the Money* (with Brad DeLong) also translated into Chinese and Portugese. His other books include, *The New Global Economy in the Information Age*, (with Manuel Castells, Fernando Henrique Cardoso).

Professor Cohen's articles have appeared in a diverse range of publications including, Foreign Affairs, SCIENCE, IEEE Spectrum, The Atlantic Monthly, Les Temps Modernes, Dissent, Seventeen, Le Monde, El Pais, The Wall Street Journal, a Republicca, The Harvard Business Review and The California Management Review as well as in several anthologies and collective works. He has served as a advisor to several committees of the Congress, The President of Spain, The President of the European Union, The Prime Minister of Russia, The Governor of Paris, The governor of California, government agencies in Spain, Italy, France, China and Colombia, as well as the UN and the OECD.

#### Maria Paola Del Rossi

Professor Del Rossi obtained a Ph.D in "History of Trade Union movements" in 2006 at the Faculty of Political Science of the University of Teramo. Currently she is Adjunct Professor at La Tuscia University where she teaches History of International Relation; she also works with the Contemporary History department of the University of Teramo.

She is member of the Scientific Committee of the History section of Giuseppe Di Vittorio Foundation and member of the Center of European and International Studies (CSEI) at the Political Science and International Studies of La Tuscia University. She is also member of the editorial board of "Annali Fondazione Giuseppe Di Vittorio", "Storia e problemi contemporanei" and "Quaderni di Rassegna sindacale. Lavori". In 2018, she edited with Giuseppe Amari F. D.R., Guardare al futuro. La politica contro l'inerzia della crisi, with a preface by James K. Galbraith.

Her main research topics are the interactions between the economic and social structures at a national and international level; she has also studied the role of the social representative forces in the international system and in the evolution of the European integration. Her publications on the topic: "Il sindacato inglese e il processo di integrazione europea" (I. Del Biondo, L. Mechi and F. Petrini, Fra mercato comune e globalizzazione. Le forze sociali europee e la fine dell'età dell'oro, 2010); "Dal sindacalismo internazionale alla Confederazione europea dei sindacati" (A. Gramolati, G. Mari (ed), Bruno Trentin. Lavoro, libertà, conoscenza, 2010); "Il laburismo inglese e l'Europa da Hugh Gaitskell a Tony Blair" (S. Cruciani (ed.), Il socialismo europeo e il processo di integrazione. Dai Trattati di Roma alla crisi politica dell'Unione (1957-2016), 2016); "Roy Jenkins, un inglese alla Presidenza della Commissione nell'Europa della crisi", (Cruciani, Tosatti (eds), 2018).

### **Sebastian Dullien**

Prof. Dr. Sebastian Dullien is Research Director at the IMK – Macroeconomic Policy Institute of the Hans-Böckler-Foundation and professor for international economics at HTW Berlin – University of Applied Sciences. Prior to being appointed at HTW Berlin in 2007, he has worked as an economics editor at the Financial Times Deutschland, the German language edition of the FT.

Over the course of his career, he has advised several organisation of the United Nations system, the European Commission, several German ministries as well has committees of the German Bundestag and the European Parliament.

Sebastian Dullien has worked extensively on macroeconomics and especially macroeconomic imbalances in the euro area and Germany's contributions to these imbalances. In addition to having authored around 100 academic contributions to journals and books, he is co-author of the textbook *Macroeconomics in Context:* A European Perspective.

### **Thomas Ferguson**

Dr. Ferguson is Director of Research at the Institute for New Economic Thinking, Senior Fellow at Better Markets, and Professor Emeritus at the University of Massachusetts, Boston. He received his Ph.D. from Princeton University and taught formerly at MIT and the University of Texas, Austin. He is the author or coauthor of several books, including *Golden Rule* (University of Chicago Press, 1995) and *Right Turn* (Hill & Wang, 1986). His articles have appeared in many scholarly journals, including the *Quarterly Journal of Economics, the Journal of Economic History, International Organization*, and *International Studies Quarterly*. He is Contributing Editor to *The Nation* and a member of the editorial board of the *International Journal of Political Economy*.

### Kathryn Flynn

Ms. Flynn was born and raised during the Great Depression in West Texas and parts of New Mexico where our land was in jeopardy and the vast majority of families were economically depressed due to lack of work opportunities. She received her Bachelor's degree in Education from the University of Utah and a Master's Degree in Psychology and Rehabilitation Counseling from Southern Illinois University. She has been a preacher's kid, wife of a priest, mother, grandmother, school teacher, newspaper columnist, radio talk show hostess, author, NM state government administrator for 27 years in the mental and physical health fields including hospital administration and later Deputy Secretary of State.

In this last position, she became thoroughly aware of the vast number of public buildings around the state that were created during Pres. Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal Era as well as the frequently unnoticed fine public art therein said buildings. After fifty plus years, a number of these art pieces were in need of preservation. This spurred her on to find out if same could be found in other states and indeed that research bore out the need to create the National New Deal Preservation Association (NNDPA) in 1999 with help from others. She continues to serve as its Executive Director nationally and most actively in her home state. She determined NM received more federal New Deal funding per capita than any other state and therefore has vast and various "New Deal Treasures" to be thankful for, to enjoy, to preserve, restore and conserve. To date, the NM Chapter has spent over \$600,000 preserving the public art and there is more to be done.

Her two books on the New Deal's accomplishments were created to document, educate and help preserve what came out of this period nationwide and in New Mexico. Most of those work accomplishments are still serving the nation with little knowledge of their valuable history. The NNDPA and Ms. Flynn continue these goals and join with related organizations like the Franklin Roosevelt Presidential Library in Hyde Park, NY, The Living New Deal at U.C. Berkeley, The Frances Perkins Center in Maine and The Center for New Deal Studies at Roosevelt University in Chicago. Together these entities have produced national conferences in different locations with the next one tentatively set for Spring of 2020 in Washington, D.C.

### James K. Galbraith

Professor Galbraith holds the Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. Chair in Government/Business Relations at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs and a professorship in Government at The University of Texas at Austin. He chaired the board of Economists for Peace and Security from 1996 to 2016 (www.epsusa.org) and directs the University of Texas Inequality Project (http://utip.lbj.utexas.edu). He was Executive Director of the Joint Economic Committee of the United States Congress in the early 1980s. From 1993 to 1997, he served as chief technical adviser to China's State Planning Commission for macroeconomic reform, and in the first half of 2015 he served as an informal counselor to Yanis Varoufakis, the Greek Minister of Finance. In 2016, he advised the presidential

campaign of Senator Bernie Sanders. In 2010, he was elected to the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. In 2014 he was co-winner with Angus Deaton of the Leontief Prize for Advancing the Frontiers of Economics. He holds honorary degrees from the Université Pierre Mendes-France in Grenoble and from the Plekhanov University of Economics in Moscow. Galbraith's most recent books are Welcome to the Poisoned Chalice: The Destruction of Greece and the Future of Europe (2016), Inequality: What Everyone Needs to Know (2016) and The End of Normal: The Great Crisis and the Future of Growth (2014).

#### Halla Gunnarsdóttir

Ms. Gunnarsdóttir is Special Adviser to the Icelandic Government with focus on gender equality. She is a founding member and the former Head of Policy and Partnerships of the Women's Equality Party in the UK. She has also worked with London-based international law firm, McAllister Olivarius, which specialises in employment law, family law, and online harassment and abuse. Previously, Halla served as the Political Adviser to the Minister of the Interior in Iceland and prior to that she was the Parliamentary Reporter for Morgunbladid daily. Halla has a B.Ed. in Education and an M.A. in International Relations.

### William Inboden

Professor Inboden is Executive Director and William Powers, Jr. Chair at the William P. Clements, Jr. Center for National Security at the University of Texas-Austin. He also serves as Associate Professor at the LBJ School of Public Affairs, Distinguished Scholar at the Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law, and Editorin-Chief of the Texas National Security Review. Inboden's other current roles include Associate with the National Intelligence Council, Member of the CIA Director's Historical Review Panel, and Non-Resident Fellow with the German Marshall Fund of the United States. Previously he served as Senior Director for Strategic Planning on the National Security Council at the White House, where he worked on a range of foreign policy issues including the National Security Strategy, strategic forecasting, democracy and governance, contingency planning, counterradicalization, and multilateral institutions and initiatives. Inboden also worked at the Department of State as a Member of the Policy Planning Staff and a Special Advisor in the Office of International Religious Freedom, and has worked as a staff member in both the United States Senate and the House of Representatives.

Inboden has also served as Senior Vice President of the London-based Legatum Institute, and as a Civitas Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. He is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a contributing editor to Foreign Policy magazine, and his commentary has appeared in numerous outlets including the Wall Street Journal, New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Weekly Standard, NPR, CNN, Sky News, and BBC. He has lectured widely in academic and policy settings, testified before the U.S. House Armed Services Committee, and received numerous research and professional development fellowships. Inboden is the author of Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960: The Soul of Containment (Cambridge University Press) as well as numerous articles and book chapters on national security, American foreign policy, and American history. Professor Inboden has received multiple teaching awards including recognition as a "Texas 10" by the Texas Exes Alumni Association, and his classes Presidential Decision-making in National Security and Ethics & International Relations have been selected in recent years as the "Best Class in the LBJ School" and "Class Most Likely to Challenge Your Assumptions." His current research includes a book project on the Reagan Administration's national security strategy and policy. Inboden received his Ph.D. and M.A. degrees in history from Yale University, and his A.B. in history from Stanford University.

# Valur Ingimundarson

Professor Ingimundarson specializes in Contemporary History at the University of Iceland and the Chair of the Board of the EDDA – Center of Excellence. He holds a Ph.D. in History from Columbia University in New York. He has authored, co-authored, and edited eight books and written articles on topics such as contemporary politics, governance and security; populism; Icelandic foreign and security policies; U.S.-Icelandic political and defense relations; European and U.S.-German relations during and after the Cold War; Arctic geopolitics and governance; the politics of justice and memory; peacekeeping and post-conflict politics in the former Yugoslavia. He has been a Visiting Professor at the Centre for International Studies (CIS), London School of Economics, the Paris-based École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS), the Otto Suhr Institute, Center for Transnational Relations, Foreign and Security ATASP at the Freie Universität in Berlin, and the Shanghai Institues of International Studies (SIIS).

Among his recent works are: Iceland's Financial Crisis: The Politics of Blame, Protest, and Reconstruction [ed. et al.] (New York and London: Routledge, 2016); Nordic Cold War Cultures: Ideological Promotion, Public Reception, and East-West Interactions [co-ed.] (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2015); "Managing a contested region: The Arctic Council and the politics of Arctic governance," The Polar Journal (2014); "The Mikson Case: War Crimes Memory, Estonian Identity Reconstructions, and Transnational Politics of Justice," in Annette Vowinckel et al. (eds.), Cold War Cultures (New York: Berghahn, 2012); The Rebellious Ally: Iceland, the United States, and the Politics of Empire, 1945–2006 (Dordrecht and St. Louis: Republic of Letters Publishing, 2011).

# **Peniel Joseph**

Professor Joseph holds a joint professorship appointment at the LBJ School of Public Affairs and the History Department in the College of Liberal Arts at The University of Texas at Austin. He is also the founding director of the LBJ School's Center for the Study of Race and Democracy. His career focus has been on "Black Power Studies," which encompasses interdisciplinary fields such as Africana studies, law and society, women's and ethnic studies, and political science. Prior to joining the UT faculty, Joseph was a professor at Tufts University, where he founded the school's Center for the Study of Race and Democracy to promote engaged research and scholarship focused on the ways issues of race and democracy affect people's lives. In addition to being a frequent commentator on issues of race, democracy and civil rights, Joseph wrote the award-winning books Waiting 'Til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power in America and Dark Days, Bright Nights: From Black Power to Barack Obama. His most recent book, Stokely: A Life, has been called the definitive biography of Stokely Carmichael, the man who popularized the phrase "black power." Included among Joseph's other book credits is the editing of The Black Power Movement: Rethinking the Civil Rights-Black Power Era and Neighborhood Rebels: Black Power at the Local Level.

### John B. Judis

Mr. Judis is an author and American journalist, an editor-at-large at *Talking Points Memo*, a former senior writer at *The National Journal* and a former senior editor at *The New Republic*. Judis was born in Chicago. He attended Amherst College and received B.A. and M.A. degrees in Philosophy from the University of California at Berkeley.

In 1969 he was a founding editor of *Socialist Revolution* (which was later renamed *Socialist Review* and then *Radical Society* before ceasing publication in 2009). In the 1970s he was a founding editor of the *East Bay Voice*. He moved to Chicago in December 1976 to become the foreign editor of *In These Times*, a democratic socialist newsweekly. Judis moved to Washington in 1982. He started writing for *The New Republic* in 1984, became a contributing editor in 1989, and joined the regular staff in 1995. He quit in December 2014 along with other editors in protest of the owner Chris Hughes' firing of the editor and plan to turn the magazine into a profitmaking vehicle. He has also written for *GQ*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Mother Jones*, *The New York Times Magazine*, and *The Washington Post*.

In 1988, he published a biography, William F. Buckley: Patron Saint of the Conservatives; in 1992, Grand Illusion: Critics and Champions of the American Century; in 2000, The Paradox of American Democracy. In 2002, he published The Emerging Democratic Majority (co-written with political scientist Ruy Teixeira), a book arguing that Democrats would retake control of American politics by the end of the decade, thanks in part to growing support from minorities, women, and well-educated professionals. Its title was a deliberate echo of Kevin Phillips' 1969 classic, The Emerging Republican Majority. The book was named one of the year's best by The Economist. Later in 2015, in an essay "The Emerging Republican Advantage" he revised this view as he noted that the long term Democratic Majority had given way to an "unstable equilibrium" between the parties.

In 2004, he published "The Folly of Empire: What George W. Bush could learn from Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson," an attempt to put the disastrous American invasion of Iraq in historical context. In 2014 he authored the book *Genesis: Truman, American Jews, and the Origins of the Arab/Israeli Conflict* in which he discussed the connection between the Israel lobby in the United States and the origin of the modern state of Israel. In 2016, he published *The Populist Explosion: How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics*. This book, which was widely reviewed, analyzed, among other things, the remarkable success of Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump. In 2018, he published *The Nationalist Revival: Trade, Immigration, and the Revolt against Globalization*, which attempted to explain the rise of nationalist parties and candidates, including Donald Trump.

# Grzegorz W. Kolodko

Professor Grzegorz W. Kolodko is an intellectual, politician, and a key architect of Polish reforms. He served as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance from 1994-97 and 2002-03. As well, he is a member of the European Academy of Arts, Sciences and Humanities and the Founder and Director of Transformation, Integration and Globalization Economic Research, TIGER (www.tiger.edu.pl) at Kozminski University. Professor Kolodko is the author of numerous research papers and books published in 26 languages. He is the world's most quoted Polish economist. In addition, he is a marathon runner and globetrotter who's explored over 160 countries.

### Ken-Hou Lin

Dr. Lin is an Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Texas at Austin and the author of "Divested: Inequality in the Age of Finance". He received his BA from the National Taiwan University and PhD in Sociology from the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. Lin's primary research examines how the economic and demographic changes in past four decades shape the distribution of resources in the United States and other developed countries. He also explores how the internet emerges as both a space and a tool to help understand contemporary societies.

### **Michael Lind**

Michael Lind is co-founder of New America, along with Walter Mead, Sherle Schwenninger and Ted Halstead, and co-wrote the organization's manifesto, The Radical Center (2001). He co-founded New America's American strategy program, and most recently served as policy director of the economic growth program. A graduate of the University of Texas and Yale, Lind has taught at Harvard and Johns Hopkins and has been an editor or staff writer for *The New Yorker, Harper's*, *The New Republic* and *The National Interest*. Lind is a columnist for *Salon* and writes frequently for *The New York Times* and *The Financial Times*. He is the author of numerous books of history, political journalism, fiction, poetry and children's literature. His most recent book is *Land of Promise: An Economic History of the United States* (2012).

#### Chien-Yi Lu

Ms. Lu, author of Surviving Democracy—Mitigating Climate Change in A Neoliberalized World (Routledge, forthcoming), is an associate research fellow at the Institute of European and American Studies, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan and teaches at National Chengchi University. Lu got her Ph.D. in political science from the University of Texas at Austin and is now focused on neoliberalism, climate change, European integration, and animal rights. It was at the Department of the History of Science at Harvard University where Lu visited in the summer of 2016 that the book project Surviving Democracy started. Her other works include "Brexit and the Anti-Establishment Mood" in David Huang and Michael Reilly (eds.), *The Implications of Brexit for East Asia* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2018) and "Democratic Implications of the Treaty of Lisbon" in *EurAmerica*, 2015.

### Michael Marder

Professor Marder teaches Physics at the University of Texas at Austin. He is a condensed matter theorist specializing in the mechanics of solids, particularly fracture and friction, and is Director of the Center for Nonlinear Dynamics. Much of his current collaborative work concerns the physics of unconventional oil and gas production and projections of energy production. He is Executive Director of UTeach and oversees the preparation of science and mathematics teachers both at UT Austin and at over 45 universities across the United States. He chairs the American Physical Society Committee on Ethics.

# **Amanda Masino**

Doctor Masino is a geneticist whose approach to research applies scientific investigation to community-engaged transformative goals. She applies this "Science + Social Justice" model as Associate Professor of Biology and Chair of Natural Science at Huston-Tillotson University (HT), a historically Black college or university (HBCU) in Austin, Texas. Amanda co-created and directs HT's STEM Research Scholars Program, which in the last 5 years has provided over 90 HT undergraduates with in-depth funded research experiences, and the St. David's Foundation Scholars, which seeks to diversify health fields. Amanda also led an NSF-funded re-design of HT's Natural Science curriculum to emphasize inquiry and research embedded into coursework. Her own research includes investigations of affordable housing impacts, urban wildlife as environmental sentinels, and heart health disparities. She is Executive Director of the Austin Community Data Coalition, a non-profit that organizes collaborations for community research, and Co-Director of the Dumpster Project, a K-12 environmental learning program. Amanda co-created HT's new Environmental Justice major, co-founded and organizes HT's annual Building Green Justice Forum, and mentors environmental student group Green is the New Black. She was recently selected as an American Association for the Advancement of Science IF/THEN Ambassador. Amanda also serves on the City of Austin Zero Waste Commission.

# Rebecca McInroy

Ms. McInroy is an award-winning show creator, host, and executive producer for KUT, KUTX, and KUT.ORG. Rebecca believes it is important that Public Media directly connects with the community it serves. Many of her programs combine the talent, and knowledge of the Austin community with the production arm of KUT/X Public Media to produce content that bridges the gap between the public and higher education.

She can be heard co-hosting the fortnightly food politics podcast *The Secret Ingredient* with food and agriculture corresponded for Mother Jones, Tom Philpott, and Raj Patel of the LBJ School of Public Affairs. She is also the creator, executive producer, and host of the live discussion program in Austin, *Texas Views and Brews*. She is the creator, executive producer, and editor of the national weekly radio program *Two Guys on Your Head* hosted by professors Art Markman and Bob Duke.

With her most recent projects she is the executive producer and editor of the documentary series *Stuart Hall: In Conversations* with host, Dr. Ben Carrington about the life and legacy of the cultural theorist Stuart Hall, and the executive producer of *This Is Just To Say* a podcast about poetry hosted by poet and novelist Carrie Fountain.

McInroy's other programs include: The Write Up with Owen Egerton; In Perspective; and Liner Notes.

# **Harold Meyerson**

Since 2001, Harold Meyerson has been an editor of *The American Prospect*, the Washington-based liberal magazine, oscillating between the posts of editor-at-large (his current position) and executive editor. From 2003 through 2015, he was a weekly op-ed columnist for *The Washington Post*, writing chiefly on politics and the economy, and currently is a contributing columnist to the op-ed page of *the Los Angeles Times*. From 1989 through 2001, he was executive editor and chief political writer at L.A. Weekly, then the nation's largest metropolitan weekly newspaper. He has also contributed articles to *The New Yorker*, *The New York Times*, *The Atlantic*, *The New Republic*, *The Nation*, *Dissent*, *The Guardian*, *The New Statesman*, and numerous other publications. *The Atlantic* has called him one of the nation's 50 most influential opinion journalists, and his journalism has won numerous awards. He is also the co-author of *Who Put The Rainbow in The Wizard of Oz?*, a critical biography of Broadway and Hollywood lyricist Yip Harburg, and has published a range of articles on American culture in the first half of the 20th century. Educated in Los Angeles public schools and at Columbia University, Meyerson currently lives in Washington, D.C.

### Yeva Nersisyan

Professor Nersisyan specializes in economics at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, PA. She received her B.A. in economics from Yerevan State University in Yerevan, Armenia in 2006, and her M.A. and Ph.D. (2013) in economics and mathematics from the University of Missouri-Kansas City.

She is a macroeconomist working in the Modern Money Theory, Post Keynesian and Institutionalist traditions. Her research interests include banking and financial instability, fiscal and monetary theory and policy. Professor Nersisyan has published a number of papers on the topics of shadow banking, liquidity creation, the Glass-Steagall Act, and government deficits and debt. Her current research is focused on the inflationary impact and affordability of the Green New Deal. She is also co-editing the *Elgar Companion to Modern Money Theory* with L. Randall Wray.

### Raj Patel

Professor Patel teaches at the Lyndon B Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, Austin and is a Senior Research Associate at the Unit for the Humanities at the university currently known as Rhodes University (UHURU), South Africa. He has degrees from the University of Oxford, the London School of Economics and Cornell University, has worked for the World Bank and WTO, and protested against them around the world.

In addition to numerous scholarly publications in economics, philosophy, politics and public health journals, he regularly writes for *The Guardian*. His first book was *Stuffed and Starved: The Hidden Battle for the World Food System*. His second, *The Value of Nothing*, was a New York Times and international best-seller. His latest, cowritten with Jason W. Moore, is *A History of the World in Seven Cheap Things*. He is currently a member of the International Panel of Experts on Sustainable Food Systems, with whom he is working on a multi-year project on the Green New Deal and Agriculture.

### **Robert Pollin**

Professor Pollin is the Distinguished University Professor of Economics and Co-Director of the Political Economy Research Institute (PERI) at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. He is also the founder and President of PEAR (Pollin Energy and Retrofits), an Amherst, MA-based green energy company operating throughout the United States. His books include The Living Wage: Building a Fair Economy (co-authored 1998); Contours of Descent: U.S. Economic Fractures and the Landscape of Global Austerity (2003); An Employment-Targeted Economic Program for South Africa (co-authored 2007); A Measure of Fairness: The Economics of Living Wages and Minimum Wages in the United States (co-authored 2008), Back to Full Employment (2012), Green Growth (2014), Global Green Growth (2015) and Greening the Global Economy (2015). In November 2018, he coauthored Economic Analysis of Medicare for All. He has worked as a consultant for the U.S. Department of Energy, the International Labour Organization, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and numerous non-governmental organizations in several countries and in U.S. states and municipalities on various aspects of building high-employment green economies. He has also directed projects on employment creation and poverty reduction in sub-Saharan Africa for the United Nations Development Program. He has worked with worked with many U.S. non-governmental organizations on creating living wage statutes at both the statewide and municipal levels, on financial regulatory policies, and on the economics of single-payer health care in the United States. Most recently, he has consulted with U.S. labor union officials and policymakers at both the state and federal government levels on designing single-payer health care systems. Between 2011 – 2016, he was a member of the Scientific Advisory Committee of the European Commission project on Financialization, Economy, Society, and Sustainable Development (FESSUD). He was selected by Foreign Policy magazine as one of the "100 Leading Global Thinkers for 2013."

### **Jerome Roos**

Doctor Roos is an LSE Fellow in International Political Economy (IPE) at the London School of Economics. His research focuses on the political economy of global finance, sovereign debt and international crisis management. He holds a dual degree in International Political Economy from Sciences Po Paris and the London School of Economics, and a PhD in Political and Social Sciences from the European University Institute in Florence. Prior to rejoining the LSE in January 2018, he was a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Cambridge.

Jerome's first book, published by Princeton University Press earlier this year, seeks to unravel a striking puzzle at the heart of the global debt regime: why, despite frequent crises and the immense costs of repayment, do so many heavily indebted countries continue to service their international debts? Building on a historical analysis of past sovereign default cycles and comparative case studies of contemporary debt crises in Mexico (1982-1989), Argentina (1999-2002) and Greece (2010-2015), the book demonstrates how the transformations of the global political economy over the past four decades have contributed to a general decline in the incidence of sovereign default and much more creditor-friendly outcomes in times of crisis.

Jerome is currently working on preparations for a second book on the historical roots of the present global disorder. He regularly provides commentary on current affairs to various international media.

### June Sekera

Ms. Sekera is a public policy practitioner and researcher whose work and publications are focused on the public economy and collective public production. At the New School, Heilbroner Center for Capitalism Studies, she is director of the Public Economy Project where her work includes the topic areas of collective public production and the role of government in climate change mitigation. Founder and director of the Public Goods Institute, June is also Research Fellow at the Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose, University College London where she is engaged in the Public Value/Public Purpose initiative. Author of *The Public Economy in Crisis; A Call for a New Public Economics* (2016), she has published a wide range of papers on the public economy. For over twenty years, June held programmatic, leadership and management positions at federal, state and local levels of government. Her economics training was at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government (MPA, 1984).

At the Heilbroner Center, June is leading a project on "Climate, Capitalism and Collective Need," focused on public policy with regard to one particular form of climate-change intervention: atmospheric carbon reduction. Given the growing legislative activity on subsidizing atmospheric carbon removal, is it possible to develop a policy instrument that would enable government leaders to assess the efficacy of various options, including carbon sequestration via biological systems, in terms of thermodynamic, biophysical, and collective need criteria? Given the strong, if often unremarked, calls for government to subsidize commercial ventures in mechanical-chemical carbon capture, on what cogent bases can public leaders make decisions that, first and foremost, meet collective need? This work will expand upon "Missing from the Mainstream: The Biophysical Basis of Production and the Public Economy" (Sekera 2017).

#### **Nicholas Shaxson**

Mr. Shaxson is a British journalist and author of three books: *Poisoned Wells* (2007) a book about the Resource Curse in West Africa; *Treasure Islands* (2011), a book about tax havens, and *The Finance Curse* (2018), a book about financial centers and their economic and political impacts on the economies that host them. He has written for *Vanity Fair, the Financial Times, The Economist, The Guardian, the Washington Post, Foreign Affairs, the International Monetary Fund, and many others. He lives in Berlin, Germany.* 

### **Damon Silvers**

Mr. Damon A. Silvers is the Director of Policy and Special Counsel for the AFL-CIO. He joined the AFL-CIO as Associate General Counsel in 1997. Mr. Silvers serves on a pro bono basis as a Special Assistant Attorney General for the state of New York and is a Senior Fellow for the Roosevelt Institute. He is a member of the Investor Advisory Committee of the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the Public Company Accounting

Oversight Board's Investor Advisory Group. Mr. Silvers is also a member of The Century Foundation's Board of Trustees and is a member of the board of the investor coalition CERES. From 2008 to 2011, Mr. Silvers served as the Deputy Chair of the Congressional Oversight Panel for TARP. Mr. Silvers has also served on the Treasury Department's Financial Research Advisory Committee, as the Chair of the Competition Subcommittee of the United States Treasury Department Advisory Committee on the Auditing Profession and as a member of the United States Treasury Department Investor's Practice Committee of the President's Working Group on Financial Markets. Mr. Silvers led the successful efforts to restore pensions to the retirees of Cannon Mills lost in the Executive Life collapse and the severance owed to laid off Enron and WorldCom workers following the collapse of those companies. He served from 2003 to 2006 as pro bono Counsel to the Chairman of ULLICO, Inc. and in that capacity led the successful effort to recover over \$50 million related to improperly paid executive compensation. Mr. Silvers received his J.D. with honors from Harvard Law School. He received his M.B.A. with high honors from Harvard Business School and is a Baker Scholar. Mr. Silvers is a graduate of Harvard College, summa cum laude, and has studied history at Kings College, Cambridge University.

### **Rui Tavares**

Mr. Tavares is a Portuguese politician, writer, translator and historian. He was a member of the European Parliament between 2009 and 2014 and was Rapporteur of the report of the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs on the situation of fundamental rights, standards and practices in Hungary. He went on to found Livre, an eco-socialist party which has contested several general elections and has now achieved representation in the Portuguese parliament. Rui was also the founder of the Ulysses Project, a transnational movement of response to the European crisis.

# Notes

