

**KLEIN, from page 4**

pledge vast amounts of money to find solutions to climate change. Richard Branson promised to spend \$3 billion on finding an alternative low-carbon fuel for jet planes. Harnessing the profits from fossil fuel-dependent businesses to tackle climate change is exactly what we need, believes Klein. Such a pity then that her research finds he's actually spent a fraction of this money, come out against carbon taxes, set up new polluting airlines and masked it all with some green PR. And he's continued to take subsidies from British taxpayer to run his train companies.

This is where Klein effectively makes a link between environmentalism and wider political questions. Wouldn't it have been better if Britain hadn't privatized its rail service, she asks, and converted it entirely to electric, with that power coming from renewables?

Klein acknowledges that this link between environmental and political concerns goes back at least to the Seattle generation of global justice activism that she documented in her first book "No Logo." "One of the strengths of that movement was that it broke down the barriers between labor and the environment," she says. "But climate was not central to the movement."

At the time she felt that the lack of organization and the rejection of leadership and hierarchies was an advantage for young social movements, but as climate change has become ever more urgent, and more recent movements like Occupy and the Arab Spring have flickered but then faded, she says we can ill afford a "fetish for structurelessness."

She says: "It's been a tough time and there's been a lot of despair. A lot of people have given up because they've invested a lot and either been smashed or not delivered. The main weakness was in being simply oppositional."

The urgency of preventing the 2C rise is fearful. Klein particularly draws on the work of the Tyndall Centre for Climate Change and its Manchester University-based deputy director Kevin Anderson, which is "doing the most important work on climate science anywhere in the world," using conservative estimates and "following them honestly to their conclusions."

Klein finds hope in the work of Mark Jacobson, professor of civil and environmental engineering at Stanford University, and Mark Delucchi of U.C. Davis, who in 2009 published a study showing how 100 percent of the world's energy could be supplied by wind, water and solar resources as early as 2030 – with political will. That's a tight timetable but sufficient to prevent the worst of climate change.

Given the political will, how would we pay for such a transformation? A financial transaction tax, closing tax havens, a 1 per cent "billionaire's tax", slashing military spending, a carbon emissions tax and the phasing out of fossil fuel subsidies would net

\$2 trillion annually, says Klein – "certainly enough for a very healthy start to finance a Great Transition".

Klein refuses to guilt-trip individuals about the carbon footprint of their lifestyles.

"A lot of people feel disqualified from taking action because they don't live the perfect lifestyle. The people least able to afford the green premium that's put on so many products, for example, are working class people. But the scale of action needed and the urgency mean they can't be excluded.

"If you only included those people whose lives are a pure piece of carbon-related performance art then you'd have a movement of about 10 people."

Instead, she draws hope from people who are not only opposing the extraction of fossil fuels where it threatens their livelihoods and well-being, but also putting forward their own economic and environmental solutions: the farmers and indigenous people of Canada resisting tar sands oil extraction, the Greek anti-mining movement, French anti-fracking activists, all of which she calls "Blockadia" – "not a specific place on a map but a roving transnational conflict zone".

She has also drawn hope from the way the Occupy Wall Street movement didn't disappear just because it was no longer on the front pages of mainstream media but morphed into Occupy Sandy, an organized relief effort to help victims of the 2012 natural disaster in New England. That started a conversation with local working-class people about climate change and was a "gamechanger," she says, when environmentalism is often the preserve of the privileged.

Those hopes came to a head with the People's Climate March in New York and in more than 160 countries last month.

"That was a real moment of hope. I've not been feeling hopeful for a long time to be honest with you but I saw lots of people there I've not seen for a long time. It wasn't just the amount of people but that it was so diverse. The march looked like New York, and not Manhattan but the Bronx or Queens.

"We should also take inspiration from Germany's move towards renewables. One of the differences about the current movement is the focus on ownership, and in Germany it's small-scale locally owned energy schemes that are growing. It's not the case that this is about utopian pastoral dreamers but rather shows how bold national policies, well designed, can roll out effective responses effectively. Compare that with the U.K.'s lumbering subsidised nuclear policy."

Her book, concludes Klein, is about a "path to science-based reductions. These transformations are actually popular."

**Betrayal's Beefed-Up Booty Dances**

by J.McCurdy

I wondered briefly  
 For a moment  
 If this ever got as old to others as it got to me...  
 Doesn't the plot ever change?  
 Oh, come on now  
 Gimme a twist or at least a space  
 Where maybe old school and loyalty got to dance...  
 Still...  
 For reasons unknown  
 I remained rooted to the spot  
 As the familiar lines and faces changed places  
 Trust ducked and dodged  
 Then looked guiltily back at me  
 Wait for it  
 Wait for it  
 Ahhhh, here we go...  
 I watched without surprise  
 As goodbye consumed hello  
 And hope held my breath  
 Tightly in  
 Against a heaving chest  
 As betrayal swung heavily through  
 All I ever knew of you, of me, of she  
 Hell, yes  
 I did get right down to it  
 Visualized  
 Famine and flames dance  
 While I stood in the in-between space  
 Trying to decide  
 If barbarism and returned cruelty  
 Were worth the ride  
 Ego, pride and compassion  
 Duked it out  
 In the split second  
 Our glances met  
 And I knew then that all we were  
 Ever gonna be was gone  
 And I gotta say  
 I'm still not sure  
 If I'm gonna miss any of us  
 Or the worn out parts we played



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