

VOLUME 22 | SPRING 2022

# 25 years of Green Pages



**STOP THE WARS**  
**SAVE THE PLANET**

[PeoplesMovement.org](http://PeoplesMovement.org)

**In this issue:**

- YOUTH POWER A NEW AGE OF PROGRESSIVE GREEN POLITICS**
- Ukraine Crisis: Greens Call for Diplomacy**
- HIJACK OF MONTANA GREENLINE POINTS TO ELECTORAL REFORM**

**16 Years Green in Office – Cam Gordon**



AZGP hosts a tabling event where they register people for the party, and speak out for peace.

- |   |   |  |  |
|---|---|--|--|
| <b>2</b> Statement on Ukraine                               | <b>8</b> City Council Wins  | <b>18</b> Indianapolis Passes Medicare For All Resolution      | <b>23</b> Walmart Workers Fight Back on Black Friday                       |
| <b>3</b> Green Pages Turns 25!                              | <b>9</b> School Board Wins  | <b>19</b> Jill Stein Takes FEC to Court                        | <b>24</b> Michigan Nurse Spreads Green Party Word in Alaska                |
| <b>4</b> From Issue 1: <i>Green Politics Advance in '96</i> | <b>10</b> Green Governance: A Case Study of Minneapolis                             | <b>20</b> Green Youth Organization Goes Global                 | <b>26</b> Sherlock Holmes and the Strange Case of the Green New Deal Theft |
| <b>5</b> Greens Think Globally, Run Locally                 | <b>13</b> Hijack of Montana Green Party Ballot Line Shows Need for Electoral Reform | <b>21</b> Youth Powers a New Age of Progressive Green Politics | <b>28</b> Murray Bookchin Turns 101 Years Old                              |
| <b>6</b> Green Success in Maine                             | <b>15</b> Eliminate Gerrymandering With Proportional Representation                 |  |  |
| <b>7</b> A Green Mayor                                      |   |  |  |

# **GREEN PARTY CALLS FOR CEASEFIRE AND DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION TO UKRAINE CRISIS**

*Greens stand in solidarity with the people of Ukraine and Russia who oppose the invasion*

The Green Party is calling on the leaders of the United States, NATO and Russia to immediately initiate diplomatic talks together with Ukrainian leadership to resolve the crisis in Ukraine. On February 24, Russian President Vladimir Putin launched a ground-and-air invasion throughout Ukraine, including the capital city of Kyiv.

The Green Party condemns Russia's military incursion, which is in violation of international law, regardless of real or perceived provocations. We also recognize the US government and Western powers are responsible for 30 years of provocations by failing to respect the promise to not expand NATO after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. This reckless antagonism between world powers has led to war with the potential for massive destruction, environmental damage and loss of life.

"The threat of all-out nuclear war is hanging over everyone. The US and other countries should be working together to combat climate change instead of fighting over resources that gain profits for the multinational corporations," said Rita Jacobs, member of the Green Party's Peace Action Committee (GPAX). We call on the parties involved to pursue a diplomatic solution through the United Nations, in accordance with international law. A serious solution that prioritizes the lives of Ukrainian civilians will require an immediate ceasefire, withdrawal of Russian troops, a promise of no US troops or arms in Ukraine, and a commitment to diplomacy." "We reject the insipid demands of US and European politicians and media to pick one side or another," said Matthew Hoh, Green Party candidate for US Senate in North Carolina. "Rather we choose another side—the people—and condemn the decades-long policies of US, NATO, Russian, and Ukrainian leaders that have led to this point."

"Let's not fool ourselves, this is also about control of resources and riches among world powers," said Margaret Elisabeth, Green Party US National Co-Chair. "Putin wants to preserve Russia's natural gas exports while the US wants control over Europe's spigots, and Europe teeters between desire for cheap and available gas and the need to move away from fossil fuel energy sources. Fossil-fuel addiction is so intense that superpowers are still willing to go to war over it instead of kicking the habit to save the planet. We need a global Green New Deal to move away as quickly as possible from fossil-fuel addiction."

Green Party US declares solidarity with Russians who oppose the invasion, often at great personal cost, and joins peace activists in Russia, Ukraine and around the world in demanding a negotiated solution.

More Information

The geopolitical upheaval surrounding Ukraine are in part the result of the EU's dependence on fossil fuels and the faltering transition to renewable energy, Fell, Hans-Josef (former German Green MP). Hans-Josef Fell, February 23, 2022

NATO Expansion: What Gorbachev Heard, National Security Archive, December 12, 2017

# GREEN PAGES

The Newspaper of the Green Party of the United States

## GREEN PAGES TURNS 25!

Celebrating its 25th anniversary, the Green Party's national newspaper was started in 1997. From local and national campaigns to statewide news, to social and environmental justice efforts of dedicated members, Green Pages has covered everything Green Party. Founded by Mike Feinstein of California, who has never ceased to work on the publication all these years, it provides Green Party news often overlooked by other media. The Green Party has accomplished so much and is often the first to speak out – and Green Pages is its voice.

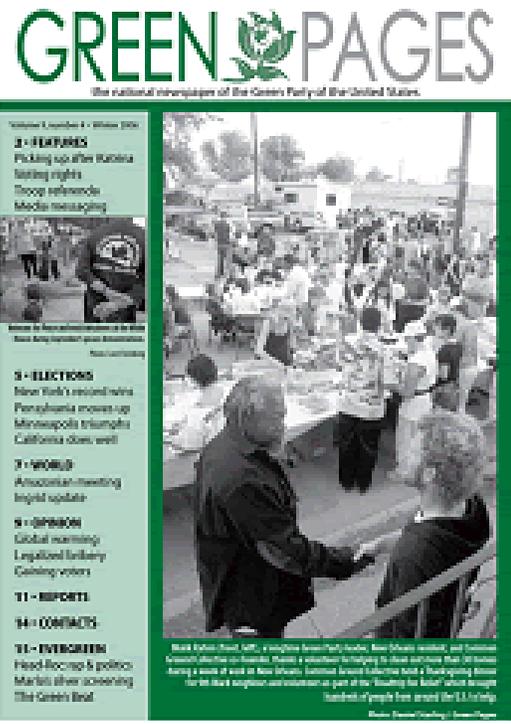
Mission Statement: Green Pages is the official publication of record of the Green Party of the United States. Its primary purpose is to address the needs of the Green Party, its members and its organizations on the national, state and local levels. Coverage will focus on news of the Green Party and news affecting Green parties. Green Pages will share successes of the party and information to make the party stronger. Secondly, Green Pages will provide a credible information vehicle for communication and alliance building with media, academics and social movements.



Cover of Green Pages for Summer 2011



Cover of Green Pages for Fall 2017



Cover of Green Pages for Winter 2005

# GREEN POLITICS ADVANCE IN '96

BY MIKE FEINSTEIN,  
GREEN PARTY OF CALIFORNIA

Nineteen ninety-six was a year that found more and more Americans dissatisfied with the political status quo. It also was the most successful year ever for the Green Party. A record sixteen Greens were elected on the local level, including the first-ever Green City Council majority in the US (in Arcata, California). On the national level, the presidential campaign of Ralph Nader and Winona LaDuke accelerated the growth of the Green Party as an organization, as well as in the consciousness of the general public. What led to this success and how did the Greens take advantage of the historical moment that '96 presented?

To start with, there was an increased general receptivity for a new party in '96, with polls suggesting at least 62% of voters wanted one. In addition, the rightward shift of the Democrats created *specific room* for a progressive party like the Greens. But in addition to these contextual factors, there also needed to be a *strategy* to take advantage of these opportunities, particularly given the strong two-party bias of the US winner-take-all electoral system.

The Greens' strategy has always been a long-term one: first, build a foundation through local electoral work, growing out of community-based, issue-oriented activism. Second, contest only selected state and national offices, preferably where the party already has a base of support. Third, while running to win within the current electoral system, work to change it to proportional representation. Fourth, as an integral part of all of the above, stress the Green Party's 'ten key values': ecology, social justice, grassroots democracy, non-violence, community-based economics, decentralization, respect for diversity, feminism/post-patriarchy, personal & global responsibility, and sustainability/future focus.

The Greens' strategy paid off in '96. After twelve years of organizing, US Greens have a significant grassroots base in many communities. The 16 victories on the local level were no accident, bringing to 42 the number of Greens who currently hold elected office in the US.

On the presidential level, the Nader/LaDuke candidacy complemented the Greens' local organizing, accelerating the growth of the Green Party faster than a local-only strategy would have. Nader/LaDuke communicated a pro-democracy, anti-corporate message, providing the only progressive alternative to Clinton/Dole. Their candidacy, in turn, led to the development of several new state Green parties, and many existing ones became stronger. The campaign also provided the first-ever opportunity for Greens to coordinate nationally on a common electoral project, proving to be an invaluable, maturing experience for the growing movement.

Yet even this was not all the story. Despite the enormous difficulties 'third party' candidates face within the US 'winner-take-all' electoral system, in several partisan counties and state legislative races, as well as in a US Senate race, Greens actually finished second ahead of either the Democrats or Republicans. And, in terms of electoral reform, Greens in San Francisco succeeded in getting proportional representation (PR) on the ballot for a public vote (for use by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors). While the measure did not pass, the Greens were able to do enough education in only a three month campaign in one of the country's major cities to receive 44% the first time out, providing valuable experience with which to apply to future PR campaigns in other cities across the country.

Taken as a whole, 1996 suggests the Greens have advanced a long way as a political force. There appears to be a genuinely significant base among the general electorate for Green ideas, and the Greens have demonstrated that they not only have good ideas, but also a viable strategy to win elections and build a movement.

# GREENS THINK GLOBALLY, RUN LOCALLY: GREEN PARTY 2021 ELECTION YEAR-IN-REVIEW

BY MIKE FEINSTEIN, GREEN PARTY OF CALIFORNIA & GREEN PARTY US ELECTIONS DATABASE MANAGER

At least 113 Greens in 18 states ran for public office in 2021. Among them, seven ran for state and federal office – four in regular elections in New Jersey, one in a Pennsylvania special election and two in the California gubernatorial recall.

But with regular state and federal offices almost exclusively held in even-numbered years in all states except New Jersey and Virginia, most Greens focused on running in local elections in 2021, with an emphasis on social justice and the environment.

Of the 106 Greens who ran for municipal and county office in 2021, 52 were elected (49.1%). Among them were ten for city council, 12 for school board, and a mayor and a community college board member. Seven more were elected to fire protection districts (2), library boards (2), a water board (1), sewer board (1) and health district (1). In Pennsylvania a sitting township supervisor, who wasn't Green when elected in 2019, joined the Green Party in August 21 while in office.

By the end of 2021, at least 133 Greens hold office in 18 states across the United States.

Map of Greenmaps.us showing Green parties, officials, etc

**40%** April: 19 / 36  
November: 18 / 56

**Of Greens Who Ran For Office In 2021 WON!**

GREEN PARTY US #PeoplePlanetPeaceOverProfit gp.org

Recap of Elections in 2021 garners win average of 40%

**GREEN CANDIDATE FORUM**

The CCC hosts events for green candidates to learn and utilize campaign winning tools and best practices.



# MAINE SUCCESS

Perhaps the greatest Green electoral success story of 2021 was in Maine.

**Green Party members Anna Trevorrow and Scott Harriman won city council races in Portland and Lewiston, the state's first- and second-most populous cities (66,000 and 37,000) respectively; while another 17 Greens were elected in smaller towns around the state.**

Trevorrow ran while holding an elected seat on Portland's school board — a seat she won in 2013, 2016 and 2019, where she built up valuable name recognition and a record that she can govern. Before that Trevorrow served on the City's 2009-2010 Charter Review Commission, where she successfully advocated for inclusion of ranked choice voting in the City's new charter.

In running for city council in 2021, Trevorrow promoted prioritizing socio-economic diversity, pushing for a range of pro-housing policies such as inclusionary housing zoning and incentives for low-income housing, and addressing homelessness. In the process she won with 56.3% of the vote, defeating an opponent backed by local business, developer and real estate and property management firms interests.

Even though Portland municipal elections are non-partisan, establishment forces lined up against her and tried to portray her progressive, Green values as 'divisive'.

But voters didn't feel that way when they met her.

Trevorrow credited her win in part to a strong ground campaign, "in which I had 837 conversations with voters, promoting a vision for Portland that is accessible to the working class and enacts policy through an equity lens." Arguably

Portland's 'second party', since 2001 local Greens have won two state house, eight city council, 13 school board, two water board, and one charter commission seat in the city.

In Lewiston, Harriman was elected on a platform of supporting fully-funded public schools, equity in education, and environmental health. Like Trevorrow, he emphasized the need to expand safe and affordable housing options. "Rents have increased dramatically, yet too many people are still living in poorly-maintained properties," he said during the campaign, "which, among other things, impacts kids' ability to learn."

**Overall Maine Greens won 19 of 23 races statewide in 2021, including six of nine for select board (what city councils are called in small towns in Maine) and 11 out of 12 races for school board.**

Currently at least 48 Maine Greens hold local elected office across the state. In a state with 43,000 registered Greens and over 300 small towns and villages with local government bodies, Maine presents one of the best opportunities for Greens to win local elections and gain governing experience. In turn many of these local officeholders are potential future Green candidates for higher office.

*Pictured is Green elected official Anna Trevorrow*



# A GREEN MAYOR

The highest office a U.S. Green was elected to in 2021 came in Illinois – Peter Schwartzman for Mayor of Galesburg (population 30,000).

A Knox College Environmental Studies Professor and a three-time elected city council member in Galesburg (2011, 2015 and 2019), Schwartzman had built a record in local office and in the community promoting the connection between environment and the economy.



Mayor Schwartzman in front of City Hall in Galesburg

Despite being the only Green/progressive member of the city council, Schwartzman had already persuaded colleagues to support several eco-policies by illustrating the cost savings. For example, Galesburg's municipal water supply is now pumped to the city largely with solar power generated by a solar array put into place by the city in 2020. Since the water is sourced from 30 miles away, reducing energy costs via solar power has been significant.

The City Council also approved a series of community aggregation contracts over the last several years to purchase 100% renewable energy at low negotiated rates for all residents. Most recently, the Council authorized a \$50,000 tree-planting pilot project to beautify the city, reduce water runoff and reduce storm water management infrastructure costs.

Schwartzman campaigned to continue and expand

this eco-approach as mayor, including by promoting local economic development in the renewable energy and urban agriculture sectors, taking advantage of abandoned lots and repurposing buildings in the city. He also argued for an energy audit of city facilities and improving local bus service via longer hours and quicker routes.

But for Schwartzman, who teaches Environmental Racism, an eco-approach goes beyond green economics to confronting environmental racism. "Communities throughout the US suffer from racism and environmental racism is one component of that. During my time on the Council (and now as Mayor), I've tried to emphasize the needs of all residents. Given clearly visible inequalities geographically in housing stock and other city amenities, I've supported investing in certain "blighted" neighborhoods – through park improvements, business grants and activation of ideas from our Community Relations Commission. I'm now very actively seeking support to fund a very ambitious Community Center near the center of Galesburg that will promote civic engagement, youth activities, inter-generational contact/communication, and education/training."

In addition to supporting local youth, Schwartzman also emphasized a safer community and greater transparency in local government – values he felt people embraced across political lines.

With his campaign occurring during a pandemic, Schwartzman walked door-to-door 38 straight days. He wore a mask and was socially distanced, but also wore a large button saying 'Peter Schwartzman for Mayor' that residents could see at a distance when they opened the door to greet him.

Schwartzman also did weekly Zoom video conferences on a different issue each week, giving residents another way to directly connect to his campaign. The incumbent mayor who finished second behind Schwartzman in a three-way race (40.3% to 46.95%) did neither, suggesting the importance of Schwartzman's grassroots campaigning in a competitive race.

# CITY COUNCIL

**Of the ten Greens elected to city councils in 2021, Brian Benford was elected in the most populous city in which a U.S. Green currently holds a city council seat – Madison, Wisconsin, (population 270,000.)**

Benford earlier served two terms on the Common Council (which is what the city council is called in Madison) between 2003-2007, when he was the only African-American on the 20-member body. In 2021, he was part of an unprecedented wave of people of color running for the Common Council, a movement he was part of.

As a long time social justice community activist, Benford sought to be a voice on the Common Council for the most vulnerable and marginalized. “I decided to run when I recognized the tremendous need that’s out there in our community that I’ve seen in my 30 years of experience in trying to serve children and their parents and their families in Madison. I’m on the front lines and I’m seeing people who don’t know where their next check is coming from or how they’re going to put food on the table. People are worried about their kids’ education or their health care or housing insecurity. I’m seeing this every day now more than ever.”

He expanded upon this in a candidate questionnaire from the Cap Times newspaper, Madison’s paper of record. “We live in a city that has horrendous racial disparities within education, our criminal justice system, income, housing attainment, employment and other opportunities to reach our full potential. Long before the pandemic, Madison has played out as a tale of two cities. One, where people with privilege can thrive, and another that is cruel, uncaring and harsh for far too many vulnerable neighbors.”

Benford’s approach to these challenges? Creating sustainable, “real” affordable housing and living wage

What are Schwartzman as Mayor's prospects working with the new city council? In the same April 2021 election as Schwartzman, two new city council members were also elected, replacing more conservative old-guard members. With Schwartzman’s own city council seat opening up upon his election as mayor, under Illinois statute 65 ILCS 5/3.1-10-50(f), as mayor he has the power to fill vacancies by appointment. A second unscheduled council vacancy also occurred soon afterward, when another member resigned. In filling these seats, increasing diversity on the council was a key for Schwartzman. He replaced himself with a younger woman, then replaced the resigning white woman with a second African-American council member, making two African-Americans (out of seven) for the city’ first time.

With his as election as mayor Schwartzman, a longtime member of the Illinois Green Party, joins Bruce Delgado, six-time elected Mayor of Marina (Monterey County) in Central California, as one of two current sitting Green Mayors in the U.S. Together they are among 32 directly elected Green mayors in U.S. Green history.

The first Green mayor was Kelly Weaverling in Cordova, Alaska in 1991, who ran after being one of the local leaders in the effort to clean up environmental damage from the massive 1989 Exxon Valdez oil spill.



*Pictured is  
Bruce Delgado,  
Mayor of Marina*

jobs, confronting gentrification and rethinking public safety. Benford also supported a guaranteed income for Madison residents. In June 2021, Madison convened a Guaranteed Income Pilot Program Task Force to explore doing just that.

## **Nationwide Greens hold 42 city council-type seats in 11 states – the most for any type of office U.S. Greens hold.**

Similar in terms of function, these offices go by various names depending upon the location, including Board of Aldermen, City Council, Town Council, Common Council, Borough Council, Village Trustee, Village Board, Township Supervisor and Select Board.

# **SCHOOL BOARD**

For school board, 12 of 18 Greens who ran were elected, including 11 of 12 in Maine – and the one in Maine who was not elected was later appointed to a subsequent board vacancy.

## **Maine school board wins came in seven counties**

– one each in Androscoggin, Cumberland, Oxford, Penobscot and Piscataquis counties and two each in Lincoln and Somerset counties. The other elected U.S. Green school board member was first-time Pennsylvania Green candidate Matthew Reitenauer – elected on a platform of ‘greening’ the school district – to the Brandywine Heights School Board in Tipton, a borough of about 2,000 in Berks County in the south-eastern part of the state:

“If elected, I would like to see three community gardens, one at each of our schools. Then the students and locals can start eating healthier. I’d like to start an after-school recycling club to clean up the school yard and to clean up the community. I’d like to see more organic foods offered at lunch to the children. I want to look into renewable energy for the school district, the more solar panels the better. I’d

also like to look into electric buses to cut down on emissions to help with the climate crisis.”

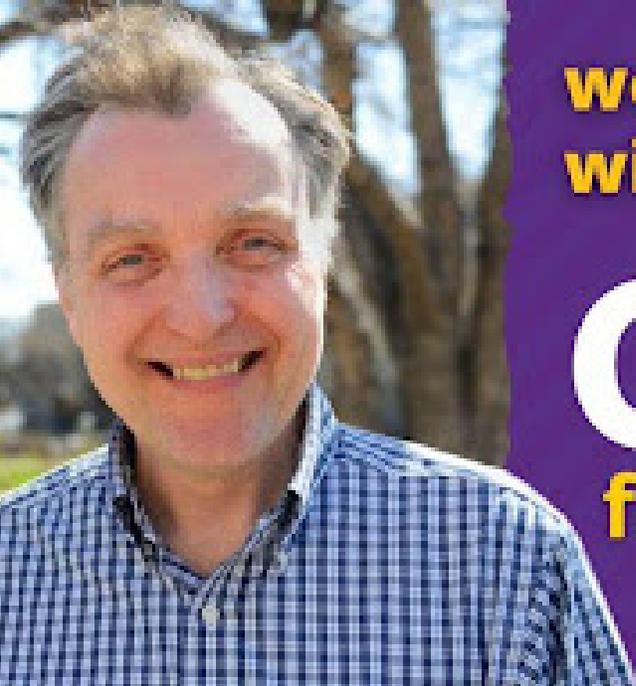
## **Currently 34 U.S. Greens hold seats on local school boards in CA, DE, ME, MI and PA – the second most for any type of office in the country Greens hold.**

In northeast Maine, the election of Robert Lindblom to one of three Solon representative seats on the Regional School Unit #74 School Board in Somerset county means three Greens now serve there on the 15-member school board (three board members are elected from each of five local small towns forming the school district). Lindblom joins fellow Greens Kevin Souza, from Emden (elected in 2016 and 2019) and Deron Whittemore, also from Solon (elected in 2019), who currently also serves as co-chair.

Only three other times in U.S. Green history have there been at least three Greens on a school board. Between 2006-2007 four Greens served on the nine-member Portland, Maine School Board (Susan Hopkins, Ben Meiklejohn, Rebecca Minnik and Jason Toothaker); and between 2004-2006 three did (Meiklejohn, Stephen Spring and Toothaker). The first time at least three Greens served on a school board was between 2002-2006, when Greens Cindy Foxfoot, DeOnne Noel and Sandra Ventura Scott served on the five-member Twin Ridges Elementary School Board (K-8) in the Sierra Nevada Foothills of rural Nevada County in Northern California, making up the first and only ever Green school board majority in the U.S.

To read the remaining sections from  
"Greens think globally, run locally: Green Party 2021  
election year-in-review"

**Please go to [our website at greenpagesnews.org](https://www.greenpagesnews.org), or [The GP Elections Database](#)**



**we're  
with CAM  
GORDON  
for re-election!**

**Minneapolis City Council - Ward 2**

*Social Media post during Cam Gordon's re-election campaign in Ward 2*

# **GREEN GOVERNANCE A CASE STUDY FROM MINNEAPOLIS**

*BY CAM GORDON,  
GREEN PARTY OF MINNESOTA AND  
4-TERM MINNEAPOLIS CITY COUNCIL  
MEMBER*

This January I concluded a 16-year run as the sole Green Party City Council Member in Minneapolis. As I did so, I also ended my experiment in Green governance.

When I took to the campaign trail in the early 2000s, I was convinced that Green values provided a solid foundation for governing. As a founding member of the Green Party of Minnesota, I was already familiar with the Green Party. In 2005 in my campaign for City Council, I told the voters, "Our values of social and economic justice, grassroots democracy, nonviolence and ecological wisdom offer a clear compass to help strengthen what works in our city and lead us to creative solutions for the future." That November, once elected, I had the opportunity to test my theory.

For the next four terms I relied on the 10 key values to guide my work. While it was often an uphill journey with mixed results, using them, and working with others, met with some success.

Our work on Grassroots Democracy led to Minneapolis being the first city in Minnesota to successfully pass and implement Ranked Choice Voting. It helped expand early voting and improve and diversify neighborhood groups. It led to expanded representation on city advisory boards, and the creation of new ones including the Housing Advisory Committee, the Bicycle Advisory Committee, the Energy Vision Advisory Committee, the Food Council, and the Green Zones Task Forces.

Our focus on Social and Economic Justice helped pass the state's first local minimum wage law, the wage theft ordinance, and requirements for safe and sick time off. It helped repeal New Jim Crow laws like "lurking," and pass a resolution calling out institutional racism and committing to end it. It resulted in a Racial Equity Action plan, a new Office of Race and Equity and a required Racial Equity Assessment for all Council Actions.

To prioritize Ecological Wisdom, we declared a climate emergency, adopted a Social Cost of Carbon, and designated environmental justice Green Zones.

We invested in clean energy, green roofs, trees, and pollinator-friendly landscaping practices. We expanded recycling and composting and approved a Zero Waste Plan. We passed a Complete Streets policy and transportation plan resulting in a network of protected bikeways, dedicated bus lanes and an array of pedestrian safety improvements.

The value of Nonviolence helped the City take a public health approach to violence prevention, the development of a Youth Violence Prevention Plan, the creation of an Office of Violence Prevention, and the use of mobile behavioral crisis teams as an alternative response to 911 calls.

Green values influenced the well-publicized passage of the Minneapolis 2040 comprehensive plan in 2019, prior to the pandemic and police murder of George Floyd. This was a high point for a “progressive” surge in Minneapolis politics that peaked with the election of a clear progressive majority to the Council in 2017. During that time, the Council approved a new mission statement and goals that, like the 2040 Plan, had racial equity, social and economic justice and environmental sustainability front and center. The City’s mission statement we passed that term begins with, “Our City government takes strategic action to address climate change, dismantle institutional injustice and close disparities in health, housing, public safety and economic opportunities...”

One of the biggest lessons I learned along the way, however, is that the values are not only useful in determining what I worked on and why, but also in guiding the way I worked.

First was the need to be Future Focused. Especially in the early years, even as I was on the end of losing votes, I needed to keep long term goals in mind.

**I was constantly planting seeds, articulating my hopes, making my intentions and goals known, and thinking about how some small action today could be laying the track for moving us in a better direction.**

This might take the form of a brief comment, or a small question during a staff report. Later it might mean building that into a staff direction to get a report, that might initiate a study session, then a pilot program and ultimately (sometimes years later as in the case of Rent Stabilization) a new city law or the creation of a new program.

As an elected official it was also my obligation to represent all the people in my ward. To do that I had to place my faith in grassroots democracy. I worked to be accessible, and share my views and reasons for supporting and opposing things. I listened, talked, and sometimes argued my points.

I brought people together and was open to delaying action to get more input and address concerns. Increasing public participation and working to be accountable was key to winning acceptance and support.



*Cam Gordon sits in a rocking chair on the porch.*



*Gordon at the protest outside Minneapolis Police Department's 4th Precinct following the shooting of Jamar Clark, 2015  
Photo Credit: Tony Webster from Minneapolis, Minnesota - Cam Gordon - Justice for Jamar Clark*

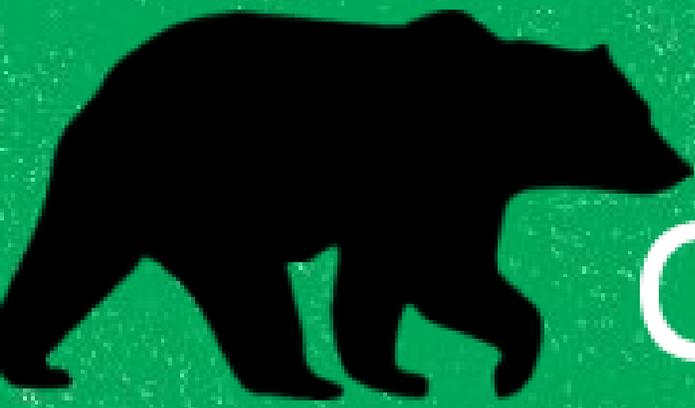
A challenging value to put into practice was Respect for Diversity. As an elected official I often faced political diversity. The diversity of views and approaches in community, among staff and among elected colleagues can be significant. There is both diversity of style and substance, and as you learn to appreciate each person's priorities and perspectives it becomes easier to adjust one's own approach to working with them. By respecting the diversity of concerns, a policy proposal may be improved as well as more likely be implemented in the end. Sometimes respect for diversity meant just accepting the difference, respecting the individual and the relationship.

The value of nonviolence helped me stay calm and rational even when being passionate. It reminded me to separate the issue or the policy from the person, and be willing to cooperate and be compassionate even with adversaries. The value of Feminism helped me to resist the tendency towards using power and domination and remember the benefits of sharing power with

others and letting others lead. Finding myself in a government body with protocols clearly inherited from a social system based on domination and control of others, it was a challenge to forge more humane and cooperative ways to work. The value of decentralization helped me to conserve my influence and energy, to be willing to yield to, trust, step aside or join community members, staff, neighborhood associations and other colleagues - especially when their efforts didn't conflict with, or supported, my values.

**If there is a Green way of governing, for me, it was based on fully and publicly owning, using and relying on our key values proudly and openly both on the campaign and at work when I was in office.**

It was based on using them to guide not only what I did and why I did it, but also, mindfully, to guide how I did it.



# Montana Green Party

*Logo of Montana Green Party*

## HIJACK OF MONTANA GREEN PARTY BALLOT LINE EMPHASIZES NEED FOR ELECTORAL REFORM

*BY DAVE SCHWAB,  
WISCONSIN GREEN PARTY*

In 2018, members of the Montana Green Party were surprised by news that people they didn't know were petitioning to put Green Party candidates on the state ballot. Then it happened again in 2020, and although the real Montana Green Party publicly disavowed the effort, it was powerless to stop it.

As it turned out, the bogus Green campaigns and petition drives were organized by Republican-linked operatives, leading to a lengthy scandal and court battle in 2020 detailed by the independent Montana Free Press in an article titled "How Montana's Green Party found itself at the center of a political circus. Again."

The Montana Green Party made a public statement via Facebook on February 12th, 2020 disavowing the petition drives and associated campaigns, writing, "We have been receiving notice that there are people falsely collecting information on behalf of the Green Party... Keep in mind that for the last few years

**"...there are individuals who seek nothing more than to smear our name and mission by using very rude and impractical methods, in these cases impersonation to degrade our cause."**

Yet the fact that the Montana Green Party had nothing to do with the effort, and indeed denounced it publicly as a fraud, hasn't stopped detractors from pointing to headlines like "MT GOP financed Green Party ballot qualification in Montana" to argue that the Green Party willingly takes money from, or otherwise conspires with, Republican operatives.

These types of dirty tricks have a long history, and the Greens are far from the only party to have their ballot line hijacked or attract unwanted "support" from political tricksters. In fact, the Montana Free Press story notes "a political action committee supporting [Montana Democrat] Sen. Jon Tester's re-election bid put \$500,000 toward a campaign ad for the Libertarian candidate just days before the November election."

In New York, where fusion allows candidates to run on multiple party lines, the Rensselaer County GOP led a 2021 effort to register conservative voters in the Working Families Party, which typically endorses Democrats, in order to win the Working Families line for GOP candidates.

In 2014, Democratic Governor Andrew Cuomo



*Voter fills out a petitioning form to get a candidate on the ballot*



*Tabling and talking to voters about our values*



*Green Party US Peace Action Committee Tabling*

created a new Women’s Equality Party, leading to widespread charges he was trying to confuse voters seeking to vote for the Working Families Party, based on the similarity of the ballot abbreviations WEP and WFP. In Minnesota, media investigations have found that 2020 candidates for the Legal Marijuana Now Party and the Grassroots Legalize Cannabis Party were recruited by Republican operatives.

Under current law, all these ballot shenanigans are legal. For example, while new campaign finance disclosure laws in Montana revealed how Republicans were funneling money through a group called “Montanans for Conservation” to fund their bogus Green petition drives, neither the actual Green Party nor anyone else could stop them from doing it.

The root of the problem is the first-past-the-post election system (in which the highest fraction of the vote wins even if it’s less than a majority), which tends both to perpetuate a two-party system and to incentivize those parties to try to divert voters who otherwise would support their main established rival into smaller parties. Both Democrats and Republicans have frequently engaged in these kinds of tricks, and if they aren’t hijacking the ballot lines of Greens or Libertarians, they can do it to lesser-known parties like Legal Marijuana Now or invent new parties like the Women’s Equality Party. It’s debatable how much these ploys actually work as intended, but what’s clear is that they erode voters’ already low level of trust in politics, and damage the reputations of the parties whose ballot lines are stolen and used for nefarious purposes.

***The real solution to the problem of ballot hijacking is to reform our elections, namely by replacing first-past-the-post voting with ranked-choice voting.***

Under ranked-choice voting, if a voter’s first choice doesn’t win, their vote still count for their second choice, which eliminates the “vote-splitting” or “spoiler” effect that ballot hijackers seek to exploit. Ranked-choice voting has many benefits leading to its adoption in a growing number of municipalities and states, and we can add to the list that it would put an end to the reprehensible practice of ballot hijacking.

# ELIMINATE GERRYMANDERING WITH PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

EDITORIAL BY HOWIE HAWKINS  
2020 GREEN PARTY US PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

Gerrymandering is one of the anti-democratic features of the exclusionary single-member-district, winner-take-all plurality elections that are predominant in the United States.

Proportional representation would not only create an inclusive democracy in which all political viewpoints get their proportional share of representation in legislative bodies, it would also render gerrymandering impossible.

Gerrymandering is when politicians draw election district lines for partisan advantage. It gives the party with the power to draw the lines more representation than their votes would justify if representation were proportional to the vote each party receives. Incumbents gerrymander district lines to include more of their supporters and make their re-election a foregone conclusion. With gerrymandering, the politicians pick their voters, instead of the voters picking their politicians.

For example in Wisconsin, as a result of partisan gerrymandering by Republicans after the 2010 census, in 2018 Democrats won 54% of the statewide popular vote in assembly races but only 36% of the seats. The 46% minority vote for Republicans won them 64% of the seats thanks to gerrymandering.

Because Republican voters are overwhelmingly white, partisan gerrymandering also yields racial gerrymandering. Racial gerrymandering is illegal under the 15th Amendment, but U.S. Supreme Court decisions since 2013 have made the legal remedies against racial gerrymandering enacted under the Voting Rights Act of 1965 impossible to enforce.

In 2013, in *Shelby County v. Holder*, the Supreme Court gutted the pre-clearance provision in Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act that had required pre-approval by the



*Howie Hawkins in TV Studio prepping for commentary*

Department of Justice of changes in voting procedures in jurisdictions with a history of voting discrimination. Section 4, which defined those jurisdictions, was ruled unconstitutional. Within hours of the *Shelby* decision, states previously covered by the pre-clearance provision started enacting laws – some of which had previously failed to pass pre-clearance – that are designed to suppress the vote of racial minorities, such as photo ID requirements and voter roll purges.



*Howie Hawkins in campaign headquarters*

In 2019, in *Rucho v. Common Cause*, the Supreme Court ruled that partisan gerrymandering was constitutional. In 2021, *Brnovich v. Democratic National Committee*, the Supremes ruled that in order to strike down a voting procedure on the grounds of racial discrimination, a plaintiff had to prove racist intent, not only effect, rendering relief under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act for racial discrimination far more difficult.

To get around the 15th Amendment, Jim Crow voting discrimination was always couched in race-neutral language through such measures as poll taxes and literacy tests, which had the effect of disenfranchising most of the poorer half of whites as well as almost all African Americans in the South. The Voting Rights Act was supposed to remedy that voter suppression, but it is back in full force. In the Supreme Court hearing on the *Brnovich* case, the lawyer for Arizona Republicans defended a racially discriminatory voting procedure by saying that eliminating it “puts us at a competitive disadvantage relative to Democrats.”

Democrats have been nervously complaining that Republicans, who control both legislative chambers and the governorship in 30 states, are busy gerrymandering state legislative and House districts in the states they control to their own partisan benefit. But Democrats are gleefully doing the same in states they control like Illinois, Maryland, New York, and Oregon. When the dust clears on gerrymandering this year, the partisan impact may be “slightly less biased in the GOP's favor than the last decade's” when Republicans maxed out partisan bias in redistricting after the 2010 census.

Which major party may be winning the partisan gerrymandering battle does little to change the disenfranchisement of Greens and the over 40% of voters who are not affiliated with either major party. We are excluded from electing our own representatives by the single-member-district, winner-take-all voting system. Under this system, most districts are non-competitive one-party districts. Members of the major party that is the minority in a single-member district are also excluded from electing people who represent their political viewpoint.

Partisan gerrymandering only makes the problem of non-competitive elections worse. Over 90% of House districts and over 95% of state legislative districts are non-competitive one-party districts. As a result,

**tens of millions of us are perpetually represented by politicians we oppose with no hope of changing our representation by voting.**

Independent redistricting commissions are often proposed to remedy partisan bias in redistricting and non-competitive districts. In most states where these commissions exist, their independence has been “undermined by partisans” this year. The results of independent redistricting commissions after the 2010 census yielded mostly non-competitive one-party districts and bias toward one of the two major parties. For example, in 2011, an independent redistricting commission drew new House district lines in California. In 2014, Democratic House candidates won 57% of votes in California’s 53 House races, but 74% of seats. Similarly, in New Jersey in 2011, a bipartisan commission with one public interest independent drew state assembly lines that then resulted in 2013 in Republicans for the state assembly winning 51% of the vote, but only 40% of the seats.

Redistricting can easily game single-member district lines for partisan gain, but not in multi-member districts using proportional ranked-choice voting (RCV).

**In fact, the only way to end partisan bias and non-competitive one-party districts is to have proportional representation from multi-member districts.**

RCV in multi-member districts yields proportional representation of all political viewpoints no matter where the district lines are drawn.

The more seats up for election in a multi-member district, the more proportional the results will be. The winning threshold for a 3-seat district is 25% plus one vote. A party or political viewpoint with 20% support would not get representation. If the districts were nine seats each, the winning threshold would be 10% plus one vote. The 20% party would get two of the nine seats. See the write-up and video at FairVote.org for a short, clear explanation of how proportional RCV works.

Greens should be promoting proportional RCV to end partisan and racial gerrymandering at the state and federal levels. If there is not a bill in your state legislature, demand that your representatives introduce one. We do have a bill to support in Congress, the Fair Representation Act (H.R.3863), which would require proportional RCV for House elections and single-seat RCV for Senate elections. The bill only has seven co-sponsors. Most progressive Democratic leaders like Pramila Jayapal and “The Squad” are not among them. No Senator has introduced companion legislation.

Every Green running in a House or Senate race should make this bill a campaign issue and demand that their opponents pledge to support the Fair Representation Act. Make news with their responses. If they respond by supporting it, declare victory. If they refuse to support it, raise hell.



*Howie Hawkins yard sign design*



Medicare for all rally, July 2021

# INDIANAPOLIS PASSES MEDICARE FOR ALL RESOLUTION

BY: CASSIDAY MORIARITY, GREEN PARTY OF INDIANA

At a special event in November, Circle City Greens felt victorious as the Indianapolis City-County Council approved a resolution in support of establishing a national Medicare for All program. The resolution was endorsed and advocated by a coalition of organizations including the Circle City Greens and the Indiana Green Party (INGP).

The resolution, Proposal #362, included language that the City-County Council “endorses and urges Congress to pass the Healthcare Emergency Guarantee Act of 2020 (HR 6906, SB 2790) and the Medicare for All Act of 2019 (HR 1384, SB 1129) to provide universal, comprehensive health coverage with zero cost-sharing during the Covid-19 pandemic and beyond.”

With this resolution, the partnering organizations of The Party for Socialism and Liberation, Democratic

Socialists of America, Indiana NORML, Poor People’s Campaign, and the INGP now have a formal document which explicitly states “The Indianapolis City-County Council supports the establishment of a comprehensive, universal, single-payer health care system, with zero cost-sharing, in the United States.”

Indianapolis is a bit behind the curve for passing such a resolution, as West Lafayette had done so earlier in 2021 in early February. The Medicare for All Resolution passed unanimously in West Lafayette, though it only passed by a majority in Indianapolis. This begs the question which city in Indiana is a true leader for the betterment of the state and its people and shows that more organizing work is needed around the importance of a universal healthcare system.

# JILL STEIN TAKES FEC TO COURT

BY DAVE SCHWAB, GREEN PARTY OF WISCONSIN

The 2016 Green Party Presidential candidate Jill Stein has filed an appeal to the Federal Election Commission's order that her campaign repay over \$175,000 in federal public matching funds used by the campaign for ballot access drives in 2016.

On Friday October 1st, nearly 5 years after the end of Stein's 2016 campaign, the FEC announced a decision that Dr. Jill Stein and Jill Stein for President must repay \$175,272 within 30 days to the US Treasury.

On her website [JillStein.net](http://JillStein.net), Dr. Stein wrote, "we are fighting a decision by the Federal Election Commission (FEC) that strikes another blow against open, fair elections by seriously limiting our ability to use federal public matching funds to gain ballot access."

"Since our 2016 campaign account is all but closed, **the FEC is holding me, as the candidate, personally liable for repaying this massive, unjust bill from my personal funds.**"

"If the FEC ruling is allowed to stand, grassroots candidates running independently of the big money corporate parties will simply run out of money before overcoming onerous ballot access hurdles around the country.

**To make matters worse, the precedent of receiving a ruinous bill from the government years after the election would be an obvious deterrent to future grassroots candidates**

who rely on matching funds to challenge power without selling out to corporate political machines. In many states this would also make it far more difficult to run in local 'down-ballot' races where Greens and other independents have had the most success."

Within weeks, Dr. Stein announced that she had hired attorneys Oliver Hall of the Center for Competitive Democracy and Harry Kresky, both with years of experience successfully fighting for the rights of candidates outside the two-party system, and officially filed in early December to challenge the FEC's decision in the US Court of Appeals for the DC Circuit.

Her legal team's statement of issues to be raised on appeal challenges the FEC's order on a number of fronts, from its timing five years after the election to the legal premise of the decision itself.

In Dr. Stein's latest message, she wrote, "Above all, we're preparing our legal case to defend public funding and ballot access for alternative parties and independent candidates. These are essential to voters' right to choose. Without that we have just two corporate parties funded by the same economic elites. And that's no choice at all."

Readers can go to [JillStein.net](http://JillStein.net) for updates on Dr. Jill Stein's fight with the FEC and how to support her.



2012 & 2016 Green Party presidential candidate Jill Stein.



Three members of Young Ecosocialists were elected as delegates to the Global Young Greens Congress: Austin Bashore (Ohio, top-left), Matthew Skolar (New Jersey, top right), and Blaizen Bloom (Virginia, bottom-center). Photo courtesy Matthew Skolar.

# GREEN YOUTH ORGANIZATION GOES GLOBAL

YOUNG ECOSOCIALISTS JOIN CONGRESS WITH FOCUS ON CLIMATE CHANGE

BY GARRET WASSERMANN, GREEN PARTY OF PENNSYLVANIA

From January 14th-16th, 2022, the Global Young Greens (GYG), an emerging new youth organization dedicated to green politics loosely affiliated with the Global Greens global federation of national Green Parties, met online for its regular Congress.

Representing the Young Ecosocialists, the youth caucus of the Green Party of the United States, were three elected delegates: Austin Bashore (Ohio), Matthew Skolar (New Jersey), and Blaizen Bloom (Virginia).

Delegates attended talks and discussions on topics including a report back from the GYG delegation about the COP26 global climate change summit, and how Young Greens should respond to the failure of COP26 to produce significant international action. Discussion also concerned how the global COVID pandemic can be viewed with a feminist lens in which historically marginalized people are disproportionately affected by the pandemic. Delegates also discussed forming a GYG political platform, and approved a number of amendments to

the GYG organizational charter.

Bloom enjoyed the experience and shared an optimistic message for other youth Greens: "At times it can be difficult to be hopeful in a world that seems so resistant to change. Yet,

***if there's one thing I got from this Congress, it's to not give up hope.***

Meeting with fellow Young Greens from nations as near as Canada and far as India provided valuable insight. I learned from their own struggles and successes, but more importantly, I was shown that we aren't alone in this fight. We are unified within this global struggle for justice and I'm confident that we will win!"

In attendance were delegates representing Green Parties from across the Americas, Europe, Africa, and Asia/Pacific Islands. According to Global Greens, over 100 countries now have a Green Party, with hundreds of Greens elected to national parliaments and governing bodies around the world.

# YOUTH POWER A NEW AGE OF PROGRESSIVE GREEN POLITICS

YOUNG PEOPLE LEAD IN NEW JERSEY GOVERNOR CAMPAIGN

BY WILL SYTSMA,  
GREEN PARTY OF NEW JERSEY

High school and college students coalesced behind the Green Party of New Jersey's recent ticket of Madelyn Hoffman and Heather Warburton for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, constituting well over seventy-five percent of the campaign's staff and volunteer team. The youthful nature of this coalition remained true to the heart of the Hoffman/Warburton campaign, which purposefully embodied the urgency of young environmental fighters all over the globe. Queer youth composed a significant bloc of these, representing the inspirationally progressive founding principles of Green policy. As they worked in a variety of roles in the months leading up to election day, these young volunteers proved indispensable to the success of the Green statewide campaign.

Recognizing the enormous lack of progressive ideology in the Garden State's current expenditures, the campaign's interns worked to propose a new budget. Youth conducted meticulous research in order to create an informed, comprehensive budget proposal.

***"The budget developed by our student interns was designed to show what a budget built around eco-socialist principles would look like," said Madelyn Hoffman.***

"It was to reflect the values and principles of a real Green New Deal, one built around both environmental and economic sustainability. This meant paying attention to and confronting issues of climate change, as well as making sure that all workers would be paid a living wage." Centering their research around these values, the interns



Sunrise climate strike outside of Senator Robert Menezes's office with NJ YES members pictured.



Canvassing in South Jersey, two NJ Yes Caucus members pictured.

Madelyn Hoffman (NJ-Candidate for Governor) and student at campaign rally at Rutgers University.



modeled spending which would leave sufficient space for needed public support: Medicare for all, sufficient unemployment benefits, tuition-free college, rent cancellation, effective funding for public education, among many other Green expenses. “We were so close to completing this work when election day was upon us,” continued the candidate, “but will continue to tweak the budget until we complete the task and release it. We need an alternative to the plan offered by both Democrats and Republicans.” Though the election cycle has seen its day, the campaign’s Green budget seeks to provide inspiration for future progressive legislation within and out of the state.

### **Young people attended and brought a new ardor to campaign-attended events.**

In Jersey City, the campaign partnered with Sunrise Hunterdon, a hub of the Sunrise Movement climate change advocacy group composed wholly of youth, to stage a protest on the steps of Senator Robert Menendez’s offices. The event was designed to bring attention to the Senator’s failure to support ambitious climate legislation, a central objection held by New Jersey Greens to the current political situation.

Only blocks away, youth attended Jersey City’s pride festival to express support for Hudson County’s vibrant queer community and inspire confidence in a truly LGBT-friendly ticket. In Newark, the youth stood beside Madelyn Hoffman as the candidate fervidly denounced the United States’ imperialist oppression of Cuba’s inhabitants. In Hadelon, young people marched in the Labor Day procession to call for concrete labor justice, including the reinstatement of the nation’s rent moratorium.

High school and college students represented the entirety of the campaign’s Press and Debates team, working relentlessly to draft, revise, and publish op-ed pieces. Subjects ranged expansively from: the future of affordable healthcare, southern New Jersey’s inadequate transportation infrastructure,

and providing justice to communities ravaged by industry in Colombia. Such pieces served as an imperative foundation for the campaign’s outreach strategy. When put into the hands of local publications, these issues connected voters to the core beliefs of the campaign and informed New Jersey’s progressive bloc of a wiser, future-oriented candidate.

Youth thoroughly canvassed New Jersey’s residential areas, furthering their tireless work to bring more votes to the Green cause. Joining hands with the candidates and other volunteers, they marched the streets to give the state’s voters their takes on the campaign’s core values, including the dire need for affordable healthcare, housing, and forward-looking green legislation. Leaflets abounded in the hands and on the doorsteps of Passaic, Dover, Brunswick, Paramus, Middletown, and countless other cities and townships. One supporter noted that they were overjoyed to see a state-wide campaign reaching their doorstep in an area habitually neglected by career politicians. Dedicated, young volunteers powered this outdoor movement, taking valued time out of their busy school and work schedules to support Madelyn and Heather.

Embracing their inherent social media prowess, young people created graphics and videos for each of the campaign’s platforms. In a day and age where social media is able to greatly amplify a candidate’s following, Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, and TikTok served as vital means of light housing new progressives into the Green ticket’s message. On TikTok, a brand new platform for political messaging, the campaign reached thousands of views per video, with one video in particular receiving nearly thirty thousand views.

On Instagram, graphics informed followers about issues pertaining to the state and the electoral process, including the unrealizable \$490,000 fundraising minimum which excluded the majority of candidates on the gubernatorial ballot from both debates. “Because we were entrusted with so much power in content creation,” said media

coordinator Matthew Skolar, “Madelyn’s online presence captured the positive and progressive energy associated with strong Green campaigns.” Young staff members were able to harness their knowledge of new technology and utilize it effectively to bring more supporters to and inform more supporters of the Green Party.

The result of this youth coalition, when paired with the rest of the campaign’s devoted staff and volunteers, was a successful election for the New Jersey Green Party across the board. For the first time ever, New Jersey’s Green ticket surpassed that of the Libertarian Party in its gubernatorial race, placing third overall, first amongst the three candidates outside the duopoly. The Hoffman campaign took first among these in thirteen out of twenty-one counties across the Garden State. Was it a coincidence that the most youth-driven of any of these campaigns was able to achieve such success? It would seem not. The present and future of Green politics lies in the devoted hands of our youngest generations, and New Jersey is only its dawn.

# WALMART WORKERS FIGHT BACK ON BLACK FRIDAY

*BY CHRIS OVERCASH,  
NORTH CAROLINA GREEN PARTY*

On Black Friday, considered the biggest shopping day of the year, my fellow coworkers and I went on a one-day strike/walkout to demand better from Walmart. Demands included: the correct amount of equipment to work with, a responsive human resources department to address problems in the store, a new policy that would address COVID-19 outbreaks in the store, and the right to form or join a union without interference from corporate.

Months of frustration and being faced with constant issues in the store without any attempts at resolution led to coworkers and I organizing with the help from members of the North Carolina Green Party, The Party for Socialism and Liberation, and North Carolina RaiseUP. For a while, we planned on standing up and fighting back. At first, a good comrade of mine Matthew Skolar brought up the idea of a worker-led march to the Walmart with speakers to let their demands be heard. But eventually we got in contact with NC RaiseUP and began to talk, and from there the idea of a strike/walkout came up.

As workers the most powerful thing we have, other than a union, is to withhold our labor from the capitalist. This is such a powerful way to stand up and say we’re not going to be complacent anymore.

**Places like Walmart only work because we work and things are only held up because we hold them up.**

It’s not the higher-ups that clock into these stores every day, stocking the shelves or check out customers up front and take care of grocery orders - it’s us who do that. We work every day, we do our jobs, we make sure everything is getting done, but the rich only reward us by giving us pizza parties at work and pointless rewards that none of us care about. What we care about is how affordable benefits are going to be, how we are going to make enough to pay our rent or put food on our tables for our families and get the essentials we need to live.

I would like to close by saying, if you are experiencing injustice in your place of work, organize and fight back, because that is all we have. Talk to your coworkers, learn their struggles, find out how you can help each other, and when the time is right and y’all feel like you have organized enough to strike back and strike hard - do it. Talk to your coworkers about forming or joining a union, because at the end of the day, if we don’t have a seat at the bargaining table we will be left out in the cold to beg.

And remember that organizing is your right no matter where you are. We have that power to dismantle injustice at work and it's important that we do just that. Now is a time for labor organizing. It's time we educate, agitate, and organize while also standing in solidarity with others around the country and the world who are all fighting the good fight. An injury to one is an injury to all!

Robin Laurain, from the Green Party of Michigan, decided to use her nursing experience to fight Covid in places overwhelmed by the pandemic. Her work as a traveling nurse eventually brought her to the island of Sitka, near Juneau, Alaska. In between her busy schedule as a nurse, Laurain spent time talking with locals about the Green Party. She was met with an intrinsic openness by the community.



Chris Overcash and others strike outside walmart for \$15 minimum wage

The last iteration of the Green Party of Alaska was disaffiliated by the GPUS National Committee in January 2021 when a small group of party leaders decided not to place the Green Party presidential nominees on its ballot line. Alaska Greens who were disenfranchised by that previous group are interested in building a grassroots democratic Green Party in the state.

Many locals are receptive to Green values and political ideas once they learn more about the party. Alaskans are independent-minded and value self-sufficiency, but that also means taking care of everyone in the community especially before the long winter sets in. The community around Sitka especially moved to run corporations out of town and turn a local factory into a worker-owned cooperative, after the corporation essentially lied to locals about the wages and benefits they would receive.

**Alaskans, being so much closer to the Arctic, understand better than most in the US the effects of climate change**

Alaskan forest. Photo courtesy of Robin Laurain.



# MICHIGAN NURSE SPREADS THE GREEN PARTY WORD IN ALASKA

BY GARRET WASSERMANN,  
GREEN PARTY OF PENNSYLVANIA  
AND GPUS STEERING COMMITTEE  
CO-CHAIR

as they watch mountain glaciers melt away melt away, causing floods and pushing wildlife like bears into places they've never gone before such as human neighborhoods.

Many in the lower US do not realize that Alaska has its own rainforest area that many Alaskans feel protective of, yet US and Canadian businesses in addition to logging regularly dump toxic chemicals and trash in these forests.

Many Alaskans value self-sufficiency but also social responsibility, and are protective of the environment and looking for ways to sustainably grow the economy - all values in line with the Greens.

Alaska has for decades faced poor economic and environmental policy pushed by Republicans while Democrats have done little to organize and resist. In particular, much of the Alaskan population is Indigenous and historically underrepresented and oppressed within US politics. This means many Alaskans are skeptical of politics but also very receptive to efforts to move beyond two-party politics once trust and understanding is built. Local Greens are interested in building a Green Party presence but recognize that it will take time to organize around the challenges faced.



Former Green Party of Alaska Logo on former Alaska candidate Jed Whittaker's t-shirt.



The four pillars on a banner at a march.

Robin Laurain (Michigan) reaching out to an Alaskan iceberg. Photo courtesy of Robin Laurain.



# SHERLOCK HOLMES AND THE STRANGE CASE OF THE GREEN NEW DEAL THEFT

BY JOHN H. WATSON M.D., AS TOLD TO DAVID "JACK"  
BALDWIN (WITH APOLOGIES TO ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE)

Over weeks of painfully close observation, I'd become worried for my dear friend and partner, Sherlock Holmes. Other than his fateful encounter with Irene Adler – whom he would always call *the woman* – not eating or sleeping, I'd never seen the great detective so frustrated by a case before. One evening, I finally confronted the poor man and asked why his most recent case was so difficult.

"But that's just it, Watson: it was *not* difficult," he answered. "In fact, it was the easiest case I've ever tackled. What was truly baffling was its aftermath. As you know, whenever I've exposed wrongdoing, the perpetrators, if caught, have been imprisoned or disgraced. This time... nothing happened. Not a sausage! That's the *real* mystery here." I said, "I'm afraid I'm not quite following you, Holmes, perhaps you should start from the beginning."

"Very well, Watson," he said and lit his pipe, staring thoughtfully into the middle distance like Che Guevara. "I first set myself the task of seeking the origin of the term 'Green New Deal,' which we'll call the "GND" for short. It turns out that it originated over a decade-and-a-half ago, in 2006 to be precise, from the Green New Deal Task Force, originated by the Global Greens, the international network of Green parties and movements. The idea was to help create not only a sustainable world, but a socially and politically just one, through programs that would assist people through the difficult transition from a fossil-fuel-based economy to one based on renewable sources of energy.

**"The GND concept," he continued, "was next taken up in 2010 by – logically enough – an American Green Party member, one Howie Hawkins, a candidate for governor of New York."**



*Sherlock Holmes & James Watson, Public Domain art by Sidney Paget*

**"But I... I always thought," I said, stuttering badly, "that it was Ms. Ocasio-Cortez who first championed it."**

Holmes smiled. "That's what everybody thinks. But in October 2010, the New York Times, reporting on the gubernatorial candidates' debate, revealed that Hawkins' platform proposed to – quote – 'establish a Green New Deal that would devote resources to and create jobs in renewable energy, public transit and organic agriculture.' This was more than eight years before Ocasio-Cortez proposed her version, and it was a better deal than hers even then. The evidence is in plain sight on the Internet, Watson!"

"But Holmes, haven't the Democrats even so much as *acknowledged* that it was the Green Party that first proposed the GND... if, for nothing else, to distinguish *their* version from that of the Greens?"

“A logical but hopelessly naïve question,” he said, smiling, as he puffed his pipe. “It’s been the fashion of the Democratic Party for years to pretend the Green Party doesn’t exist, unless it’s to accuse them of being ‘spoilers’ during election season... and the mainstream media is more than happy to follow suit. As for the Republicans, because they loathe the Democrats, they gleefully attack their opponents’ watered-down program as ‘socialism.’”

“What, the Democrats... socialist? Why that’s madness, Holmes, pure madness!”

“Quite so, dear Watson, quite so. But in the heated debate between the two mainstream parties, the fact that it was the Green Party that thought up the idea in the first place has gotten lost.”

“But I’m still unclear about the differences between the Green and Democratic Party GND plans,” I remarked.

“Those differences are fundamental,” Holmes sagely replied. “The Greens champion ecosocialism, which combines a truly sustainable economy with grassroots democracy – a concept alien to both mainstream parties. The Democrats are relying on market-based solutions for their GND. But the Greens understand that you can’t pull off an economic transition of this kind without enormous public spending, financed by massive taxes on the super-rich and corporations, which the Democrats refuse to commit to. Also, the Greens reject nuclear power as a sustainable energy source. Senator Ed Markey, who co-sponsored the Democratic plan, left open the door to nuclear as part of their GND... Watson, my friend, would you please hand me my hypodermic?”

“So the Democrats have stolen the Green’s GND and weakened it,” I said. “What’s next for the Green Party?”

“Of course, I’m only an outsider, but if I were running the party, I’d make sure that every candidate at every level runs on the Green New

Deal, and strongly differentiates it from the Democrats’ version. I’d also have them point out that the Democrats brazenly stole the Green New Deal in plain sight... more or less as happened in the Case of The Purloined Letter.”

“But I don’t recall any such case.”

“It was not one of ours,” he explained, shaking his head. “It was a strange affair investigated by a well-meaning but hopelessly amateurish Frenchman named Dupin, as recounted in a story by Mr. Poe.” “Poe? Isn’t he that batty American who writes those morbid poems about ravens?”

“The very same, Watson, the very same,” Holmes answered, as he leaned back in his chair and sighed.

*Social Media Post about the Green New Deal*



# MURRAY BOOKCHIN TURNS 101 YEARS OLD

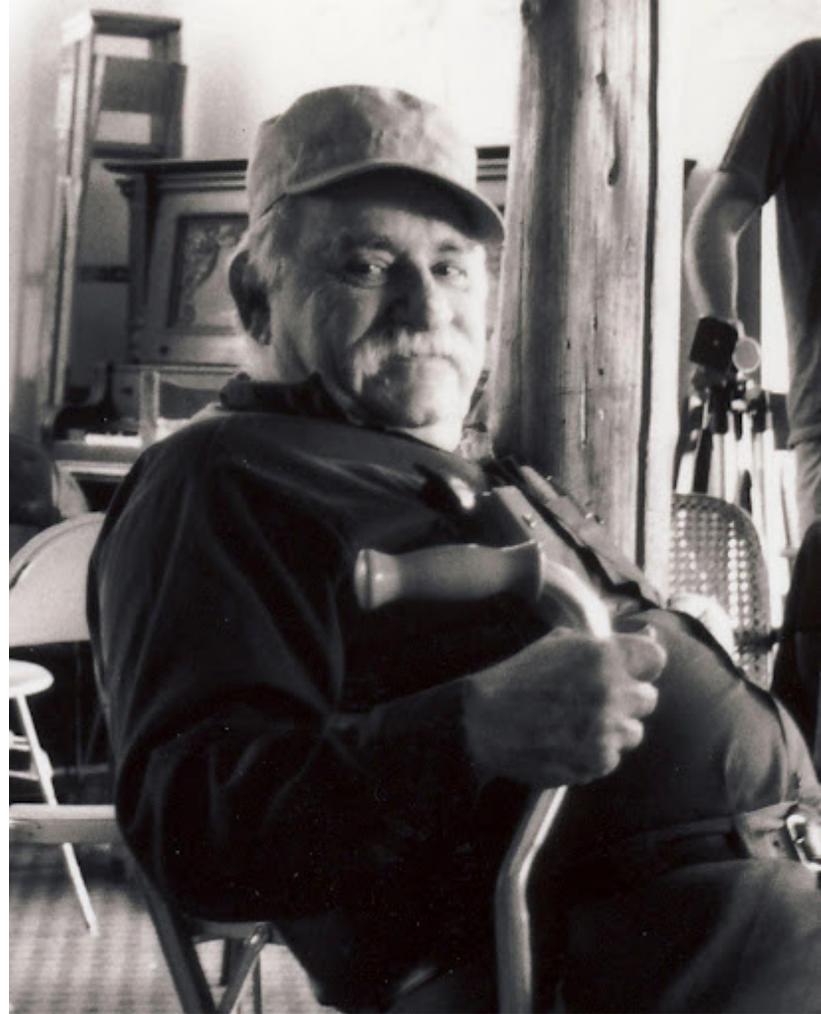
SOCIAL ECOLOGIST  
SIGNIFICANTLY INFLUENCED THE  
GREEN PARTY

BY GARRET WASSERMANN,  
GREEN PARTY OF PENNSYLVANIA  
AND GPUS STEERING COMMITTEE CO-  
CHAIR

January 2022 marks the 101st birthday of Murray Bookchin. He is the pioneering thinker, author, educator, and activist behind the political philosophies of social ecology and libertarian municipalism, and a huge influence on the foundation of the US Green Party and the global Green movement. Bookchin often spoke of the need for radical study groups and political education as the first step to building a revolutionary movement, so it seems a fitting tribute to share a summary of his work and history with the Greens in hope of inspiring and educating a new generation to take up the challenge of building an ecological society.

Born in 1921 and growing up in New York City, Bookchin became interested at an early age in socialist organizing, and found himself delivering public lectures on socialism while fighting the American Nazi movement in the streets as a teenager in the 1930s. However, Bookchin quickly found himself disillusioned by the post-World War II Left, especially its lack of an answer on growing concerns about environmental and ecological effects of modern industry. Over his lifetime he instead developed a new path for the Left based in socialist organizing with an ecological ethics and framing -- a "social ecology."

Bookchin in the 1950s was among the first to analyze the impacts of industrial pollution, corporate agriculture, and nuclear energy, drawing the insightful and radical conclusion that social crisis under capitalism was the root cause of these



*Bookchin with his cane looks on. Photo by Janet Biehl/Public Domain.*  
ecological crises.

**Bookchin even predicted in the 1960s the danger of climate change, and argued for the need to end the capitalistic "grow-or-die" economic imperative.**

His analysis and calls for a radical, revolutionary ecology greatly influenced the Left. This can be seen by the adoption of many of his ideas and even the language he used to talk about human society and nature into many environmental movements in the 1970s. Organizations like the Clamshell Alliance adapted social ecology principles by creating their internal organization as a decentralized democratic structure, and successfully used non-violent, escalating direct actions to call attention to and ultimately halt the growth of nuclear energy in the US. The success of these grassroots movements, and tactics based in social ecology, directly led to the foundation of the Green political movement around the world which started first in countries like Australia and Germany before coming to the US in the 1980s.

Bookchin's Institute of Social Ecology hosted the first meeting about starting a US Green Party in Minnesota in 1984.

**Together with Howie Hawkins, he founded the Left Green Network that argued for this new "anti-party party" to be based on the ideas and strategy of social ecology.**

While Bookchin ultimately split with the Greens over disagreements on strategy, particularly his insistence on radical municipalism instead of national electoral campaigns, the ideas of social ecology still had a profound influence on the first Green platform and the founding of the original Greens/Green Party USA in 1991, and many of those ideas were brought over to the Green Party of the United States when it was founded after Nader's presidential run in 2000. For example, social ecology articulated several key guiding principles, including direct democracy, non-hierarchy, respect for diversity, decentralization, social justice via a radical inclusive humanism, and a call for a new moral economy to replace profit-driven capitalism; it isn't hard to see how these evolved into the Four Pillars and Ten Key Values that guide the party today.

Bookchin's ideas not only influenced the foundation of the US Greens, but even influenced several international movements. Rojava, the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria, has governed itself via a confederal, directly-democratic structure and set of values adapted from Bookchin's writings by Abdullah Ocalan, providing a fascinating experiment at implementing some ideas of social ecology in the real world.

The recent International Panel on Climate Change report contained dark predictions, yet with room for hope; the current path under global neoliberal capitalism is unsustainable and will rapidly lead to climate catastrophe, however, it is also clearer than ever that it is not yet too late to act. An urgent mobilization over the next decade still has the ability to not only stop the worst of climate change, but

even start rolling back changes over time – if we act quickly enough, and at scale. In other words, we need an Eco-Socialist Green New Deal that shifts our economy more toward a moral, ecological economy directly controlled by workers and communities, and we're going to have to do it ourselves, be our own heroes, because capitalism and corporate politicians won't – and fundamentally can't – do it.

We should all step back a moment, and learn and discuss Murray Bookchin's social ecology, and how those ideas may apply to a 21st century Green Party fighting to build popular power via a uniquely Green combination of direct action, electoral campaigns, and dual power municipalist institutions. I can't think of a better way to discuss the possibilities and start organizing than to form a discussion group in your community -- I hope you'll join me in doing so.

*Murray Bookchin at the Toward Tomorrow Fair, mid-1970s.  
photos by Lionel Delevingne.*



Longtime activist and Green Party member, Alice Green of Albany, NY has just come out with a memoir: *We Who Believe in Freedom: Activism and the Struggle for Social Justice*. For more than 40 years she has been a dedicated activist for racial justice, voting equality, law enforcement issues and prison reform. In 1985 she founded and has been executive director of The Center for Law and Justice (cflj.org), a non-profit civil rights organization. Green ran for New York Lieutenant Governor on the Green Party ticket in 1998, and in 2005 she ran again on the Green line for mayor of Albany, garnering 25 percent of the vote.

Look out for more about Alice Green in future Green Pages.



# Green Pages Editorial Board

The editorial board of the Green Party of the United States is responsible for the content of this quarterly publication. Green Pages accepts submissions but is not responsible for return of articles, letters, photos or cartoons. This publication is paid for by the Green Party of the United States.

Green Pages does not accept advertising.

National Black Caucus  
Darryl Moch

California  
Mike Feinstein, Advisor

Delaware  
David McCorquodale

National Women's Caucus  
Cassiday Moriarity, Co-Chair

New York  
Deyva Arthur, Managing Editor  
David Doonan, Photo Editor

North Carolina  
Jan Martell

Wisconsin  
Dave Schwab, Co-Chair

Steering Committee Liaison  
Garret Wassermann

## submissions

Green Pages publishes two or more issues in a year, with at least one issue in printed format. Between print issues, it is published online.

Send submissions to:  
[greenpages@gp.org](mailto:greenpages@gp.org)

The editorial board is a skills-based GPUS committee dedicated to the production of Green Pages. Prospective members should provide information on their experience in writing, editing or design to [greenpages@gp.org](mailto:greenpages@gp.org) and have their state party or caucus nominate them..

## state, caucus, and committee reports

State parties and GPUS Committees and working groups are where the nuts and bolts of party work gets done. We encourage short reports in Green Pages to let everyone know what you are doing.

Email them to our team at  
[greenpages@gp.org](mailto:greenpages@gp.org)

## photos of local actions

Don't just post to Facebook, send your photos in to Green Pages for inclusion in the next issue: [greenpages@greens.org](mailto:greenpages@greens.org).

Remember to include caption details, and photographer citation. Greens across the country appreciate knowing that they are part of a larger movement.