

Democracy Unchained

HOW TO REBUILD GOVERNMENT
FOR THE PEOPLE

Edited by
David W. Orr,
Andrew Gumbel,
Bakari Kitwana,
and William S. Becker



NEW YORK
LONDON

© 2020 by The New Press

All rights reserved.

No part of this book may be reproduced, in any form, without written permission from the publisher.

Requests for permission to reproduce selections from this book should be made through our website: <https://thenewpress.com/contact>.

Published in the United States by The New Press, New York, 2020

Distributed by Two Rivers Distribution

ISBN 978-1-62097-513-8 (pb)

ISBN 978-1-62097-514-5 (ebook)

CIP data is available

The New Press publishes books that promote and enrich public discussion and understanding of the issues vital to our democracy and to a more equitable world. These books are made possible by the enthusiasm of our readers; the support of a committed group of donors, large and small; the collaboration of our many partners in the independent media and the not-for-profit sector; booksellers, who often hand-sell New Press books; librarians; and above all by our authors.

www.thenewpress.com

Composition by Westchester Publishing Services

This book was set in Minion Pro

Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

CONTENTS

<i>Foreword</i>	xi
<i>Introduction</i>	1
<i>David W. Orr</i>	

PART I. THE CRISIS OF DEMOCRACY

Populism and Democracy	15
<i>Yascha Mounk</i>	
Reconstructing Our Constitutional Democracy	25
<i>K. Sabeel Rahman</i>	
Restoring Healthy Party Competition	40
<i>Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson</i>	
When Democracy Becomes Something Else: The Problem of Elections and What to Do About It	58
<i>Andrew Gumbel</i>	
The Best Answer to Money in Politics After <i>Citizens United</i> : Public Campaign Financing in the Empire State and Beyond	72
<i>Chisun Lee</i>	
Remaking the Presidency After Trump	87
<i>Jeremi Suri</i>	
The Problem of Presidentialism	98
<i>Stephen Skowronek</i>	

PART II. FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRACY

Renewing the American Democratic Faith <i>Steven C. Rockefeller</i>	107
American Land, American Democracy <i>Eric Freyfogle</i>	122
Race and Democracy: The Kennedys, Obama, Trump, and Us <i>Michael Eric Dyson</i>	136
Liberty and Justice for All: Latina Activist Efforts to Strengthen Democracy in 2018 <i>Maria Hinojosa</i>	150
What Black Women Teach Us About Democracy <i>Andra Gillespie and Nadia E. Brown</i>	164
Engines of Democracy: Racial Justice and Cultural Power <i>Rashad Robinson</i>	173
Civic and Environmental Education: Protecting the Planet and Our Democracy <i>Judy Braus</i>	183
The Supreme Court's Legitimacy Crisis and Constitutional Democracy's Future <i>Dawn Johnsen</i>	196

PART III. POLICY CHALLENGES

Can Democracy Survive the Internet? <i>David Hickton</i>	213
The New New Deal: How to Reregulate Capitalism <i>Robert Kuttner</i>	226
First Understand Why They're Winning: How to Save Democracy from the Anti-Immigrant Far Right <i>Sasha Polakow-Suransky</i>	240

No Time Left: How the System Is Failing to Address Our Ultimate Crisis <i>Bill McKibben</i>	254
Powering Democracy Through Clean Energy <i>Denise G. Fairchild</i>	263
The Long Crisis: American Foreign Policy Before and After Trump <i>Jessica Tuchman Mathews</i>	273

PART IV. WHO ACTS, AND HOW?

The Case for Strong Government <i>William S. Becker</i>	291
The States <i>Nick Rathod</i>	304
Democracy in a Struggling Swing State <i>Amy Hanauer</i>	319
Can Independent Voters Save American Democracy? Why 42 Percent of American Voters Are Independent and How They Can Transform Our Political System <i>Jaqueline Salit and Thom Reilly</i>	323
Philanthropy and Democracy <i>Stephen B. Heintz</i>	336
Keeping the Republic <i>Dan Moulthrop</i>	347
The Future of Democracy <i>Mayor Ras Baraka</i>	352
Building a University Where All People Matter <i>Michael M. Crow, William B. Dabars, and Derrick M. Anderson</i>	363

Biophilia and Direct Democracy	375
<i>Timothy Beatley</i>	
Purpose-Driven Capitalism	383
<i>Mindy Lubber</i>	
Restoring Democracy: Nature's Trust, Human Survival, and Constitutional Fiduciary Governance	397
<i>Mary Christina Wood</i>	
Conclusion	409
<i>Ganesh Sitaraman</i>	
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	417
<i>Notes</i>	419
<i>Contributor Biographies</i>	453
<i>Index of Names</i>	459