

Democracy, social equality and money

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Democracy

- Demos Cratos
- Constituting a « demos » : on which basis? To what extent?
- A community ;; experienced/ acknowledged as such
- A constitution highly path dependent
- With some common « events »

Social equality

- A notion that may differ ,
- depending on the path followed to constitute the « demos »
- Diversity of demos ...that will somehow recoupe the diversity of
- capitalisms that was re-acknowledged by economists ...half a century
- after the development of a « modern capitalism » that had kept some of this Historical « flavour »
- Distinctions on sex, education, wealth may last as shackles of historical specificities
- The notion of equality is part of the culture(and religions) of the demos under view

money

- An instrument at some point in times of this constitution of the demos (networking effect of money)
- Difficult to quit , to merge as seen in the constitution of the eurozone
- An union which , whatever its advantages in a capitalist world more
- and more open to exchanges of all kinds, weakened the ties of the « demos »
- Those who are dealing with this symbol somehow keep a more or less ambiguous status , like for priests in some societies, bankers deserve some suspicions

cratos

- How can the demos govern itself ?
- In countries coming from monarchist systems

- A basic need for a chart ! Or pacts!
- (expressed in one language...or more)
- Money can help
- Social contracts or social compromises ...as somehow parts of the constitution

- To be taken in an evolutionary perspective

Cratos : designs and evolutions

- To make a long story short, let us consider modern democratic nation states (whatever paths got them there, with nation following states or reversed)
- Democracies can be more or less representative : with representants in charge in their executive tasks to act according to the principle/spirit of the chart/social contract
- ..or leave room to deliberation/amending /reinterpreting the chart according to the chnaging contexts
- Representative or deliberative forms of democracies seems a good qualifier of the challenges nation states are facing

the post WWII experience in a nutshell

- Post the 1930s crisis and the drama of WWII
- There was a broad commitment to reform capitalism to care for full employment and social welfare ..or to scrap it (a threat that the USSR made real)
- The conference of Philadelphia in May 1944 made it clear in its final declaration.
- The applications in terms of full employment acts have been diverse ..and lasting.
- After the golden years of capitalism, eg in the 1970s , relative erosions of this social compromise have been multiplying

Post fordism : a death certificate postponed for too long

- In the 1980s, there was for a short while the idea that consumerism could take over /amend the old compromise (see Nader in the US), it petered out rapidlyand finance took over with a primacy of share holder value, taking over along with an internationalisation of the economies, united in this evolution by the demise of the communist alternative.
- The long rise of inequality (clearly noticed from the start by our young friends Piketty and co , entering the economist, profession) is the major trade mark of the pityful years of capitalismup to the GFC (global financial crisis of 2008).

Democracies at bay

- The gap became so big that the very democratic nature of our nation states turned out to be more and more contested.
- Populist movements were seen as reactions, somehow looking for past solidarities ...though not so explicitly
- What was clear is their contestation of « representative democracy.
- Major slogans calling for dismissals of those who have failed
- One has to be careful in the reading of these populist movements
- There is also a clear call for more deliberative systems.

Challenges of a turn (of turns) to more deliberative democracies (1)

- The yellow vests in France have been very clear calling for « local »
- deliberations, rebuking all « representations »
- No representative , whatsoever!
- Calls for referendum of popular initiatives.
- Local actions remained few and scattered , even if lasting local solidarities lead to hope that some local initiatives will be developed.
- Old representatives (and Macron in the first place) seem to have learned from the conflict (during the bid debate).
- The consensus convention under way (with 150 citizens randomly drawn) Is a case in point.

Challenges of a turn (of turns) to more deliberative democracies (2)

- Macron had a rather « anachronic » view of our society as a nation where startups could show the way , how has it been updated remains unclear.
- The good thing is that the conference of consensus is on climate change and the measures required.
- The bad thing is that there is still a strong feeling against public services....when these are major backbones of any social transitions, a major topic in the deliberative turn to be undertaken.
- Besides the turn to more deliberative democracies to adjust to a world deeply changed by new technologies (ICTs) and internationalisation ...has to lead to new (big) social compromise.

Challenges of a turn (of turns) to more deliberative democracies (3)

- A dialectic between local and global has to take place
- ...with a global that is not simply national but has to be truly linked with a global compromise (again taking into account a context where environmental changes, internationalisation and technologies are de facto global phenomena)
- In that perspective the SDGs are a blessed framework: can they be the preliminaries of a global social compromise where every « demos » will put part of its own historical flavour, much like what happened to the Philadelphia declaration, that is the question?

Challenges of a turn (of turns) to more deliberative democracies (4)

- A chance that it may be the case is that SDGs have the dialectic between local and global built in their very status:
- We look at the SDGs often with the glasses of the past compromises and the mobilization, especially regarding SDGs directly linked with environment changes, should rebound on the basis of local experiences.
- Still this is a rough assessment and a lot of fine tuning is necessary to see how these 17 goals echoed in the various (close to 200) countries concerned. Faced with such diversity, efforts have to be done for some enlarged common reading of these objectives. A set of transformed (renewed) international organisations will be needed to help these SDGs implementation (as was the case with the Bretton wood set of IOs)

Challenges of a turn (of turns) to more deliberative democracies (5)

- In this work on SDGs one has to go back to some fundamentals regarding our relationships with mother earth and with the many links tying communities /making demos/ recreating the status of citizenship
- Basic income schemes in this perspective are progressive measures in the transition we are aiming atso are the development of (local) complementary monnies.
- Market mechanisms have to be strongly domesticated/civilized in order to meet all the requirements that we have to transit rapidly to radically sustainable and fulfilling ways of life .

...and some Food for thought before lunch

Region	Pre-tax and pre-transfer Gini (mean)	Post-tax and post-transfer Gini (mean)	% Difference
Developing Asia	40.0	37.4	-6.3
Japan, Australia, and New Zealand	45.7	32.6	-28.6
Latin America, and Caribbean	47.1	43.4	-7.7
Sub-Saharan Africa	45.9	45.0	-1.8
OECD	47.4	31.1	-34.1
European Union	46.8	29.9	-36.0
North America	48.6	34.5	-29.1

Reconstruct collective actions

2019 ITUC GLOBAL RIGHTS INDEX

Violations of Workers' Rights



85% of countries have violated the right to strike.



80% of countries have violated the right to collective bargaining.



The number of countries which exclude workers from the right to establish or join a trade union increased from 92 in 2018 to 107 in 2019.



Countries where workers were arrested and detained increased from 59 in 2018 to 64 in 2019.



Workers had no or restricted access to justice in 72% of countries.



Authorities impeded the registration of unions in 59% of countries.

Final and 17th slide / thank you .. and a last question.....

- 17 SDGs
- 17 articles in the French Declaration of human rights
- ...in which one was missing .. and it took a century to legitimize : the right to a proper (salary) job , a full employment claim , fully retained in the post WWII era
- ...questioning the completeness (and architecture) of the list of 17 SDGs may be crucial
- as time is frighteningly pressing