

# Political breakaways and breakages

At the time of writing, there are deep divisions inside the Green Party (GP), the most serious ones relating to the impact of an 'Identity Politics' faction.<sup>i</sup> It has seized control of key committees and weaponised the party's disciplinary processes to evict those it dislikes, most of all people who subscribe to what are commonly called 'gender critical' views.<sup>ii</sup>

On top of several suspensions, there have been many resignations. It is said that in several constituencies it is hard to get volunteers such is the dissatisfaction (Bristol was often cited, a local party in which members of the Identity Politics faction hold key posts). There has even been a bruising court case in which former deputy leader Shahrar Ali successfully sued the party.<sup>iii</sup> To be fair, many ordinary members are in the dark about what has been going on. Indeed, there are plenty who just beaver away at a local level, regardless of what might be going wrong nationally.<sup>iv</sup>

In this volatile atmosphere, it is not surprising that there has been talk of a breakaway followed by the launch of a new party. There has, of course, been a long history of breakaway parties: most of them ended in tears. Examples include the 1930s Ramsay Macdonald's National Labour Organisation and the 1980s Social Democratic Party. On the 'Far Left', members of the entryist group Militant, expelled from Labour, set up the Socialist Party in 1997 but it has made little progress. Ken Loach's then new Left Unity Party of 2013, aiming to pull left-wingers from Labour, was basically still-born.

Down the decades, the Conservatives have usually preserved their unity, no matter how bitter the in-fighting. That said, groups have split from the Conservative Party, sometimes on the more 'moderate' side such as the UK European People's Party and then Change UK (the latter included splitters from the Labour Party). UK EPP got nowhere, while Change UK did not even last a full year. Small parties generally struggle. At the moment, on the right of the Conservative Party, the 'populist' Reform UK might have a chance of growing but is heavily dependent on the whims of one person, Nigel Farage. His emergence owed much to one issue, Brexit but he himself has failed to be elected 7 times. Mercifully, Laurence Fox's Reclaim UK seems to be stagnating and is, in any case, reliant on monies from just a solitary donor.

Of course, there have been cases where a then new organisation not only survived but grew in strength, such as the Labour Party in the 1900s and several Communist Parties in the 1920s. But, overall, they seem to be very much the exception, whereas the rule is one of failure, whatever the initially promising prospect.

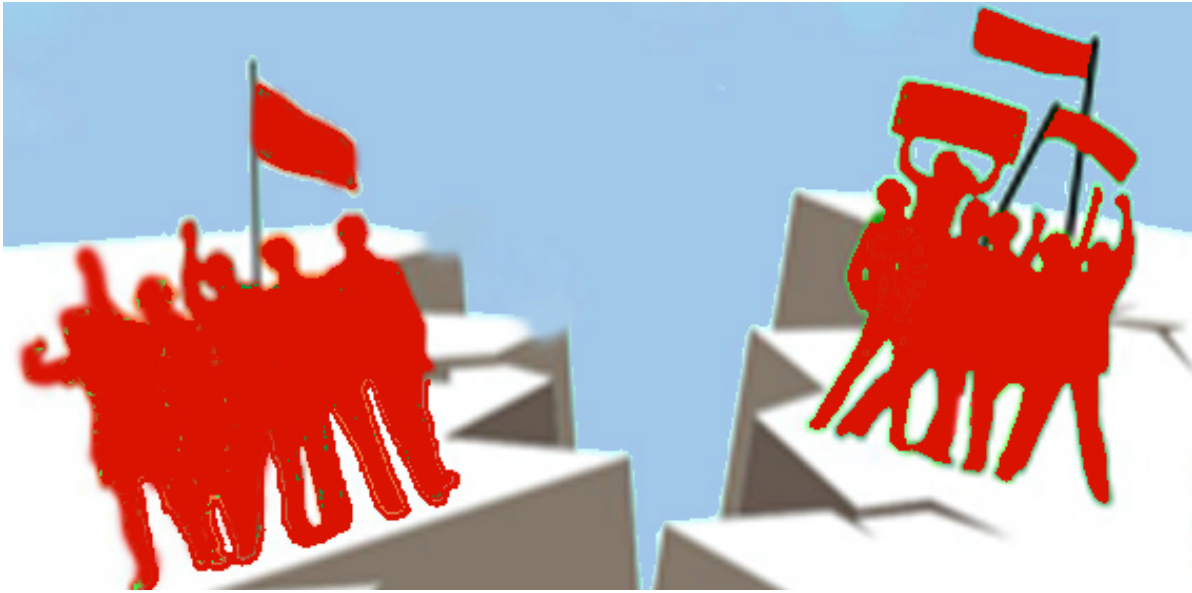
## New Improved Green Party?

Talk of a new Green Party Mark 2 is fuelled by both the malign developments described above and the difficulties of achieving internal reform. A formidable barrier is the unrepresentative nature of its national conferences. An 'open door' system, it grossly favours those with the time, energy, money, physical ability and desire to attend. Thus, only a tiny percentage of the total membership is involved. On-line conferences have made little difference.

The system favours cliques such as those active amongst the Young Greens, a major carrier of the 'identity politics' banner. Its activists have proved particularly adept at mobilising proxy votes and thereby gaining a numerical edge. Furthermore, their behaviour at conference can be quite intimidating.<sup>v</sup> Reform of conference (eg a democratic delegate system based on local parties) would depend on votes from people who like things just the way they are under the present system.

Any notion that reform will come courtesy of some upswelling amongst local parties against the malignancy at the 'centre' seems a bit illusory, given the somewhat apolitical internal culture of the Green Party and the degree of disengagement amongst ordinary members. This will be discussed in more detail later.

For now, however, we turn to the first of two cautionary tales of political breakaways and new organisations. It concerns a split in the biggest of the Far Left groups active in the mid-1970s.



## Comrades at war

The following section is a case study of a political split during the 1970s in which the author was involved. The organisation in question was the International Socialists (IS), soon to become the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). That transmutation was part and parcel of a brutal internal faction fight. It led to the expulsion of several members, some of whom launched a new organisation, the Workers League (WL).<sup>vi</sup>

Politics apart, the IS and the Green Party did have some similarities. Whatever their paper memberships, the number of activists was probably fairly similar. Like the Greens, the IS had a national office in London, not lavishly resourced but still better than what most smaller sects on the 'Far Left' possessed. Both the IS and, later, the GP managed to establish roots, albeit sometimes very tender ones, in most parts of the country.

Both had a well-established political tradition but one whose core ideas, several long active members felt, were being compromised, if not abandoned, by other elements in the respective organisations. Both had internal disciplinary systems that were 'weaponised' by those promoting a very different orientation. In the case of the IS, it included the adoption of a narrow 'Leninist' structure and, externally, a focus on 'youth' as a source of new members, as opposed to experienced trade unionists. In the case of the GP today, it is the embrace of 'Identity Politics', at the expense of an orientation on issues such as climate breakdown and the meltdown of biodiversity.

A major difference, however, was the role of a national newspaper. In those 'pre-Internet' days, the weekly 'Socialist Worker' was absolutely central to the work of the IS. It functioned not just as its external voice but also as the major way of organising the membership (High Street newspaper sales on a Saturday, sales on marches and picket lines, etc).

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But what was really different was the importance of 'class struggle' in the worldview of the IS (and indeed the whole of the Far Left). In turn, it led to a focus on organised activity in workplaces, not in the community at large, with the aim of recruiting amongst trade union shop stewards and convenors (plus election to such posts). At the same time, it was thought that what was called the trade union "bureaucracy" (ie the national leaderships) was so compromised that what was needed was a movement that mobilised the 'rank and file', something similar to the Minority Movement of the 1920s.<sup>vii</sup>

'Bread-and-butter' issues such as wages, intensification of workloads, actual or threatened redundancies, and health and safety matters were the staple diet of agitation as well as reportage in

papers such as 'Socialist Worker'. 'Socialist Worker' sellers would, then, regularly turn up at picket lines etc to sell papers, get stories and, ideally, make recruits. Calls for solidarity with this or that set of strikers, even a general strike, were part of the political rhetoric. Not surprisingly, the two miners' strikes of 1972 and 1974 were seen further evidence that the road to socialism would be found in the arena of mass industrial action.

For all the excitement of those strikes, the latter in effect bringing down the Tory government of Ted Heath, the aftermath was a period of comparative political quiet once Labour returned to power, first under Harold Wilson then Jim Callaghan. Trade union militancy went off the boil. Inside the IS, already sharp tensions that existed over the future direction of the organisation grew much worse, most of all when Tony Cliff, the leading theorist of the group, and his circle decided that, despite the rather unpropitious circumstances, it was time to turn the IS into a fully-fledged revolutionary *party*, to be called the Socialist Workers Party.

To keep a not very long but nasty story short, opponents of this turn, known as the 'IS Opposition', were shown the door or left in disgust. This was, of course, scarcely a new phenomenon in such circles. The Trotskyist movement as a whole had long been characterised by faction fights and splits. The IS/SWP was no exception.<sup>viii</sup>

Indeed, the mass resignations following the rape scandal in 2013 was to be the biggest in simple numerical terms.<sup>ix</sup> But the 1975 split was qualitatively significant since it cost the IS a considerable chunk of experienced and talented individuals, including, in the Birmingham area, some senior trade unionists in local engineering works.

Leading lights of the breakaway included John Palmer (a senior Guardian journalist), Jim Higgins (a very experienced trade unionist and talented writer), Granville Williams (a particularly effective recruiter and, later, leading light in Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom), Paul Mackney (future joint national secretary of the University and College Union), Bob Clay (a future Labour MP), and Roger Protz (former editor of 'Socialist Worker' and soon to be famous as creator of the 'Real Ale Guide', a real service indeed to the toiling masses)

## **False dawn**

It was decided by this group to try and maintain the best of the old IS tradition. A national conference was called to launch a new organisation. Its name would be the 'Workers League'. As just noted, there was a fair amount of individual talent in its initial ranks as well as a solid base in the Birmingham trade union movement, with a handful of prominent trade unionist militants elsewhere. That founding event was well attended and indeed there was an air of optimism in the hall. A monthly newspaper, 'Workers News', edited by another talented journalist Stephen Marks, was also launched and the first edition looked promising, if a bit thin compared to 'Socialist Worker'. A handful of branches were formed, though much was built around national get-togethers in Birmingham.

This dependence on one area was itself a serious, if not potentially fatal, weakness. Elsewhere, the WL was very weak. The Newcastle branch, for example, had initially some 6-8 members: two college lecturers, a social worker, a primary school teacher, a Polytechnic lecturer, a retired town planner, and perhaps one or two more. Just one solitary person joined in the period of the branch's existence and he never came to meetings. Only handfuls of 'Workers News' were sold, mainly to the small number of existing contacts. Street sales were negligible. Truth be told, the branch was largely a small circle of friends who met in the 'Bridge Hotel' for a drink and political chat.

Nationally, the WL was crumbling to pieces within months. Though there was no formal dissolution as such, in a couple of years it was effectively extinct. Many of the initial members and sympathisers had simply dropped out of *all* political activity. Quite a few turned to purely trade union work. Then there were those who followed the well-worn path to the Labour Party. A handful joined a more traditional Trotskyist group, the IMG (it too was destined to disappear, with some of its activists following, yes, that path into the Labour Party).

In my case, I became involved in a 'left unity' initiative based on a bookshop in Newcastle called 'Days of Hope'.<sup>x</sup> It was funded for the most part by Hilary Wainwright who later became editor of the 'Red Pepper' magazine. But, by 1980, long-standing doubts about the whole socialist tradition, especially Marxism, led me to membership of the Ecology Party.

### **Insuperable hurdles?**

Anyone proposing a breakaway from the Green Party and launch of a new organisation has to ask why, despite the initial promise, everything turned so quickly to dust for the WL. To understand one major factor, the life of typical left-wing activists in the 1970s has to be fully taken into account. Usually, there were weekly branch meetings as well as trade union and other commitments. Participation in paper sales was expected so, for some 7 years, this author, for example, spent the large majority of Saturday mornings or afternoons stood on Northumberland Street, selling (or not selling) 'Socialist Worker'.

It is important to grasp how this easily became a routine, one simply taken for granted. But, once that stopped, it could be so tempting to resume what, for most of one's friends, relatives, neighbours and work colleagues, is a 'normal' life. Suddenly, Saturdays were now free time! It is very hard to pick up the proverbial reins (or is it chains?) once the habit is broken.

In smaller political organisations, fellow members can frequently also be one's friendship circle as well. Breaking away can, then, have social as well as political costs. In the case of Communism, of course, political breakaway could cost you your life. "Deviationists" were routinely liquidated, the most notorious case being that of Leon Trotsky but he was only one of a great many. Mercifully, in other traditions, things are not so brutal but it can still be a severe wrench to walk or be pushed out the political door.

It is still harder when it becomes clear just how steep and probably unsuccessful an uphill struggle a new political project will be. This is one reason why the biggest party is probably the Ex-Party, people who just quit political activity altogether. That has been particularly true of the broad 'Trotskyist' movement. But most political organisations experience 'churn' and, usually, departees simply drop out of all politics.

In the world of left-wing politics, there has always been a sizeable group that, instead, has headed for the Labour Party (some ex-Greens have gone that way as well).<sup>xi</sup> The option has obvious appeal. There was, of course, no organisation to be built, with a large one already in place, with routines to which it is comparatively easy to adapt. Indeed, unlike the Far Left groupuscules, the Labour Party might even form a government (quite likely at the time of writing).

Moreover, the demands that Labour places on its members are modest, compared to the 'hot house' world of the Trotskyist movement. A focus on work inside the trade union movement similarly required no effort in terms of building a new organisation. Indeed, it could offer attractive career pathways, providing, of course, 'problematic' political baggage was dropped.

Significantly, many IS members who had sympathised with the criticisms made by then ISO quickly came to distance themselves from the breakaway 'comrades'. The latter were seen as turncoats and wreckers. So, the split had the perverse effect of actually solidifying the IS/SWP. So, very few, if any, people followed the WL out the door in the months that followed.

The WL was also launched at a time of political quietude. Perhaps it might have had more chance in periods characterised by trade union militancy and other forms of mass struggle, such as the protests against Thatcherism in the 1980s. There were no new layers getting involved in activity of one sort or another, people who might have constituted a pool of possible recruits and fresh blood.

The WL might also have done better in setting itself extremely modest aims, perhaps even just the production of a regular high quality journal<sup>xii</sup> and/or a few provocative but well-argued pamphlets, rather than trying to maintain the routines followed by the IS/SWP and other groups on the Far Left.

Perhaps there is another reason for the failure of the WL. Its founders were convinced — and with some solid reasons, objectively speaking — that they were different to the soon-to-be SWP. Yet,

from the point of view of even a well-informed outsider, there seemed little real difference and therefore no rationale for a new organisation. Thus, to see 'Socialist Worker' on sale alongside 'Workers News' on, say, a march was to see seemingly identical politics on offer. If there were no obvious differences, it made sense for anyone seeking to sign up to a Far Left organisation to join the biggest one in the field. Generally, then, there was very little political space for the WL.



## Green Fission

There was a parallel split in the Green Party back in 1992 which cost it its two most publicly prominent members, Jonathon Porritt and Sara Parkin. The faction fight that led to it had taken place at national conferences which were attended by only a small percentage of the membership. It is also found expression in conflict between the party's (then recently created) national executive and the regional council (an oversight body, responsible for proper working of the party, including discipline, as well as overall strategy and approval of General Election manifestos).

For the purposes of this paper, there is no need to go into the various issues over which arguments raged. Suffice it to say that hardened battlelines had formed. Thus, the same names would appear as signatories on conference motions from one side or the other. Things came to a head at the 1992 national conference. The upshot was that Porritt, Parkin and a number of others, some on GPEx, walked out (including this author).

A new organisation was launched, the Campaign for Political Ecology (CPE) but, like the WL, it foundered. Its chances were even slimmer in the first place. The new group only had some two dozen members and next-to-no visibility 'out there'. With such a tiny membership, there could be no local branches. The CPE had to function via time-consuming (and expensive) national get-togethers.

To be fair, it did convene one successful national event in London at which the well-known philosopher and social critic John Gray spoke. The CPE also had a magazine, 'Real World'. It had started life under the first GPEx and had two editions as the official GP publication. It became the property of the CPE and managed to survive a further 17 editions (thanks to a 'Sugar Daddy' who paid for its printing and distribution, with free copies sent to a range of some 30 contacts around the world). But, by the time of its demise, the CPE had disintegrated long before.

Basically, most people went off to do their own thing so there wasn't even a decent interment. One or two drifted back into the GP. More became involved in the 'broad movement', ie pressure groups, single issue campaign or local community bodies, all of which were far more numerous than was the case back in the mid-1970s. They provided an outlet for those who still wanted to remain socially engaged in some way but not get drawn into the hard grind of building a new political organisation.



A bigger factor in the demise of the CPE was the decision by Porritt and Parkin not to be involved. Instead, they joined with a former GP leading light Paul Ekins and, in 1996, together launched a new charity 'Forum for the Future'.<sup>xiii</sup> It is not hard to see why they thought they would do more useful things by such means. A tiny little band, one most likely to wander around in the political wilderness, exercised rather less appeal! In any case there are obvious dangers in a small organisation dependent on the charisma of one or two 'stars'. [Perhaps the worst case was on the Far Left: Gerry Healey and the SLL/WRP. But such problems are likely to lurk in all small groups and indeed bigger ones]

Parkin in particular had been appallingly treated by some GP members, including hate mail so nasty that the then national secretary had to keep it from her. It is no wonder that she headed off in a completely different direction. Without Porritt and Parkin, there was little chance that the CPE could arouse any media interest (to be fair, John Vidal of the 'Guardian' was sympathetic and actually came to one event).

Compared to the Far Left, the GP makes few demands on its members. But things are very different for activists, most of all those who serve in national posts. Some of those who quit in 1992 had been on GPEx, a very demanding commitment if taken seriously. Understandably, once no longer in such roles, it was easy to succumb to the temptation to 'pack it all in' and catch up with the rest of one's life.

Few, if indeed any, recruits came from the GP. As with the IS/WL split, plenty of people had devoted a great deal of time, energy, and money to the organisation, often at the expense of their social life and, sometimes, career prospects. Understandably, there was a deep reluctance to write off all that work and start over again from scratch. Furthermore, such members will have similarly seen the 'newcomer' as an unwelcome development, threatening to undo all the progress they had done in the past. They tended, to be suspicious of the CPE, if not downright hostile.

Perhaps there was also a difference with the WL story. The old IS had a long history of internal political debate across the party. Considerable effort was made to educate new members in the group's ideas (summer schools, internal education booklets, political discussion at branch meetings etc). The faction fight described above was not just at a national level. There were numerous events,



often 'regional aggregates', at which representatives of the ISO debated with supporters of the Cliff faction in front of ordinary members. Most of the latter had a fair inkling of the issues at stake.

By stark contrast, there is no comparable political culture inside the GP. Many local parties only meet to discuss 'business', with next to no in-depth discussion of either 'theory' (ie core ideas and the party programme) or issues in the news. A lot of members see politics overwhelmingly in terms of local electioneering, ignoring what is going on at the 'centre'.

In terms of the arguments that came to a head at the 1992 conference, most rank and file members were in the dark and perhaps not even interested. If they came across the CPE or 'Real World', they might well have been mystified. It is similarly the case that members of the public interested in general 'green' issues would have wondered why on Earth there were two green political organisations. Such factors had the fatal effect of drying up any pool of potential recruits.



### **Think before you leap!**

The above comments on GP internal culture apply today. Rigorous internal political debate across the party, there is not!<sup>xiv</sup> Indeed, the disappearance of the printed edition of 'Green World', the successor to 'Real World', probably means that there is even less awareness of national debates (the former publication was, to be blunt, a bit anodyne anyway). The most communications an ordinary member gets is probably just emails from national office begging for donations.<sup>xv</sup>

It might be noted, for example, that not many members know of critical documents such as the excellent Green Declaration for Women's Sex-Based Rights.<sup>xvi</sup> At the start of April 2024, the number of signatories was nearly 1460. That is a respectable figure, of course, but it is only a small percentage of the total party membership. Again, disengagement from national debates seems to be the norm.

More importantly, amongst the signatories there is no agreement about a whole range of issues concerning general party organisation, strategy, a whole range of policy matters or even core 'ideology'. Even on the issue of identity politics, critics are not united on the grounds for rejecting such thinking. Some only oppose the excesses of 'radical transgenderism' (Tavistock Clinic, etc) whilst others reject the whole kit and caboodle, from 'critical race theory' to 'fat acceptance'.<sup>xvii</sup>

More generally, there are probably similar divides between those looking for some sort of 'ecosocialist' party and those who stick with the core politics of ecology, epitomised by the 'limits-to-growth' perspective. The balance between the 'parliamentary road' and extra-parliamentary action might be another big bone of contention. There might be quite incompatible differences on matters such as the concept of 'patriarchy' and its significance in historical development. The specific issue of overpopulation is only one matter where there are deep and possibly unbridgeable differences.

Unlike the WL, whose founders were largely in agreement, the opposition to the current leadership of the Green Party is only united by what it is *against*. There is no agreement whatsoever about what, in detail, any Green Party Mark 2 would stand *for*. Some might want a party with the politics like 'La France Insoumise' or the Dutch 'GroenLinks'. Others might want something closer to the old Ecology Party, even the Dutch Party for Animals or the Portuguese PAN.

Then, at the first conference of any breakaway organisation, there probably would be interminable wrangles over a new constitution, some technical but others driven by different notions of 'leadership', 'spontaneity', 'democracy', and so forth. There probably would be a cohort of political oddballs, all utterly convinced that they alone offer some absolutely vital policy or strategy option with which everyone else simply *must* agree. Sane people might already be heading for the door at this point. So a new wave of ideological battles might sink a Green Party Mark 2 even before it could float.

## **Electoral pain**

Even if free of such conflicts, a new party would have little money and thus find it hard to stand candidates, if that were its plan, in parliamentary and mayoral elections. Indeed, there could well be a severe dearth of good candidates to stand at all electoral levels. There would not be the resources of a national office, a communications team, established media contacts, or a network of field organisers. There would probably be few people, if any, who could match the performances of, say Caroline Lucas MP on television.

If it focused elections and if it could find and fund candidates, a Green Party Mark 2 would certainly have an extremely high mountain to climb, one made even higher by the absence of Proportional Representation. The problem of 'differentiation' would loom just as large as in 1992. Imagine trying to sell a 'New Improved Green Party' on the doorstep a day or two after a canvasser from the existing Green Party had just visited. Most voters would be absolutely mystified.

Where there is a more favourable electoral system as in France, populist left-wing groups such as 'La France Insoumise' have done better but still have not broken through. The 'list' system has helped the Scottish Green Party but it still only has 7 MSPs out of 129 in the Scottish Parliament, none elected directly. More likely, a Green Party Mark 2 would come to grief rather quickly.

That was the fate of Burning Pink Party (aka Beyond Politics).<sup>xviii</sup> Its founders felt that existing organisations, including the Greens, were failing to address the enormity of the climate crisis. It got nowhere. Part of the problem might have been the unstable nature of some of its leading lights. It also carried much of the identity politics ideology. But its brief existence illustrates yet again the hurdles of any new political party, be it electorally oriented or extra-parliamentary in focus.



Of course, many things have changed since the periods of the two case studies discussed above. Politics is certainly more fluid and a lot of old loyalties have dissolved. There again, there is widespread hostility to *all* political organisations, with the exception, in an alarming number of cases, of brutish ‘populist’ forces. The scope for anything else seems very limited at the moment. One major change in recent years is in the communications environment. The rise of new media such as email, Facebook and Zoom has certainly made it easier to keep in touch and, to some extent, organise.<sup>xix</sup> Yet the flood of communications via such channels is also encouraging recipients to just tune out. Furthermore, while the ‘Information Highway’ might have opened up new routes, there is now a cacophony of voices shouting to be heard. In some ways it has become much harder to get a hearing. A new party would certainly struggle to be heard.

## Reform Thwarted

If the option of a new party, whatever its specific ‘colouration’, is riddled with potential problems, there is, of course, the alternative of staying in the existing Green Party and working to change it for the better. Indeed, there is a long history of such efforts that go back to the 1980s.

Probably the first in the field was a group that called itself the ‘Ecobores’, followed by ‘Maingreen’, with some personnel overlap. Their efforts came unstuck when the then chair, Jo Robins, denounced one of the latter group Paul Ekins for, she alleged, secretly plotting to transform the party. The upshot was the latter’s departure, along with Jonathon Tyler, both typical of the debilitating haemorrhage of talented individuals down the years. Green parties are not very good at resource conservation!

In the late 1980s came ‘Green Realignment’ and ‘Green 2000’. Their activities and opposition to them lay at the heart of the 1992 split discussed above. At one level, there were, indeed, successes with, first, the creation of an executive (though not an actual *political* leadership). It was followed later by the creation of the posts of co-leaders (still more in the mould of figureheads). There was, however, on-going opposition to real change and the ensuing conflict led the departure of most of those involved in ‘Green 2000’.

Needed reforms had been basically stymied, albeit, to be fair, with some improvements in the functioning of the party (eg more sophisticated election organisation). On-going problems, many linked to the influx in 2010 and thereafter of many students and recent graduates after a special membership offer, led to further efforts to bring about change. There have been shadowy groups such as ‘Greens United’ and ‘One Planet Greens’. Handfuls of their supporters got onto national bodies but little was achieved in terms of the desired political makeover of the party.

Perhaps the biggest effort was the so-called ‘Holistic Review’, the leading figure behind which was Liz Reason, someone well versed in the ways of the Green Party and with considerable experience at a national level. Despite great efforts by a fair few capable people, the initiative floundered. ‘Big Bang’ changes are indeed likely to generate big opposition from many quarters.

At the start of this paper, some obstacles to reform of the Green Party were spotlighted such as the numerical strength of hostile groups found within the Young Greens (plus some older opportunists who play to their gallery), the conservatism of existing conference goers, and the lack of an internal political culture that would encourage serious debate on the options.

But there are other barriers. Ironically, one is the typical GP member. Most are actually ‘nice’ people in the best sense of that little word. It is their very decency, tolerance and willingness to give people the benefit of the doubt that has helped the Identity Politics grouping make such inroads. It also makes them shy away from anything that smacks of faction-fighting with all its attendant unpleasantness. But only a hard-nosed faction fight can resolve the GP’s current problems. It would involve the otherwise distasteful task of pushing certain elements out the door. Such blood-letting might dismay many members ‘in the ‘middle’ so much that they quit the party so any victory might be very hollow.

Then there is the issue of what is at stake. Virtually all the reform groups spotlighted above focussed on *organisational* matters (this new committee, that new post, those new conference arrangements, etc). They did not address the 'ideological issues' that underpinned differences over organisational forms. Today, that is primarily about identity politics but also related ideas that underpin it, most stemming from postmodernist discourse plus, to some extent, the 'Four Pillars' paradigm.<sup>xx</sup>

Indeed, a leading light of Green 2000 said at one meeting attended by this author that "they" (ie the opposite side)<sup>xxi</sup> have "no ideas" (ie there was no need to argue against their thinking since they did not 'think'). But this was simply not the case. "They" did in fact articulate an internally coherent and interconnected set of ideas that needed to be challenged. Instead, that crucial battle was lost by default and, thus, the stage was set for any successful organisational changes to be undermined.

## Scant change

Such a track record is not confined to the Green Party. Look at the litany of failure of groups that sought to transform the Labour Party from within. This sad history includes the likes of Keep Left, the Bevanites, the 'Tribune' group, Militant, the Bennites, Momentum and the Corbynista. Several former left-wing firebrands actually became part of the Labour establishment eg Nye Bevan, Harold Wilson, Michael Foot, Neil Kinnock and Gordon Brown (sic). Indeed, some subsequent leading lights have been former Trotskyists, including (Lord) Gus Macdonald, Alan Milburn, and Alistair Darling while others such as Peter Mandelson and John Reid were former Communists. Parties tend to change those who seek to change the party.

Actually, in recent years, the most successful 'reform' group in terms of pushing its agenda has unfortunately been the pro- Brexit European Research Group inside the Tory Party. At the time of writing, such elements seem to be succeeding in turning the party into some caricature of Trump-style politics of greed and prejudice.<sup>xxii</sup>

All in all, it seems very hard to reform political parties from within. In the case of the Green Party, specific barriers have been noted already. More generally, perhaps the sheer power of inertia is the biggest barrier. Many people just seem to prefer sticking to what they know rather than take chances. There are also a good many with an aversion to putting their heads above the proverbial parapet. It scarcely strengthens the forces of reform.

## Green Independents Day?

The above discussion has focussed on just two options for those looking for a platform for really green politics: reform of the Green Party or the launch of some sort of Green Party Mark 2. But perhaps it could be argued that there is a third way, a loose network that, when opportune, stands candidates as 'Independent Greens'.<sup>xxiii</sup>

Such an approach would allow such candidates to distance themselves from the main Green Party (assuming it still degenerates in the direction of the now unreformable Scottish Green Party, an organisation completely lost to Identity Politics). They could reasonably say as well that they are standing because they want to prioritise action of the really big issues of climate breakdown and so forth.

It is true that there have been successful independent candidatures, perhaps most of all at council level. In the past few decades there have been some noteworthy parliamentary success by individuals. Often, they are campaigning against particularly corrupt politicians in the locality eg Eddie Milne in Blyth (who only lasted a few months) and Martin Bell in Tatton (he lasted 4 years).

At other times, it has been some significant single issue. Thus Richard Taylor successfully stood in Wyre Forest in support of action to protect and enhance the NHS (he actually lasted 9 years). It is hard to avoid the feeling that some Independents are on some sort of personal 'journey' (eg Jamie Driscoll, formerly of Labour, now the Independent mayor of the North of Tyne Combined Authority). Whatever their merits as individuals, there are drawbacks with independent candidatures. That is especially true of those standing on a limited ticket, say some local issue. But the crisis of crises we

collectively face<sup>xxiv</sup> demands a very broad and integrated programme of actions at all levels, from individuals and local councils to national governments and indeed international institutions. Sustained activity, from initial electoral success to actual achievements inside the ‘corridors of powers’ usually depends on a framework of support, such as back-up research and fund-raising. Individuals trying to function on their own are often ground down by hostile party machines. One option is a more organised joint list of Independent candidates on some agreed theme(s). It has to be noted, however, that the ‘Klimaliste’ (Climate List) has not proved a success in Germany.<sup>v xxxv</sup> The so-called Teal Independents in Australia seem to have done a bit better, however. Their programme would appear not to match what needs to be done.<sup>xxvi</sup> So the evidence is rather inconclusive on this option but not particularly encouraging.

## Stay sober!

if there were any easy answers regarding the best way forward for the ‘real’ Greens in and around the Green Party (that includes the numerous good people who have left in dismay), it would be great to conclude this paper with them. They simply do not exist. There must, then, be sober thought about the political essence, form and purposes of any new projects before writing off the Green Party as the vehicle for going forward. But if reform of the party is actually the best way forward, then there still needs to be hard-headed analysis of what is to be done and, again, some serious organising.

Whatever the best option, it is vital to remember one fundamental fact of life. The reasons why the Green Party has made so little headway are not primarily internal. Yes, a lot needs to change to give it the best chance to benefit from whatever opportunities arise out there.

But it is precisely in that wider world where the real barriers are to be found. It is not just the corporations, the banks, the ‘fat cats’ and all the other beneficiaries of ‘business-as-usual’. It is the dominant culture that is the biggest block: the way, each and every day in a myriad of decisions, many, many millions of ‘ordinary’ people often innocently but often willingly and on occasion, as in the case of hard core ‘petrolheads’ and their ilk, wilfully act in ways contrary to the sustainable common good.

The most sober thinking will be needed to find ways to overcome that rather formidable hurdle, regardless of whether a suitable political vehicle is created.

**Sandy Irvine**

April 2024

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<sup>i</sup> This is the current crisis in the Green Party and one in which leading figures such as Sian Berry, Amelia Womack, Zack Polanski, Carla Denyer, and Natalie Bennett have played a malign role. Yet the party is beset by many problems — they cover organisation, strategy, policy, analysis and even basic values but limited space prevents full discussion.

‘Identity Politics creates more than enough wrongs, both in terms of ideas and practice (ie wave of suspensions and expulsions). Just look at the party’s failure to respond to the game-changing Cass Report. Sections of the Green Party seemed determined to bring the party into disrepute eg <https://thegreenlight.blog/2024/03/17/lgbtiqagreens-further-drag-the-party-into-the-puberty-bloker-scandal/>

But even if all these battles were won, there would be a mountain of other work to be done before the Green Party could be deemed ‘fit for purpose’.

Take **basic values** for a start. The Party’s ‘Philosophical Basis’ was rewritten in 2013 in ways that marginalised its original roots in political ecology. It firmly positioned the party on the Left of the old and largely redundant political spectrum. Revealingly the Identity Politics faction cheered, identifying it as “‘clause 4 ‘ moment ( <https://bright-green.org/2013/02/28/social-justice-at-the-heart-green-partys-clause-4-moment-at-nottingham-conference-2013/> ).

In terms of **analysis** the party has also lost its way. This is none more so than regarding the issue of ‘growthism’. Public discourse is dominated by the mantra of ‘growth, growth, growth’. Its social desirability and ecological sustainability is simply assumed without question. It dominates the national agenda and in news reportage.

One would assume that the Green Party, founded in support of the ‘limit-to-growth’ perspective, would be devoting a large part of its efforts to challenge such misconceptions (as well as offshoots such as “levelling up”). Instead, there is near

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silence. The party is silent (at best!) on the unsustainable pressures form *current*, let alone projected, human numbers (sometimes there is straightforward denial eg <https://sandyirvineblog.wordpress.com/2021/10/07/green-party-and-population-denialism/>).

Nor is the deep questioning of other mantra such as 'net zero' ( <https://theconversation.com/climate-scientists-concept-of-net-zero-is-a-dangerous-trap-157368> ) and indeed the whole 'carbon fallacy', as in the one-dimensional focus on 'decarbonisation' ( cf

[https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/english/currentstudents/postgraduate/masters/modules/en9b5worldlitanthropocene/crist-beyond\\_the\\_climate\\_crisis.pdf](https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/english/currentstudents/postgraduate/masters/modules/en9b5worldlitanthropocene/crist-beyond_the_climate_crisis.pdf) ).

There is little criticism of 'technofixes' such as the 'vision' of giant fleets of driverless, electric cars. It similarly says next-to nothing about the great threat from technologies such as AI and one suspects there might even be wavering over nuclear power. It entertains wholly unrealistic fantasies about what 'renewable energy can sustainably supply (cf <https://www.mdpi.com/1996-1073/14/15/4508> and <https://theyee.ca/Analysis/2023/04/07/Rising-Chorus-Renewable-Energy-Skeptics/>).

Generally the party lacks a full-blown analysis of 'technofixes' (cf <https://newsociety.com/books/t/techno-fix> ; [https://www.edwardtenner.com/why\\_things\\_bite\\_back\\_technology\\_and\\_the\\_revenge\\_of\\_unintended\\_consequences\\_21108.htm](https://www.edwardtenner.com/why_things_bite_back_technology_and_the_revenge_of_unintended_consequences_21108.htm) ; <https://archive.org/details/turningawayfromt00step> ; <https://bristoluniversitypress.co.uk/the-age-of-low-tech#:~:text=By%20Philippe%20Bihouix,-Paperback&text=Bihouix%20skilfully%20goes%20against%20the,an%20independent%20author%20and%20engineer>).

Many of the party's **policies** are grounded in a cornucopian 'moreness' all financed by a surge in public spending and under public ownership (ie the traditional left-wing agenda): much more public transport, much more house building, much more health care and educational provision, much more in welfare benefits ..... Things are discussed in terms of quantitative easing yet money is merely a claim on resources, rather than the supply of resources themselves where many 'peaks' are set to occur (eg <https://www.goodreads.com/en/book/show/48866273> ). It seems to be widely assumed that planned production for social use is somehow free from the social and environmental costs of private production for profit. Not so! To take just housing the party makes big promises about a building programme but fails to explain how it would avoid massive urban sprawl (there are only so many realistically usable brownfield sites and some are now wildlife havens).

In terms of international politics, the party sticks to the false narrative of a rich 'North' versus a poor 'South' (or 'White West' versus the Rest). They conceal more than they reveal, dealing in generalisations that are largely meaningless. All continents, countries and indeed regions have huge differences within. In terms of the GINI coefficient measure, the top three in terms of internal inequality are South Africa, China, India, followed by Costa Rica, Brazil, Mexico, Turkey... only then do we come to the USA. The super-rich in those lands have grown fat largely be fleecing their own peoples. You cannot just blame outsiders for such warped social structures nor the environmental destruction that is rampant in most of those lands.

There are plenty of purely home-grown ecological disasters, from mega-dams and deforestation to new capital cities carved out of the jungle. African politicians such as Uganda's President claim that 'solar and wind (energy) force poverty on Africa and are enthusiastically backing fossil fuel projects, against World Bank advice. Thus the East Africa Crude Oil pipeline is locally backed and many western banks refuse to support it. Many leaders in Africa and Asia (especially India) actively seek to promote population growth, routinely proclaiming what they call a "baby dividend" to be reaped. It can but exacerbate greenhouse gas emissions and most other unsustainable impacts.

Today, China is exploiting lands all around the world, not least 'land grabs' in Africa. Confounding the stereotype of a uniformly 'poor 'South', the country is the world's biggest market for SUVs and home to its biggest shopping malls. China's Belt and Road Initiative is arguably the most destructive project on the planet. The top three countries with the world most unsustainable per capita ecological footprints are outside the 'White North'. The fast emerging driver now of ecological disaster is the so-called 'new middle class' found i=across all post-colonial countries

(<https://elements.visualcapitalist.com/the-worlds-growing-middle-class-2020-2030/> and <https://www.nasdaq.com/articles/world-reimagined%3A-the-rise-of-the-global-middle-class-2021-07-09#:~:text=According%20to%20the%202021%20Credit,just%20507%20million%20in%202000> ).

The party's **strategy** seems to have shrunk to a goal of 4 MPs . It might be realistic but any strategy has to be put in the context of the rate at the human predicament (and that of non-human species) is ,getting worse. Several studies put 2030 as a critical turning point (eg <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8213884.stm> ; <https://www.wiley.com/en-gb/How+Everything+Can+Collapse%3A+A+Manual+for+our+Times-p-9781509541393> ). The 'great unravelling' is speeding up ( <https://www.postcarbon.org/publications/welcome-to-the-great-unraveling/> ) but the Green Party does not seem to have internalised the enormity of what is happening. One small symptom was the number of Facebook pages of party activists that greeted the news of the re-election of the utterly odious George Galloway (an 'eco-denier') to Parliament (see: <https://www.desmog.com/2024/02/23/in-rochdale-by-election-climate-policy-is-also-on-the-ballot/> ). When the toxic Jeremy Corbyn, was on the 'up', he was evidently popular inside the Green Party, despite his many failing, including apologetics for religious extremism. On 'Corbynism', see: <https://www.penguin.co.uk/books/442223/left-out-by-gabriel-poggrund-and-patrick-maguire/9781529113624> and, more generally on the Labour Left: <https://www.collectiveinkbooks.com/zer0-books/our-books/left-for-itself>

Of course, the Green Party is getting some things right. One of the bright spots is the Association of Green Councillors (<https://agc.greenparty.org.uk> ). In terms of individuals, the party has many genuine green activists in its rank, many of real calibre. The performance of its sole MP Caroline Lucas in the media has been routinely excellent. Some groups inside the

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party are doing sterling work, one notable example being Green Party Women ( <https://women.greenparty.org.uk/posts/> ). Many of the party's policies are still the best on offer. For example it rightly condemns the grotesque levels of disparity between rich and power, calling for wealth taxation ( <https://greenworld.org.uk/article/why-greens-believe-joy-tax> ). Actually this has been a long-standing notion, predating the 'critical' social justice posturing. If only a limited economic 'cake' can be sustainably 'baked', then its fair distribution becomes all the more important or else there will be crippling social instability.

ii Such development are not confined to the green movement. See, for example:

<https://www.collectiveinkbooks.com/zer0-books/our-books/left-for-itself> ; <https://www.wiley.com/en-gb/Left+Is+Not+Woke-p-9781509558308> ; <https://www.politicos.co.uk/products/the-new-puritans-by-andrew-doyle> ; <https://www.penguin.co.uk/books/456408/the-identity-trap-by-mounk-vascha/9780241638293> ; <https://us.macmillan.com/books/9781250099334/thetroublewithdiversity> ; <https://www.hurstpublishers.com/book/the-once-and-future-liberal/> ; <https://swiftpress.com/book/beyond-grievance/>

iii <https://unherd.com/newsroom/shahrar-ali-wins-gender-critical-case-against-green-party/>

iv For examples of malign developments inside the party, see:

<https://thegreenlight.blog> and

[https://concernedgreens.uk/open-letter-to-gpew-councillors/?fbclid=IwAR3WwV5xSBHKA6Zg0HhbxBpx9AWuYQPIQqL9vSH8VHIKUTnU-4S6qFY2rE\\_aem\\_ATI19jNKzsB-x13\\_bDpiWZB\\_dL-rZBcZOlqPPtIDAz4cLA4xfxxNeee3diOtOfI\\_LEBpbs4J8iEloijaUrpAEqBS](https://concernedgreens.uk/open-letter-to-gpew-councillors/?fbclid=IwAR3WwV5xSBHKA6Zg0HhbxBpx9AWuYQPIQqL9vSH8VHIKUTnU-4S6qFY2rE_aem_ATI19jNKzsB-x13_bDpiWZB_dL-rZBcZOlqPPtIDAz4cLA4xfxxNeee3diOtOfI_LEBpbs4J8iEloijaUrpAEqBS)

For a taste of how bad things can be:

<https://beatrixcampbell.co.uk/bad-dreams-greens-and-gender/>

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/aug/27/greens-rising-star-quits-deputy-leader-race-after-father-jailed-for>

Sadly, given all the work she has done for the Green Party, Caroline Lucas MP has to be included with the ranks of the deluded on this issue: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/aug/30/look-future-aimee-challenor-trans-green-party-caroline-lucas>

But there are worse examples in leading circles eg

[https://www.mumsnet.com/talk/womens\\_rights/4914626-green-party-deputy-leader-on-being-gender-critical#:~:text=The%20Deputy%20Leader%20of%20the,place%20in%20the%20Greens.](https://www.mumsnet.com/talk/womens_rights/4914626-green-party-deputy-leader-on-being-gender-critical#:~:text=The%20Deputy%20Leader%20of%20the,place%20in%20the%20Greens.)

Sian Berry is a particularly bad case eg

<https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/does-the-green-party-care-more-about-trans-rights-than-the-environment/>

Worst of all is the Scottish Green Party:

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/english-scottish-sian-berry-dundee-welsh-b2203940.html>

For general background

<https://sandyirvineblog.wordpress.com/2023/10/03/privileging-sectional-identities-in-the-green-party/>

Specifically on related medical matters:

<https://environmentalprogress.org/big-news/wpath-files>

Yet, as soon as elected as first green MP, Caroline Lucas was campaigning for a Gender Clinic in Brighton. Brighton council under a green administration in 2013 adopted pushed Stonewall's school Tool kit in local schools. Some parents are in the process of taking the Council to court on the matter.

On Stonewall: <https://unherd.com/tag/stonewall/>

See also: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2021/may/02/tavistock-trust-whistleblower-david-bell-transgender-children-gids>

v <https://thegreenlight.blog/2024/03/10/the-young-greens-wholly-autonomous-body-agent-or-special-interest-group-2/>

vi The story of that internal battle has been recounted by one of those expelled, Jim Higgins, a former senior trade unionist and long-term revolutionary socialist here: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/higgins/1997/locust/index.htm> (It is recounted with great wit but also much bitterness, given the energy and talent that was wasted).

vii <https://socialistworker.co.uk/socialist-review-archive/minority-movement/>

viii <https://libcom.org/article/splits-socialist-workers-party-britain>

ix (<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/ranks-of-the-socialist-workers-party-are-split-over-handling-of-rape-allegation-8448429.html>) and

<https://www.newstatesman.com/uncategorized/2014/05/comrades-war-decline-and-fall-socialist-workers-party>

Note that those who left the SWP in this period failed to establish a viable alternative organisation. Groups such as rs21 remained extremely small. Before then, Counterfire was another splinter from the SWP (2010) but seems to be making no headway. Indeed, at first glance, it seems no different from the SWP. Indeed it seems to have a parasitical relationship. The same might happen to a Green Party Mark 2.

x see p8-11 here: <https://www.lefontheshelfbooks.co.uk/pdf/Radical-Bookselling-History-Newsletter-Issue-2-April-2021.pdf>

'Days of Hope' and the Tyneside Socialist Centre slowly crumbled. Already by then the days of any independent bookshop

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were probably numbered. One advantage of political parties, with, generally, comparatively highly motivated members, as opposed to much looser formations is that they are likely to be able to provide the person power, money and other resources needed to sustain any project, be it a bookshop, the production of assorted propaganda materials, the staffing of regular stalls or just routine leaflet drops as well as in-house training and education.

<sup>xi</sup> An example was Derek Wall, a leading figure in the 'social justice' tendency in the Green Party and prominent in the attacks on the newly formed GPEx at the start of the 1990s which led in turn to the split described in the second case study

<sup>xii</sup> There is actually a really good green example of this option: the 'Ecological Citizen' ( <https://www.ecologicalcitizen.net> ) It might be argued that the Ecologist magazine pursued this path. However, under the editorship of Nic Hildyard, it lost its way and sank into the swamp of an identity-oriented social justice politics. It now seems to see itself as a voice of the 'movement', whatever that might be. Certainly, it is a pale 'red' imitation of the original. Not surprisingly then, it is now part of the population denial brigade that argues that human numbers do not count, the very opposite of the message in the first years of the magazine under the stewardship of founder Teddy Goldsmith.

By contrast, the 'Ecological Citizen' manages to see the Earth as a whole, with non-human forms of life fellow 'stakeholders', alongside humans. It celebrates the wonders of nature but also takes a hard-headed approach to what has to be done to protect life on Earth. What influence it can exercise remains to be seen. It is hard to link the publication of articles, no matter how good, with the formation of support groups who can take the message 'out there'.

<sup>xiii</sup> <https://www.forumforthefuture.org/about-us>

<sup>xiv</sup> There are on-line discussion forums but the content of exchanges, it appears, often does not arise above the shouting of slogans and, in any case, only a tiny percentage of the membership is involved.

<sup>xv</sup> It is revealing to contrast GP publications with those from the IS/SWP. There is no Green equivalent to, say, 'International Socialism' ( <https://isj.org.uk> ). One can reject the arguments it advances but it would be churlish indeed to deny that the ISJ is well-produced, with plenty of solid evidence in support of its positions. It demands to be taken seriously. Nor is there any internal education what the SWP produces for its members eg <https://socialistworker.co.uk/marxist-ideas-theory/> .

By contrast, 'Green World' is full of the political equivalents of 'McNuggets', perhaps easy to digest but hardly filling ( <https://greenworld.org.uk> ) It is also resolutely upbeat, seemingly unwilling to address things of a more problematic nature. It is fair to say that the GP simply lacks a serious internal political culture. Indeed there is a widespread intellectual philistinism which dismisses 'theory' as just a waste of time. Local and regional events are dominated by 'business' and training in practical things such as canvassing. Comparatively little attention is given to the 'battle of ideas' and the creation of a 'cadre' that can win arguments in the public arena.

<sup>xvi</sup> <https://greenwomensdeclaration.uk/declaration/>

<sup>xvii</sup> See criticism such as:

[https://books.google.co.uk/books/about/The\\_Victims\\_Revolution.html?id=dpWoEAAAQBAJ&redir\\_esc=y](https://books.google.co.uk/books/about/The_Victims_Revolution.html?id=dpWoEAAAQBAJ&redir_esc=y) (Chapter 2) and <https://www.bloomsbury.com/uk/madness-of-crowds-9781472979575/> (Chapter 2). Interestingly, SWP theorists critique the notion of patriarchy eg <https://isj.org.uk/theories-of-patriarchy/> . Such critics would stress class divisions as opposed to those of male/ female.

For Greens, the critical divide has long been between human society in toto and the rest of nature as the fundamental matter eg <https://www.penguin.co.uk/books/372004/a-new-green-history-of-the-world-by-ponting-clive/9780099516682> ; <https://www.bloomsbury.com/uk/earth-transformed-9781526622587/> and <https://canongate.co.uk/books/11-a-short-history-of-progress/> ).

Environmental degradation, pollution and unsustainable resource depletion have happened under very different social structures, including, sometimes, essentially classless societies. Often, the drivers have been non-economic and, on occasion, well-meaning. Often, the real problem is the cumulative impact on open access but finite systems of a myriad of micro-decisions, routinely made with no ill intended. No-one seeks to create traffic jams but that is the consequence if too many people decide to take a vehicle out onto the open highway at the same time.

<sup>xviii</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burning\\_Pink](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burning_Pink)

<sup>xix</sup> For example: <https://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/2013/09/04/come-to-the-streets-but-without-parties-the-challenges-of-the-new-brazilian-protests>

<sup>xx</sup> Derek Wall was a leading advocate of the Four Pillars approach which came to privilege social justice issues and a positioning on the Left eg <https://peacenews.info/node/6314/derek-wall-no-nonsense-guide-green-politics-derek-wall-rise-green-left-inside-worldwide>

See: <https://greentalk.org.uk/of-roots-trunks-and-branches>

<sup>xxi</sup> They were grouped around an internal magazine called 'The Way Ahead'. They also pushed what they called "other ways of working". They also promoted a network called the 'policy community'. Today, 'Bright Green' ( <https://bright-green.org> ) performs a similar role, with some of the so-called 'special interest' groups also acting as a vehicle, in particular: <https://lgbtiqa.greenparty.org.uk>

<sup>xxii</sup> <https://www.politico.eu/article/can-anyone-stop-britains-tories-going-full-trump/>

<sup>xxiii</sup> Two other options are not considered in this paper. One is the formation of think tank to do research, critique the policies of 'business-as-usual' whilst developing and propagating alternatives. The Post Carbon Institute is a great example: <https://www.postcarbon.org> .

With a tighter focus but still excellent is CASSE: <https://steadystate.org> . But there is only so much space for such bodies. The other is initiatives are a more practical nature eg



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<https://www.highlandsrewilding.co.uk/bunloit-estate>

or, in cities

<https://worldlandscapearchitect.com/sankt-kjelds-square-and-bryggervangen-wins-arne-of-the-year-award/?v=79cba1185463> and <https://foodtank.com/news/2013/10/five-different-examples-of-urban-agriculture-from-around-the-world/>

These give the lie to TINA ('there is no alternative'). But there is a danger that they are just drops in the ocean when we need comprehensive programmes covering all sectors, something only governments can deliver, hence the need for politics of some sort. Such projects are often overwhelmed by existing businesses and other forces, the latter the beneficiaries of lavish government grants and other support. The newcomers are also often handicapped by existing laws and other regulations as well as the general taxation regime.

It has to be said that many 'intentional communities, communes, co-operatives and so forth have collapsed because of purely internal problem, not external pressures.

<sup>xxiv</sup> <https://www.postcarbon.org/publications/welcome-to-the-great-unraveling/>

<sup>xxv</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Klimaliste#:~:text=Klimaliste%20\(English%3A%20Climate%20List\),themselves%20as%20a%20grassroots%20movement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Klimaliste#:~:text=Klimaliste%20(English%3A%20Climate%20List),themselves%20as%20a%20grassroots%20movement)

<sup>xxvi</sup>

[https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teal\\_independents#:~:text=In%20Australian%20politics%2C%20a%20teal,by%20Simon%20Holmes%20à%20Court](https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teal_independents#:~:text=In%20Australian%20politics%2C%20a%20teal,by%20Simon%20Holmes%20à%20Court)

and <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-04-20/teal-independents-who-are-candidates-what-electorates/101000412>

For an Australian outline of the broad programme of public policies we need, see: <https://www.lulu.com/shop/haydn-washington/positive-steps-to-a-steady-state-economy/paperback/product-23210442.html?page=1&pageSize=4>

Also see the work of another Australian Ted Trainer (<http://thesimplerway.info>)

