



*the Greens*

**Green Party USA**

Ecological Wisdom  
Social Justice  
Grassroots Democracy  
Nonviolence

Decentralization  
Community-based Economics  
Feminism  
Respect for Diversity  
Personal and Global Responsibility  
Future Focus

August 2, 1996

**AOR 1996-35**

Identification Number: C00319699

The Greens/Green Party USA is requesting an advisory opinion as to its status as a national committee of a political party as required by the 2 U.S.C. §431(14) so that it may collect and disperse funds as a political party.

This year the Green Party is mounting a national presidential campaign with Ralph Nader as our candidate for president. He is on the ballot as a Green Party candidate in Alaska, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Maine, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, Utah, and Washington. The Florida and the North Carolina Green Parties are running a write-in campaign. More than twenty other states are in the process of meeting the petitioning requirements to get him on the ballot. They include: Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, Washington DC, and Wisconsin. The final outcome of this effort won't be known until September.

Your prompt review of the enclosed materials in response to our request for an advisory opinion is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Betty K. Wood'.

Betty K. Wood

Clearinghouse Coordinator, National Office, Greens/Green Party USA

**Enclosures:**

- Incorporation Papers
- Charter and Working Guidelines (Bylaws)
- Green Politics*
- Bulletin*
- Synthesis/Regeneration*
- Newsletter of Independent Progressive Politics Network
- Greens Program: An Evolving Vision (2 copies)*

Aug 6 3 14 PM '96  
RECEIVED  
FEDERAL ELECTION  
COMMISSION  
OFFICE OF GENERAL  
COUNSEL

Aug 9 4 31 PM '96  
RECEIVED  
FEDERAL ELECTION  
COMMISSION  
SECRETARIAT

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A number of people will be running for federal and state offices:

Vice President

Krista Paradise, Colorado

Madeline Hoffman, New Jersey

Others are petitioning:

Anne Goeke, Minnesota, Pennsylvania and others

Muriel Tillinghast, New York

Richard Walton, Rhode Island

Bill Boteler, Washington DC

U.S. Senate

Jed Whittaker, Alaska

Abraham Guttman, New Mexico

John Rensenbrink, Maine

Others are petitioning:

Bob Rudner, Illinois

Richard Grossman, Massachusetts

Bill Martin, Rhode Island

U.S. House of Representatives

John Grames, Alaska District 1

Walt Sheasby, California District 27

Will Yeager, California District 38

Mike Chamness, Colorado District 3

Jack Urich, New Mexico District 1

Others are petitioning:

Charles Laws, Massachusetts District 10

**Howie Hawkins, New York District 25**

**Rob McRoberts, New York District 19**

**Tom Leighton, New York District 14**

**Graham Schwass, Rhode Island District 1**

**State Legislative Bodies**

**Mike Brunner, Alaska State House, District 15**

**Hank Chapot, California State Assembly, District 14**

**Craig Coffin, California State Senate, Monterrey**

**Gary Swing, Colorado State Assembly, District 8**

**Tico Embury, Colorado State Assembly, District 1**

**Karen Archibald, Hawaii State House, Honolulu District**

**Bob Anderson, New Mexico State House, Albuquerque,**

**Mary Lou Jones, New Mexico State House, Grants**

**David Hampton, New Mexico State House, Valencia**

**Roberto Mondragon, New Mexico State House, District 46**

**Peggy Halgeson, New Mexico Corporation Commission**

**Others are petitioning:**

**Cam Gordon, Minnesota State Assembly, Distrit 62A**

**Tom Sullivan, New York State Senate, District 48**

**Bob Polhemus, New York State Senate, District 26**

**Craig Seeman, New York State Assembly, Brooklyn**

**Tony Gronowicz, New York State Assembly, District 73**

**Jeffrey Johnson, Rhode Island Assembly, District 48**

**Other Partisan Candidates**

**Larry Grantham, Mayor, Foley AL**

**Keiko Bonk, Mayor, Hawaii HI**

**Jason Schwartz, County Council, Maui HI**

**DonnaLynn Napua Johns, County Council, District 3, Hawaii HI**

**Julie Jacopson, County Council, District 6, Hawaii HI**

**Others are petitioning:**

**Suzanne Gaetani, Broome County Executive, NY**

**The Green Party USA is a decentralized grassroots democratic organization in that policy decisions are made at our annual convention (Congress) where representatives of local organizations meet and vote on policy matters. The Greens National Committee/Greens Council meets 3-4 times a year to make decisions on issues that come up between Congresses. The GNC/GC is our legal board of directors and is made up of representatives of nineteen state or multi-state regions. It does not make policy but makes decision to carry out policy set by the Congress. The Clearinghouse is our national office that, with oversight by committees of the GNC/GC, carries out the day to day operations of the organization.**

**Conventions:** Our now annual event is called a Green Gathering that generally has four parts: a conference with educational workshops that cover organizing techniques, issues, and skill building; a local demonstration or action; a convention (Congress); and a meeting of the Greens National Committee/Green Council. Each Gathering has been organized at the local level by a different state organization which takes lead responsible for the logistics, workshop planning, and the local demonstration/action. The national organization, through committees of the Greens National Committee/Greens Council, has responsibility for the convention (Congress) portion of the Gathering. The GNC/GC also is responsible for its own meeting that immediately follows the convention (Congress).

We will be having our ninth convention this year at our Gathering in Los Angeles, August 15-20. Previous conventions have been held in Amherst, Massachusetts, 1987; Eugene, Oregon, 1989; Estes Park, CO, 1990; Elkins, West Virginia, 1991; Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1992; Syracuse, NY 1993; Boise, Idaho, 1994; and Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1995. Attendees number around 300 people.

**Green Congress:** The Green Congress meets each year to set policy. It is made up of representatives of chapters (locals). Voting is proportional according to the membership of each chapter. The Green Congress is the only body that can change the bylaws or the program. It sets the guidelines by which the Greens National Committee makes decisions. The Congress elects three of its participants to sit on the Greens National Committee for the coming year.

**Greens National Committee:** The Greens National Committee is the body responsible for the day-to-day operations of the party and has ultimate financial responsibility for the organization. It is made up of two representatives of each state or multi-state region. The organization was originally set up with several multi-state regions. As states have become more organized, they have established themselves as a separate region and have two seats on the GNC. We now have 19 regions, including seven single-state regions, with several other states considering to declare themselves a separate region. Voting is proportional. The GNC has met three to four times a year in various locations throughout the country. The GNC has met in Syracuse NY, 8/93; Tampa FL, 11/93; Cleveland OH, 3/94; Boise ID, 8/94; Pullman WV, 10/94; Blodgett Mills NY, 3/95; Albuquerque NM, 8/95; South Bend IN, 11/95; St. Louis MO, 3/96. There are several committees of the GNC: budget and finance, clearinghouse oversight, electoral action, fundraising, gathering (which has subcommittees), *Green Politics* editorial board, international, long-range planning, media, mediation, presidential candidates and nomination, program, publications, and structure.

**Caucuses:** The national Green Party has identity caucuses to better enable those people who have traditionally been disempowered by society to organize. While any group with common interests may create a caucus, the People of Color Caucus, the Women's Caucus, the Lesbian/Bisexual/Gay/Queer Caucus, and the Youth Caucus all have two voting representatives on the Greens National Committee and voting rights in the Green Congress. The caucuses, in addition to providing organizing opportunities for their members, provide consciousness-raising for the Greens as a whole.

**Incorporation:** The Greens/Green Party USA is incorporated in the state of Missouri as a national political party within the meaning of Section 527 of the Internal Revenue Code and is operated primarily for the purpose of directly or indirectly accepting contributions or making expenditures, or both, directed toward the influencing or attempting to influence the selection, nomination, election, or appointment of any individual to any federal, state, or local public office or office in a political organization, or the election of Presidential or Vice Presidential electors, whether or not such individual or electors are actually selected, nominated, elected, or appointed. No part of the revenues of the corporation shall inure to the benefit of, or be distributable to its directors, trustees, officers, other private individuals, or organizations established and operated for profit, except as may be permitted under the Internal Revenue Code as reasonable compensation for services rendered. The purposes for which the corporation is organized are to promote and conduct political action within the context of the following ten key values: ecological wisdom, grassroots democracy, social justice, nonviolence, decentralization, community-based economics, feminism, respect for diversity, personal

and global responsibility, and future focus/sustainability. These objectives may include educational and administrative functions as well as any such other activities as may be necessary and proper to accomplish the corporation purposes. (Incorporation papers enclosed.)

**U.S. Postal Service recognition:** We have been recognized by the U.S. Postal Service as a political party in its granting of a political party bulk mail authorization.

**National Office:** The Greens have had a national office (clearinghouse) continuously since before 1991. For several years the office was located in Kansas City MO. It moved to present location, Blodgett Mills NY, in 1995.

The national Greens/Green Party USA national office serves all Greens, whether they are members or not, with information about the activities of Green locals and Green Parties, whether they are affiliated or not. Staff of the national office includes one fulltime volunteer and many part-time, decentralized volunteers.

The national office serves as the administrative focal point for all Greens in the country. It processes memberships and renewals, handles information inquiries for anyone interested in the Greens, serves as a facilitator for communications among Greens by putting Greens in touch with other Greens who may be working on the same issues or who have a needed skill or expertise, publishes and distributes the newspaper, *Green Politics*, and administrative newsletter, the *Bulletin*, distributes the quarterly discussion journal, *Synthesis/Regeneration*, that goes to all members, handles all finances for the national Greens/Green Party USA, serves as the focal point for communications among the members of the Greens National Committee and its three or four annual meetings, and for the work of the Green Congress that meets annually. The national office provides literature on membership, issues education, the Green Platform, and Green Party positions on issues. It sells books, audio tapes, and video tapes by Greens about Greens and the Green philosophy. The national office buys merchandise at volume discounts and then resells to local organizations at discount to help them with their fundraising. The national office makes money on the merchandise, but so do the locals, who are able to get better discounts for lesser amounts by ordering through the national office.

In addition to providing merchandise at a discount for the locals, the national office has prepared an organizing kit to help organizers set up new locals in their communities. To aid in the organization of new locals, the national office provides names of others in the general locality of the new local to that local. When there are several inquiries from the same area, the national office attempts to get these people together.

**Finances:** The Greens/Green Party USA has had a bank account for several years. It currently has an account with the Country Club Bank in Kansas City MO and another with the Alternatives Credit Union of Ithaca NY. The annual budget is approximately \$30,000. Money is raised through memberships, contributions, special fundraising, and by the sale of merchandise. Merchandise includes Green t-shirts, bumperstickers, buttons, books, and tapes. Sales are both retail and at a discount for volume orders to aid locals in their fundraising. Expenses are primarily in maintaining the national office: for rent, postage, telephone, and photocopies. Thousands of dollars are spent on membership services: the publications, and maintaining the database, in addition to photocopies, postage, and telephone.

**Bylaws:** The Greens/Green Party USA is governed by the Charter and Working Guidelines (copy enclosed). The bylaws are modified through proposals submitted to the annual convention (Congress) and approved by consensus or by a 75% majority. The Bylaws describe the structure, membership requirements, and responsibilities of each body.

**Publications:** The Greens/Green Party USA publishes a quarterly newspaper, *Green Politics* (samples enclosed), a bimonthly administrative newsletter, the *Bulletin* (samples enclosed), and *Synthesis/Regeneration*, a quarterly discussion journal (samples enclosed).

*Green Politics* carries news of the Greens, the Green Parties, and topics of interest to them. The purpose of the newspaper is to let Greens know what is going on among other Green groups and for

outreach to those who don't know of the Greens to help them understand what we stand for and what we do. Political activity of all state Green Parties is reported, as well as various other activities such as coalition work, actions, and demonstrations. Green perspectives on various issues are also presented. Letters to the Editor are published. There is an editorial board of five or six people, geographically distributed, who solicit articles, select those to be published, edit them as necessary, and provide general layout guidelines. Actual layout, production, and distribution is done in the national office. *Green Politics* is sent to all members and is available in bundles for locals or individuals to use for outreach. Articles that are inappropriate for outreach are not published here. The newspaper is 12-16 pages; print runs are 10,000 copies (or more) and are sold out.

The *Bulletin* carries administrative news and is available by subscription to individual members and to locals. Proposals to be considered by the Congress or the Greens National Committee are published here prior to their respective meetings. Minutes of meetings are published here, as are general announcements, calls for proposals, and financial reports. Articles that are appropriate for the membership but not for outreach may be published here where they are not published in *Green Politics*. Various committees and Direct Action Networks publish their reports in the *Bulletin*. The *Bulletin* is published at and distributed by the national office within guidelines established by the Greens National Committee.

*Synthesis/Regeneration* is in magazine format and carries news and opinion articles written by members and non-members. Topics include toxics, nuclear energy and waste, electoral politics, and other topics of interest to Greens. Each issue usually has several articles on one or more topics. *Synthesis/Regeneration* is sent to all members and to independent subscribers. Editing, layout, and distribution are by a Greens local in Saint Louis MO.

**On-going Efforts:** The Greens have held a number of conferences in conjunction with its annual convention and Greens National Committee meetings. Conference themes have included economics, social justice, electoral politics, and others.

Greens are involved in a number of issues in an on-going basis. Many of these issues are reflected in Direct Action Networks, loose networks of people working on an issue. Examples include: the Toxics Network, the Nuclear Network, the Leonard Peltier Network, Forests and Wildlands Network, Food Circles, Health Care, Sustainable Energy, Local Currencies. An example of a network in action was this past year when the Greens/Green Party USA joined with GreenPeace and Nuclear Information Referral Service in sponsoring Chernobyl + 10 actions across the country. Greens in several states staged protests, wrote letters to the editor and other educational actions, and collected goods to be sent to the victims of Chernobyl. Greens across the country are continuing their efforts in protesting the spread of radiation through the transport of nuclear waste across the country by contacting Congresspeople and the White House, by writing letters to the editor, by influencing their local city and county legislatures to pass legislation outlawing the movement of radioactive waste through their communities. Greens continue to educate and lobby for universal coverage, single-payer health care. Brochures on single payer health care are available from the national office and are a part of the organizing kit. Greens in many communities are setting up local currencies based on the model of Ithaca Hours. Greens in Santa Fe NM, Kansas City MO, and Brooklyn NY are examples of this effort. Voter registration drives are on-going. They are also an accepted part of the petitioning process. The Green Party of California initially received ballot status by registering 80,000 people as Greens. Many Greens are involved in community education through the presentation of topics in line with Green values through the use of cable access. These efforts are happening in, for example, California, New Mexico, New York, and North Carolina. The center page of *Green Politics* has articles from various locals and state parties that describe many of these activities.

The Green Party USA is actively involved in promoting independent politics through its co-sponsorship of the Independent Progressive Politics Network (IPPN) and its predecessors, the National Peoples Progressive Network and the National Independent Politics Summit. The IPPN had forty-five organizations in attendance at its April 1996 meeting. Ten of these were Greens groups - the

Greens/Greens Party USA, five state Green Parties, four Green locals. Five members of the Greens/Green Party USA are elected members of the 26 person National Steering Committee. The purpose of the IPPN is to provide a forum for independent progressive organizations to work together for common goals. Four of its committees are: the National State of Independent Candidates Task Force, the Independent Presidential Task Force, the National Peoples Pledge Campaign Task Force, and the Caravan/March for Social Justice. Green Party members are active in leadership positions in each of these groups. A newsletter is enclosed.

**Platform:** The Green Party USA has been active in electoral politics since 1989 when we began drafting our platform: *Greens Program: An Evolving Vision* (copy enclosed). Greens from across the country were involved in the drafting of the document that was initially approved, plank by plank by 75% majority, at our annual convention (called the Green Congress) in 1990 at Estes Park CO and modified at subsequent conventions. The most recent modification was made at our annual convention in 1995 in Albuquerque NM. The platform covers many topics: agriculture and food, arts, biological diversity and animal liberation, community, criminal justice, direct action, economics, educations, energy, foreign and military policy, forests, health and healing, indigenous people, land use, materials and waste management, peace and nonviolence, politics, social justice, spirituality, technology, water, and air.

Green Party members write articles for a number of periodicals, including *Z Magazine* and *The Nation*.

**State Party Affiliation:** Many state Green Parties are affiliated with the national Greens/Green Party USA and more are expected to affiliate within the next two months. Some of those (but not necessarily all) that are affiliated include:

- Green Party of Alaska
- Green Party of Colorado
- Florida Green Party
- Indiana Green Party
- Green Party of Missouri
- New Mexico Green Party
- New Hampshire Green Party
- Green Party of New York State
- North Carolina Green Party
- Green Party of Ohio
- Green Party of Vermont
- Green Party of Virginia
- Green Party of Washington State
- Green Party of Wisconsin

**Ballot Access:**

Green Party of Alaska, 1990, by Jim Sykes receiving more than 3% of the votes for governor; retained in 1994 by Jim Sykes/Roger Lewis receiving more than 3% of the votes for governor/lt. governor.

Green Party of Arizona, 1992, by petition

Green Party of Hawaii, 1992, by petition; lost in 1994; regained in 1996

Green Party of California, 1992, by petition; retained in 1994 by Margaret Garcia receiving more than 3% of the vote for Secretary of State.

Green Party of Colorado, 1994, by Philip Hufford/Krista Paradise receiving 1.5% of the vote for governor/lt. governor.

Green Party of Maine, 1994, by Jonathan Carter receiving more than 5% of the vote for governor.

**Candidates:** Green Party candidates have been running for office since 1985 when Greens began running candidates for local offices in Wisconsin and Connecticut. In 1989, Greens in Burlington VT ran for local office. In 1990 New Hampshire and Alaska each ran candidates for governor. In 1991, 22 Greens held office in 11 states (list enclosed). In 1992, 91 people ran for office in 14 states, collected 570,000 votes, and won 13 seats (list enclosed). In 1994 and 1995, Greens ran for office in fifteen states, collecting over one million votes. A list of candidates, the office for which they ran, and their percentage of the vote, is enclosed. This latter sheet has been liberally distributed for several months from the national office.

**Federal and state races:**

**U.S. Senate**

- 1992 Mary Jordan, U.S. Senate, Alaska, 8.1%  
Linda Martin, U.S. Senate, Hawaii, 13%  
1994 Barbara Blong, U.S. Senate, California, 1.6%

**U.S. House of Representatives**

- 1992 Mike Milligan, Alaska District 1, 3.8%  
Blaise Bonpane, California District 30,  
Richard Greene, California District 36, 5%  
Tian Harter, California District 5, 2%  
Mindy Lorenz, California District 22, 10%  
Jesse Moorman, California District 27, 4%  
Richard Roe, California District 51, 2%  
Walt Sheasby, California District 28, 3%  
Charlie Wilken, California District 25, 3%  
Barbara Ann Rodgers-Hendrick, Florida District 1, 4.2%  
Jonathan Carter, Maine District 2, 10.00%  
Jeff Barrow, Missouri District 9, 4.5%  
1994 Joni Whitmore, Alaska, District 1 10%  
Craig Coffin, California District 17, 3.3%  
Robert Marston, California District 23, 2.6%  
Kip Kruger, California District 50, 1.8%  
Charles Fitzgerald, Maine, 5%  
Rex Johnson, New Mexico District 2, 5%  
Tom Leighton, New York, East Side of Manhattan, 1%

**State Governor/Lt. Governor**

- 1990 Guy Chichester, New Hampshire  
 Jim Sykes, Alaska, >3%
- 1994 Jim Sykes/Roger Lewis, Alaska, 3.9%  
 /Danny Moses, California, 1.8%  
 Philip Hufford/Krista Paradise, Colorado, 1.5%  
 Kioni Dudley/Jack Morse, Hawaii, 3.5%  
 Jonathan Carter, Maine, 6.5%  
 Roberto Mondragon/Steve Schmidt, New Mexico, 10.4%  
 /Jeff Johnson, Rhode Island, 6%

State Legislative Bodies

- 1990 Lucy Wyman, New Hampshire State House (Lancaster)  
 Roy Morrison, New Hampshire State House (Warner)
- 1992 Timothy Feller, Alaska State Senate, District 14, Seat H, 23%  
 Michael Kutscheid, Alaska State House, withdrew after primary  
 Benn Levine, Alaska State House, District 7, 8.0%  
 Gary Pearson, Alaska State House, District 27, 6.0%  
 David Stannard, Alaska State Senate, District 24, Seat O, 7.1%  
 Charles Weaverling, Alaska State Assembly, District 35, 23%  
 Carolyn Campbell, Arizona State House, District 11, 11.0%  
 Jesse Chandley, Arizona State House, District 29, 5.0%  
 Cynthia Allaire, California State Assembly, District 61, 5%  
 Glenn Bailey, California State Assembly, District 40, 4%  
 Joseph Desist, Calidornian State Assembly, District 63, 13%  
 Richard Geiselhart, California State Assembly, District 9, 7%  
 Margene McGee, California State Assembly, District 1, 6%  
 Kent Smith, California State Senate, District 1, 10%  
 Dan Tarr, California State Assembly, District 75, 3%  
 Jeff Alexander, Hawaii State House, District 43, 15%  
 Gary Andersen, Hawaii State Senate, District 9, 3.6%  
 Connie Chun, Hawaii State House, District 32, 49.26%  
 Kristine Kubat, Hawaii State House, District 4, 23.22%  
 Jack Morse, Hawaii State House, District 25  
 Lynn Nakkim, Hawaii State House, District 1  
 Edwina Wong, Hawaii State Senate, District 20, 5.84%  
 Delmira Quarles, Missouri State Legislature, District 46, 9.53%  
 Chris Hanson, New Hampshire State House (Alstead)

- Stuart Leiderman, New Hampshire State House (Hampton)  
 Abraham Guttman, New Mexico State House, District 8, 42%  
 Andrea Vargas, New Mexico State House, 41%  
 Mark Dunlea, New York State Assembly, 41%
- 1994 Paul Bratton, Alaska State Legislature, 11%  
 Walt Sheasby, California State Senate, 2.3%  
 Hank Chapot, California State Assembly, 6.1%  
 Tim Fitzgerald, California State Assembly, 8.0%  
 Tom Stafford, California State Assembly, 2.1%  
 Charles Wilken, California State Assembly, 7.1%  
 Toni Worst, Hawaii State House, 41%  
 Karen Archibald, Hawaii State House, 38%  
 Chris Walker, Hawaii State House, 17%  
 Bruce MacPherson, Hawaii State House, 10%  
 Mary France, New York State Assembly, 3%  
 Craig Seeman, New York State Assembly, 4%  
 Anna Cardillo Martin, Rhode Island State Senate, 5.3%
- 1995 Virginia Porras, Virginia State House, 3%  
 Eric Sheffield, Virginia State House, 3%  
 Mark Yatrofsky, Virginia State House, 3%  
 Elise Sheffield, Virginia State Senate, 3%  
 Jeff Peterson, Wisconsin State House, 6%

Other State Offices

- 1994 Margaret Garcia, Secretary of State, New Mexico, 3.9%  
 Lorenzo Garcia, Treasurer, New Mexico, 33%  
 Patricia Wolff, Commissioner of Public Lands, New Mexico, 12%

Other Partisan Races

- 1985 Frank Kuehn, Bayfield County Board, WI (win)  
 Several candidates for Board of Aldermen, New Haven CT
- 1987 Several candidates for Board of Aldermen, New Haven CT
- 1988 Paul Fleckenstein, City Council, Burlington VT  
 Gary Cisco, City Council, Burlington VT  
 Bea Bookchin, City Council, Burlington VT  
 Sandy Baird, Mayor, Burlington VT
- 1989 Several candidates for Board of Aldermen, New Haven CT  
 Candidate for Mayor, New Haven CT

- 1992 Claudia Elquist, County Attorney, AZ (write in)  
 Jack Strasburg, Tucson, AZ, Pima County Board of Supervisors, 6.3%  
 Nikhilananda, East Maui, HI, 8.38%  
 Joe Bertram III, No. Dist. Res., Maui, HI, 5.7%  
 Keiko Bonk-Abramson, Hawaii County Council, HI, District VI, 54.6% (win)  
 Chris Cackley, Hawaii Council, HI, District IX, 12.99%  
 Jack Davis, County of Hawaii, HI, 26.9%  
 Sally Raisbeck, Central Maui, HI, 8.1%  
 Russell Ruderman, Hawaii Council, HI, District V, 38.99%  
 Jason Schwartz, West Maui, HI, 10.55%  
 Ellen Takazawa, Hawaii Council, HI, District 1, 20.71%  
 Matt Harline, City Council, Columbia MO (win)  
 Kay McKenzie, Douglas County Board, WI (win)
- 1994 Keiko Bonk-Abramson, Hawaii County Council, HI, District VI, 60%  
 Nikhilananda, Maui County Council, HI, 22%  
 Meiling Akuna, Maui County Council, HI, 9%  
 Jason Schweartz, Maui County Council, HI, 4%  
 Victor Bailey, Kauai County Council, HI  
 Jeff Barrow, County Commissioner, Boone County MO, 40%  
 Terry Webster, Mayor, Webster Grove MO (win)  
 Matt Harline, City Council, Columbia MO (win)  
 Fran Gallegos, Magistrate Judge, Santa Fe NM, 43%  
 Don Brayfield, County Assessor, Santa Fe NM, 32%  
 Howie Hawkins, City Council, Syracuse NY, 1%  
 Tom Sullivan, School Board, Syracuse NY, 2%  
 Ted Ciskie, Douglas County Board, WI (win)
- 1995 Pete Meyers, South Bend IN City Council, 25%  
 Karen Mayon, Selectperson, Bowdoinham ME (win)  
 Mark Dunlea, Rensselaer County Executive, NY, 11.5%  
 Ben Armento, Ulster County Legislature, District 2, NY, 8%  
 Dave Menzies, Ulster County Legislature, District 2, NY, 7%  
 Howie Hawkins, Syracuse NY City Council, 3%  
 Tom Sullivan, School Board, Syracuse NY, 3%  
 Debbie Anderson, Town Council, McDonough NY, 12.5%  
 Betty Wood, Town Council, Cortlandville NY, 10%
- 1996 Fran Gallegos, Municipal Judge, Santa Fe NM (44%, win)

**Miguel Chavez, City Council, Santa Fe NM (33%)**

**Eric Morgan, Mayor, Williston Park NY, (lost by 23 votes)**

**Bill Anderson, Douglas County Board, WI (win)**

**Ted Ciskie, Douglas County Board, WI (lost by 24 votes)**

**Kay McKenzie, Douglas County Board, WI (lost by 24 votes)**

**Several other candidates have run, many of them winning, in non-partisan races.**

# STATE OF MISSOURI



Judith K. Moriarty  
SECRETARY OF STATE

CORPORATION DIVISION  
CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION  
GENERAL NOT FOR PROFIT

WHEREAS, DUPLICATE ORIGINALS OF ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION OF  
THE GREENS/GREEN PARTY, U.S.A., INC.

HAVE BEEN RECEIVED AND FILED IN THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF  
STATE, WHICH ARTICLES, IN ALL RESPECTS, COMPLY WITH THE  
REQUIREMENTS OF GENERAL NOT FOR PROFIT CORPORATION LAW

NOW, THEREFORE, I, JUDITH K. MORIARTY, SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE  
STATE OF MISSOURI, BY VIRTUE OF THE AUTHORITY VESTED IN ME BY  
LAW, DO HEREBY CERTIFY AND DECLARE THIS ENTITY A BODY CORPORATE  
DULY ORGANIZED THIS DATE AND THAT IT IS ENTITLED TO ALL RIGHTS  
AND PRIVILEGES GRANTED CORPORATIONS ORGANIZED UNDER THE  
GENERAL NOT FOR PROFIT CORPORATION LAW.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I HAVE SET MY  
HAND AND IMPRINTED THE GREAT SEAL OF  
THE STATE OF MISSOURI, ON THIS, THE  
4TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1993.



*Judith K. Moriarty*  
Secretary of State

\$10.00

FILED AND CERTIFICATE OF  
INCORPORATION ISSUED

NOV 04 1993

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION  
FOR  
THE GREENS/GREEN PARTY, U.S.A., INC  
(A general not-for-profit corporation)

*James K. Thompson*

We, the undersigned, Diana R. Nika, 708 SW Cambridge Ave., Topeka, Kansas 66606, Susan Whitmore, 4113 Baltimore, Kansas City, Missouri 64111, and Eric Odell, 4113 Baltimore, Kansas City, Missouri 64111, being natural persons of the age of eighteen years or more and citizens of the United States, for the purpose of forming a corporation under the "General Not For Profit Corporation Law" of the State of Missouri, do hereby adopt the following Articles of Incorporation:

Article I

The name of the corporation is: The Greens/Green Party, U.S.A., Inc.

Article II

The period of duration of the corporation is perpetual.

Article III

The address of its initial Registered Office in the State of Missouri is 210 Westport Road, Kansas City, Missouri 64111 and the name of its initial Registered Agent at said address is Amy Belanger.

Article IV

The first Board of Directors, hereafter referred to as the "Board of Trustees", shall be thirty-two in number, their names and addresses being as follows:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Address</u>
Gregory Gross	2577 Findley Ave., Columbus, OH 45322
Sulaiman Mahi	1405 Beecher St., Atlanta, GA 30318
Johann Moore	691 Union St., Brooklyn, NY 11215
Farida Sidiq	795 Livermore St., Yellowsprings, OH 45387
Denise Moyer	4540 Squires Cir., Boulder, CO 80303
Brenda Phillips	36 N. McKinley Dr., Athens, GA 49302
Chandler Morse	221 W. 12th St., Columbus, OH 43210
Tom Macchia	POBox 221285, Anchorage, AK 99522

Joseph Boland	1325 West 4th, Eugene, OR 97402
Sue Nelson	1675 Sargent Pl., Los Angeles, CA 90026
Ed Shacklett	242 W. Ramona St., Ventura, CA 93001
Hugh Osborn	PO Box 1232, Kalispell, MT 59903
Darlene Nixon	2237 Emerson, Denver, CO 80205
Bruce Coughlin	P. O. Box 30208, Kansas City, MO 64112
Nancy Harvey	4540 Squires Cir., Boulder, CO 80303
Mike Castro	2886 Trades West Rd, Sante Fe, NM 87501
Stanley Beretsky	127 Toncowanda Dr., Des Moines, IA 50312
Valerie Ackerman	3227 Yorktown Dr., Ann Arbor, MI 46105
Susan Whitmore	4113 Baltimore, Kansas City, MO 64111
Mark Clive	2351 Ballycastle Dr., Dallas, TX 75228
Sharon Withey	RR 10 Box 547-A, Denton, TX 76207
Deborah Lorz	12788 New England Rd., Amesville, OH 45701
David Ellison	2871 Hampton Rd #11, Cleveland, OH 44120
Wes Wager	716 W. Maxwell St., Chicago, IL 60607
Tom Shaver	536 Wyatt Rd., London, KY 40741
Denny Wolfe	17920 Burnside Dr., Lutz, FL 33549
Gail McGlathery	1722 Doncaster Rd., Clearwater, FL 34624
Cassie Wilson	3144 Main St., Buffalo, NY 14214
Brian Tokar	PO Box 93, Plainfield, VT 05667
Carol Perry	609 Bellevue Ave., Syracuse, NY 13204
Gary Zuckert	PO Box 144, Pullman, WV 26421
Jana Cutlip	2107 Gihon Rd., Parkersburg, WV 26101

#### Article V

The purposes for which the corporation is organized are to promote and conduct political action within the context of the following ten key values:

- ecological wisdom
- grassroots democracy
- social justice
- nonviolence
- decentralization
- community-based economics
- feminism
- respect for diversity
- personal and global responsibility
- future focus/sustainability

These objectives may include educational and administrative functions as well as any such other activities as may be necessary and proper to accomplish the corporation purposes.

The corporation is organized as a national political party within the meaning of Section 527 of the Internal Revenue Code and will be operated primarily for the purpose of directly or indirectly accepting contributions or making expenditures, or both, directed toward the influencing or attempting to influence the selection, nomination, election, or appointment of any individual to any federal, state, or local public office or office in a political organization, or the election of Presidential or Vice-Presidential electors, whether or not such individual or electors are actually selected, nominated, elected, or appointed. No part of the revenues of the corporation shall inure to the benefit of, or be distributable to its directors, trustees, officers, other private individuals, or organizations established and operated for profit, except as may be permitted under the Internal Revenue Code as reasonable compensation for services rendered.

#### Article VI

These articles shall not be repealed, amended, or altered without the unanimous consent of the Board of Trustees at any annual or properly called special meeting of the corporation, provided that no amendment shall authorize the corporation to conduct affairs in any manner or for any purpose contrary to the provisions of Section 527 of the Internal Revenue Code as now or hereafter in force.

#### Article VII

Upon the dissolution of the corporation, the Board of Trustees shall, after paying or making provisions for the payment of all of the liabilities of the corporation, dispose of all of the assets of the corporation to such organization or organizations established and operated exclusively for charitable, educational, religious, scientific or political purposes and which at such time qualify as exempt under the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (or the corresponding provisions of any future United States Internal Revenue law) as the Board of Trustees shall determine.



# **Charter and Working Guidelines for The Greens/Green Party USA**

**Revised Edition: 11/17/95 After Albuquerque Gathering**

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# Charter and Working Guidelines of The Greens/Green Party USA

## 1. THE GREENS — PURPOSE AND VALUES

### 1.1. NAME

The name of this organization is The Greens/Green Party USA, referred to herein as The Greens.

### 1.2. PURPOSE

The Greens shall facilitate the organization of local Green groups and confederations for the purpose of creating a sustainable, just society based on the Ten Key Values.

### 1.3. THE TEN KEY VALUES

The following Ten Key Values were adopted by the Green Organizing Planning Meeting held in St. Paul, Minnesota on August 10-12, 1984 which launched The Greens — then the Green Committees of Correspondence — as an organizing network. The Ten Key Values shall remain embodied in the internal structure and process and public activities of The Greens at its local, state, regional, and interregional levels:

- 1.3.1. Ecological Wisdom
- 1.3.2. Grassroots Democracy
- 1.3.3. Social Justice
- 1.3.4. Nonviolence
- 1.3.5. Decentralization
- 1.3.6. Community-based Economics
- 1.3.7. Feminism
- 1.3.8. Respect for Diversity
- 1.3.9. Personal and Global Responsibility
- 1.3.10. Future Focus/Sustainability

## 2. POLITICAL PRACTICES

### 2.1. GRASSROOTS DEMOCRACY

The Greens are an individual membership organization structured as a confederation based on local Green groups, referred to herein as Locals. Every individual and level of confederation in The Greens shall be responsible for establishing an organization structure consistent with the principles of grassroots democracy, including:

#### 2.1.1. Accountability to Membership Base

2.1.1.1. Each level of confederation shall remain structured so that its parts — working groups, committees, and so forth, are accountable to the membership base as manifested through the Locals and the Green Congress.

#### 2.1.2. Immediate Recall

2.1.2.1. Representatives at every level shall always be immediately recallable by the bodies that choose them, as provided for in the current Working Guidelines.

#### 2.1.3. Imperative Mandate

2.1.3.1. Imperative mandate means that representatives must follow the instructions of the bodies they represent. Representatives are free to express their personal views but must vote as instructed.

2.1.3.2. Regions may give their delegates mandates of discretion to act within the framework of regional policy, so that compromises may be negotiated, and positions taken on issues not specifically discussed at the local or regional level.

2.1.3.3. The use of non-negotiable mandated positions shall be the right of every local, state, and region, but should be carefully considered.

#### 2.1.4. Freedom to Speak and Caucus Around Political Views

2.1.4.1. Members and confederations in the minority on a decision may publicly dissent from that decision, and organize caucuses to promote their views, provided they clearly distinguish their position from that of the majority.

2.1.4.2. To ensure that their views are represented at larger confederated levels of the organization, minorities may call for a procedure of political division in the allocation of mandated proportional votes, as specified in the current Working Guidelines.

## **2.2. AFFIRMATIVE ACTION**

**2.2.1. Every level of the confederation shall take affirmative action to reach goals of sexual, racial, and social diversity, and balance in the allocation of responsibilities among members.**

**2.2.2. All levels of the confederation shall be responsible for making participation in their organizing process open to all interested Greens and people reflective of the social diversity of their localities.**

**2.2.3. All levels of the confederation shall communicate and work to develop the broad whole of Green thought and action, and to convey Green ideas to the general public.**

**2.2.4. All confederated bodies shall work to ensure that the diversity of local Green groups interested in participation are included.**

## **2.3. ROTATION OF DELEGATES**

**All levels of the confederation are encouraged to rotate their delegates in confederal representative bodies and any coalitions they enter into on a staggered basis in order to ensure both broad participation in responsibilities and continuity from one meeting to the next.**

## **2.4. DEMOCRATIC DECISION RULES**

**Locals and confederations shall set their own democratic decision-making processes. Groups are encouraged to use some form of agreement-seeking process in which all points of view are fairly and openly heard.**

## **2.5. FREEDOM OF INFORMATION**

**Meetings and records of finances, membership, minutes, and so on at any level shall be open to inspection by any members in good standing on that level. At every level, every Green meeting shall be open to all members in good standing. Sometimes it is appropriate to limit participation at a particular meeting to those who are members of that particular body or committee; however these meetings are still open to any Greens who wish to observe. A meeting may be closed to green observers on 74% vote in personnel or criminal matters or if required by law. These procedures shall apply at the national level and are recommended at other levels.**

## **2.6. STRATEGIC DIVERSITY**

**A full range of nonviolent strategies and tactics shall be considered permissible and desirable in pursuing Green social change, such as rallies, demonstrations, boycotts, citizen's initiatives, civil disobedience, direct action, building alternative institutions, and/or electoral politics.**

## **2.7. MEMBERSHIP AND PROCESS STANDARDS**

**Policies against the following shall apply at all levels of The Greens. Violation by any individual Green, or local, confederal, or national body may be cause for sanctions including (as Appropriate) reprimand, suspension or loss of accreditation, recall, or expulsion.**

**2.7.1. Committing The Greens or any of its affiliated locals or confederations to actions, endorsements, and other policy positions outside that body's decision-making process;**

**2.7.2. Misrepresenting the decisions and policies of any such Green body;**

**2.7.3. Making false statements in an application for membership or affiliation to any such Green body;**

**2.7.4. Financial irregularities with Greens funds;**

**2.7.5. Advocacy or practice of racial, sexual, national, or religious oppression;**

**2.7.6. Advocacy or practice of violent political action by The Greens or any of its affiliated locals or confederations;**

**2.7.7. Acting as a strike-breaker, agent provocateur, or government or corporate informer;**

**2.7.8. Acting to willfully disrupt the freedom of speech, press, or assembly of any individual or body of The Greens;**

**2.7.9. Violating the principles of grassroots democracy as embodied in Section 2;**

**2.7.10. Continually failing, after receiving written notice, to participate regularly at the local level;**

**or**

**2.7.11. Continually failing, after receiving written notice, to pay dues.**

## **2.8. MEMBERSHIP REVIEW PROCESS**

**2.8.1. Each level of the confederation may sanction or exclude members or affiliates who behave in a manner inconsistent with the membership standards of the Greens as defined in section 2.7.**

**2.8.2. Charges of violation of membership standards against any member or affiliate of the Greens may be made by any member.**

**2.8.3. No charges can be raised and no sanctions can be imposed for actions not explicitly proscribed in**

section 2.7.

2.8.4. Locals (or the next largest level of the confederation responsible for organizing in their locality) are responsible for reviewing the standing of members who are charged with violating membership standards.

2.8.5. All charges shall be in writing. The accused and the accuser shall have the first option seeking a resolution of the conflict through the Mediation Committee of the Greens National Committee as both parties agree.

2.8.5.1. A copy of the charges will be sent to the geographically closest member available of the Mediation Committee.

2.8.5.2. No charges shall be published or otherwise made public prior to the conclusion of the mediation process, without written consent of all parties involved.

2.8.6. If mediation is not agreeable or not successful the mediators involved shall report this fact in writing to a special committee selected by lot from the membership of the appropriate level of the confederation who shall handle the case expeditiously.

2.8.6.1. A written report will be prepared by the mediator(s) and sent to the special committee.

2.8.6.2. The substance of the conflict referred to a special committee must remain strictly confidential, with the exception of notice of the convening of the special committee and names of the parties involved.

2.8.6.3. The special committee shall hear charges, report findings, make recommendations, and then disband.

2.8.6.4. Findings of the special committee shall be reported to all individuals, groups and appropriate regional bodies involved.

2.8.7. All members or affiliates charged with violations of membership standards shall have the right to appear, to bring witnesses, and to testify.

2.8.8. The burden of proof shall be on those making the charges. After hearing the report of the special committee and statements by those making the charges and by those charged, the membership assembly of the appropriate level of the confederation shall have the right to vote any sanction, including exclusion, by a 2/3 vote.

2.8.9. Sanctions may be automatically appealed to the next larger level of the confederation, up to and including the national Greens National Committee and Green Congress. Appeals shall be heard at the next meeting of the appropriate body where the appeal has been duly warned by that body's normal procedures.

### 3. NATIONAL STRUCTURE

#### 3.1. ANNUAL GATHERING

##### 3.1.1. Authority and Schedule

3.1.1.1. The Annual Gathering is the highest decision-making body for The Greens as a national organization. It shall convene annually.

3.1.1.2. There shall be two components to the Annual Gathering: a non-decision-making Conference, for community building, networking, education, and debate, and a decision-making Congress.

##### 3.1.2. Composition

3.1.2.1. All interested individuals and sympathetic organizations may be invited to the Conference.

3.1.2.2. The Congress shall be composed of mandated delegates and proxies from locals in good standing, proportionally represented as specified in the current Working Guidelines.

##### 3.1.3. Charge

3.1.3.1. The Green Congress shall review, amend, and ratify platform, principles, and policy statements for The Greens;

3.1.3.2. Review and amend the Green Charter and Working Guidelines;

3.1.3.3. Review, initiate and set strategic and policy parameters for national Green actions and campaigns;

3.1.3.5. Review and (if needed) amend the actions and decisions of the Greens National Committee.

##### 3.1.4. Decision-making Guidelines

3.1.4.1. The Congress shall seek unanimous agreement on proposals, endeavoring to hear all views in full.

3.1.4.2. When agreement cannot be reached, the Green Congress shall move to a vote.

3.1.4.3. Votes shall be passed as specified in the current Working Guidelines.

##### 3.1.5. General

3.1.5.1. Regional and state caucuses may meet for various purposes including selecting representatives to functional bodies as specified in the Working Guidelines.

3.1.5.2. Other caucuses may meet and present reports to the Congress. Caucus meetings during the Annual Gathering will be scheduled in advance of the Gathering and will not conflict with other scheduled caucus

- meetings or workshops. A caucus shall have the opportunity to present reports to the Green Congress.
- 3.1.5.3. The Annual Gathering shall start with the Women's Caucus meeting with simultaneous unlearning sexism workshops for men.
- 3.1.5.4. The Green Congress shall hear reports from and review the work of the various functional and geographic bodies.
- 3.1.5.5. Community building and recreation shall be an integral part of all Annual Gatherings.
- 3.1.5.6. An appropriate action in support of local organizing efforts shall be organized in conjunction with the Gathering, if possible.
- 3.1.5.7. Child care, responsible supervision, and developmentally-appropriate activities based on Green values and children's activities shall be provided at the Annual Gathering.

## 3.2. GREEN CONGRESS WORKING GUIDELINES

### 3.2.1. Composition

The Green Congress shall be composed of one voting delegate or proxy from each active local or identity caucus for members in good standing, with a minimum of three members to be awarded the first vote, based on the following numbers:

Members in Good Standing	Voting Delegates
3-4	1
5-9	2
10-19	3
20-29	4
30-39	5
40-49	6
and so on	...

### 3.2.2. Voting

Green Congress votes shall be passed according to these criteria:

- 3.2.2.1. 75%: Changes or additions to the Green Charter; recalling members of national bodies.
- 3.2.2.2. 66 2/3%: Changes or additions to the Green Program and Platform; chartering permanent committees or working groups of The Greens; approving endorsements or substantive proposals; changes to the Working Guidelines; motions to close or extend debate, table or send to committee and internal administrative decisions not already specified.
- 3.2.2.3. 50% + 1: Meeting-specific process motions not already specified.
- 3.2.2.4. Minority reports are accepted as official Green documents on 33% vote of the Congress.
- 3.2.2.5. Abstentions are not counted in the relative percentages of those voting for and against.
- 3.2.2.6. Proxy votes can only be carried by another member of the same local.

### 3.2.3. Agenda

- 3.2.3.1. A call for agenda proposals shall be publicized in the national Green publications at least 12 weeks before the Congress meets.
- 3.2.3.2. The agenda shall be developed by the Greens National Committee's Annual Gathering Committee working in close consultation with Locals, Confederations, and the Greens National Committee.
- 3.2.3.3. All agenda proposals shall be circulated to all dues-paying Green locals no less than 6 weeks prior to the Gathering.
- 3.2.3.4. Prior to the Congress, the Greens National Committee or appropriate committee thereof shall have final approval over the proposed agenda, and shall meet, if necessary, immediately before the Congress to do so.
- 3.2.3.5. The first order of business for the Congress shall be to discuss, amend, and approve the proposed agenda.
- 3.2.3.6. Agenda amendments, including new substantive proposals (i.e., from the floor) shall require at least a 66 2/3% vote in favor to be placed on the agenda.
- 3.2.3.7. The agenda as a whole shall require at least a 66 2/3% vote in favor to pass.
- 3.2.4. Decision Review
- 3.2.4.1. At least 12 weeks before the Gathering, all functional bodies of The Greens shall circulate detailed reports of all substantive decisions, endorsements, representations, and so forth undertaken in the preceding year.
- 3.2.4.2. Any of these decisions may be rescinded by the Congress.

**3.2.5 The Congress shall elect 3 delegates to the Greens National Committee.**

**3.2.5.1 Each delegate to the Green Congress may vote for a male delegate, a female delegate, and a Green Justice delegate. The number of votes to be cast by each delegate of the Congress for each delegate for the Greens National Committee will be according to the proportion defined in 3.2.1. Preferential voting will be used. This means that each voting delegate will identify his/her first, second, third, etc. choice candidate for each position. Ballots will be counted according to the first choice for a position. If no candidate has at least 50% of the vote, the votes for the candidate with the fewest votes will be redistributed according to the second choices on those ballots. If no candidate has at least 50% of the vote, the votes for the candidate with the fewest votes will be redistributed according to the second or third choices, as appropriate. This procedure is followed until one candidate has at least 50% of the vote. This procedure is followed for each delegate position so that the male, female, and member of Green Justice each receiving at least 50% of the votes win the election.**

**3.2.5.2 Any representative of the Green Congress who serves as the Congress' delegate on the Greens National Committee must have been present at the Congress which they are charged with representing.**

**3.2.5.3 The number of Congress delegates voting for the Greens National Committee representatives shall be used to determine the Congress' representatives' voting rights on the Greens National Committee when figuring proportional voting.**

### **3.3. GREENS NATIONAL COMMITTEE**

#### **3.3.1. Authority and Schedule**

**3.3.1.1. The Greens National Committee shall serve as a leadership body for The Greens, within the parameters set by the Annual Gathering.**

**3.3.1.2. It shall meet at least twice yearly, once immediately subsequent to the Annual Gathering, to make decisions and develop action strategies within the framework of overall policy set by the Annual Gathering.**

#### **3.3.2. Composition**

**3.3.2.1. The Greens National Committee is composed of two delegates (two women or one woman and one man) elected from each state or multi-state region, the People of Color Caucus, the Green Youth Network, the Women's Caucus and the Lesbian/Bisexual/Gay/Queer Caucus and three delegates elected from the Green Congress. These elections shall take place prior to the Annual Gathering if the constituencies are functional. If the election has not taken place before the Annual Gathering, then it shall be done by caucus vote of delegates from each constituency at the Annual Gathering.**

**3.3.2.3. A process shall be specified in the Working Guidelines to achieve gender balance on the Greens National Committee.**

**3.3.2.4. Representatives of Greens National Committee Committees, the Greens Clearinghouse, national publications, other staff, and activists from issue and constituency networks, shall participate in Greens National Committee meetings as needed.**

**3.3.2.5. Only active members in good standing of The Greens may serve on the Greens National Committee, as long as they are not serving as staff for the Greens during the elected term.**

#### **3.3.3. Charge**

**3.3.3.1. The Greens National Committee as a whole shall bear ultimate financial and legal responsibility for The Greens;**

**3.3.3.2. Make policy between Annual Gatherings providing that it is consistent with the Green Program and the decisions of the Green Congress;**

**3.3.3.3. Amend the Working Guidelines as needed;**

**3.3.3.4. Coordinate ongoing Green activities at the national level; [3.5.3.1]<sup>1</sup>**

**3.3.3.5. Strategize and initiate national Green action programs (including electoral action, direct action, issue campaigns, public education, internal education, alternative institutions, and so forth) in order to advance the program and policies adopted by the Green Congress;**

**3.3.3.6. Accredite State Parties and Confederations, and Regions;**

**3.3.3.7. Bear ultimate responsibility for hiring and firing staff;**

**3.3.3.8. Work to keep the relationship between movement and party balanced;**

**3.3.3.9. Oversee liaison activities with other national groups;**

**3.3.3.10. Coordinate and bear responsibility for and oversight of regional and local development and maintenance; [3.5.3.6]**

**3.3.3.11. Develop long-range strategic plans for ratification by Green Congress;**

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<sup>1</sup> Items included in brackets are the number of that item in the previous version of the Charter.

- 3.3.3.12 Respond to problems and opportunities which require immediate action between Green Congresses and Greens National Committee meetings; [3.5.3.2]
- 3.3.3.13 Bear responsibility for administrative planning and implementation of action programs and campaigns decided by the Green Congress and Greens National Committee; [3.5.3.3]
- 3.3.3.14 Serve as the primary liaison and alliance-building body; [3.5.3.5]
- 3.3.3.15 Oversee all record keeping; [3.5.3.7]
- 3.3.3.16. Serve as The Greens' national press/media spokespeople; [3.5.3.8]
- 3.3.3.17 Develop statements and editorials in the name of The Greens, for official publications of The Greens and elsewhere; [3.5.3.9]
- 3.3.3.18 Propose agendas for the Green Congress, and assist with meeting logistics and facilitation; [3.5.3.10]
- 3.3.3.19 Oversee Budget and Finance;
- 3.3.3.20.1 Prepare a yearly national budget reflecting the needs of the various national Green bodies; [3.8.1.1]
- 3.3.3.21 Prepare yearly plans for approval by the Greens National Committee, determine the need for new committees, strengthen present committees, and the disbanding of committees; [3.8.2.1]
- 3.3.3.22 Keep the Charter and Working Guidelines continuously updated and available, make recommendations on proposed changes to these documents, and facilitate any needed decision-making process for changes to these documents; [3.8.3.1]
- 3.3.3.23 Plan and coordinate the annual gatherings; [3.8.7.1]
- 3.3.3.24 Facilitate the development of position papers to be approved at the Green Congress, and update the Green Program as needed; [3.8.6.1]
- 3.3.3.25 Work to develop Green contacts on a global basis, form a global Green to Green information network, and support international Green meetings; [3.8.5.1]
- 3.3.3.26. Aid in the development of Green electoral endeavors, apply State Green Party accreditation guidelines, and facilitate communication and cooperation among Green electoral activists and kindred groups; [3.8.6.1]
- 3.3.3.27. Create and maintain Green Platform statements which must be adopted by the Green Congress; [3.8.6.4]
- 3.3.3.28. Oversee each national direct action campaign mandated by the Green Congress or Greens National Committee;
- 3.3.3.29. Formulate proposals on structural issues, such as Greens National Committee and Congress representation and voting weights;
- 3.3.3.30 Encourage mediated resolutions of conflicts within the Greens and maintain a mechanism to, when called upon by any member or affiliated body of the Greens, work with parties in conflict to establish a mutually acceptable process of mediation; [3.9.1 & 3.9.3]
- 3.3.3.30.1 May not impose decisions or binding arbitration; [3.9.5]
- 3.3.3.30.2 Mediators are bound to keep confidential, except as necessary for record keeping, any proceeding of mediation; [3.9.6]
- 3.3.3.30.3 Coordinate the facilitation of Green Congresses and to this end they will ensure the development, training, and maintenance of a facilitation team; [3.9.8]
- 3.3.3.30.4 Develop workshops, presentations, or other means to train and prepare delegates in effective participation in the decision-making process of the Green Congress; [3.9.9]
- 3.3.4. Decision-making Guidelines
- 3.3.4.1. The Greens National Committee shall seek agreement on proposals.
- 3.3.4.2. When agreement cannot be reached by the end of the allotted time, the Greens National Committee moves to a vote as specified in the Working Guidelines.
- 3.3.4.3. There shall be appropriate categories of voting majorities to decide issues of varying importance specified in the current Working Guidelines.
- 3.3.5. Accountability and Recall
- 3.3.5.1. The Greens National Committee shall report in detail to the Annual Congress, which may amend or reverse any Greens National Committee decisions.
- 3.3.5.2. Members of the Greens National Committee may be removed upon 75% vote of the bodies which selected them, following the procedures specified in the Working Guidelines.
- 3.3.6. General
- 3.3.6.1. Childcare and children's activities shall be provided at all Greens National Committee meetings.

### **3.4. GREEN NATIONAL COMMITTEE WORKING GUIDELINES**

#### **3.4.1. Composition**

**3.4.1.1. Term of office is one year. Office holders are encouraged to serve two terms and may serve up to four consecutive terms.**

**3.4.1.2. Each constituency of the Greens National Committee shall select its delegates by whatever manner it chooses, while striving to maintain gender balance within each delegation. All members and locals of the Greens will be invited to participate in an election within the constituency(ies) that they belong. Sufficient notice will be given prior to all elections of delegations to the Greens National Committee. Only national dues-paying members of the Greens who are active in locals may vote in these elections.**

**3.4.1.3 Greens National Committee members must attend all GNC meetings as well as the National Green Gathering at the beginning and at the end of his/her term or find a designee to go in their place.**

#### **3.4.2. Constituencies**

**3.4.2.1. There shall be delegations from each state or multi-state region, a People of Color Caucus, the Green Youth Network, a Women/Es Caucus and a Lesbian/Bisexual/Gay/Queer Caucus on the Greens National Committee.**

**3.4.2.2. The constituencies shall cast a total of 100 votes.**

**3.4.2.3. Each representative shall be entitled to a minimum of 1 vote, for a total of 25 votes distributed equally.**

**3.4.2.4. The remaining 75 votes shall be distributed proportionally, rounded to the nearest whole vote, based upon the number of dues-paying members in each constituency.**

#### **3.4.3. Observers**

**3.4.3.1. Nonvoting observers can attend Greens National Committee meetings, and may speak at the discretion of the facilitator.**

**3.4.3.2. The Greens National Committee may vote to eject a disruptive observer from the meeting.**

**3.4.3.3. Sessions of the Greens National Committee may be closed only for discussing personnel matters.**

#### **3.4.4. Voting**

**Greens National Committee votes shall be passed according to these criteria:**

**3.4.4.3. 50% + 1: Meeting-specific process motions not already specified.**

**3.4.4.4. Minority reports are accepted as official Green documents on 33% vote of the Greens National Committee.**

**3.4.4.5. Abstentions shall not be counted in the relative percentages of those voting for and against.**

#### **3.4.5. Agenda**

**3.4.5.1. Written reports from all national bodies and a call for agenda proposals shall be publicized in the national Green publications at least 12 weeks before the Greens National Committee meets.**

**3.4.5.2. The agenda shall be developed by the appropriate body designated by the Greens National Committee working in close consultation with Locals, Confederations, and the Greens National Committee.**

**3.4.5.3. All agenda proposals shall be circulated to all dues-paying Green locals no less than 6 weeks prior to the Gathering.**

**3.4.5.4. Prior to the Greens National Committee meeting, the appropriate body designated by the Greens National Committee shall have final approval over the proposed agenda, and shall meet, if necessary, immediately before the opening of the Greens National Committee to do so.**

**3.4.5.5. The first order of business for the Greens National Committee shall be to debate and approve the proposed agenda.**

**3.4.5.6. Agenda amendments, including the addition of timely submissions not approved for the proposed agenda, shall require 50%+1 to pass.**

**3.4.5.7. New substantive proposals (i.e., from the floor) can only be added to the agenda upon 66 2/3% agreement.**

**3.4.5.8. The agenda as a whole requires 66 2/3% approval.**

#### **3.4.6. Endorsements**

**3.4.6.1. Endorsements, if possible, should be debated in the Greens National Committee as a whole.**

**3.4.6.2. If the proposed endorsement garners the necessary Greens National Committee majority, it goes out in the name of The Greens.**

#### **3.4.7. Decision Review**

**3.4.7.2. Any of these decisions may be rescinded by the Greens National Committee.**

#### **3.4.8. Accountability and Recall**

**3.4.8.1. Uncorrected Greens National Committee minutes shall be published in the Green Bulletin, shall be**

reviewed and corrected at the succeeding Greens National Committee meeting, and then shall be public documents.

3.4.8.2. Members of the Greens National Committee may be recalled by 66 2/3% vote of the bodies which elected them.

3.4.8.3. Members of the Greens National Committee elected by Regional Caucus at the Annual Gathering may also be recalled by 66 2/3% vote of the applicable Regional Assembly, if one exists.

#### 3.4.9. Committees

3.4.9.1 The Greens National Committee shall annually establish such committees as it deems necessary to properly conduct its work.

3.4.9.2 Members in good standing who are not National Committee members may be appointed to assist in the work of committees.

3.4.9.3 Committees may appoint additional ex-officio members as they see fit.

3.4.9.4 The annual report of the Greens National Committee to the Green Congress shall include information on committee structure and activity.

3.4.9.5. Each Committee, if it will expend organizational funds, will prepare an annual budget to be integrated into the yearly national budget prepared by the Budget & Finance Committee and approved by the Greens National Committee. [3.8.3.1.]

3.4.9.6. Each Committee may raise some or all of its own funds. [3.8.3.2]

### 3.10. PEOPLE OF COLOR CAUCUS

3.10.1. The Greens shall encourage and give organizational support to a People of Color Caucus.

3.10.2. Greens who are people of color shall be enrolled in the People of Color Caucus upon notifying the Greens Clearinghouse.

3.10.3. The People of Color Caucus is entitled to representation on the Greens National Committee on the same basis as the other constituencies.

### 3.11. WOMEN'S CAUCUS

3.11.1. The Greens shall encourage and give organizational support for a Women's Caucus.

3.11.2. All women who are members of the Greens are invited to participate in the Women's Caucus Network.

3.11.3. The Women's Caucus is entitled to representation on the Greens National Committee on the same basis as the other constituencies.

### 3.12. LESBIAN/BISEXUAL/GAY/QUEER CAUCUS

3.12.1. The Greens shall encourage and give organizational support for an L/B/G/Q Caucus.

3.12.2. All Lesbian, Bi-Sexual, and Gay people who are members of the Greens are invited to participate in the L/B/G/Q Caucus.

3.12.3. The L/B/G/Q Caucus is entitled to representation on the Greens National Committee on the same basis as the other constituencies.

## 4. AMENDMENTS

### 4.1. PROCEDURES

4.1.1. This Green Charter, and Article 8 of the Working Guidelines, may only be amended by the approval of written draft amendment by 75% support of the delegates to the Green Congress; OR

4.1.2. by 75% support of active locals responding to a mail referendum. Such a mail referendum can be initiated by:

4.1.3. 75% vote of the Greens National Committee; OR

4.1.4. at least 3 Regional Confederations; OR

4.1.5. at least 6 State Confederations and/or Parties; OR

4.1.6. at least 12 Locals.

### 4.2. LOCAL REFERENDUMS

4.2.1. When a referendum is required, the Clearinghouse shall send a ballot to each local in good standing.

4.2.2. The number of votes which each local is allocated shall be using the same proportions as indicated

3.2.1. (Composition) above.

4.2.3. Abstentions are not counted in the relative percentages of those voting for and against.

4.2.4. Ballots must be returned to the Greens Clearinghouse no less than 60 days from the date that the ballot is sent.

## **5. INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP**

Membership in The Greens shall be open to any individual in North America who agrees with and will observe the following:

### **5.1. COMMITMENT TO GREEN VALUES AND PRINCIPLES**

Members shall be in agreement with the Ten Key Values (Article 1) and the Political Practices (Article 2) of The Greens as a framework for organizing and political action.

### **5.2. ADMISSION AND PARTICIPATION**

Admission to membership shall be through a Local, or the Clearinghouse if there is no active local in the area.

5.2.1. A member in good standing shall participate regularly in a Local, or be working to organize one.

5.2.2. Regular participation in a local shall be required for assuming any elective, appointive, staff, or committee positions at a higher level in The Greens.

5.2.3. Under special circumstances, this requirement may be waived by vote of the Greens National Committee on a case-by-case basis.

### **5.3. DUES**

5.3.1. Members in good standing shall have their dues paid up to date as specified by the Working Guidelines and the policies of any groups or confederations in which they are active.

5.3.2. Members shall pay their dues for every level of the confederation to their Locals, which shall then be responsible for directly disbursing to the appropriate level of confederation.

5.3.3. Members shall be encouraged to support The Greens at all confederal levels. No member of a local shall be assessed for dues to a confederal level in which he or she does not wish to be an active or supporting member.

5.3.4. National dues shall be \$15.00, yearly, exclusive of local, state, and regional assessments, forwarded through the Local to the Clearinghouse.

5.3.5. Representation to the national organization for individuals and Locals shall be based on paying national dues.

5.3.6. Waivers shall be available upon annual request from the individual.

5.3.7. Dues-paying members of The Greens shall receive Groundwork/Green Letter and Synthesis/Regeneration

5.3.8. Dues paying members of the Greens may receive a copy of the Charter and Working Guidelines for the G/GPUSA, as of the December 1995 version.

5.3.9. Membership applications, whether submitted through a local or directly to the G/GPUSA, shall inform the newly applying members, who may be people of color, women, youth, or Lesbian/bisexual/gay/queer, that they may enroll in whatever caucus that may apply to them.

5.3.10. Caucus members, after covering the costs of their membership benefits, have the opportunity to direct all or part of their dues to the caucus or caucuses that they belong to so as to support the activities of the caucus.

### **5.4. SUPPORTING MEMBERS**

5.4.1. Individuals and organizations that wish to support The Greens at any level, but who do not want to take on the responsibilities of membership at that level, may do so as provided for in the current dues structure.

5.4.2. Supporters shall be entitled to review documents and observe meetings, but shall not have the right to participate in the formal decision-making process, or to serve in any positions.

5.4.3. Supporting dues shall be \$25.00 yearly for the national organization.

### **5.5. RESIGNATION**

Members may resign at any time and are asked to give written notification of their resignation to their local, state, or region, or The Greens, as is appropriate in their case.

## **6. LOCALS AND CONFEDERATIONS**

### **6.1. GENERAL ON LOCALS AND CONFEDERATIONS**

#### **6.1.1. Commitment to Green Values and Principles**

Affiliated locals and larger confederations shall be in agreement with the Ten Key Values (Article 1) and the Political Practices (Article 2) of The Greens as a framework for organizing and political action.

#### **6.1.2. Local and Regional Membership Standards**

6.1.2.1. In keeping with decentralist principles, the Green Charter and Working Guidelines shall set only minimum standards for the affiliation of Locals and Confederations with The Greens. There shall, however, be a regularly-updated Appendix (compiled by the Charter Working Group) detailing the suggested standards, practices, procedures, and relationships for the affiliation and participation of Locals and Confederations.

6.1.2.2. Local, State, and Regional Confederations may call themselves by any name that is consistent with the values and goals of The Greens, and are encouraged to use the phrase "Members of The Greens/Green Party USA" if not also part of their name.

6.1.2.3. In addition to the individual membership standards listed in Article 2, no Green local or confederation shall knowingly receive funds derived from illegal sources.

### **6.2. LOCAL LEVEL OF ORGANIZATION**

#### **6.2.1. Affiliation Process**

Locals apply for affiliation to The Greens through the appropriate State Confederation, or the Regional Confederation if there is no State Confederation, or the Clearinghouse if there is no Regional Confederation.

#### **6.2.2. Local Activities**

In order to be considered an active Local of The Greens a Local shall:

6.2.2.1. Work in basic agreement with the 10 Key Values;

6.2.2.2. Participate at the State and Regional levels as appropriate, and send delegates to the Green Congress;

6.2.2.3. Subscribe to the Green Bulletin; and

6.2.2.4. Work actively on State, Regional, and National programs as their resources allow.

#### **6.2.3. Local Membership**

6.2.3.1. For the representational and decision-making purposes of The Greens, a local's members in good standing shall be those who pay national dues and participate actively in the Local.

6.2.3.2. A minimum of three members currently in good standing are necessary for a local to have full voting rights in the Green Congress.

6.2.3.3. The Local shall collect national dues of the amount currently specified in the Working Guidelines and forward them to the Clearinghouse with the names and addresses of the dues-paying members.

6.2.3.4. Locals and confederations shall determine their own dues assessments additional to national dues.

6.2.3.5. Dues for all levels shall be reduced or waived upon request by a member with financial hardship.

#### **6.2.4. Resignation**

Locals may resign at any time and are asked to give written notification of their resignation to their local, state, or region, or The Greens, as is appropriate in their case.

### **6.3. CONFEDERATIONS WITHIN THE GREENS**

6.3.1. Members of Green Locals, States, and Regions may confederate at any level to suit their needs.

6.3.2. These confederations may be organized around existing governmental jurisdictions (municipalities, counties, states, electoral districts, etc.), areas of social and ecological interaction (bioregions), or around constituency or issue-based criteria.

6.3.3. These confederations may call themselves by any name consistent with the values and goals of The Greens.

6.3.4. Representation to the Greens National Committee shall be through the participation of Locals and their State Confederations through Regional Confederations to the Greens National Committee.

6.3.5. Confederations may request that locals and other confederations apportion a part of their dues to them.

6.3.6. Accredited confederations shall have the right to mandate delegates to the Greens National Committee.

## **6.4. STATE LEVEL OF ORGANIZATION**

### **6.4.1. State representation criteria**

In order to send delegates to the Greens National Committee, a state-wide organization must either be a confederation open to all affiliated Green locals in the state or be a state Green Party accredited by the Electoral Action Working Group in accordance with the accreditation guidelines. Accreditation of state Green Parties shall be reviewed periodically.

### **6.4.2. Accreditation Guidelines**

In order to be accredited by the Greens/Green Party USA, a state Green Party, Green candidate, or Green elected official shall explicitly affirm the Ten Key Values and be willing to engage in Green conflict resolution processes, upon request of any individual member of the Greens/Green Party USA or any affiliated local or confederated body of the Greens/Green Party USA.

### **6.4.3. Local participation in State Green Parties**

In order for a state Green Party to achieve and maintain accreditation, a majority of affiliated locals in that state or of active national dues-paying members in that state must not be opposed to its formation or continued existence.

## **6.5. REGIONAL LEVEL OF ORGANIZATION**

### **6.5.1. Affiliation Process**

6.5.1.1. The Greens National Committee shall approve regional boundaries.

6.5.1.2. States may change to adjacent regions by mutual agreement of regions concerned.

6.5.1.3. Regional Confederations shall be accredited by the Greens National Committee.

### **6.5.2. Regional Activities**

Regional Confederations shall:

6.5.2.1. Ensure the participation and enfranchisement of all regional Locals and State Confederations or Parties in all Regional Confederation activities;

6.5.2.2. Actively support the formation of new State Confederations, Parties, and Locals in unorganized areas;

6.5.2.3. Hold an annual convention or assembly, and other general membership meetings as needed; and

6.5.2.4. Represent Green movement activities in the region to the Greens National Committee.

### **6.5.3. Regional Membership**

Only active, dues-paying members of locals will be counted for purposes of Regional representation to the Greens National Committee.

## **7. NATIONAL STRUCTURE**

### **7.1. NATIONAL OFFICES**

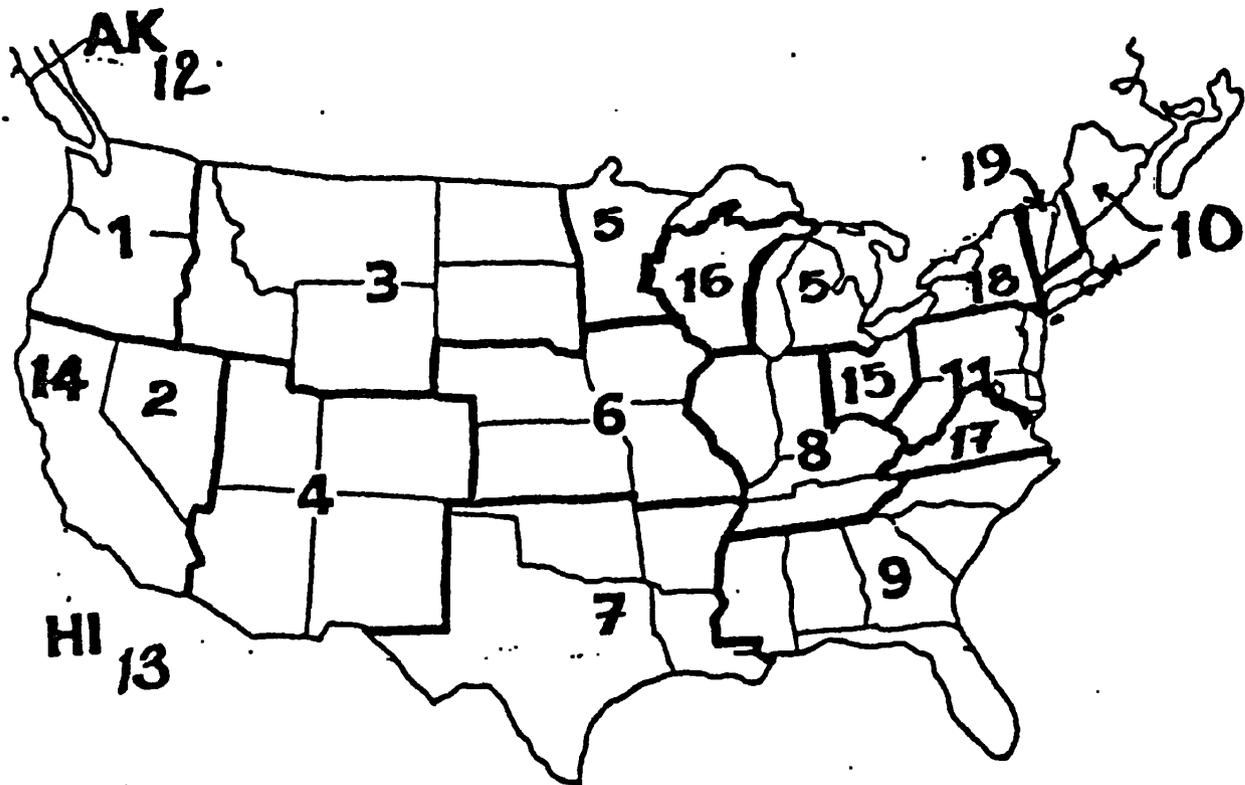
7.1.1. The national offices are the Greens National Committee seats.

7.1.2. No person may hold national office who has held national office or served as a national staff person for more than four out of the six previous years.

## **8. AMENDMENTS**

These Working Guidelines may be amended by the express approval of written draft amendment by 2/3 of currently recognized Greens National Committee delegates present at a Greens National Committee meeting, or 2/3 vote of delegates to the Green Congress, except for Article 8, which may only be amended in the same way as the Green Charter.

APPENDIX I. REGIONAL MAP



- Region 1 WA, OR
- Region 2 NV GU
- Region 3 ID, MT, WY, ND, SD
- Region 4 UT, CO, AZ, NM
- Region 5 MN, MI
- Region 6 IA, KS, MO, NE
- Region 7 TX, OK, LA, AR
- Region 8 IL, IN, KY, TN
- Region 9 MS, AL, FL, GA, SC, NC, PR
- Region 10 ME, CT, RI, MA
- Region 11 DE, MD, NJ, PA, WV, DC
- Region 12 AK
- Region 13 HI
- Region 14 CA
- Region 15 OH
- Region 16 WI
- Region 17 VA
- Region 18 NY
- Region 19 NH, VT

**Update 1.1 (note confirmed time)**

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: AUGUST 23, 1991**

Local contact: Charles Betz 234-0041, 232-7853, fax 387-4549

### **U.S. GREENS FORM NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTY**

The Greens will announce the official formation of the Green Party—USA on Tuesday, August 27th, 1991, at **10:00 AM**. A press conference will be held at 1350 Pennsylvania Av, N.W., in the Council Chambers of the District of Columbia Building. The conference will be hosted by Hilda Mason, member of the D.C. Council and the D.C. Statehood Party.

At the recently-concluded meeting of the first Green Congress, the former Green Committees of Correspondence was reorganized into The Greens. The new organization will provide a table at which progressive movements and organizations can convene and build consensus toward a sustainable future. A Green Justice caucus was organized to ensure the continued responsiveness of The Greens to the concerns of historically under-represented constituencies.

The Greens have 142 local chapters and 170 affiliated organizations in 46 states. State Green parties are forming in Hawaii, California, Arizona, Pennsylvania, and Missouri. Greens have secured statewide ballot access in Alaska, Vermont and New Hampshire. Greens hold office in at least 15 municipalities from California to New England. Green locals have participated for the past two years in the development of a comprehensive Green Program, which will guide The Greens both locally and nationally toward a sustainable future.

Greens Coordinating Committee members Charles Betz, Washington, D.C.; Howard Hawkins, Vermont; and Joni Whitmore, Green Party of Alaska chair, will be introduced. Anders Erkeus of the Swedish Greens, Mike Feinstein of the California Green Party, and Phil Hill of the International Green Network will also be available to provide additional information.

Translations will be available in German and Swedish.

# Green Elected Officials

August 1991

Jay Gustafarro	Gloucester, Massachusetts	city council
Toni Harp	New Haven, Connecticut	city council
Roy Morrison	Warner, New Hampshire	city budget committee
Marty Kemple	Plainfield, Vermont	planning commission
Neil Golder	Ithaca, New York	city council
John Schroeder	Ithaca, New York	city council
Joyce Brown	Chapel Hill, North Carolina	county board
Andy Height*	Madison, Wisconsin	city council
Joe Szwaja*	Madison, Wisconsin	city council
Bert Zipperer*	Madison, Wisconsin	city council
Mary Kay Baum*	Madison, Wisconsin	school board
Frank Koehn	Bayfield County, Wisconsin	county board
Karen Kubby	Iowa City, Iowa	city council
Matt Harline	Columbia, Missouri	city council
Will Wood	Missoula, Montana	city council
Bob Ornelius	Arcata, California	city council
Melanie Williams	Arcata, California	city water board
Todd Cooper	San Jose, California	conservation district board
Louise Humphreys	San Diego, California	county water board
David Tarr	San Diego, California	county water board
Pat Akers	San Diego, California	county planning commission
Kathryn Hawkins	San Diego, California	county planning commission

\* Labor-Farm Party, an affiliated organization of the Greens

# Green Party USA elections update— 12/4/92

PO Box 30208, Kansas City, MO 64112

1-800-257-7336

**91 Green candidates win 570,000 votes in 1992,  
13 victories**

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One year after official founding of the Green Party USA, Green Party members across the U.S. won 13 seats in local partisan and nonpartisan elections in Hawaii, Arkansas, Arizona, and California. Ninety-one Green candidates ran for national, state and local offices in 14 states: 15 for U.S. Congress and Senate; 32 for state houses; 22 for county and city offices; and 22 for other elected municipal and community positions. Green candidates polled over 570,000 votes for an average showing of 16% nationwide.

Prior to the elections, Greens already held 50 seats in local offices ranging from town councils and mayors to county commissions and boards of education. 58 Greens now hold office.

In Hawaii, where the Green Party has mounted a serious challenge to the Democratic Party, a total of eighteen Green Party candidates ran in Hawaii. Keiko Bonk-Abramson's successful Green Party bid for a seat on the Hawaii County Council was the first victory by any third party in Hawaii. In the best Green Party showing for a national office, Linda Martin's U.S. Senate candidacy polled 50,000 votes (over 13%) against powerful U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye. Hawai'i Greens placed second (beating Republican candidates) in four partisan races.

By far the largest number of Green candidates ran in California. 15 partisan and 22 nonpartisan candidates polled a total of over 340,000 votes, for a statewide average of 13%. Members of the California Green Party won nine nonpartisan seats. Greens were also elected to nonpartisan seats in Arizona and Arkansas, evidence of the party's growing appeal.

Green Party candidates made good showings in other state elections. In a bid for the New Mexico State House, Abraham Guttman won 42% of the vote against an incumbent Democrat. Mark Dunlea won 41% in a New York State Assembly race against his Republican opponent's 58%. Kelly Weaverling, the current Green Party mayor of Cordova, Alaska, polled 23% in his bid for the Alaska State Assembly. Green Party candidates also ran in Missouri, Maine, North Carolina, Florida, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Arizona.

Women did very well in the 1992 Green elections. Of the 13 candidates elected, 6 were women, including Keiko Bonk-Abramson's historic victory. Linda Martin's Senate showing further strengthened these achievements.

Greens polled an average of 16% in all the races they entered across the U.S.. In partisan races (those in which "Green Party" appears on the ballot with the candidate's name), Greens received over 340,000 votes, for an average of nearly 13% per candidate.

Greens are represented in the parliaments of many European countries with proportional representation, which require just 5% support to give seats to third parties. With a truly representative system in the U.S., Green parties would have already won seats in state and national legislative bodies.

Greens ran against other third party and independent candidates in 18 races, and outpolled or equaled them in 13 races. Where Greens ran against third parties and independent candidates, Green Party candidates averaged over twice as many votes as candidates for the Libertarian Party, and 68% more votes than all other third parties and independent challengers combined.

Green parties have permanent ballot status in Hawaii, Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Alaska. Other state Green parties are forming in at least two dozen states. 460 Green locals are organizing in 48 of the 50 states.

Greens chose not to run a presidential candidate, nor did they endorse a candidate. The Green Party employs a conscious strategy of building "from the bottom up," meaning that policies and campaigns initiated in local communities determine the direction of the national organization. This decentralist strategy mirrors the Party's vision for a society based on participatory democracy. However, many Greens supported Ron Daniels' independent candidacy (a campaign focusing on racial and gender justice, worker's rights, ecology and community empowerment).

"Green politics is not just about getting people elected to office," notes Diana Spalding of the national Greens Coordinating Committee. "We did better in races where candidates had the support of strong local Green groups which have built credibility by working on issues and in coalitions. Now that the elections are over, it's important to keep on track with local activism around issues important to people's lives, like toxic waste, gender equality, racism, and nuclear power. That's how we're going to build a grassroots party that is a true alternative to politics as usual."

**New Green officeholders:**

Stephen	Miller	Fayetteville	AR	Fayetteville City Council
Melissa	Usrey	Tombstone	AZ	Tombstone School Board
Richard	Dohe	Bisbee	AZ	Bisbee School Board
Lois	Humphreys	Leucadia	CA	Leucadia Water Board
Dona	Spring	Berkeley	CA	Berkeley City Council
Carol	Skiljan	Encinitas	CA	Encinitas School Board
Barbara	Carr	La Mesa	CA	La Mesa/Spring Valley School Board
Nancy	Bernardi		CA	Evergreen Resource Conservation District
David	Tarr		CA	Romona Water Board
Dan	Tarr	El Cajon	CA	Valledeoro Planning Group
John	Beall		CA	Santa Clara County Evergreen Resource Conservation District
Timothy	Moore		CA	Ramona Community Planning Group
Keiko	Bonk-Abramson	Volcano	HI	Hawaii County Council

# GREEN PARTY ELECTORAL RESULTS AROUND THE U.S.

1994-1995

## Arkansas Green Party

Green incumbent Stephan Miller was re-elected to the Fayetteville City Council.

## Green Party of Alaska

Jim Sykes and Roger Lewis received 3.9% in a five-way race for Governor/Lt. Governor. Joni Whitmore received 10% for the US House of Representatives, a statewide race in Alaska. Both races surpassed the 3% required for the Green Party of Alaska to requalify for statewide ballot status. In the 28th State Legislature district, Paul Bratton received 11%.

## Green Party of California

California retained ballot status by Margaret Garcia's Greens record of 300,000 votes (3.9%) for Secretary of State. Other statewide races included: U.S. Senate - Barbara Blong 1.6% and Lt. Governor - Danny Moses 1.8%. U.S. House of Representative races were 17th District - Craig Coffin 3.3%, 23rd District - Robert Marston 2.6%, 50th District - Kip Kruger 1.8%.

State Senate, 29th District candidate, Walt Sheasby received 2.3%. State Assembly candidates included: 14th District - Hank Chapot 6.1%, 23rd District - Tim Fitzgerald 8.0%, 35th District - Tom Stafford 2.1%, and 38th District - Charles Wilken 7.1%.

In non-partisan local races, several candidates won city council seats: Jason Kirkpatrick, Arcata (29%), Dona Spring, Berkeley (60%), Steve Schmidt, Menlo Park (15.8%), Allan Drusys, Yucaipa. In other city council races, Michael Hitchcock received 1707 votes in Redwood City, Jon Stevens received 1669 in Santa Monica and Gloria Purcell received 34% in Belmont. Other local races include: Malibu/Las Virgenes Resource Conservation District - Glenn Bailey (incumbant, uncontested win), Crest/DehesaHarison Canyon/Granite Hills Planning Group - William Bretz (incumbant, uncontested win), La Mesa/Spring Valley School District Board - Barbara Carr (incumbant 24.7% win), Evergreen Resource Conservation District - Todd Cooper (incumbant 28.2% win), Alpine Community Planning Group - Bonnie Gengron (4.2%) and Brian Mc Call (3.0%), Grossmont Hospital Board - Celesta Owen (13.5%), Grossmont Union High School District Board - Susan Wolfe-Fleming (10.8%), Helix Water Board - Steve Saint (17.7%), Mountain Empire School District Board - Leo Bennett-Cauchon (33.4%) Ramona Municipal Water District Board - Timothy Moore (43.7%), Evergreen Resource Conservation District - Rick Bernardi (14.3%)

## Green Party of Colorado

Phillip Hufford and Krista Paradise received 1.5% for Governor/Lt. Governor. The Green Party of Colorado needed 10% to qualify for statewide ballot status.

## Hawai'i Green Party

Kioni Dudley and Jack Morse received 3.5% for Governor/Lt. Governor in a four-way race. The Hawai'i Green Party needed 10% to retain statewide ballot status they first achieved in 1992. Now they will have to gather petition signatures to regain their status. In State House races on Oahu, Toni Worst and Karen Archibald got 41% and 38% respectively in two-way races. Chris Walker and Bruce MacPherson received 17% and 10% in multi-candidate races.

Keiko Bonk-Abramson was re-elected to the County Council (Board of Supervisors) of the Big Island of Hawai'i with 60% of the vote in a partisan race. Bonk-Abramson is the highest elected Green official in the United States. On Maui, three candidates ran for County Council - Nihilananda 22%, Meiling Akuna 9% and Jason Schwartz 4%. On Kauai, Victor Bailey received 3,014 votes.

## Indiana Green Party

Pete Meyers received 25% for South Bend City Council District 1.

# GREEN PARTY ELECTORAL RESULTS AROUND THE U.S.

1994-1995

## Maine Green Party

Jonathan Carter received 6.5% in a four-way race for Governor. By surpassing 5%, the Maine Green Party has qualified as a statewide ballot-status party. Running for the U.S. House of Representatives, Charles Fitzgerald received 5%.

Karen Mayo won her race for Selectperson in Bowdoinham.

## Missouri Green Party

Jeff Barrow received 40% in a two-way race for County Commissioner in Boone County. Terry Webster was elected mayor of Webster Grove, and Matt Harline was reelected to the City Council of Columbia.

## New Mexico Green Party

Roberto Mondragon/Steve Schmidt received 10.4% and national recognition in a three-way contest for Governor. Lorenzo Garcia received 33% for Treasurer, his percentage being the highest in 60 years for a statewide office by a candidate from a nationally-organized 3rd party. By receiving over 5% in a statewide office race, the New Mexico Green party now qualifies for major party ballot status.

Patricia Wolff received 12% for Commissioner of Public Lands; Rex Johnson received 5% for Congress, 2nd District. Fran Gallegos received 43% for Santa Fe Magistrate Judge and Don Brayfield received 32% for Santa Fe County Assessor.

## New York State Green Party

New York State Green candidates were for Congress, East Side Manhattan - Tom Leighton (1%); State Assembly, Brooklyn Heights - Craig Seeman (4%); State Assembly, Queens - Mary France (3%).

Mark Dunlea, Poestenkill Town Councilor, received 11.5% in his race for Rensselaer County Executive. Ulster County Legislature District 2 candidates, Ben Armento and Dave Menzies, received 8% and 7%, respectively.

City and town races included Councilor-at-Large, Syracuse - Howie Hawkins 1% and 3%\*; School Board, Syracuse - Tom Sullivan 2% and 3%\*; McDonough Town Council - Debbie Anderson 12.5%; Cortlandville Town Council - Betty Wood 10%; Binghamton City Council - Rick Sprout; Ithaca Mayor - Paul Sayvetz.

\* Howie and Tom ran in 1994 and in 1995.

## North Carolina Green Party

Alex Zaffron won his race for the Carrboro Board of Aldermen. Mark Chilton was reelected to the Chapel Hill Town Council.

## Green Party of Rhode Island

Jeff Johnson received 6% for Lieutenant Governor, qualifying the Green Party of Rhode Island for statewide ballot status. Anna Cardillo Martin received 5.3% for State Senate, 4th district.

## Green Party of Virginia

Four people ran for the state legislature: Virginia Porrás, House District 18 (3%); Eric Sheffield, House District 24 (3%), Mark Yatrofsky, House District 88 (3%), and Elise Sheffield, Senate District 24 (3%).

## Washington DC Greens

Jodean Marks received 670 votes for mayor. Marks ran on the Statehood Party line.

## Wisconsin Green Party

Jeff Peterson placed third out of four candidates for State House, receiving 6%.

Tums to the East placed third out of four candidates for City Council of Lake Geneva, receiving 11.4%.

# Green Party USA Press Release—11/11/92

PO Box 30208, Kansas City, MO 64112

1-800-257-7336

## Greens win 580,000 votes in 1992, seat 13 candidates

One year after official founding of the Green Party USA, Green Party members across the U.S. won 13 seats in local partisan and nonpartisan elections in Hawaii, Arkansas, Arizona, and California. Eighty-five Green candidates ran for national, state and local offices in 13 states: 15 for U.S. Congress and Senate; 28 for state houses; 22 for county and city offices; and 20 for other elected municipal and community positions. Green candidates polled over 580,000 votes for an average showing of 16% nationwide.

Prior to the elections, Greens already held 50 seats in local offices ranging from town councils and mayors to county commissions and boards of education. 58 Greens now hold office.

In Hawaii, where the Green Party has mounted a serious challenge to the Democratic Party, a total of eighteen Green Party candidates ran in Hawaii. Keiko Bonk-Abramson's successful Green Party bid for a seat on the Hawaii Council was the first victory by any third party in Hawaii. In the best Green Party showing for a national office, Linda Martin's U.S. Senate candidacy polled 50,000 votes (over 13%) against powerful U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye. Hawai'i Greens placed second (beating Republican candidates) in four partisan races.

By far the largest number of Green candidates ran in California. 15 partisan and 22 nonpartisan candidates polled a total of over 340,000 votes, for a statewide average of 13%. Members of the California Green Party won nine nonpartisan seats. Greens were also elected to nonpartisan seats in Arizona and Arkansas, evidence of the party's growing appeal.

Green Party candidates made good showings in other state elections. In a bid for the New Mexico State House, Abraham Guttman won 42% of the vote against an incumbent Democrat. Mark Dunlea won 41% in a New York State Assembly race against his Republican opponent's 58%. Kelly Weaverling, the current Green Party mayor of Cordova, Alaska, polled 23% in his bid for the Alaska State Assembly. Green Party candidates also ran in Missouri, Maine, North Carolina, Florida, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Arizona.

Women did very well in the 1992 Green elections. Of the 13 candidates elected, 6 were women, including Keiko Bonk-Abramson's historic victory. Linda Martin's strong Senate showing further strengthened these achievements.

### New Green officeholders:

Stephen	Miller	Fayetteville	AR	Fayetteville City Council
Melissa	Usrey	Tombstone	AZ	Tombstone School Board
Richard	Dobe	Bisbee	AZ	Bisbee School Board
Lob	Humphreys	Leucadia	CA	Leucadia Water Board
Dona	Spring	Berkeley	CA	Berkeley City Council
Carol	Skiljan	Encinitas	CA	Encinitas School Board
Barbara	Carr	La Mesa	CA	La Mesa/Spring Valley School Board
Nancy	Bernardt		CA	Evergreen Resource Conservation District
David	Tarr		CA	Romona Water Board
Dan	Tarr	El Cajon	CA	Valledeoro Planning Group
John	Beall		CA	Santa Clara County Evergreen Resource Conservation District
Timothy	Moore		CA	Ramona Community Planning Group
Keiko	Bonk-Abramson	Volcano	HI	Hawaii Council

Greens polled an average of 16% in all the races they entered across the U.S.. In partisan races (those in which "Green Party" appears on the ballot with the candidate's name), Greens received over 340,000 votes, for an average of nearly 13% per candidate.

Greens are represented in the parliaments of many European countries with proportional representation, which require just 5% support to give seats to third parties. With a truly representative system in the U.S., Green parties would have already won seats in state and national legislative bodies.

Greens ran against other third party and independent candidates in 18 races, and outpolled or equaled them in 13 races. Where Greens ran against third parties and independent candidates, Green Party candidates averaged over twice as many votes as candidates for the Libertarian Party, and 68% more votes than all other third parties and independent challengers combined.

Green parties have permanent ballot status in Hawaii, Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Alaska. Other state Green parties are forming in at least two dozen states. 460 Green locals are organizing in 48 of the 50 states.

Greens chose not to run a presidential candidate, nor did they endorse a candidate. The Green Party employs a conscious strategy of building "from the bottom up," meaning that policies and campaigns initiated in local communities determine the direction of the national organization. This decentralist strategy mirrors the Party's vision for a society based on participatory democracy. However, many Greens supported Ron Daniels' independent candidacy (a campaign focusing on racial and gender justice, worker's rights, ecology and community empowerment).

"Green politics is not just about getting people elected to office," notes Diana Spalding of the national Greens Coordinating Committee. "We did better in races where candidates had the support of strong local Green groups which have built credibility by working on issues and in coalitions. Now that the elections are over, it's important to keep on track with local activism around issues important to people's lives, like toxic waste, gender equality, racism, and nuclear power. That's how we're going to build a grassroots party that is a true alternative to politics as usual."



# Progressive Unity through a National Slate of Local Independent Candidates

by HOWIE HAWKINS, Syracuse NY

Will Ralph Nader run an all-out campaign for President that unites progressives in this country? Whether he does or not, progressive movements still have a way to unite and touch millions of people in the 1996 election.

What if, instead of the 100-200 independent progressive candidacies we had in 1994, we had 1000-2000 in 1996? And what if they united behind a common platform of national demands, which all of these independent candidates signed on to as part of a national slate of independent progressive candidates? We would indeed touch millions with a common message.

If we do this in 1996, independent progressives would be a factor in the 1996 election whether or not Ralph Nader (or another well-known candidate like Jesse Jackson) runs a high profile independent progressive campaign for President.

What if, instead of the 100-200 independent progressive candidacies we had in 1994, we had 1000-2000 in 1996? ... united behind a common platform...

## National Independent Politics Summit in Pittsburgh, August 1995

Organizing a "National Slate of Local Independent Candidates" is a project that was enthusiastically adopted by the National Independent Politics Summit in Pittsburgh, August 18-20, 1995. [Note: The Green Council endorsed the "National Slate of Local Independent Candidates" at its November meeting. --Ed.]

The Summit was far and away the most broadly representative of conferences this year to build unity on the independent left. 210 people representing over 100 organizations from 24 states and the

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Pledge Campaign" that seeks to collect the names and addresses of one million people who support the creation of a progressive independent party or alliance of parties. The data base of names will be accessible to all organizations that are part of the National Independent Politics Summit.

The Summit also endorsed the "Caravan/March for Social Justice" that Green activist Inila-Wakan has been spearheading. It will begin on the West Coast on Mothers Day, 1996 and conclude with a demonstration on Wall Street a week before the election. [Note: "The Caravan/March for Social Justice" was endorsed by the Green Congress. --Ed.]

Finally, a task force to support the development of a "Movement-Generated 1996 Independent Presidential Campaign" was organized at the Summit. Although no one at the Summit argued for supporting Clinton as a lesser evil, many expressed concern that the movement was not prepared to take on a presidential race and that our limited resources should be focused on the national slate, the pledge, and the caravan in 1996. The Summit did not endorse a project to build a movement-generated presidential campaign, but did ask the presidential task force to report back to the next Summit in Atlanta, April 19-21, 1996.

## National Independent Politics Summit in Atlanta, April 1996

The Atlanta Summit will decide on what will be included in the common platform of national demands for the national slate of local independent candidates. The Summit will also decide

on principles of unity and an on-going structure for this network of organizations committed to independent progressive politics. And there will be discussions of the presidential campaign and of a five-year organizing vision and strategy for independent progressive politics leading up to the year 2000 that the Continuations Committee is drafting for discussion.

The Atlanta Summit will be a delegated conference. Every organization—local, state, and national, including each local and state affiliate of na-

tional organizations—will be accorded two voting delegates. Organizations are asked to send at least one woman and one person of color as members of their voting delegations.

The Continuations Committee of the National Independent Politics Summit concluded that this apportionment of delegates would be the most proportional. It would reflect the higher degree of organization for organizations with local and state affiliates while also giving local, state, and national organizations without affiliations a vote as well. And it would reflect the various organizations' level of commitment to building a united independent party or alliance of parties.

The Green Party USA, as the largest and most developed organizationally of the independent progressive party initiatives, will have voting strength at the Atlanta Summit that reflects its level of development—but only if Green locals and states demonstrate a commitment to building a more united progressive party movement by sending delegations.

## A United Left Party, or an Alliance of Parties?

The idea of an alliance of independent parties was widely discussed at the Pittsburgh Summit as a way to build a united left. The foremost example of this approach is in New Zealand where the New Zealand Alliance was formed by the Green Party, the Maori Party (representing the indigenous Polynesian people who are 12% of the population), and the New Labor Party, a left breakaway from the Labor Party. Alone, these parties were weak. As a united alliance, they have agreed to not compete in the same election districts, and to work for common demands, like proportional representation.

As an alliance of independent progressive parties, the New Zealand Alliance succeeded in 1994 in switching that country's electoral system from winner-take-all plurality (like the U.S. has) to a mixed-member proportional system (like Germany has, with half being elected from single-member districts and the other half from party lists to make the legislature's overall com-

position proportional to the votes for party lists). In next year's election, the New Zealand Alliance is expected to increase its representation from 2 to 25-30 in a 120 seat national parliament.

The New Zealand Alliance could be a model for building an independent left in the U.S. with real impact. Greens in the U.S. are strongest among environmentalists, feminists, and peace activists. But we are generally weak in organizing in communities of color, where the Campaign for a New Tomorrow is more successful, and in organized labor, where Labor Party Advocates is strong. The Greens are strong in some states, but in other states there are other independent parties with similar political values and goals. The New Party has shown an ability to raise some real money, while the Greens haven't. An alliance of all these parties, instead of competition to become THE independent progressive party, may be the best way forward in this country, a way that synthesizes the strengths and unique programmatic contributions of each party.

### **The National Slate of Local Independent Candidates**

The "National Slate of Independent Local Candidates" was proposed in the spirit of the New Zealand Alliance. It will allow local candidates to retain their own ballot name (i.e., Green, New, Socialist, Progressive, Labor, Peace and Freedom, New Progressive, New Democracy, Mountaineer, Pacific, Consumer, Liberty Union, Rainbow, etc.) and their

own local platform, while also aligning themselves with other independent candidates around the country who share common national demands.

For the slate project, "local" means the district elections for Congress and state legislatures as well as county and municipal elections. "Independent" means progressive and independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

There is nothing in the national slate project to prevent an independent presidential candidate (or candidates) from signing on to the slate. But even without a presidential ticket, the na-

tional slate of local independent candidates could project the independent progressive party movement and its platform on to the public agenda.

The elements of the national slate project include:

- a common name/identity for the slate (while local candidates retain their own local identity on the ballot);
- a common platform—a succinct statement in popular style of key national demands shared by the slate (local candidates retain their local platforms);
- nationally-coordinated days of local action to link electoral and extra-electoral action, link up the local independent campaigns, and magnify the impact of our local actions;
- a covenant with the candidates of the slate stating their accountability and other standards expected of candidates and what candidates can expect from

- a clearinghouse to coordinate the project's organizing, collect the names of candidates joining the slate, and publicize the slate in the media.

The Atlanta Summit is where these elements of the slate project will be finalized. In the meantime, a task force set up at the Pittsburgh Summit to develop this project is contacting independent progressive parties and candidates about the slate, publicizing the project in the progressive media, and preparing a draft common platform and covenant with candidates for circulation and comment. If you want to work on any aspect of the slate project, contact me at P.O. Box 562, Syracuse NY 13205, (315) 474-7055. For information on the Atlanta Summit: National

Independent Politics Summit, P.O. Box 170610, Brooklyn NY 11217, (718) 643-9603.

*Howie Hawkins was the Syracuse Green Party candidate for Syracuse Common Council in 1995 and is a member of the Contributions Committee of the National Independent Politics Summit, and is coordinating the Summit's task force on the National Slate of Independent Local Candidates*

# Ecofeminism, Democracy, and The Nader Campaign

by Greta Gaard, Green Party of Minnesota

Ralph Nader is a well-known consumer advocate and a longtime critic of corporations. He leads an impeccable personal life, is a devoted activist, and has been inspirational to thousands.

But is he Green? Actually, he's not. And within the Greens, some find that problematic. For years, Greens have been proud of winning Green candidates who stand on a Green Platform, developed democratically within their states (platforms do vary from

As Greens are fond of saying, these Ten Key Values aren't a menu of selections--i.e., "I'll take grassroots democracy, but hold the social justice and respect for diversity; would you?"

state to state, but they all share an adherence to the Ten Key Values). As Greens are fond of saying, these Ten Key Values aren't a menu of selections--i.e., "I'll take grassroots democracy, but hold the social justice and respect for diversity; would you?"--but rather interconnected parts of a holistic Green Vision. Hence, Greens have chosen candidates who are members of the Greens in good standing, and whose campaign reflects a commitment to all ten of the Key Values.

There's always been the dream of candidate accountability, a quality which distinguishes Greens from the demopublicans right away. With these expectations, it's no surprise that some Greens have felt real resistance

to the Nader campaign from the start. Nader's non-membership in the Greens, and his refusal to run on a Green Platform are just the first or several objections Greens have raised.

## Undemocratic Process of the Nader Campaign

In 1995, a survey was conducted among Greens to test attitudes about running a presidential candidate, with the results presented at the Albuquerque gathering. Only 20% of those receiving the survey responded, but of these, over 90% were in favor. It would ap-

pear that only those who favored such a campaign responded to the survey, making it statistically unsound to conclude that there was wide-spread support for a presidential campaign.

Four months after the gathering, the Nader campaign was launched anyway. Although Greens never agreed on what the goal for such a campaign would be, ostensibly the purpose is to "unify progressives" by using the media coverage generated by a high-visibility candidate to get "our" message across to a wider audience, and by bringing people together to work on a common issue.

Unfortunately, it's not working out that way. Nader isn't broadcasting "our" message; he's broadcasting his. Many people don't see Nader addressing their issues, and have refused to work on a campaign they didn't initiate. As a result, some states have had difficulty mobilizing consent, and the proposed strategy of sending money and signature-gatherers to various states to force Nader's name onto the ballot seems to violate the very idea of democratic process.

Internally, Greens who have voiced concerns about the campaign process have been dismissed rather than addressed. Worse yet, we've been told that our concerns are less important than Nader's focus on corporate

... how can democracy be achieved by subordinating the issues that people are concerned about?

power and the national erosion of democracy. Not only is this dismissive approach a bad way to handle the Green membership, it's doesn't help us build coalitions.

Claiming that your single issue, if addressed, will solve all other issues is no way to win friends. And we've seen this strategy fail before: in the thirties, the one-issue-liberalizes-all topic was class; in the eighties, it was nuclear power. This strategy becomes particularly ironic when the issue is democracy--how can democracy be achieved by subordinating the issues that people are concerned

about? I call this "trickle-down democracy," and expect it to be about as effective as trickle-down economics.

## Undemocratic Positions Taken by Nader in Interviews

Since his candidacy has been declared, Nader has given numerous interviews in which he addresses corporate power and the erosion of democracy, but fails to take democratic positions on matters of social justice. On the Phil Donahue show, for example, Nader refused to address reproductive choice, claiming it was a "private" issue. Feminists have long critiqued the public/private division

as a gendered split which confines women's concerns to the realm of the private, reserving legitimacy and "rights" to the male-defined realm of the public. (Feminism, incidentally, is one of the Ten Key Values that Nader does not seem to be adhering to.)

Similarly, when William Sa fire asked if Nader would sup-

port same-sex marriage, Nader claimed he was "not interested in gonadal politics." This response is not only uninformed, but overtly homophobic. And finally, on "Meet the Press," Nader said he would not take a stand on animal rights issues, a topic which is part of the California Green Party Platform.

In these interviews, Nader is using a language which delegitimizes body politics, the assigned domain of women, people of color, queers, and animals. Ecofeminists have pointed out that the democratic tradition crafted predominantly by white elite males has elevated reason over emotion, split the political arena into realms of public and private, and confined anything to do with human bodies and the body of nature to the realm of the private and the apolitical.

Ecofeminists--and many Greens--who embrace the values of ecological wisdom and feminism understand the necessity of both reason and emotion, mind and body, women

and men, people of all colors, humans and nature in the fulfillment of genuine democracy. From an ecofeminist perspective, then, democracy which does not include our bodies is not a true democracy. Nader's inability to see the relevance of social justice issues to the meaning of democracy is a shortcoming which is alienating not only to women or gays and lesbians, but also to people of color.

## E-Racing the Opposition

Early in the campaign, many Greens voiced concerns about choosing a white, male, heterosexual as the first Green presidential candidate, but these concerns were shut down.

In April, at a meeting of the multi-racial Independent Progressive Politics Network (IPPN), Greens got the same message. The opposition to Nader from the African-American community present in Atlanta may be based on the fact that Nader hasn't been there in the past when racism has been the key issue.

Certainly, Nader's current refusal to take positions on immigration and affirmative action hasn't helped.

Based on the chilly reception of the Nader campaign at the IPPN, some Greens suggested that Nader be paired with a woman of color as vice-presidential candidate. This strategy smacks of tokenism, using a woman of color--or any Green woman--to voice concerns Nader won't address. There are other problems. For example, what policy-making authority would such a woman have during this campaign? Would campaigns now be made on her behalf? Would her issues be foregrounded as equally important as Nader's? How would we resolve, say, her support of reproductive choice or affirmative action, and his refusal to speak about these issues? Most likely, Nader's running mate would be feminized into silence--which is exactly what has happened internally, with the dissenting

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## Democracy

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Greens.

In retrospect, Greens took the wrong approach to the IPPN. A campaign to unify progressives should be offered to every potential ally from the start - and their input should affect the strategy that is adopted. We can't just hand a fully-crafted campaign to people for their signature and expect to create allies. Greens have been told this over and over again. Yet we wonder why women, queers, people of color, and Greens who thought the 10KV meant something are now objecting to the Nader campaign.

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The root problem of the Nader campaign stems from Greens' difficulties with leadership. Thus far, some Greens have mistaken charisma, initiative, and the ability to "think big" for leadership.

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### Undemocratic Leadership

The root problem of the Nader campaign stems from Greens' difficulties with leadership. Thus far, some Greens have mistaken charisma, initiative, and the ability to "think big" for leadership. Surely, these are the necessary characteristics, and they are transformed into Green leadership when they are placed in service of the Green community through the process of participatory, democratic decision-making. The Nader campaign is a crisis in leadership because the self-starters in the Greens, once again, jumped ahead and expected everyone else to follow.

Now, those who didn't launch the campaign and who have various concerns about it are in a bind: if we speak out, we risk being blamed for airing our dirty Green laundry in public, or potentially sabotaging the

hard work of others; if we remain silent, we are enabling the lack of accountability in the Nader campaign leaders. Both options, you'll notice, fail to hold the self-starters responsible for making a statewide decision with national implications.

By using participatory democracy, genuine Green leadership doesn't put the Green community into this kind of a double-bind. When charisma, initiative, and vision are used to facilitate decisions that the majority can endorse, the community moves forward together because everyone can support and participate in leadership.

### What Now? A Word About Rhetoric

As Green dissenters, we aren't political wafflers. We aren't asking for perfection, purity, or the impossible dream. (We thought the Ten Key Values would do fine instead.) And we know the importance of rhetoric. It's been said that no candidate will win in this political climate standing on a platform of social justice or an opposition to capitalism. A successful campaign has to focus on economic issues, the workplace and jobs, and the

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Paradoxically, Nader may actually support all sorts of freedoms that he hasn't been willing to take a stand on. But we need to know that.

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an antidemocratic impact of multinational corporations. On these issues, Nader's message is incredibly important, and it reaches many people. But his silences on racial justice, his sexism and his homophobia, reach people too.

Paradoxically, Nader may actually support all sorts of freedoms that he hasn't been willing to take a stand on. But we need to know that. He doesn't have to make reproductive choice or gay marriage or ecological wisdom his main issue. What he does have to do is make short remarks like, "You're damn right I support social justice," or "Real democracy includes everybody—regardless of their race, gender, age, ability, class, religion, or sexual orientation. Now, let's talk about the real opponents to democracy, which are not society's marginalized groups at all—they're corporations, and the military-industrial complex." Come to think of it, joining the Green Party wouldn't be a bad idea, either.

At this point in the campaign, will a rhetorical sea change redeem Nader in the eyes of the Greens and other progressives who are not white, heterosexual, or male-identified? And if he doesn't address our issues, who's left? If I were his advisor, I'd suggest that expanding his rhetoric is worth a try.

(This article is abstracted from *Ecological Politics: Environmentalists and the Greens*, forthcoming in 1997 from Temple University Press.)

# The Challenge of Nader and the Greens

by MARK ANDERLIK, *Green Politics* co-editor

The effort to have Ralph Nader be the Green candidate for President poses many challenges for us in the Greens. Some of these challenges are healthy, some are troublesome, and some are quite unnecessary.

The healthy challenges include Nader's campaign summons to grassroots Greens. He offers his considerable credibility and stature to a Green campaign only if we work hard to make the Greens a broader organized "political movement for the future." His campaign also challenges us to speak clearly and forcefully against the power of the multinational corporate system and its poisonous effects on democracy and the environment.

The process used by some Greens to solicit Nader's bid for the presidency is a troublesome challenge to democracy within the Greens. Troubling, too, is Nader's decision to not address certain issues in his campaign, such as gay and lesbian rights. In her article in this issue, Greta Gaard explores these and other problematic challenges of the campaign.

One unnecessary frustration of the campaign is the inaccessibility of the candidate himself to his campaign workers and to the Greens as a whole. *Green Politics* editors have tried unsuccessfully for many weeks to arrange an interview with Nader. We had hoped to ask unique questions from a Green perspective and publish them in this issue.

Many Greens have expressed their frustration with Nader's lack of communication with the Greens. John Rensenbrink of the Maine Green Party, for example, wrote in response to an article by Nader in the July 8, 1996 *Nation*: "Now we need much more perceived energy and direct engagement from him [Nader], including better communication

with the people who are trying to make it happen. I implore you, Ralph: Do it! And make sure your people do it." Greens around the country have gained substantial experience and knowledge about political campaigns. We are among the most successful progressive third party movements in the U.S. in this century. Nader's candidacy can help campaigns like Rensenbrink's U.S. Senate campaign. But this can only be done with communication and cooperation between Nader and the Greens.

Speculation has it that to prevent Federal Election Commission (FEC) and the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) scrutiny Nader will not spend more than \$5000 (all his own money) on his campaign. Nader rightfully does not want to jeopardize the tax-exempt status of the multitude of activist organizations associated with him.

Even so, ways can be found to communicate that keeps his expenses to a minimum. Cooperation with Green activists is improved simply by letting local Greens know when he's coming to the area to speak so they can effectively organize around the event.

If the scrutiny from the FEC and IRS is so threatening that it hampers Nader, then why offer oneself as a presidential non-candidate? Lending his reputation to the Greens is a tremendous asset. However, the demands of organizing require more communication and cooperation to make his campaign a more effective help to the Greens. Without this, the risk is that the morale of the people mobilized by Nader's campaign will decline and thus defeat the purpose of his campaign.

# An Initiative of "Unity and Diversity"

by RALPH NADER, Presidential Candidate, Green Party

(Note: This statement by Ralph Nader was faxed to the California State Convention of the Green Party of California for June 30, 1996 as he was officially named as the Presidential candidate by 96% of the delegates present.)

Welcome to the most self-reliant political movement in California. Welcome to a progressive initiative that goes to the central contention of public politics -- the concentration of power and wealth in a few hands and what should be done about what Thomas Jefferson called "the excesses of the monied interests."

Society rots from the top down and it is reconstructed from the bottom up. The takeover of our political government at the national and state levels by the corporate powers is dismantling our democracy, shutting out citizens and citizen groups from their own government -- executive, legislative and judicial.

When democracy is downsized, so too will people's standard of living be downsized, along with their rights, remedies, opportunities and ability to make a difference in this world.

"By The People as a Commonwealth . . ."

But the people in this country still have assets that they own, but unfortunately do not control. I speak of the public airwaves, the public lands, the huge capital pools that comprise trillions of dollars in pensions, mutual insurance assets and other savings.

We the people own these enormous assets but corporations control their use and disposition -- from the broadcast industry to the mining and timber industries. Progressive politics means that what is legally owned by the people as a commonwealth must be controlled by them.

That means, first and foremost, that we must pay close attention to our civic duties in time, knowledge and determination. That is what self reliance and grassroots mean for progressive politics -- banding together in the

various roles that citizens need to assume for a prosperous political economy, a benign environment and a just society for all.

Demanding and achieving justice requires that we demand from all of us as citizens more civic time and energy.

The Greens must show the way here with new definitions and strategies. Leadership means producing more leaders, not more followers.

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A political movement means agreeing on core issues of fundamental democracy and not fracturing on demands for unanimity about remaining priorities.

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"Unity and Diversity Holds True Today"

A political movement means agreeing on core issues of fundamental democracy and not fracturing on demands for unanimity about remaining priorities. The old slogan -- unity and diversity -- holds true today. Together they build energy that builds democracy -- the best mechanism yet devised for solving problems with justice in a society where everybody counts and everybody is respected and everybody is eager to assume the duties of citizen.

action writ large and writ small...

For where there is no community, there is crisis. The global corporations are on a collision course with American democracy, with community and with sustainable economies and the well being of workers and consumers.

Plutocracy and oligarchy are making our government one OF the Etons, BY the General Motors, and FOR the DuPonts.

"Launch the Green Waves and Breezes..."

What of the future for the children -- nearly 25 percent of whom live in poverty in our country -- and future generations to come? What will THEY think of our generation if we do not launch the green waves and breezes of a resurgent democracy across this land.

May your decisions, motivations and objectives rise to the level of expectations held by hardworking California Greens who wish to forge a united endeavor to take on the two party duopoly that is demeaning and denigrating to the promise of our country and the performance of its people.

From this side of the country, I can assure you that the message will be communicated in many ways through many mediums that the time has come for progressives to restore and advance the great promise of our society and its benign contributions to the world.

Forward, Greens. Forward, America!  
Thank you.

By JANA CUTLIP, Pullman WV

Ralph Nader, perhaps the world's best known consumer advocate has permitted his name to be placed on the ballot in Green Party primaries in California, Maine and New Mexico. Mr. Nader has stated that he hopes to serve as a catalyst to the creation of grassroots organizing efforts to bring democracy back into the public arena. In a March 1996 "Z Magazine" interview he declares, "I want to try to give the Green Party... more energy and hope that they can begin making a difference, signing up more people, becoming more of a visible alternative." His entrance into these state primaries has resulted in a flurry of activity in Green Parties and locals around the country.

Holle Bryan of the Green Party of Minnesota expressed delight that Nader was allowing his name to be entered in the Pres-

idential race. "This is a fantastic tool for Green organizing. Nader has been serving as a lightning rod to get the Green message out. His appearance on Donahue was inspiring to everyone here."

The Green Party of Colorado is organizing to put Nader on the ballot. The Green Party of Colorado achieved "qualified political organization" status when they ran Philip Hufford for Governor and Krista Paradise for Lt. Governor in 1994. "It is imperative that people be given an alternative to the options currently out there. The American people deserve a candidate who brings the issues affecting them into the debate. We're organizing for Ralph Nader, to offer the voters of Colorado a valid choice," says Philip Hufford.

"The point is the party errors" says Nancy Allen, Green Party of Maine. "We've

got 3000 registered Greens in Maine. With each campaign we get more."

Greg Jan of the Green Party of California has been amongst those spearheading the Nader effort. He says, "this is the David and Goliath campaign, the average people against the corporate parties. It could be the beginning of an enormous revolution in the politics of this country. In theory, isn't that what the Greens are here for?"

The Phil Donahue Show, February 12, was Mr. Nader's first national television appearance since accepting the Green Party of California's request to enter his name on the ballot. There he expressed his positions on a variety of topics, eloquently expressing many Green values. The following are excerpts in his own words from the Donahue program:

**ON PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY:** "Listen, we can't get away from our own commitment as citizens. Mobilizing yourselves. You know, that's what it's all about, folks. Society rots from the head down, and it reconstructs from the bottom up. That's the history of the United States. From the abolition of slavery, women's right to vote, the right of workers to organize, the environmentalists, civil rights movements—that's where it's at. We can't get away with just picking presidential candidates like we pick ice cream flavors, based on thirty-second ads. It's too deadly serious a business for us not to spend more time on it."

On the current state of the country: "Right now you have super-corporate profits up, corporate executives making tons of money, stock markets setting all records, at the same time that homelessness is on the increase, 80% of the workers have suffered declining standards of living. In terms of wages for the last twenty years—one out of four children lives in poverty, corporations shipping jobs to Mexico and the Far East for serf labor—and shipping it back here—and, to top it off, we don't have much of prospect for improving things, for the bottom 80% of the people in this country."

"If someone said to you, what country in the world is it that 1% of the wealth at the top is equal to 95% at the bottom. You might say, Guatemala, Brazil. The wealth of the top 1% in this country is equal to the wealth of the bottom 95% of Americans in this country. History shows when you get a big disparity of the rich and the rest of America we're in trouble. Every time in our history we recovered democracy—the farmer, reforms around the turn of the century, workers and consumers and women—we have improved our country. Why? Because democracy works. Democracy is the best way to solve our problems."

"And furthermore, if someone says to you, what do think of when the three words are crime, violence and welfare? We all think of street crimes, poor welfare people standing in line for their checks—the biggest crime, welfare and violence, comes from corporate misbehavior. You have 420,000 people dying from tobacco—they are all hooked, almost without exception, under the age of seventeen. You got 100,000 people dying in work place accidents—toxics, lead, beryllium, trauma, etc. You got 50,000 people dying from air pollution alone; 45,000 on highways. We've helped to reduce that (highway deaths). That's one of the few problems we've overcome. Why? Because consumers banded together and spoke out."

**ON BALANCING THE BUDGET:** "You're worrying about deficits? Cut out the corporate welfare budget, bring the Pentagon down to normal size given the situation in the world, and that'll balance your budget. Instead, they're making us fight over the crumbs. Over a shrinking pie—oh we gotta take it away from your drinking water renovation program; oh we gotta take it away from your auto safety program; oh we gotta take it away from your child nutrition. While the fat cats are loading up on the backs of you taxpayers."

**ON TAXES:** "Do you know this flat tax only taxes working people? And if you sit around getting huge amounts of money from capital gains and interest and dividends, no tax whatsoever. It's at 17%, guaranteed to create \$300 billion deficit, and it doesn't have a flat effect on everyone. Not if you have a home mortgage interest payment every month. Not if you get employer-based health insurance." "I believe in a progressive tax. You're making a lot of money? You're making it because you're privileged in a lot of ways by public policy in this country; you should pay a higher rate than persons making \$30, 40, 50, 60,000 a year."

**ON EDUCATION:** "I believe in public education. I think it's worked in the past. It has some serious problems, especially in some of our large cities. The approach is to improve it—to have the parents more involved, to get more repairs in the schools, to get a different quality of civic education—get these kids out analyzing and working with responsible adults trying to improve their community. It's a good way to get them to read, write and figure."

"I don't believe in privatization. Once you corporatize our schools, then the bottom line becomes the tyranny. And all kinds of things start happening. Corporate propaganda floods the schools. Certain text books are used; certain video tapes are not used. And before we know it, the overall binding together of people and children will be gone. They'll cream off the top; the students who have learning problems and disabilities will be thrown together with underutilized resources. I'm not for it."

**ON DEMOCRACY:** "The great thing about all this citizen action, Phil, is fun. Democracy's the best way to human happiness, and as Andrew Jackson—one of our early presidents—once said, if our country's in trouble, the answer is not less democracy, it's more democracy. The more we lose control, the more concentration of power and wealth in fewer and fewer hands, the more trouble we're in."

"I'm running on the Green ballot in California, and perhaps in Maine. And the idea is not to just do jackpot politics. We've got to break up the two party duopoly in this country. So many people are alienated from it. Look, Perot gets 19 million votes because he's None of the Above in 1992. So we're going to try to generate more competition. No focus on the candidate as much as on broadening the agenda."

"How do we rebuild our democracy; that's the biggest issue. Giving voice and power to voters—citizens, taxpayers, workers, consumers and shareholders. Those are the five roles we've got to play—otherwise we just pack it in. These giant global corporations will twist our country, pit poorer countries abroad against us under these giant trade agreements, and there won't be much left of our nation. I think we're better than that as a people. And you know one thing about pushing for stronger democracy. It brings out the best in us. Democracy searches for the solutions that we have in this country—to energy, housing and the economy, etc. We have these solutions."

"I think we ought to shake up or bust up the two-party duopoly in this country. I want to try to contribute to that. I think... the big thing government can do for us is give us the tool—the democratic power—to shape our own country; and not get our needs from global corporations that have no allegiance to this country or its people. Second, people don't like money in politics? Well this Green Party candidacy of mine: I'm not seeking any money, spending any money—no money in politics. It's going to be volunteer work, brain power, footwork—go Green Party in California."

For more information call Greg Jan at 510/644-2293 or The Greens/Green Party USA Clearinghouse at (607) 756-4211; <gpusa@lge.apc.org>; fax (607) 758-5417 (call first).

Jana Cutlip is a member of the Mid-Ohio Greens and is Co-convenor of the Greens National Committee.

# Ralph Nader Enters The Green Party of California Presidential Primary: What it Could Mean

by MIKE FENSTEIN, Santa Monica CA

On November 27, at a press conference in San Francisco's Dolores Park, the Green Party of California announced that long-time public interest advocate Ralph Nader will appear on its presidential primary ballot in March, 1996. This is the first time that a U.S. state Green Party has entered a presidential primary and it comes during a time of major national political realignment.

Why Ralph Nader and the Greens, and why at this time? Nader and the

*"I intend to stand with others around the country as a catalyst for the creation of a new model of electoral politics... The campaign will be run by the people themselves and will be just as serious as citizens choose to make it."*

Greens share similar perspectives on many issues of democracy, citizen empowerment, the environment, social justice, trade, and corporate welfare and abuse. Nader's

ability to speak to corporate welfare, campaign finance reform and the dominance of money in politics makes him a particularly appropriate candidate at this historical moment. With the country at a political crossroads, a Nader candidacy could reach tens of millions of people who might not otherwise know a Green/progressive approach even exists, and potentially redirect the country's political debate in this direction.

Beyond policy, there is also the related question of the credibility of the campaign itself. Given the difficulties that third party (and independent) candidates have had in the past, under what circumstances does it make sense for Nader and/or the Greens to enter the presidential race? As an individual, Ralph Nader is one of the few potential Green/progressive/populist

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and kindred activists, including, Third Parties '96 in Washington, DC, in January; the Citizens' Alliance in St. Louis in February; the National Independent Politics Summit in Atlanta in April; and others. Ultimately, the coalition-building process can go on in most states till early spring because Nader would have to be qualified in most states by the signature-gathering method and most signature-gathering periods start in the spring and end in August.

There are also other variables that may help to determine how far the campaign will go. First, because winning California is so crucial for Clinton, Nader's mere appearance there puts enormous pressure on Clinton to veto various pieces of upcoming legislation, and perhaps make solid commitments regarding future judicial appointments. The threat of a Nader candidacy will focus Clinton's mind and make clear the consequences of his actions. If he chooses to ignore the Green/progressive movement, he will have made a clear statement about priorities, and in so doing, may invite a Nader/ Green/progressive candidacy in response.

As to ballot access, within the 50 states there are three main possibilities: 1. states where ballot-status Green (or other progressive) parties exist and where Nader could be qualified via the party's convention nomination process in the summer. 2. states where Nader could be qualified under the name of the Green (or other kindred) party via

a straight signature-gathering route, and 3. states where Nader could be qualified simply by himself as an independent via the signature route.

There are currently five states (AK, CA, ME, NM, OR) where the Greens have ballot-status. At least an additional seven (AZ, DE, GA, HI, NV, OH, UT) are possibilities in the next several months. Alongside these twelve are at least another four (CO, MN, NY & RI) where Nader could be qualified as an individual, but accompanied by the ballot name of the Green (or other) party or coalition. In addition to Green ballot access, the New Party (NP) has ballot status in one state (WI), but has no plans to pursue other states at present. This means that the Greens have the most ballot access among US progressives.

Beyond the state-by-state process, how would the campaign be known nationally, and how would the platform, cabinet and running-mate come about? At this point, how these turn out is history yet to be written. Assuming the campaign actually makes it that far, the name might be some combination of Green, Progressive, Peoples, Alliance, or something else not yet determined. Or, there may be no national ballot line, but only individual state ballot lines

**What's Inside**

- Green Politics and the Legacy of Martin Luther King
- Report from a Hunger Striker
- Green Roundtable
- POEs at Times Beach
- Greens at the Grassroots - Local updates
- Thinking Globally - Green Politics Around the World

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presence means the campaign's potential must be taken seriously.

Of course, transformative movements are bigger than any individual. This is why Nader said in his press statement, "I intend to stand with others around the country as a catalyst for the creation of a new model of electoral politics... The campaign will be run by the people themselves and will be just as serious as citizens choose to make it."

Greens have long advocated bottom-up, grassroots models of politics, rather than candidate-driven ones. Nader's entry in California is an opportunity (and challenge to build just such a grassroots presence into a coherent electoral force. His name is a first step that lends credibility.

But to advance beyond California to other states, and beyond the primary election to the general, there will have to be sufficient grassroots organizing, community-by-community and state-by-state. If this happens, Nader would have reason to respond to the movement and continue, but the decision would have been borne out of the movement.

Can this kind of grassroots coalition building come about? It has already begun. In California a letter co-

social, and labor activists was sent to Nader as evidence of the grassroots support his appearance in the California Primary would generate. Follow-up organizing meetings will be held in Los Angeles and the Bay Area during December. These efforts will build a coalition and increase the chance that kindred activists will join and work within the Green Party.

Nationally, the Nader/Green announcement has also spurred dialogue and action among Greens and kindred groups. The Green Parties of Rhode Island and Pennsylvania have already sent

notice to Nader of their interest in supporting his candidacy in their

states. Others are discussing this possibility within their own states.

What are the options for Greens and kindred movements in the next several months? While Nader has not committed to appearances beyond the California Green primary, his presence in California can spur organizing around the country that will help to determine whether adequate support exist to make a national campaign viable. Groups in other states could contact Nader with letters similar to California's.

In conjunction with the state-by-state process, a series of related national

*What are the options for Greens and kindred movements in the next several months?*

# Greens Nominated by Socialist Party USA for Presidential Ticket

by HOWIE HAWKINS

Whether or not Ralph Nader's entry into California Green Party primary in March blossoms into a vigorous national campaign, it is now clear that Greens will have a presidential slate to put on their state ballot if they so choose.

The Socialist Party USA has nominated Mary Cal Hollis for President and Eric Chester for Vice President, both of whom are also members of Green organizations.

Mary Cal Hollis is a member of the Colorado Green Party as well as the Socialist Party. She is a

multicultural special education school teacher who has long been active in anti-nuclear, Central America solidarity, and economic justice movements. She has served as an elected member of the Rural Electric Power Board in Western Colorado.

Eric Chester is a member of the Left Green Network as well as the Socialist Party. He has been an activist since the early 1960s when he participated in the civil rights and anti-war movements as a member of SDS. Eric considers himself "a revolutionary socialist within the tendency represented by Rosa Luxemburg, as well as a socialist feminist and Left Green." He is the author of two books: *Socialist and the Ballot Box* (Praeger, 1985) (a his-

torical analysis that is a model of clarity and conciseness, the best book on the subject of independent politics in the U.S.) and *Covert Network: Progressives, the International Rescue Committee, and the CIA* (M.E. Sharpe, 1995).

Mary Cal Hollis issued a statement when Nader entered the California Green primary welcoming him into the race. "We look forward to working together with Greens and other progressives in the coming year," Hollis said in her statement.

Between the Vermont Liberty Union, Wyoming's Labor Party, the California Peace and Freedom Party, and various Socialist Party chapters across the country, the Hollis-Chester

campaign is already pretty sure of being on the ballot in about 20 states. They would like to run as the Green's candidate in states where the Greens have, or can get, ballot status in 1996. Chester met with the New York State Green Party in early December to discuss strategy in that state. The New York Greens decided to ask the N.Y. Socialist Party and the N.Y. Campaign

for a New Tomorrow to join us in putting up a Green Progressive party line in New York State in 1996 for both our respective local candidates and a presi-

dential ticket, whether it turns out to be Nader or the Hollis-Chester ticket.

Just about everyone agrees—Green, Socialist, or independent progressive of another stripe—that a Nader candidacy would do the most to advance our cause. In a four-way Nader-Clinton-Dole-Perot race, Nader could conceivably win. A strong Nader campaign would, in any case, project a progressive platform into the national debate, dramatically change the terms of that debate, and substantially increase the votes that Greens and other independent progressives receive lower down on the ticket.

But if a vigorous national Nader campaign doesn't materialize, we can still run with the Greens nominated by the Socialist Party, Mary Cal Hollis and Eric Chester. They won't grab the media attention that Nader would. But they will give our candidates lower down on the ticket better ballot placement in many states. And they will enable us to educate in our communities about the thoroughly regressive and mean-spirited policies of Clinton and the Democrats and about the urgent need for an independent progressive political party for working people, people of color, and all people committed to peace, justice, democracy, and ecology. To contact the Hollis-Chester Campaign: Socialist Party National Office, 516 W 25th St. #404, NY NY 10001, 212/691-0776. ca

*"We look forward to working together with Greens and other progressives in the coming year."*

## ALASKA

The Green Party of Alaska has Ralph Nader on the ballot for president. Jed Whitaker is running for U.S. Senate. John Grimes is running for U.S. House of Representatives. Mike Bruner is running for State House District 15.

## ARIZONA

In a nonpartisan race, Bisbee activist/organizer, Alva d'Orgeis, was elected to a four-year term on the Bisbee City council.

## CALIFORNIA

The San Diego Greens are engaged in a variety of projects on both the local and national level. Locally, on March 12, Kip Kruger, a long term Ocean Beach activist and Green Party County Council member, was elected to the O.B. Planning Board, with 71% of the vote, ousting the Board's president in the process. This was the culmination of a grassroots campaign by members of the O.B. Greens and the O.B. Preservation League, a local environmental group.

In April, the Greens participated in the Balboa Park Earth

Day Fair. They distributed hundreds of pieces of various Greens and Green Party literature, registered voters, and collected many signatures for petitions including causes such as Ward Valley, Carmel Mt., and the Hemp Institute. They also impressed many of the thousands in the Park with a large creative booth display.



Photo by Mary Ann DeCovey

The San Diego Greens are currently working to help save Carmel Mt., a coastal mesa, that is a habitat for several endangered and threatened species, including the CA. gnatcatcher, from the developing bulldozers. Allison Rolfe, a Green who also ran for the O.B. Planning Board but lost by just a few votes, is involved in the official negotiations between the county, the developers, and various environmental groups trying to save it.

get a permit for one of the coveted present times allocated by the city, which is hoping to stave off a repeat of the 1968 Chicago riots at the Democratic National Convention. Various groups such as the A.C.L.U., the National Lawyers Guild, and others will be in force to monitor the security forces for civil rights violations. It also is possible that C-Span, etc., will be there at the protest site. So for Greens arriving early for the Green Gathering and wanting for something to take up their time or who are specifically coming early to participate in activities surrounding the R.N.C. the Greens of San Diego will be providing housing, transportation, airport or Amtrak, etc. pickup and info on various events. For more info call (619)735-2733, ext. 6250 email: philosph@ls.netcom.com

The Santa Barbara Greens voted to participate in the Adopt-A-Highway program of the Department of Transportation. We have been assigned two miles of highway close to Buellton where our volunteers will pick up trash once a month.

We are also continuing our sponsorship of "Toward A Better World, Time to Take Action", two days a week on cable access.

We continue to be active in publicizing the voting records of

our representatives. The latest is the voting record of Representative Andrea Scanland.

## COLORADO

The Colorado Green Party has succeeded in putting Ralph Nader on the ballot with Krista Paradise as the vice-presidential

candidate. We have also tabled a decision until the Founding Gathering. There was much discussion on the barriers to building a multi-racial statewide organization. Those present agreed to run one or more independent candidates as Greens (or another name preferred by the Founding convention), support these candidates with statewide resources, develop a platform and build an inclusive statewide party infrastructure.

On February 10th a work session was held in Atlanta to draft a platform and by-laws to be considered at a Founding Convention on May 4, 1996. The draft platform was built on the issues research conducted as a part of the People's General Assembly held the previous week as a part of Poor People's Day at the Capitol. It was agreed to adapt the by-laws of the Atlanta Green to serve a statewide Party organization.

The October membership meeting of the Atlanta Greens agreed to the following goals for the 1996 election year: registering new voters, gaining ballot access, conducting research, doing public education, crafting a vision which will appeal to people, defining issues that will mobilize voters, targeting races where we can make a difference, opening an office, hiring a staff and doing the fundraising necessary to support this work.

Since then, our meetings have been concerned with crafting a winning strategy to achieve these goals. Starting in April, the Greens will launch a door-to-door campaign to reach every Green supporter in the 67th House District in order to register voters, build active membership and encourage participation in a nominating process to select a Green candidate to stand for election in November. We have opened an office in Decatur.

We hope that a Green candidate in Atlanta, with a Green candidate in Athens, and an independent candidate in rural Scriven County will provide the impetus for continued organizing in Georgia. We will explore how we wish to participate with the Days of Direct Action planned in support of the National State of Independent Progressive Candidates.

## HAWAII

The Green Party of Hawaii has regained ballot status and has Ralph Nader on the ballot for president. Karen Archibald is running for State Representative from Honolulu. Keiko Bonk is running for Mayor of the Island of Hawaii.

## ILLINOIS

The Chicago Greens are working to get Nader on the ballot. Bob Rudner of the Chicago Greens is running for U.S. Senate.

system of St Joseph County. We co-sponsored a forum, attended by about 75 people. Presentations were made on how local economic development decisions are made, what are some of the problems, and how the process itself might be changed.

## IOWA

The Green Party of Iowa has reformed after a period of dormancy to run Ralph Nader for president.

## LOUISIANA

The Delta Greens are continuing to speak out on the conditions in Freeport due to corporate greed and exploitation.

## MAINE

The Maine Green Party spearheaded a petition drive to prevent decarving of the forests of the state. The referendum seems to have a great deal of support.

## MARYLAND

The Green Party of Maryland is organized to run Ralph Nader for president.

The Greenbelt Greens are working working on the Nader campaign.

## MASSACHUSETTS

Charles Laws is running for Congress in District 6.

Our fall gathering is being organized by the Merrimack Valley Greens for September 27-29. Contact: Jonathan Leavitt at 508/688-3569, massgreens@igc.apc.org.

## MICHIGAN

The Huron Valley Greens passed a resolution that, with the assistance and counsel of the ACLU, shall petition the State of Michigan for a determination that any attempt by the State to impose limits upon access to the ballot box by the People is null and void. We ask that a finding be made that the lack of rules for ballot access in local elections constitutes a de facto denial of the People's right to equal protection under the law.

We also participated in Green Day and Earth Day activities.

## MINNESOTA

Cam Gordon is running for Minnesota state house from Minneapolis.

## CONNECTICUT

On the national scene, San Diego Greens will be helping to co-host the August '96 Green Gathering in L.A., providing housing, transportation, and other logistical needs of Greens attending.

As far as the Republican National Convention in San Diego is concerned, which will be happening the week before the Green Gathering, there will be a number of events which will keep them busy. Mostly they will be passing out info on the Ralph Nader candidacy and Proportional Representation to the many groups who plan to protest the Republican National Convention. Greens are currently working with a coalition opposed to Republican policies. It will be helping to co-sponsor a series of alternative media forums occurring during the same time period. They plan to make convention-related visitors to San Diego aware of Green alternatives and invite representatives of different progressive organizations to the L.A. Gathering.

Across the street from the Convention Center, during the R.N.C. the Green Party hopes to

The Green Party of Connecticut is newly formed to run Ralph Nader for president. They will be taking on other projects after the election.

## FLORIDA

On April 1 the Florida Green Party announced that it was organizing a write-in campaign for Ralph Nader for president. They are continuing their efforts to register 60,000 voters for ballot access.

## GEORGIA

On December 8-10, 1995, community activists from Atlanta, Augusta, Brunswick, Macon, Savannah, and Tifton gathered in Screven County for a founding gathering of the Georgia Green Party Organizing Committee. After a brief discussion on a name for the progressive independent political party we are building, we

The NYC Greens Coalition continues to meet monthly with interest in forming new locals.

The Queens Greens is sponsoring an organic food co-op. They are working with Safe Aviation for Everyone (SAFE). The government wants to increase airplanes by 1/3 at LaGuardia and Kennedy airports over the next 20 years.

The Brooklyn Greens Education Committee testified at a school district public hearing on reforming the gifted education program. They distributed a *Green Guide to Testing and Evaluation*, prepared a list of suggested Green choices for school board elections and mailed it to friends and Greens in the district. The Green-backs committee is continuing its work on setting up a new currency.

Grassroots Queens did a 140 piece mailing of their new brochure, participated in a march for Mumia, and is co-sponsoring a weekly drumming circle.

Long Island Green, Eric Morgan ran for mayor and lost by 23 votes out of 1100.

Patonic Greens is a new, enthusiastic group with a number of anti-nuke activists who are working to expose and prevent nuclear pollution from the Brookhaven nuclear facility.

## NORTH CAROLINA

Orange County Greens has completed petitioning for a write-in vote for Ralph Nader for president. We are also working on a cable access program and a local currency.

## OHIO

In addition to working on the anti-nuke constitutional amendment the Ohio Green Party is working to get Ralph Nader on the ballot.



## INDIANA

The St. Joe Valley Greens are publishing our newsletter regularly and have set up eight committees to deal with various topics: bike lanes, electoral, nuclear issues, transportation issues, school issues, solid waste, CARE, and human rights amendment.

We have been supporting local unions in their attempts to keep local plants in the community. The RACO workers were successful in stopping the plant's owners from relocating the profitable plant to a more anti-union state. We are now supporting the unionized workers at Univoval to keep that company from leaving.

The nuclear issues committee did considerable research on the impact of Chernobyl - a footnoted article is available (call 219/289-9220).

The CARE (Citizens Allied for Responsible Economic Development) committee is working in coalition with other groups on the broader economic development

## MISSOURI

The Gateway Green Alliance continues its anti-nuke work with the sponsorship of Chernobyl + 10 picketing of Union Electric to close Callaway Nuke and collection of Chernobyl relief contributions. We sponsored a forum on Chernobyl (see Don Fitz presentation on page 14) and another on progressive parties.

We joined a lawsuit by Public Citizen Litigation Group, NIRS and 20 other groups for litigation by the Prairie Island Coalition (Minnesota) which would force Union Electric to reveal its information concerning deterioration of the steam generator tubes in the Callaway County nuclear power plant.

We have joined with the Citizens Against Dioxin Incineration to petition the Assistant Administrator of Solid and Hazardous Waste at the EPA, Elliott Laws, requesting immediate intervention in the operation of a hazardous waste incinerator in the former

city of Times Beach MO.

## NEVADA

The Green Party of Nevada has succeeded in getting Ralph Nader on the ballot for president. Groups are most active in the Las Vegas and Reno areas.

## NEW JERSEY

The Green Party of New Jersey is petitioning to get Ralph Nader on the ballot for president. Our vice presidential candidate is Madeline Hoffman.

## NEW MEXICO

The Green Party of New Mexico recently had a primary where Ralph Nader was identified as the presidential candidate. Other positions were contested. Abe Guttman won his contested re-election Sam Hitt for U.S. Senate. Jack Uhrich won his race against John McCall for Congress. Peggy Helgeson is running for State Corporations Commissioner.

State Legislative candidates are: Roberto Mondragon in Santa Fe, Bob Anderson in Albuquerque, Mary Lou Jones in Grants, and David Hampton in Valencia. There are candidates for District Attorney: in Taos, Andy Vargas and in Albuquerque, Geraldine d'Amata.

We are looking for someone to run for State Supreme Court.

Voter registration has been climbing steadily at about 200/month, although interest in the primaries brought a single month increase of around 1000. We now stand at around 5000 registered voters.

We are distributing a discount coupon book and, in Santa Fe, we continue to work on a local currency. In Albuquerque we have initiated a Green bicycle campaign. We provide bicycles around town for people to borrow and then leave for the next person - much like the white bicycles in Amsterdam.

# Ideas That Work

## Duluth Voters Say NO to Mall Sprawl

by JOEL SPRESS, Duluth Area Green Party

Duluth, Minnesota voters took a major step toward building a greener Duluth on April 16, when they rejected a proposed strip mall in the city's already sprawling Miller Hill corridor. The strip mall project, proposed by Minneapolis-based Opus Corporation, went down to defeat by a 54-46% margin in a city-wide special election. An expansion of Duluth's Miller Hill Mall, also on the ballot, was narrowly approved.

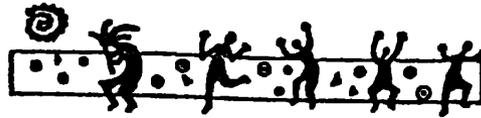
The defeat of the Opus strip mall sends a clear message in favor of sustainable development. Friends of Miller Hill, the group leading the effort to defeat the projects, made the election a referendum on "mall sprawl." Friends of Miller Hill focused on the economic and environmental costs of sprawl. The group called for reinvestment in traditional commercial districts, the reuse of old commercial/industrial sites, and a commitment to the creation of high-wage jobs.

The defeat of the Opus strip mall represents a triumph of grassroots organizing over big money. Friends of Miller Hill ran an aggressive grassroots campaign that involved scores of ordinary Duluthians. Proponents of the mall projects, by contrast, ran a slick advertising campaign that outspent Friends of Miller Hill by a roughly ten-to-one margin. Proponents of the projects had the support of the mayor, the local newspaper, and the city planning department.

The Duluth Area Green Party played a significant role in the campaign. Several Greens sat on the steering committee of Friends of Miller Hill. The Greens also took responsibility for organizing a number of key precincts.

The approval of the Miller Hill Mall expansion on the same day, as the defeat of the Opus strip mall can be accounted for by the fierce desire on the part of some Duluthians to see a Dayton's department store come to the city. Proponents of the mall expansion made the unfounded claim that approval of the measure was necessary to bring Dayton's to Duluth. The Dayton-Hudson Corporation itself took out a full page advertisement in the local newspaper urging a yes vote. Largely on the basis of the Dayton's issue, the Miller Hill Mall expansion was approved by a 53-47% margin.

Above all, the referendum demonstrated that a well-organized grassroots campaign can take on city hall (and big business) and win. The Duluth Area Green Party is already building upon this victory by organizing around the issues of sustainability that were at the heart of the "Stop Mall Sprawl" campaign.



## NEW YORK

The Green Party of New York State held its convention June 15-16. More than 60 people attended and took part in the nomination of Ralph Nader as our candidate for president and set up the framework for identifying our vice-presidential candidate, finalizing our 1996 Election Agenda, identifying our 33 electors, and running the petitioning process and the campaign. With petition coordinators identified for each congressional district we stand a good chance of collecting the 15,000 signatures required within the six week period.

Our vice presidential candidate is Brooklyn Green, Muriel Tillingham, a veteran civil rights and community activist whose commitment to independent politics dates back to SNCC's direct action campaigns against segregation and the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Today, she served on the executive committee of the National Committee for Independent Political Action and as staff fundraiser for the Independent Progressive Politics Network.

Seven other Greens will be gathering signatures to get on the ballot: three for Congress, Howie Hawkins, Tom Leighton, and Rob McRoberts; two for state senate, Bob Polhemus and Tom Sullivan; and two for state house, Tony Gronowicz and Craig Seeman.

Locals and state Green Parties are invited to submit newsletters and other material for this page to the Clearinghouse. Photos and graphics are also needed and will be returned if requested.

## PENNSYLVANIA

The Green Party of Pennsylvania has been busy collecting signatures to get Ralph Nader on the ballot.

The Lehigh Valley Greens have been involved in self-education with a series of discussions on intentional communities. We have started a Lehigh RiverKeeper group to spur interest in preserving and enjoying the entire watershed.

The Lancaster Greens are continuing our support for the Women in Black. The Butterfly Garden is planted and we will be adding a butterfly house and sundial. The Community Supported Garden had a late first pickup due to a cold, wet spring but it has no more spaces available. We are working with the Alliance to prevent ChemNuclear from creating a site in Lancaster County.

## RHODE ISLAND

The Green Party of Rhode Island has nominated Ralph Nader for president and Richard Wilson for vice president. Other Green candidates are William Martin for U.S. Senate, Graham Schwass for U.S. Congress, and Jeffrey Johnson for RI Assembly District 48.

## TEXAS

Austin Greens are involved promoting coalitions among like-minded groups. They have been active in educating the public on various propositions up for vote.

## VERMONT

Vermont Greens are working to get Ralph Nader on the ballot for president.

## VIRGINIA

The Green Party of VA had a meeting in January where they organized a central committee and initiated a state-wide ballot Nader petition drive. The drive, which ends in August, involves collecting the signatures of thirty thousand registered voters.

## WASHINGTON

Greens in Washington have been working with others and now have Ralph Nader on the ballot.

## WISCONSIN

We congratulate Lake Superior Green, Bill Anderson, on his reelection to the the Douglas County Board. Ted Cialle and Kay McKenzie lost their seats by 24 vote margins. We thank them for all their service during the last two years. Kay has served for three and a half.

Our Public Service Announcements are now getting lots of play on local radio stations. Many of us were involved in testifying or in making calls to the City Council and Parks and Recreation Department asking them to explore alternatives to pesticide use for city ballfields and gardens.

Milwaukee Area Greens co-sponsored three days of Earth Day activities at the Milwaukee Lake Front.

The Wisconsin Green Party has joined with other groups and are collecting signatures to get Ralph Nader on the ballot.

## Nader for President Status -

July 25, 1996

Ralph Nader is on the ballot in several states:

Alaska  
California  
Colorado  
Hawaii  
Maine  
Nevada  
New Mexico  
Oregon  
Utah  
Washington State  
He is a write-in candidate in Florida and North Carolina.

Several other states are in the process of meeting the petitioning requirements to get him on the ballot.

Arizona  
Arkansas  
Connecticut  
Delaware  
Illinois  
Iowa  
Kansas  
Kentucky  
Louisiana  
Maryland  
Massachusetts  
Minnesota  
Mississippi  
Montana  
Nebraska  
New Jersey  
New York  
Ohio  
Pennsylvania  
Rhode Island  
South Carolina  
Tennessee  
Vermont  
Virginia  
Washington DC  
Wisconsin

Those working on the campaign are working to get Nader into the presidential debates. One of the criteria for the debates is his standing in the polls so it is important for everyone to get the word out that he is running.

The national clearinghouse of Greens/Green Party USA has received hundreds of calls - most of them due to the publicity around the Nader campaign - of people interested in the Greens, as well as Ralph Nader.

# Greens



at the  
grassroots

## GROWING GREEN LAWS THE 7TH GENERATION CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

by RICK WHALEY, Milwaukee Greens

I'm at the age (mid-forties) where I'm starting to think: soon I'm going to have to apologize for what my generation has done or failed to prevent. Even those of us old "1970s activists" (still at it in the 1990s) have not achieved what we should have done to protect earth and community from attack. When I spoke recently to a college class of future environmental educators, I said the challenge is going to pass to them soon, and they in turn must pass it on to those they teach. Or else.

The 7th generation amendment strategy is aimed at inspiring the activism and imaginations of those young people who will become voters in the year 2000 and in the elections that follow in that first decade of the new millennium. The proposed amendment, inspired by Iroquois wisdom, seeks to protect our common-pool resources - air, water, soil, sunlight - from environmental degradation and political compromise.

Initiating the 7th Generation Amendment drive, Ashland-based activist Will Brunette proposed, "Our goal is to have a national debate beginning on Earth Day 1994, to have a bill before Congress on Earth Day 1997 and get the necessary state ratifications by Earth Day 2000." Brunette argues, "Currently common property - that which by its nature cannot be owned by an individual - is without protection. Yet, preservation of common property, such as air and water, are essential to other rights." Environmental laws, as necessary as they are, have been reactive - modifiers of after the fact pollution. Grounded in the promise of the Constitution's Preamble ("securing the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity"), the proposed amendment makes a built-in, proactive solution.

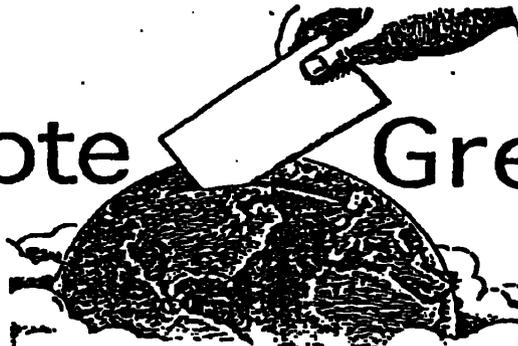
THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE TO USE AND ENJOY AIR, WATER, SUNLIGHT AND OTHER RENEWABLE RESOURCES DETERMINED BY CONGRESS TO BE COMMON PROPERTY, SHALL NOT BE IMPAIRED, NOR SHALL SUCH USE IMPAIR THEIR AVAILABILITY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

Our children and their children (and theirs) have a right to more than just a balanced budget. Air, water, sunlight, soil and other renewable resources, sacred and essential to biological life, deserve protection in the Constitution and in the design/implementation of all economic development.

This is the premise of the 7th Generation Amendment and also of many other laws we raise as Greens. This campaign is looking for activists/educators to make it happen with young adults and to link up with 7th Generation efforts across the country. If you are interested in coordinating this project at your school, church or other organization contact the 7th Generation Committee, 1200 Ellis Avenue, Ashland, WI. 54806.

Will Brunette is currently involved in a blockade of the Wisconsin Central Railroad on the Red Cliff Chippewa Reservation to prevent the shipment of sulfur acid to the White Pine copper mine in northern Michigan over unsafe roads on reservation land. He is concerned that the acid used to leach copper from the mine will eventually find its way into the watershed and ultimately Lake Superior. It could get very very quickly and a call has gone out to members of the Women for Non-violence, who stood beside the Chippewa for five years while they established their treaty rights to open fair trade in the late '80s and early '90s, to come to Red Cliff to support this action.

Vote Green!





## GREEN ELECTIONS '94

# California running 28 candidates in November

BY GREG JAN

On Tuesday, November 8, at least 28 California Greens will be running for election. Included will be 11 partisan candidates, who will be the only California candidates to have the Green Party designation listed beside their name on the ballot. Three of these partisan candidates will be running for statewide office. This will be the Green Party of California's first statewide contest with the other parties since receiving ballot status in January, 1992.

### Three statewide candidates

The three pioneering statewide candidates are: Danny Moses for Lieutenant Governor, Margaret Garcia for Secretary of State, and Barbara Blong for U.S. Senate.

Danny Moses, currently Director of Earth Island Press and previously Editorial Director at Sierra Club Books, is publicizing a Green approach to several of the Lt. Governor's most important responsibilities. In the Lt. Governor's function as Chair of the State's Economic Development Commission he would emphasize community-based economics. As a member of the State Lands Commission he would work for ecosystem integrity. As a member of the University of California Board of Regents and the State University's Board of Trustees he would encourage curriculum changes to include ecoliteracy, respect for diversity, and non-violence.

His campaign has been endorsed by David Brower, Hazel Henderson, Gary Snyder, Joanna Macy, Ernest Callenbach, Susan Griffin, Carl Anthony, Charles Spetnak, and other prominent people. Danny participated in the August 1985 Minneapolis meeting which founded the Committees of Correspondence (predecessor of the Greens/Green Party USA) and he was a Co-Coordinator of the 1988 "Greening the West" conference, attended by over a thousand people, which greatly helped to spur

Green organizing in California.

Margaret Garcia, who organized the Cal State Fullerton Greens in 1991, and who completed her year and a half term on the Green Party of California State Coordinating Committee in 1993, is running on a broad platform of electoral reforms such as proportional representation, a binding "None of the Above" choice on all ballots, moving voting day to an entire weekend, an elected Board of Regents, major campaign finance reforms, and more. She is a published author of poems and short stories, and is on the editorial staff of a major California newspaper. Despite Margaret's solidly progressive platform, her campaign is handicapped by the fact that her main opponent, the Democratic Acting Secretary of State, is also campaigning (somewhat) on some of these same reforms, and is also California's first ever openly gay "major" party candidate for statewide office.

The Greens' challenger to the Dianne Feinstein/Michael Huffington money machines is Barbara Blong, a founding organizer of the San Francisco Green Party, and an activist on feminist, homeless, and other issues. Her campaign is clearly distinguished from her major opponents by her definite opposition to the "3 Strikes and You're Out" and "S.O.S. Anti-Immigrants" California ballot initiatives and her solid support of single-payer health care. Barbara was a Peace and Freedom Party candidate for State Senate in 1976.

### U.S. Congress candidates

Among the eight California district partisan candidates, perhaps Craig Coffin, running for the 17th U.S. House of Representatives seat in the Santa Cruz-Monterey area, may have the best chance for a good showing and even a possible victory. Because Coffin's incumbent Democratic opponent voted for NAFTA, local labor leaders have become interested in Craig's candidacy. Craig has already met with representatives from SEIU and the Teamsters, and will be meeting with the Central Labor Council soon. His campaign manager was previously Jerry Brown's local campaign manager, and Craig has already received the endorsement of Brown's We the People organization.

The two other Green California House of Representatives candidates are Bob Marston, running for the 23rd district seat in Ventura

County, and Kip Kruger, running for the 50th district seat in San Diego County. Bob faces an incumbent Republican, and will be campaigning for the rights of the undocumented, and single payer health care, while Kip is running against an incumbent Democrat, primarily because the incumbent is not supporting the Endangered Species Act.

### Five State Legislature candidates

Of the five Greens running for seats in the California State Legislature, the only State Senate candidate will be Walt Sheasby, who also was a candidate in 1992, but for U.S. House of Representatives. Walt will be running in the 29th district, in Los Angeles County, and will be on the ballot because it is almost certain that no candidate will receive over 50% of the vote in the special September 13 open primary election to fill this seat, vacated by Republican Frank Hill, who was convicted of extortion and money laundering.

The other four state legislature candidates are vying to be elected to the California State Assembly. Perhaps the most interesting race for Greens around the country is the 35th district contest in the Santa Barbara-Ventura area, which features former Green Mindy Lorenz as the Democratic standard-bearer, competing against the super-rich Republican heir to the Firestone Tire fortune, and against Green party candidate

Tom Stafford (who says he has no money and will hardly be campaigning). Apparently Stafford decided to file for the race because he was upset with Mindy's strategy. He change parties in order to significantly increase her chances of actually winning the seat. (However, not all local Greens share Stafford's perspective — some of them, particularly in the Santa Barbara area, are actively working for Mindy.)

Mindy defeated the local Democratic machine's hand-picked successor, an aide to an incumbent state senator, in the June primary, but as a result, is in debt, and needs to raise large sums of money (probably from the state Democratic Party apparatus) in order to have a reasonable chance of winning. (For the record, Mindy is not the only former California Green running as a Democrat this November—in Contra Costa County's 10th U.S. House of Representatives district, Ellen Schwartz, who had been briefly registered with the Green Party, is the long-shot Democrat challenger to incumbent Republican Bill Baker.)

The other three Green State Assembly candidates are Hank Chapot, running against longtime Berkeley Democratic incumbent Tom Bates, in the 14th district; Tim Fitzgerald, running against incumbent Democrat Dom Cortese in the 23rd district in the San Jose area; and Charlie Wilkens, running against incumbent Republican Paula Boland in the 38th district in Los Angeles County. Charlie has a chance to do relatively well as the Democrat in the race is an untested 19-year old college student.

### Five Incumbent Greens up for re-election

In Alameda County, Dona Spring will be running for re-election to the Berkeley City Council. One candidate has decided to challenge her for this 4th district seat, which represents an area where currently about 7% of the voters are registered Green, just slightly less than the percentage of Republicans. Dona was able to appoint about a dozen Green Party members to various City commissions during her first 20 months in office.

In Southern California, three candidates are running for re-election: Barbara Carr and William Bretz in San Diego County, and Glenn Bailey in Los Angeles County. Carr is running for the La Mesa-Spring Valley School Board. Bretz is running for the Crest-Dehesa Planning Group, and Bailey is running for the Malibu-Las Virgenes-Topanga Resource Conservation District.

In Santa Clara County, incumbent Todd Cooper is running for another term on the Evergreen Resource Conservation District. With the election of Greens Nancy Bernardi and John Beall in 1992, Green Party members have controlled the Board for the past two years, and have been able to institute

more environmental programs and perspectives than their predecessors. In total, four candidates will be running for three available seats, including a second Green: John Bernardi.

#### **Twelve other non-partisan candidates**

San Diego County Greens are running nine non-partisan candidates this November. In addition to Barbara Carr's and William Bretz's re-election bids discussed above, Susan Wolfe-Fleming is running for the Grossmont Union High School District Board, Leo Bennett-Cauchon is running for the Mountain Empire School District Board, Steve Saint is running for the Helix Water Board, Timothy Moore is running for the Ramona Municipal Water District Board, Celestia Owen is running for the Grossmont Hospital Board, and Bonnie Gendron and Brian McCall are running for the Alpine Community Planning Group. Wolfe-Fleming ran for the Grossmont Board in 1992 and almost was elected; Saint, a former co-coordinator of the State Campaigns and Candidates Working Group, ran for the La Mesa City Council in 1992.

In Humboldt County, Jason Kirkpatrick

is running for the Arcata City Council. Jason was formerly Student Body President at Humboldt State University and hopes to maintain the "Green presence" on the City Council by replacing Green Bob Ornelas, who is retiring. Altogether, four candidates are running for two available seats; approximately 11% of Arcata voters are currently registered Green.

The three final non-partisan California Green candidates are: Sharon Hushka, running for the Simi Valley School Board in Ventura County; Jane Kramer, running for the Peralta Community College Board of Trustees in Alameda County; and Jon Stevens, running for the Santa Monica City Council in Los Angeles County. According to Bob Marston (who is running for the U.S. House of Representatives—see above), Hushka has a well-organized campaign and has a fair chance of winning, despite the fact that a total of six candidates are vying for the two available seats, including one incumbent and two religious right candidates.

For more information about California candidates, or the Green Party of California, please contact Green Party of California Clearinghouse, 1008 10th St. #182, Sacramento CA 95814, (916) 448-3437.

GREG JAN IS A MEMBER OF THE GREEN PARTY OF CALIFORNIA STATE CAMPAIGNS AND CANDIDATES WORKING GROUP AND IS CHAIR OF THE GREEN PARTY OF ALAMEDA COUNTY CAMPAIGNS AND CANDIDATES COMMITTEE.





# LOCAL UPDATES

## Editor's note:

To have your Green local's activities listed here, make sure that you send copies of your local newsletter or, even better, written updates to the Greens Clearinghouse. Communication and cross-fertilization of ideas between groups is what the Greens/Green Party USA is all about, but we need your help to do it!

## California

Green Party activist and Alameda County Council member Bruce Mast was elected to the Albany city council in April, joining Dona Spring in neighboring Berkeley as the East Bay's second Green city councilor and the state Green Party's fifth.

Mast came in first in this city of 10,000 with 2,068 votes in a four-way race for two seats. Incumbent Elizabeth Baker polled 1,932 to finish second. Incumbent Bill Cain received 1,713 and Stephan Pastis received 446. (from Mike Feinstein)

The Greens of San Diego have decided to run against incumbent Congressman Bob Filner (D-50th) because he will not co-sponsor the Endangered Species Act. The Greens feel the reauthorization of the ESA is perhaps the most significant environmental vote facing the Congress this session. While nearly 100 members have co-sponsored HR 2043 (Studds bill), Filner has not only refused to sign on, but has declined to meet or communicate with the Green Party, Sierra Club and Audubon Society.

While Greens were out collecting signatures (and registering close to 100 new Greens) to put Kip Krueger on the ballot, others were contacting Filner's offices in San Diego and Washington, D.C. The message was simple: if Filner would co-sponsor HR 2043, Greens would drop the candidacy. Filner read about the campaign in the papers and had his chief of staff call the Greens right away.

"He told us his boss is an environmentalist.

ist and, of course, he's going to vote for HR 2043," said Dan Tarr, who fielded calls from Filner's office. "He said Filner will probably co-sponsor the Studds bill later this month. When I asked him what he's waiting for, he had no answer."

-In the meantime, the Greens are using Kip's campaign to build a new local in south San Diego County.

The Chaparral Greens, the local 501(c)(3) non-profit group, have taken the lead in defending San Diego open space by filing a CEQA lawsuit against Baldwin Company, the developer of Otay Ranch. Baldwin plans to build approximately 27,000 dwellings on open space in east San Diego County. This development will disrupt and fragment critical habitat and destroy the county's General Plan in one shot. There were scaled-down project alternatives that would be less damaging to the land and its surrounding communities, but they were not considered.

The suit is being handled by San Diego's top environmental attorney on a contingency basis. Steven Crandall successfully represented Earth Island Institute in a suit against the San Onofre nuclear power plant and has fronted over \$20,000 to keep the suit progressing. (from Steven Saint)

## Colorado

The Boulder Green Alliance have entered long-range community planning discussions underway by the city government and city council. The group submitted a letter endorsing mixed residential and commercial land usage, further development of alternative transportation systems, and advocating more cooperative planning between Boulder County municipalities, businesses and citizens.

The Northern Colorado Greens have been doing outreach to a group of people in Greeley, Colorado who are thinking about starting a Green local. Members have also been involved in local Transportation Board meetings.

The Sopris/El Jebel Greens have been very active in promoting alternative transportation in the Roaring Fork Valley and have joined with the Sierra Club and other local groups in opposing the four-lane expansion of Colorado 82 between Aspen and Basalt.

The group is also involved in coalition-building with the local Latino community via a valley-wide task force, and has voiced public support for striking City Market employees. It is also actively opposing a proposed new golf course and, with the Sierra Club, putting pressure on a local mining company to restore local streams. (from *FutureFocus* newsletter)

## Florida

The Florida Green Party is running three candidates this year. They are Johnny Ardis for U.S. Senate, Diana Starr for Florida House of Representatives District 5, and Denny Wolfe for Commissioner of Agriculture.

The law concerning ballot access for minor political parties is so unfair that it will probably prevent the party from getting on the ballot this November. Three percent of the registered voters in the geographical area in which a candidate is running would have to sign ballot petitions. In the case of Johnny and Denny, 196,000 people—three percent of the registered voters in the state—would be needed. Green locals all over the state are working on the petitions, but the overwhelming number required makes it unlikely that the party will have enough to qualify for ballot access. (from *Green Line* newsletter)

The Florida Greens/Green Party of Florida have taken up a lawsuit against the state of Florida, challenging the state's restrictive third party ballot access laws. The Florida Greens are also involved in Floridians United Against Discrimination, a coalition of groups opposing a Colorado-style referendum that would cancel all civil rights protection for homosexuals in Florida. (from Escambia County Greens newsletter)

The Escambia County Greens had a busy year. In November, 1993, the group hosted Ron Daniels for a speaking engagement entitled "The Resurgence of Racism"—a much needed focus in the region. That same month, the group organized a protest against War Toys at a local toy store, on the

International Day of Protest Against War Toys. In February of 1994, the Greens co-organized a demonstration with the War Resister's League, of the Blue Angel Marathon, at Pensacola Naval Air Station, with networking help from the Clearinghouse. The group organized a successful Pensacola Earth Day Festival in April.

All year, the Escambia County Greens worked to place Johnny Ardis, Diana Starr, and Denny Wolfe on the ballot. The group was unsuccessful, but the effort increased the Greens' visibility and provided educational opportunities. The Escambia County Greens are currently in the process of producing their own public access Cable TV show and are planning to launch a local currency next year.

# Synthesis/Regeneration 10

*A Magazine of Green Social Thought*



Illustration by Brad Massingill

## NUKES AND PUBLIC HEALTH

also featuring: **The Nader Campaign; A Green President?; Third Parties '96; Maine Green Party Ballot Initiative on Clear Cutting; Majority Preference Voting; Ending Business Extortion of Local Tax Giveaways; Post-Mortem on Staley Struggle**

Spring 1996

\$3.95

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A Movement-Building Strategy for '96

## The Green Party and the Nader Campaign

by Daniel Solnit, Green Party of California

On November 27, Ralph Nader entered the Green Party of California's presidential primary as part of a "people's campaign" to reclaim our political process from the control and corruption of corporate interests. The Green Party of Maine recently placed him on their ballot as well, and other states are organizing to do the same. Nader's agreement was the culmination of months of discussion and diplomacy by greens and other activists around the country, and represents the Greens' first opportunity to mobilize significant numbers of people at a national scale. It also raises some important questions.

Why run for president? At first glance, this appears the opposite of "grassroots, bottom-up" organizing, and in a traditional money-and-media-driven campaign, it would be. However, as Nader's statement suggests, this is a bottom-up campaign: the focus here is entirely on the issues and the people. It is up to us build this into a groundswell for reform, for democracy, for a new social agenda based on justice and human needs, not entrenched power and profit.

Why Ralph Nader? He is an icon of personal integrity, honesty, humility, and public service; polls rate his trustworthiness higher than that of any other public figure. As the antithesis of a corrupt politician, Nader lends tremendous credibility to calls for electoral reform. As a lifelong adversary of corporate America, he represents the power of ordinary people to defeat wealthy interests and change the "system". Nader is the ideal catalyst for growing a movement around political reform and democratic renewal—and he is already committed to running.

Why now? With some notable exceptions, US Greens have not yet demonstrated the leadership or organizing ability to pull off anything this big; isn't it premature? Many of us feel that the time is ripe for such an effort, that a crucial window of opportunity exists which we should not let pass. Public resentment of politicians and the media, frustration with the electoral process, and a general mistrust of government is extremely widespread, perhaps more

so than at any time in the past 50 years. Electoral reform and "good government" are the most unifying themes on the political landscape, one which could potentially unite 70-80% of the US public. It bridges almost all wedge issues, from race

in '92, and which accounts in part for Buchanan's dramatic showing in early primaries. If the empty rhetoric of populist revolt can attract such support, what will the real thing bring? Do we dare leave the field entirely to billionaires and right-wing demagogues?

Why are we running? What are our goals? First, of course, to elect Nader president. Clearly a long shot, but achievable under the right circumstances. The numbers are there: in '92 over 80% of the electorate voted against Clinton, or Bush, or both—or didn't vote at all. That is our constituency. There are more people who would like to vote for Nader than for Clinton or Dole;

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...in '92 over 80% of the electorate voted against Clinton, or Bush, or both—or didn't vote at all...There are more people who would like to vote for Nader than for Clinton or Dole...

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and affirmative action to reproductive rights and foreign policy. Everybody wants to "throw the bums out and clean up the system."

This growing reaction is defining a new political model, replacing the obsolete Liberal/Conservative spectrum with a contest between populism (creative, inclusive, decentralized power, community-based policy making) and bureaucratic centralism (exclusive, centralized, hierarchical, distant, inefficient, inflexible). This is also the one issue which neither Democrats nor Republicans can truly address; despite their relentless (and increasingly desperate) posturing as outsiders/rebels/reformers/populists, they are, in fact, the problem. Politicians of both parties are widely perceived as power holders in a corrupt, money-dominated system gone bad; the opportunity to focus and express this widespread resentment could give rise to a powerful and broad-based popular movement.

It is this hunger for a genuine, populist alternative which resulted in one out of five voters choosing Perot

we will have to reach enough of those people with the message, and surmount the enormous barriers to becoming a credible contender.

Second, we can shift the center of gravity, gain leverage with Clinton on key issues. This may seem the most pragmatic goal, but it's only a short-term, "band-aid" strategy; lasting change rarely results from this kind of leverage, which disappears as soon as the election is over. It also defines us in relation to the Democrats, and if not part of a larger strategy, leads to co-optation, opportunism, and loss of grass-roots legitimacy. (Consider Jesse Jackson's decision to remain a "player" in the Democratic party rather than work to support an independent Rainbow Coalition.)

We need to avoid framing this campaign as an attempt to influence the Democrats. Doing so sends the message to the public that we are not serious, that we have no chance of winning, that Clinton is our only hope, and that our only measure of success is a Democratic reaction. This keeps us "petitioning the power

holders, rather than empowering the people," and discourages those who want to build an alternative. This also sends the message to Clinton/Democrats that we are not a credible threat, that we will not go the distance or risk costing them the election, that when pushed we will obediently fall into line behind their machine; in other words, that they can (and will) continue to ignore us. The only way we will impact the Clinton administration or the Democratic Party is by focusing on our own agenda and running all-out to win, to challenge the system, and especially to get people actively demanding reform and new political choices.

Third, we can open up the public debate—raise the real issues, ask questions, offer alternatives and solutions, challenge and de-legitimize the two-party monopoly and politics as usual; we can raise hopes, raise expectations, and raise hell. This is a classic green crack-in-the-wall approach—it depends especially on forcing media access (Nader in debates), and building our own alternative media/information networks.

Fourth, we can continue building a multi-issue grassroots movement. This is (in my opinion) the foremost goal, around which our strategies should be built. Mass movements are the primary means of real social change, and our point of real strength. This means focusing on the conditions of ordinary people's lives, not candidates personalities and media buzz. It means working for lasting change in the structure of society, in the distribution of power and resources—not just changing who sits at the top. It means looking far beyond 1996, envisioning the society we want to leave to future generations, figuring out our next step toward that future, and working on it steadily.

Above all, we need to define success on our terms. If we increase democracy and access to power, if we mobilize new people, if we lay a foundation for future organizing, then we will have won regardless of who sits in the White house.

But won't Nader just be a "spoiler," taking votes from Clinton and helping elect a Republican? As Nader said on Donahue: "I can't

spoil it; it's already spoiled!" When Democrats run corrupt careerists, wage expensive and dirty media blitzes, ignore the issues, and try to look more like the Republicans every year, they do not endear them-

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**We are not attracting Clinton Democrats; we are attracting the disaffected from all across the spectrum...a majority (54%) do NOT believe "voting for a third party is throwing away your vote" ...**

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selves to most Americans. Democrats lose elections because they are unable to persuade enough people to vote for them, not because someone offered the voters a choice. Blaming third parties for Democratic defeats assumes that we cannot have real democracy or meaningful choice, that the system is broken beyond repair, and that we should settle for the "lesser of two evils". This is the politics of fear, and it is what keeps so many of us feeling powerless or fed up or just disinterested. The Democratic Party can keep sliding to the right because they assume that anyone left of center has nowhere else to go, and that they can take us for granted without ever addressing our needs or concerns.

Our message is that we should NOT settle, NOT go along with this charade, but rather demand and work for real choice and genuine democracy. Both big money parties have sold themselves to corporate interests; whether the winner is Democrat or Republican, the corporate class wins every time—and we all lose. Since he has failed to veto almost every bad piece of legislation put on his desk, a vote for Clinton is essentially a vote for more of the Gingrich agenda. Instead of voting from fear, we can vote our hope, our dreams, and our demands!

We should also challenge the assumption that we are pulling votes from Clinton. A recent Field poll posed three-way races between Clinton, Dole, or Perot, and Clinton, Dole, or Nader. In both races Clinton lead Dole by the same margin: 8-9%. This indicates that many of the same voters who chose Perot also chose Nader, and that a so-called "liberal" third candidate has almost the same impact as a "conservative." We are not attracting Clinton Democrats; we are attracting the disaffected from all across the spectrum.

The poll also revealed that a majority (54%) do NOT believe "voting for a third party is throwing away your vote," and an astonishing 76% believe voting third party "sends a message that the political system needs to change". (SF Chronicle 12/19/95) (Unfortunately, pollsters did not ask how many believe voting for Republicans or Democrats is "throwing away your vote.")

Will large numbers of people really work for these goals? I believe they will, if we can awaken their hope and passion for democracy. The public's anger is often reactive or confused; we know we're being used and abused, but we often don't understand exactly how, why, and by whom. Immersed in media misinformation, with no widely understood analysis or explanation of it's causes, our anger is often diverted into short-sighted reactive measures (term limits, budget cuts) or scape-goating (anti-immigrant Proposition 187, attacks on affirmative action) or used to turn us against our own best interests (voting down universal health care).

Reactive anger is also shallow: it is only good for one vote, one check, one letter; it cannot sustain a long-term multi-issue movement. As soon as it's initial effort fails to solve the underlying problem, it will shift to another target, or turn to frustration or despair. Wealthy corporate interests can afford to keep pushing "hot buttons" with media blitzes; we need to do the more painstaking work of building sustainable, long-term movements for change. To do so, we must reach beyond this anger, to people's hope for the future, their desire for a better, more just and democratic society.

Electoral work is always a means, a method of movement building. It is a way to challenge the system, educate people, and build pressure for democratic reforms. It is a step in reclaiming government as a check on corporate power, rather than a tool of it. The Nader campaign is our next step toward a more effective coalition of populist/ progressive forces, toward a more democratic electoral system, and ultimately, toward a greener world. Join us!

# A Green President?

by Lloyd Strecker, Ralph Party of California

*I am permitting the Green Party of California to put my name on their March 1996 primary ballot to broaden the narrow agenda that the 'major' party candidates parade before the electorate. I intend to stand with others around the country as a catalyst for the creation of a new model of electoral politics, not to run any campaign. The campaign will be run by the people themselves and will be just as serious as citizens choose to make it. It will be a campaign for democracy waged by the private citizens who choose to become public citizens. I will not seek nor accept any campaign contributions—but I welcome civic energy to build democracy so as to strengthen and make more useable our democratic processes for a just, productive and sustainable society.*

—Ralph Nader

With these words Ralph Nader became a candidate for the Green Party of California's (GPCa) nomination as President of the United States of America.

There's lots of good stuff here: an acknowledgment that the political agenda as set forth by the Demopublicans is "narrow" and needs to be "broadened," by a candidate who intends to "stand with others;" a project to create a "new model for electoral politics;" a campaign, "for democracy waged by private citizens who choose to become public citizens."

Sounds great, yes?! And better yet, "our" candidate "welcome[s] civic energy to build democracy ... and make more useable our democratic processes..."

Best of all, perhaps, he doesn't want any of our money!

So what's the problem? Doesn't this statement indeed "sound great;" aren't we Greens extremely fortunate to have such a widely respected progressive crusader acknowledge our efforts, our programs and platforms struggled over for more than a decade, our "community-based" political strategy? Aren't we indeed fortunate that, as the "new kids on the block," we are suddenly important enough to worry the liberalists at the *New York Times*?

Well, for starters, in case you haven't been paying attention, Nader's campaign has nothing at all to do with the Greens. To my knowledge, Mr. Nader is not even a member (in any definition) of any Green organization. I'm told that he has read the GPCa's Platform, and says it's "the best he's ever seen," but it's not clear to me that his campaign has any association with this document (and I have no idea whether or not he has seen, or commented upon, the TG/GPUSA Program—if this is to be a *national* campaign, this seems relevant to me).

I'm glad to hear that he likes the California Platform, of course, especially since the GPCa virtually wiped out its bank account to publish our *Policy Directions* for him to read (while the Party "locals" are

starving for funds...). It would be a shame to have spent all that time, and money, to generate a document which great men didn't read.

No: Ralph Nader is not graciously assenting to "permit" us to use his name in order to further a specifically Green agenda, he is running to manipulate the Democrats, to turn Clinton to the "left" and to return that dying organization to its "traditional constituency" which is, of course, the long-abused strata of white middle class consumers. (Those of us who had imagined that constituency to be organized industrial workers, Americans of color, family farmers, the poor, the homeless, and the otherwise disenfranchised, seem to have slept through the 1980s; there is a "new tradition" on the "left"...)

Of course, many have fled into our leafy embrace to escape the chill they have experienced in the Democratic Party's triumphal march to the right. The most frequently voiced concern among these (temporarily?) wayward Demos is that the Party of their fathers seems to have rolled over to expose its throat in submission to corporate interests. For these folks, it probably seems like less of a hike to leave the

Demos with Ralph on board. One thing which must be acknowledged about Nader is that he has for decades been seeking to leash corporate power.

But let's notice a couple of things here. For one, Nader asserts the importance of making "more useable our democratic processes..." No sense here that we ought to question, as many Greens do, the whole

notion that "our processes" are in fact "democratic" in the first place. Our problem is not, according to Nader, inherent in the existing political structures and the theoretical basis for them—Lockean individualism; "normative elitist liberalism;" and the sanctity of "private property." The problem lies in the abuses upon and intrusions into this "best of all possible" political forms, made increasingly easy by its own diminishing authority to regulate corporations. Thus Nader, it would seem, is comfortable with the idea that one group of people makes decisions, and enforces their implementation, while the rest of us

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The "citizens' campaign" is proposed as a means of placing the "right" people in positions of power over us, not to accomplish a thorough re-organization of power as such. He does not here, and has not anywhere that I am aware of, challenged the corporate form *per se*...

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merely perform the periodic ritual of marking a ballot. The "citizens' campaign" is proposed as a means of placing the "right" people in positions of power over us, not to accomplish a thorough re-organization of power as such. He does not here, and has not anywhere that I am aware of, challenged the corporate form *per se*, neither in government nor in the economic sector.

Furthermore, let's also notice that, while Nader wishes "to strengthen and make more useable our democratic processes," to what end? "...for a just, productive and sustainable society (emphasis added)." Isn't it precisely this ideology, the ideology of human beings as "producers" and "consumers" in an endless stream/cycle of commodity production which the Greens have been challenging at the root? How does one reconcile "justice" and "sustainability" with this productivist mentality wherein the basic questions are presumed to be about the "just" distribution of "goods," rather than about the whole concept of *homo economicus*?

We must be extremely clear about this: "justice" and "sustainability" are objectives which can conceivably be attained through severely *authoritarian* means. "Freedom," however, is a very different concept than "justice." Freedom—the condition under which we are all nurtured toward the fullest possible development of our individual potentialities—is, or ought to be, our objective; and freedom is something which must be attained by and for ourselves: no one can legislate or mandate the "realm of freedom" into existence!

### Turning the Coin

*Ralph is going all the way to the general and us Greens are going with him to the White House...*

—Mike Feinstein, GPCa

Let's look at the other side of this coin; let's forget all that I've said above, assume Nader is "green" as hell, and ask whether or not this "Green Man"—or any Green, man or woman—should receive our support for a run at the "bully pulpit."

This question needs to be addressed from a number of perspectives. First, and most obvious, Nader is a white, middle class heterosexual man. I hope this is not a "crime" in its own right—I am all those things too (though the term "middle class" is, at best, ambiguous, and I gave up being a "White Man," with the help of my friends in SNCC [Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee], 30 years ago). But any Green candidacy for a major, partisan office (especially the Presidency) is, I hope we are all "realistic" enough to see, *educational* at most. All the cheer-leading and pep-rallies we might hold ought not to obscure the fact that, even if Nader runs in the General Election, this fellow will *not* be "our" next president.

Given that, precisely what is it we are "educating" people about? We are educating people into a re-affirmation of power as structured. Even if Nader were to stand and proclaim (which he

definitely will *not* do) that what must happen is the radical decentralization of all economic and political institutions and processes, he would be doing it from a position above the heads of the people, offering us "empowerment" as we crane our necks looking up at the podium. "Grassroots democracy,"

"decentralization," and "community-based economics" become "campaign promises" which, even if they could be delivered in such a way (which they *cannot*), would be meaningless, empty, and hollow — form without substance. No matter what he says, the message received is that we need a hero ("crusader") to invade and conquer the existing hierarchy, to rationalize it and "return" it to "the people" (who, of course, *he* "represents").

### Building a MOVEMENT

*How ironic that a party espousing 'future focus' and long term planning is using Nader as a quick fix for our dwindling numbers...*

—Margaret Garcia: a GREEN

In my view, it is the project of building a grassroots movement for fundamental changes, both in structures and in "consciousness," that the Greens are about—if I'm wrong, I've been deceived. Many *seem* to agree with this, but see the Nader campaign as a *means* to that end; this is the same "many" who have made the same basic argument for the establishment of Green Parties in the first place. Indeed, the Nader candidacy—and the manner in which it has been foisted upon us—indicate the inherent logic of Party formation: what good's a Party without a candidate? (What, he asked rhetorically, ever happened to the "anti-Party party"?)

It *may* be true that a campaign driven by a high-visibility personality will serve to re-vitalize Green Parties; the question, however, is whether such activities will in any way assist a *Green Movement*. I won't drag out all the arguments about "Party" -v- "Movement," but the questions are in fact inseparable. Some allege that a sustainable and free Green future can only be achieved by utilizing the existing institutions, "transforming" them as we go. These folks argue that grassroots democracy = universal suffrage and broad participation in existing "democratic" institutions. The anti-theory "civil society" argument is one with which Nader is comfortable as well.

But a grassroots movement, focusing upon *sweeping* and *substantive* social change—a movement which not only explicitly "calls for" but *achieves* radical democratization by creating expansive counter-institutions—is not something which can be furthered by hitching up our fortunes to any individual personality. Such a movement will only develop if and when we stop believing in "leaders," and successfully propagate our disbelief. And this "propaganda by deed" must be the creation of the future within and ultimately beyond the false and anti-human "limitations" of the present.

# Third Parties '96: Birds of a Feather...

by Walt Contreras Sheasby, Green Party Candidate, 27th Congressional District, Los Angeles County

At the Third Parties '96 conference in Washington, DC, January 5-6, C-SPAN televised a panel with the soaring label of "Crossover Politics: Transcending the Old Labels of Left, Right, and Center." This struck a number of participants as quite a flight of fancy. Are we pretending that we can fly without any sense of direction or of the topography of the land? Every new brood resents being tagged with old labels, but the way to go beyond the leg bands the media puts on us is to focus like a falcon on the specific issues and put our talons into the political substance. But perhaps we should first take a bird's eye view of the Left, Right, and Center distinctions.

John Rensenbrink of the Green Politics Network, the main sponsor of the conference, argued that Third Parties '96 had to break out of the conventional categories of Left and Right to build "a broad-based, potentially majoritarian multi-party alliance."

The idea may go back to the 1978 slogan of the German group, Green Action Future, "We are neither left nor right; we are in front." It was taken literally in 1983 when the German Greens first entered the Bundestag and insisted on being seated between the liberal Left (Social Democrats) and Right (Christian Democrats).

This language even entered conventional "middling" politics, as when Bill Clinton informed an interviewer that he has moved neither right nor left; he's moved out in front!

The very etymology of left and right is political. Left has its origins in the negative, with the French *gauche* meaning awkward, as in a country bumpkin or raw peasant, someone green; the Latin *sinister* is harmful and dangerous, and the Old English *lyft* means weak or foolish, paired off with right only in the 13th Century. In old lore, these lesser qualities reside in the poor side of the body, but also in the body politic.

The opposite, right, derives from the Indo-European base, *reg-*, meaning to lead in a straight line, to direct or rule, as in the French *droit* derived from the Latin *directus*, and Latin *rex*, German *Reich*, French *roi*, and English *regent* for king. It is the strong side of the body, but a right (in feudal English word-smithing) is also a claim by the mighty, the noble, that makes them rich and correct, righteous and erect, sometimes even rigid, though not necessarily in that order.

In 1789 the vocabulary of politics took a bit of a turn in France, when the *gauche* stood up and demanded their *droits*. As the various parts of French society took their seats in the Constituent Assembly of 1789-91, the Monarchists were seated appropriately on the right side

the right that resisted any loss of power by the elite. From that day on, the terms Left and Right have kept that basic meaning.

These terms were soon vexed by the rise of Robespierres's dictatorship and later quibbles like the rise of fascism (a revolutionary overthrow of the Old Order by a new right mimicking the left) and Stalinism (a tyranny like fascism that paraded under the icons of the Left while devouring the remnants of socialism and humanism).

In spite of all things modern and the rather unfair word-smithing, the term "Left" retained a positive connotation among the masses of the world, and the term "Right" was often avoided by its believers be-

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...the political terms Right and Left probably will be used until a society polarized between masses and elite no longer exists...

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of the hall, from the chair's point of view, and the radicals were seated on the left, separated by a middle group in the center. During the debate on the royal veto, these parties came to be known as the Left, Center and Right, with other names expressing assigned seats, so that Montagnards occupied the upper gallery or mountain and the party of the Plains sat on the lower floor.

The debate underscored options offered by the left that led toward greater power to the masses and by

cause of its negative impact on the masses.

Both sides overlook that one cannot exist without the other, since one's meaning refers to its opposite. A leftist utopia is inapt, since it implies a viable elite with right-wing defenses, as is the opposing dream of a perfect hierarchical order, since the right's *raison d'etre* is the defense of the elite from sinister subversion and riot. Left and Right are like Marx's reflex-categories: no king without subjects, no seller



Jan 5, 1996. Judith Mohling (CO Peace Mission), Steve Perez (Student Caucus, U of MO), Mike Castro (NM Green Party), Tony Affigne (RI Green Party), Sam Jordan (DC Statehood Party). Photo by Nike Zachmanoglou ©

without a buyer, no proletariat without a bourgeoisie, no slave without a master.

If so, then the political terms Right and Left probably will be used until a society polarized between masses and elite no longer exists, and it doesn't do Alexander Cockburn any good to complain, "Why should we be dominated by a political labeling system based on where people sat in the Constituent Assembly in Versailles in 1789? (*The Nation*, July 17, 1995)."

One of the Crossover panelists at Third Parties '96 expressed his own frustration with the labeling system in a radio interview with Lenora Fulani and Fred Newman of the Patriot Party:

I think the main issue here is can we reach across to essentially the Reform Party and anybody that's on the grassroots whether they be right, left or center.... I know that you all here at the Patriot Party have actually been... reaching out to all sides of the grassroots, which I commend you for.... I find that the right grassroots is perhaps a little bit more open-minded than the left grassroots. Left progressives tend to think they know everything. That happens within the Green Party a lot....

Lenora Fulani had joined Fred Newman in the early 1980's to build the New Alliance Party, declaring it a "black-led, women-led, multiracial, pro-gay, independent political organization." Downplaying its origins in Lyndon LaRouche's cult, NAP recruited a following in New York City and elsewhere through its own cultish social therapy, which required joiners to do "self-empowering work," usually in one of NAP's organizations. Despite its claims, as Jill Nelson pointed out in *Ms. Magazine* (May/June 1992), "You'd be hard-pressed to find any progressive organization—gay, straight, black, whatever—that will align with NAP."

The NAP was criticized for rule-or-ruin tactics, disrupting the National Welfare Rights Organization and the People's Party, ripping off supporters of the Rainbow Coalition, and nearly wrecking the California Peace and Freedom Party. The Federal Election Commission fined its 1992 presidential campaign \$612,557 for fraudulently claiming that amount in federal matching funds.

In April 1994 the NAP officially dissolved into the Patriot Party, a small group mainly in Pennsylvania that had networked briefly with Gov. Lowell Weicker, Gordon Black, a pollster who joined Ross Perot, and other independents.

As Perot put his Reform Party on the California ballot in late 1995, the Patriot Party announced it was merging, but it has kept a separate identity.

In a January 31, 1996 "Open Letter to Third Parties '96" from the National Independent Politics Summit, Ted Glick and others criticized the idea of "transcending left, right and center" where "in addition to the participation of Greens, Socialists and other progressive groups, the Libertarian, Patriot and Reform parties have been invited to participate."

One observer commented that, To be fair, a lot of the people advocating these left-right-center alliances are only advocating it on a limited basis—that we can work together on the 'political democracy' issues (ballot access reform, proportional representation, campaign finance reform, etc.).... But somehow, along the way, they began deluding themselves that we were political soulmates.

Linda Martin, a key organizer of TP '96, had a clear motivation for the conferences: "I watched in horror from my seat in suburban Virginia and saw them [the GOP] mount a major assault on all the government programs, services and protections I hold dear... while the so-called progressive Dems stood silently by... and the "New Dems"...[and] nearly all our elected politicians have now joined the ridiculous Balanced Budget Chorus."

For independent progressives, however, this divided them, not only from the Congress and the White House, but also from the new Right and Center parties. In reality, Linda Martin's stance was impossible while nestling with the Libertarian, Reform, and Patriot parties. These groups are equally frenzied about zeroing-out the budget deficit and proclaiming victory over a bombed-out welfare state, a fixation comparable to the start of the US war in Vietnam.

The budget mania was promoted by former Sen. Paul Tsongas in the early 1992 primaries, and the baton was picked up by Ross Perot. After

his election, Clinton and the New Democrats dropped their job stimulus platform to please the Fed and the big money markets and substituted Perot's platform. Democrats in turn found themselves co-opted by the GOP budget Hawks and nudged to a seven year target.

In an "Open Letter to the White House" last November, Marian Wright Edelman of the Children's Defense Fund said the destruction of social programs in the name of saving children from future indebtedness "...is the domestic equivalent of bombing Vietnamese villages in order to save them." In fact, the deficit was largely a legacy of Cold War military spending and the parallel neglect of the inner cities and schools.

In sharp contrast, the Libertarian, Reform and Patriot Parties all joined the flight of the Hawks, with the Patriot Party saying, "it is necessary for the federal government to adopt a balanced fiscal budget on a yearly basis, beginning with the year 2000."

On the contrary. For the sake of future generations, the Doves must prevail if we are to reduce poverty, disease and crime, co-existing for a time with the dreaded Red regimen of deficit spending. We need to plan a balanced economy, not a balanced budget.

We should also meet the "right grassroots," testing their open-mindedness, and convincing them that their concern for popular sovereignty puts them on the Left with us, and not with rich power brokers.

And we should absorb a warning: "The next Left could fail if, like the mainstream liberals, it ignores the structural nature of the crisis, or if it backs off from the advocacy of that bottom-up democratization of the economy that is precisely what separates it from the shrewd Right (Michael Harrington, *The Next Left*, Henry Holt & Co.: New York, 1986)."

We need to enlist the millions of students, workers, women, minorities and the poor who are the intended victims of the Hawks, and that cannot be done if these birds of prey are the first ones invited into the nest. Third Parties '96 has to articulate a new strategy, nurture its real offspring of progressive state parties, and create real alliances with real allies.