

VOLUME 21 | JULY 2021

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# ONLY SEVEN YEARS TO ADDRESS THE CLIMATE EMERGENCY

BY MARK DUNLEA,  
GREEN PARTY OF NEW YORK STATE

The EcoAction committee of the Green Party of the United States has ramped up its efforts in 2021 to promote an ecosocialist Green New Deal(GND) while promoting economic and racial justice.

With the Democrats holding only a tiebreaker for a majority vote in the Senate, federal climate action is more likely through Presidential Executive Order than through legislation. EcoAction joined ClimatePresident.Org and Build Back Fossil Free to support efforts for Biden to use his Executive powers to declare a climate emergency and take a strong stance in favor of halting new fossil fuel infrastructure and rapidly phasing out existing uses. Biden did take some positive steps but fell far short of what was needed to avoid climate collapse.





The EcoAction committee has helped to organize local and national Green Party actions from Earth Day to May Day, highlighting how issues like the Black Lives Matter movement, worker and immigration rights, and climate are all interconnected. EcoAction helped organize webinars on Climate and the Military, and How Nuclear Power is a False Climate Solution.

Former Green Party presidential candidates Howie Hawkins and David Cobb spoke at an EcoAction webinar in February on ecosocialism and the Green New Deal as part of the week of action from the Build Back Fossil Free campaign. The Green Party of Florida highlighted its efforts to support indigenous groups in protecting their ancestral lands.



Hawkins, joined by GP candidates nationwide, first issued a call for the GND in his 2010 race for Governor in New York. Unlike more moderate proposals advanced by AOC, the GP called for a 10-year timeline to reach zero emissions, a commitment to 100% clean renewable energy (no nukes) while supporting massive cuts in the military, a robust carbon tax, and higher taxes on the rich to pay for it. It also advocated for a publicly owned (including worker coops) and democratically controlled energy system.

Hawkins and the Green Party criticized Biden for only committing the US at his Earth Day Climate Summit to cutting emissions by 50% by 2030. The Greens had been pushing for 100%. A national coalition led by Friends of the Earth called for a 70% cut by the US by 2030 combined with a massive increase in US funding to assist developing countries and the Global South in responding to the climate crisis created by the industrial polluting countries like the US.



The Green Party said Biden's declarations have been a step in the right direction but fall woefully short of what the science says must be done to avert a climate catastrophe. "Democrats love to lecture that 'half a loaf of bread is better than none but the President is offering half of a parachute when we're about to be kicked out of an airplane,'" said Green Party Communications Manager Michael O'Neil.



**“The COVID pandemic showed us how quickly and profoundly we can alter the fundamentals of society when we recognize we’re in an overwhelming crisis,” said Howie Hawkins, the 2020 Green Party Presidential Nominee.**

“There’s no doubt that climate change is an existential crisis to humanity and the planet. Biden needs to formally declare a climate emergency and launch an all-out mobilization of national resources to give current and future generations a fighting chance for a future” said Hawkins, who became the first candidate in the United States to campaign for a Green New Deal, in 2010.

The Green Party noted the science has long been clear: 7 years remain, at the world’s present rate of greenhouse gas emissions, before surpassing the limit required to keep warming below the 1.5°C threshold that will trigger catastrophic climate change. Extreme weather, species extinction, and fracturing ice sheets threatening massive sea-level rise are all accelerating.

The Greens recently called for Congress to pass a ten-year, \$4.1 trillion per year green economic stimulus to create 30 million jobs and accelerate the transition to 100% renewable energy by 2030. By comparison, Biden’s \$2 trillion infrastructure stimulus barely scrapes the surface of urgent climate needs, with only \$400 billion for specific climate measures, and even that is spread out over eight years. Such measures can be done through the budget reconciliation process in the Senate, meaning it only needs 50 plus 1 vote to pass.

The Green Party’s plan for a Green New Deal — to transition to 100% clean, renewable energy while ensuring living wage jobs and economic security for everyone —includes:

- An immediate halt to new fossil fuel infrastructure, including new fracking and fossil fuel pipelines. Set a timeline to phase out the current infrastructure.
- Phasing out natural gas with its dangerous methane emissions, swiftly transitioning to geothermal and heat pumps for buildings.

- Moving from gas cars to electric and, with even greater benefit, expand and transform mass transit powered by green renewable energy.
- Retrofit tens of millions of homes annually, not a million over 8 years.

To pay for the program, the Green Party supports slashing the dangerous, bloated military budget (that devours over 60% of Congressional expenditures), enacting a carbon tax on polluters, and increasing taxes on the wealthy.

Green leaders also prioritize a Just Transition to guarantee good wages for existing fossil fuel workers and to invest in frontline communities that bear the greatest risk, both at home and abroad, who’ve long been the principal victims of fossil fuel pollution and climate change. The Green New Deal revitalization will include environmental reforms beyond energy and climate goals, such as stricter EPA guidelines for disposal of toxic waste and agriculture regulations for pesticides, herbicides and use of genetically modified organisms (GMOs).

“Many Americans realize that the U.S. was an international climate pariah under Trump and his climate-change-denying promotion of fossil fuels. But they overlook how the U.S. was a negative force at the 2015 Paris climate summit, leading the industrial polluting nations in opposing a reduction in the global warming cap to 1.5°C and blocking mandatory emission reductions. The world remains skeptical of the climate positions of both the Democrats and Republicans” added Green Party National Co-Chair Tamar Yager.

While the party supported Biden’s move to stop new fossil fuel leases on federal lands and once again reject the permits for the XL Keystone Pipeline, Greens want the federal government to halt all new fossil fuel infrastructure, including a national ban on fracking natural gas. Greens stated that in its first week, the Biden administration issued at least 31 new oil drilling permits authorizing operations on federal land and in coastal waters. Greens also opposed \$6 billion in recent



Congressional energy deals for carbon capture technologies that would allow the continued burning of fossil fuels.

The Green Party applauds Biden's move to require 40% of climate funding to assist disadvantaged communities through challenging environmental racism. However, as one of the world's wealthiest nations, the U.S. must dramatically increase its funding for developing countries to compensate for our country's major role driving global warming worldwide.

The Green Party is committed to environmental justice and a Just Transition. Dr. Jill Stein was issued an arrest warrant during her 2016 Presidential campaign for protesting the Dakota Access Pipeline. Greens demand an end to all new pipelines such as Line 3 and Mountain Valley. Greens also oppose the continued use of nuclear power due to environmental and health damage.

"We need to transform the Federal Renewable Energy Commission (FERC) from a rubber stamp for the fossil fuel industry to a proponent of renewable energy. The Treasury Department and Security and Exchange Commission should issue regulations to block the financial industry from investing in fossil fuels. We need to move to public ownership and democratic control of our energy system, as the domination of the capitalist marketplace has led us to climate disaster. It is time to take a range of actions, including a robust carbon fee and dividend program to hold polluters accountable for the damage they have caused," said Gloria Mattera, Green Party National Co-Chair.

The EcoAction Committee is also working with the Global Greens to increase the impact of the worldwide Green Party movement at the COP26 gathering in Glasgow in November, where many Greens will be voting delegates for their countries.







# RANKED CHOICE VOTING CHANGING POLITICS

## GREENS TAKE THE LEAD IN THIS ELECTORAL REFORM MOVEMENT

*DAVID MCCORQUODALE,  
GREEN PARTY OF DELAWARE*

Both national and local Green Party candidates face numerous obstacles in elections. A fear among many voters is that if they vote for a candidate they want, but who is unlikely to pull the votes to win, it takes away from another candidate and essentially gives votes to a much worse candidate. Known as the “spoiler effect,” voters then cast their ballot for a “lesser of two evils” rather than voting for a candidate whose principles they align with.

Ranked Choice Voting (RCV) would eliminate that conundrum by allowing voters to vote for as many candidates in an election as they wish by ranking their choices. When the votes are counted, if no candidate wins by a majority, the candidate with the least amount of votes would be eliminated and those votes would be assigned to the second choice. This process would continue until someone wins by a majority.

While RCV is not the only voting reform necessary for the Green Party to obtain electoral success, it could be an important first step. RCV would allow voters to show the amount of true support each candidate has in the first count of the votes. It would put more of a burden on all candidates to address issues they might avoid if there were only two corporate-party candidates, and give Greens and other minor party candidates more opportunities to speak to issues usually avoided in major party races.



**“The RCV movement is gaining momentum, with five cities and Alaska adopting it in the 2020 elections. There are now campaigns for RCV organizing in almost every state,” said Howie Hawkins, 2020 Green presidential candidate and RCV organizer in New York.**

Green Parties have long championed RCV. Involvement in promoting the issue goes back to at least 2006 when Green Party activist Lynn Serpe was involved in a successful campaign to pass a voter initiative on RCV in Oakland, CA. The measure received a higher percentage vote (68.6 percent) than any other initiative or city candidate in that election.

In the last several years Ranked Choice Voting groups have formed in a number of states with many Greens at the forefront. The state of Maine was the first to pass RCV in 2016 for statewide races after the measure was first adopted by a change to the city charter of Portland in 2010. Greens Anna Trevorow and Ben Chipman were elected to the city charter commission and pushed for the measure. RCV in Maine has survived numerous attempts to block it by the state legislature, by the Commissioner of Elections, and by a candidate who realized he would lose under its use.

RCV is now used in all federal races in Maine, including the presidential race in Maine. In last year’s campaign for U.S. Senate, GreenParty candidate Lisa Savage filed to be on the ballot as an independent candidate because of difficult petitioning rules.

Nevertheless, campaign manager Sam Pfeifle noted that because of RCV, Savage received over 40,000 votes, more than five percent, “maybe twice as many first-place votes with RCV as we would have gotten.”

“I also think RCV was crucial in getting us on four of the five official debate stages. It helped us establish our legitimacy and inclusion in the race.”

Pfeifle continued. “[The Democratic candidate] was forced to articulate her health care position more carefully...because we came out so heavily in favor of Medicare for All.”

With the passage of RCV in Maine, the floodgates opened for RCV initiatives in other states. Massachusetts and Alaska had referenda on RCV in 2020. The measure, while receiving 45.22 percent of the votes, lost in Massachusetts, but it won in Alaska by a scant 4,000 votes. Now groups in more states are joining the effort to promote RCV, often with Greens involved in the leadership.

In New York State, Greens are in the forefront of the RCV movement. New York City has just this year started using ranked choice voting in election primaries. While it’s use in just primaries has limited impact, Green organizers feel it is a start in the right direction. Working in conjunction with Ranked Choice NY, Greens started advocating throughout the state starting with educating the public about the benefits of RCV and are optimistic use of this voting methodology could be in common practice by 2024.

Green Party member David Heller has been an RCV advocate since 2000 in San Francisco. He worked on the 2002 RCV campaign in San Francisco and was the campaign coordinator for the 2004 campaign in Berkeley, California, which won with more than 72 percent of the vote. Now living in New York, he has taken his RCV work to the eastern state.

“A little bit of RCV history ... the Ranked Choice Voting initiatives in both San Francisco and Berkeley were run out of their local Green Party offices. So I say that with great pride. That was the beginning of this long movement that now has two states fully on board with RCV and more to follow in a much shorter time frame,” Heller said.

In Colorado, Green Party member Desmond Wallington is the third Minor Party Coordinator for Ranked Choice Voting for Colorado. While a bill has been introduced in the state legislature, he says “We are starting with local races and then plan on moving forward to statewide races. It takes time to educate voters in how it works.” The idea was promoted in a campaign in Boulder last November.

Joseph Hellman, a Green Party member in Illinois, notes: “Several of my fellow Illinois Greens are working with FairVote Illinois on efforts to get Ranked Choice passed.” Hellman has run twice for county board in Jackson County promoting RCV with the slogan “Free the Vote.” He believes having received 25 percent in a three-way race is “a sign that many people are at least open to the idea.”

In New Jersey, while Green Party co-chair Tom Violet and other Greens founded Voter Choice NJ, Greens are a minority of the membership by design because “we are trying to build a mass movement and must work together with anyone in a bi-partisan fashion.” He emphasized it will be a slow process in order to build a membership of 50,000, which would “allow us to have raised enough funds to hire a lobbyist and do polling.”

“The current strategy is to get non-partisan elections to switch to RCV, such as school board and some municipal offices” which would help “demonstrate that RCV will save them a lot of money”.

Greens have long espoused allowing people to vote for more than one candidate in an election as one of the necessary reforms needed in order for Green candidates to garner more votes. Since the success of adopting RCV in Maine, Greens have been leaders of growing the Ranked Choice Voting movement in states across the country.





# DEMOCRATS TRY TO KNEECAP GREEN PARTY

## CLAUSE SNEAKS POISON PILL IN VOTING RIGHTS BILL (HR1/S1)

*BY MIKE FEINSTEIN, GREEN PARTY OF CALIFORNIA*

What happens when a major political party writes an election bill that would reduce minor party competition and further entrench a duopoly? That's what is happening right before our eyes, with the Democratic Party and HR1/S1 - the 'For the People Act'.

While HR1/S1 contains incredibly important and urgent voting rights protections that Greens enthusiastically support, the bill also contains a clause that would drive smaller parties like the Green Party off the ballot.

This isn't surprising, because Democrats have long pursued legal challenges to deny Green candidates a place before the voters. But

**what makes HR1/S1 so hypocritical, is that the same principle it righteously applies in favor of needed voting rights protections, it does not apply to protecting voter choice.**

HR1/S1 supporters correctly argue that election laws enacted by Republican controlled state legislatures have a disproportionately negative impact upon communities of color and other traditionally marginalized groups - and that HR1/S1 needs to override these laws with guaranteed federal protection for voting rights.

But when changes in HR1/S1 to the federal presidential campaign financing system would

have a disproportionately negative impact on minor parties and voters that support them, these same supporters feign ignorance and look the other way.

Perhaps HR1/S1 is designed to convey partisan advantage to the Democratic Party?

HR1/S1 would raise the threshold to receive presidential primary matching funds, to put it out of reach of most minor party presidential candidates. Not only would this substantially weaken their campaigns, but it would mean they and their parties will also have a harder time getting on the ballot.

Onerous state ballot access laws passed by Democrats and Republicans mean minor party presidential candidates already often have to qualify themselves and their parties via expensive petition drives, on an election-by-election, state-by-state basis. These petition drives are supported in many cases by matching funds — a practice long recognized by Federal Elections Commission Advisory Opinions as a proper use of these funds.

Without matching funds, minor parties and their presidential candidates are unlikely to appear on the general election ballot in many states. Without state party ballot status, neither may many minor party, down-ticket state and congressional candidates. Also in many states to maintain party ballot status, minor party presidential candidates must receive a

certain percentage of the general election vote. But they can't if they aren't on the ballot.

As a result, minor parties will begin to disappear under HR1/S1 — clearing the field for the major parties — at the same time polls show support for a 'third party' in the U.S. at an all-time high.

In a cynical and misleading response (that was forwarded to the Green Party), Common Cause — which co-wrote the campaign finance section of HR1/S1 — said this to a Common Cause member who wrote to them concerned HR1 would hurt minor parties:

*Hi Claire,*

*Thanks for your email. The claim that H.R. 1/S. 1 disadvantages third parties is untrue -- the bill treats all parties equally....The update to the qualifying threshold is merely modernizing the presidential small donor system to account for inflation and the increasing costs of presidential campaigns.*

This is an incredible statement to make for a national organization that stands for voting rights and integrity in government. Just because a bill may treat all political parties equally, doesn't mean it won't disadvantage some compared to others in the process!

Cynically, the Common Cause letter employs the same sleight-of-hand reasoning as used by Georgia Republicans in adding a voter identification requirement to the process for requesting an absentee ballot, after previously only requiring voters to sign an application, and simultaneously shortening the time frame to request a ballot. "It treats all voters the same" supporters of the Georgia law said, while ignoring the well-known disparate impact of the requirement upon communities that disproportionately lack the requisite ID or access to getting them.

In the case of HR1/S1 and presidential primary public matching funds, Federal Election

Committee records show that the current threshold to qualify can be reached by presidential nominees of several minor parties. By raising the threshold beyond the reach of most minor party candidates, this will clearly and unequivocally disadvantage 'third parties' and voters who support them. So what Common Cause is saying is not true.

A few weeks before S1 was expected to come for a floor vote in the U.S Senate in late June, at issue was whether the bill would have full support of all 48 Democrats and the two independents that caucus with them. The thinking was if that was the case, then an argument could be made to waive the filibuster rule to pass it in the Senate by a simple majority vote (i.e. the 48 + 2, plus a tie-breaker by Vice-President Kamala Harris), as the bill faced vociferous Republican opposition and was not expected to receive any Republican support, certainly not the ten votes to reach the 60 needed to override the filibuster.

Instead West Virginia Senator Joe Manchin said he did not support many parts of the bill and wanted to negotiate a smaller bill aimed more directly at voting rights, but without as many other election reforms. In response, Senate Democrats put forward a resolution to simply open debate on amending S1, which all Republicans opposed. Afterwards Democrats said they would continue to fight to pass voting rights reform. Manchin stated he was against the new Congressional public financing section of HR1/S1; but did not state whether he supported or opposed the new presidential matching funds system that would have the effect of harming minor parties.

The Green Party's position has been to seek amendment of the bill so that the existing presidential matching funds thresholds remain in place. Greens want the voting rights protections in HR1/S1 to pass, but not the hatchet job on voter choice.



**STOP THE HR1 POISON PILLS  
THAT SUPPRESS VOTER CHOICE**

**SIGN OUR PETITION** to tell lawmakers  
that covertly repressing opposition  
parties is undemocratic and not what  
Americans want or need.



**GREEN**  
PARTY US

**#WeAreGreen**

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# HOW HR1/S1 ENTRENCHES THE DUOPOLY - BY THE NUMBERS - FOLLOW THE MONEY

*BY MIKE FEINSTEIN, GREEN PARTY OF CALIFORNIA*

HR1/S1 - the 'For the People Act' - would have a devastating effect on the ability of the Green Party (and other minor parties) to appear on the ballot - minimizing voter choice and further entrenching the two-party duopoly in the United States.

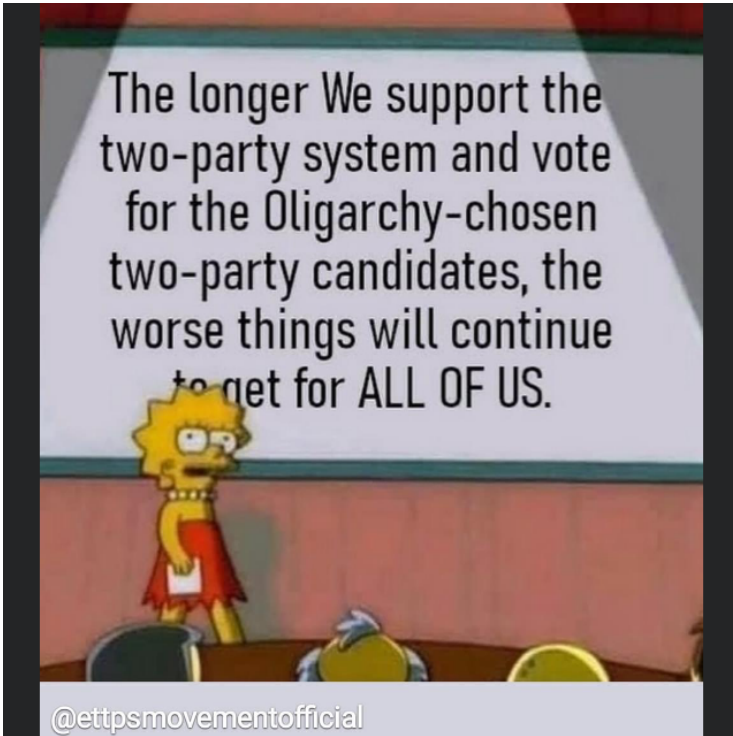
How would this occur? To quote the informant 'Deep Throat' in the Watergate docudrama "All the Presidents Men" - follow the money.

## **500% and 625%**

That's the level compared to today, that HR1/S1 would raise the total dollar threshold and the minimum number of donors to qualify for presidential matching funds.

The current public financing system for presidential elections was established in 1974 via the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA), in response to the financial corruption of the 1972 Richard Nixon presidential re-election campaign.

FECA provides for a 1:1 public matching fund for qualified small donations in the primaries. A candidate that opts into this system can then receive a public grant for the general.



LEGISLATION

## HR1/S1 Hypocrisy: Under The Guise of 'For the People', Democrats Support Voters Rights, But Suppress Voter Choice

## Opinion: Sarbanes' H.R. 1 Has Poison Pill to Kill Minor Party Competition

By **Guest Commentary** - March 9, 2021

## HR 1 Exacts Partisan Political Advantage in Exchange for Desperately Needed Voting Rights

March 21, 2021

## Amend H.R. 1 To Protect Voting Rights, Not Big Donors

Posted to [Politics](#) March 08, 2021 by [Howie Hawkins](#)

FEBRUARY 25, 2021

### HR 1's Campaign Finance Program: A Reform that Doesn't Reform

BY [HOWIE HAWKINS](#)

In exchange, they agree not to accept any private donations, nor spend more than the grant. In this way, the general election campaign of presidential candidates would be publicly funded — and only public funded.

**HR1/S1 would abandon that commitment, and replace it with a system that allows general election candidates to accept unlimited private donations together with public funds.**

The current donation threshold to qualify for primary election presidential matching funds is to raise at least \$5,000 in each of at least 20 states, in donations no larger than \$250 each. HR1/S1 would increase that to at least \$25,000 in each of at least 20 states - 500% of the current threshold - beyond the reach of most minor party candidates.

HR1/S1 would also increase the minimum number of contributions to a new threshold the 625% of the current number, by lowering the size of donations that can count toward reaching the threshold from \$250 to \$200.

(\$5,000 can be reached by a minimum of 20 donations of \$250 each. \$25,000 can be reached by a minimum of 125 donations of \$200 each. 125 is 625% of 20.)

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### 15 and seven

That's the number of minor party candidates from how many different minor parties have previously qualified for presidential matching funds under FECA.

Supporters of HR1/S1 argue that if minor party candidates can't meet the new threshold, they aren't 'viable' and therefore shouldn't receive any public support.



This betrays the historical understanding and role of public matching funds, which for decades have given the public the ability to support candidates from both major and minor parties with matching funds, meaning the public had the opportunity to support a range of views and parties with its money.

Since FECA was first implemented for the 1976 presidential elections, nominees of seven minor parties other than the Democrats and Republicans have qualified for presidential matching funds under FECA on fifteen different occasions: the Citizens Party (1984), New Alliance Party (1988, 1992), Natural Law Party (1992, 1996, 2000), Reform Party (1996, 2000, 2012), Green Party (2000, 2012, 2016, 2020), Americans Elect Party (2012) and Libertarian Party (2012).

There have also been three independent presidential candidates who have qualified for public funds - John Anderson (1980) and Ralph Nader (2004, 2008.)

HR1/S1 would take that away and replace it with a system tailored to funnel public money only to top-tier major party candidates.

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## 5%

That's the current percent of the national popular vote that a minor party presidential nominee needs to receive, for the nominee of their party to be eligible for a general election public funding grant in the next election - a grant program which HR1/S1 would eliminate.

Currently any party whose nominees receive between 5% and 25% would get a pro-rated portion of the public funding in the next election. Greens and Libertarians have long argued that a vote for their candidates helps them to get to 5%. Democrats don't want voters to have this incentive to vote 'third party', so HR1/S1 would eliminate it.

By contrast, the GPUS platform calls for lowering the threshold, not eliminating it:

"Amend the Federal Election Campaign Act to change the percentage of the presidential popular vote required for a new party's candidate to receive first time General Election public funding from 5% in the previous General Election to 1%"

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## 109,500 and four-fold

That's the dollar amount that individual big donors can already funnel through the political parties to presidential campaigns under federal law, and the expansion under of HR1/S1 of the total amount of these big donor funds that political parties can funnel to presidential candidates compared to the present.

The current individual contribution limit to a federal candidate's campaign committee - meant to limit the relative influence of big donors - is \$5,800 (\$2,900 for the primary and \$2,900 for the general). HR1/S1 makes a mockery out of this limit, by expanding an existing big money loophole in federal regulations, via raising to approximately four-fold the coordinated party expenditure limit from \$26,464,700 in 2020 to \$100 million, the amount national party committees can contribute to presidential candidates.

Donors can already give far more to these party committees than they can under the individual contribution limit — up to \$36,500 per year to the national committee and the House and Senate campaign committees of each political party — for a total of \$109,500 annually. In this manner, wealthy donors can already effectively circumvent the individual contribution limit by donating to the party committees and have them funnel the money forward to the candidate, de facto raising the amount big donors can contribute to a candidate (directly and via the parties) from just less than \$6,000 to more than \$115,000 in a year (\$5900 plus \$109,500.)

Now this new \$300 million donation threshold per party (\$100 million each, from each of each national party's three committees) further increases the power of national party committees (and their powerful members) vs. the rest of the voters.

And where is the incentive in HR1/S1 for these committees to seek their funding? Via large donations from the rich and the super-rich. Lest 'the people' in the "For the People Act" have too much power, HR1/S1 ensures the rich have their own lane.

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# BALLOT STATUS AND PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY MATCHING FUNDS

*BY MIKE FEINSTEIN,  
GREEN PARTY OF CALIFORNIA*

Green Party presidential candidates have run in seven presidential elections between 1996 to 2020.

The track record from these campaigns shows there is a strong correlation between 'in how many states Green Party presidential candidates qualify for the ballot' — and 'whether these Green candidates are able to raise presidential primary matching funds' — which they apply towards ballot status in their campaigns.

HR1/S1 takes direct aim at the Green Party's ability to appear on the ballot, by de facto taking away this major source of funding Greens use to qualify for the ballot, by raising the threshold to qualify for the funds to a level unreachable by most Green candidates.

If Democrats make it virtually impossible for Greens to qualify for these funds via HR1/S1, that means Green presidential candidates won't

be on the ballot in most states.

Of the seven historical Green presidential nominees, three times they qualified for and received federal matching funds (2000, 2012, 2016) - and there was a strong correlation between the amount they raised and the number of additional ballot lines they gained, beyond those the Green Party already had going into that cycle.

A fourth time (2020) the campaign raised enough money to qualify for matching funds, but did not receive the funds during the course of the campaign, nor even eight months after the campaign (at the time of this publication, it is still under process with the Federal Elections Commission.)

The other three times the campaigns (1996, 2004, 2008) did not apply for nor receive matching funds.

Here is a look at each campaign - whether it qualified for presidential primary matching funds, how much it received and how many additional ballots it qualified for.

## Summary (chronological order)

1996 - Green Party had six existing state party ballot lines, campaign gained 16 November 1996 general ballot lines (13 as Green, two as independent, one as Liberty, Ecology and Community), received no matching funds

2000 - Green Party had 11 existing state party ballot lines, campaign gained 33 November 2000 general election ballot lines (29 as Green, four as independent, received \$723,307.65 in matching funds

2004 - Green Party had 20 existing state party ballot lines, campaign gained nine November 2004 general election ballot lines (nine as Green), received no matching funds



2008 - Green Party had 20 existing state party ballot lines, campaign gained ten November 2008 general election ballot lines (nine as Green, one as independent), received no matching funds

2012 - Green Party had 15 existing state party ballot lines, campaign gained 22 November 2012 general election ballot lines (19 as Green, three as independent), received \$372,139.44 in matching funds

2016 - Green Party had 22 existing state party ballot lines, campaign gained 23 November 2016 general election ballot lines (20 as Green, three as independent), received \$456,035.39 in matching funds

2020 - Green Party had 21 existing state party ballot lines, campaign gained nine November 2020 general election ballot lines (seven as Green, two as independent), qualified for over \$100,000 in matching funds, but did not receive them during campaign

### **Campaign-by-campaign (by amount of matching funds raised)**

#### **2000 - Nader/LaDuke**

Going into the 2000 presidential election cycle, Ballot Access News reported that as of October 1999, the Green Party was already on the ballot in 11 states for the November 2000 general elections.

The Green Party Ralph Nader/Winona LaDuke campaign qualified for and received \$723,307.65 in presidential primary federal matching funds.

The campaign was on the November 2000 general election ballot in 44 states and the District of Columbia - all of where it had a Green Party label, except Alabama, Kansas, North Dakota and Ohio where it was on as an independent:

*Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Hawaii, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia and Wisconsin*

This meant the Nader/LaDuke campaign, with the aid of presidential primary matching funds, gained additional ballot status in 33 states.

The campaign also qualified as a write-in candidate in three states: Georgia, Idaho, Indiana

#### **2016 - Stein/Baraka**

Going into the 2016 presidential election cycle, Ballot Access News reported that as of October 2015, that the Green Party was already on the ballot in 21 states and the District of Columbia for November 2016 general elections.

The Green Party Jill Stein/Ajamu Baraka campaign received \$456,035.39 in presidential primary federal matching funds.

The campaign was on the November 2016 general election ballot in 44 states and the District of Columbia - all of where it had a Green Party label, except Alabama, Ohio and Tennessee, where the campaign was on the ballot as an independent:

*Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming*

This meant the Jill Stein/Ajamu Baraka campaign, with the benefit of receiving presidential primary matching funds, gained additional ballot status to appear on the November ballot in 20 states as a Green Party candidate and three as an independent.

The campaign also qualified as a write-in candidate in three states: Georgia, Indiana, and North Carolina

### **2012 - Stein/Honkala**

Going into the 2012 presidential election cycle, Ballot Access News reported that as of October 2011, the Green Party was already on the ballot in 14 states and the District of Columbia for November 2012 general elections.

The Green Party Jill Stein/Cheri Honkala campaign qualified for and received \$372,139.44 in presidential primary federal matching funds.

The campaign was on the November 2012 general election ballot in 35 states and the District of Columbia - all of where it had a Green Party label, except Alabama, Idaho, and Wisconsin, where it was on as an independent:

*Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Hawai'i, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia and Wisconsin.*

This meant the Jill Stein/Cheri Honkala campaign, with the aid of presidential primary matching funds, gained additional ballot status to appear on the November 2012 ballot in 19 states as a Green Party candidate and three as an independent.

The campaign also qualified as a write-in candidate in six states: Connecticut, Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, New Hampshire, Vermont

### **2020 - Hawkins/Walker**

Going into the 2020 presidential election cycle, Ballot Access News reported that as of November 2019, the Green Party was already on the ballot in 20 states and the District of Columbia for November 2020 general elections.

The Green Party Howie Hawkins/Angela Walker campaign qualified for but has not yet received over \$100,000 in presidential primary federal matching funds

The campaign was on the November 2020 general election ballot in 29 states and the District of Columbia - all of where it had a Green Party label, except Ohio and Tennessee, where the campaign was on as an independent:

*Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Hawaii, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia.*

This meant the Hawkins/Walker campaign, without the benefit of presidential primary matching funds, gained additional ballot status for the November 2020 elections in seven states as a Green Party candidate and two as an independent.

It did this without the benefit of receiving its matching funds in time to help fund the petition drives; and it did so during the COVID-19 pandemic, which affected the ability of the campaign to conduct petition drives. It is left to speculation how many more states the campaign would have qualified for, had it received the matching funds in a timely manner during the campaign.



The campaign also qualified as a write-in candidate in 17 states: Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Wisconsin and Wyoming

### **2008 - McKinney/Clemente**

Going into the 2008 presidential election cycle, Ballot Access News reported that as of October 2007, the Green Party was already on the ballot in 19 states and the District of Columbia for November 2012 general elections.

The Green Party Cynthia McKinney/Rosa Clemente campaign did not apply for nor qualify for presidential primary federal matching funds.

The campaign was on the November 2008 general election ballot in 29 states and the District of Columbia - all of where it had a Green Party label, except Tennessee, where it on as an independent:

*Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Hawaii'i, Illinois, Iowa, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, Virginia, Washington , West Virginia and Wisconsin.*

This meant the McKinney/Clemente campaign, without the benefit of presidential primary matching funds, gained additional ballot status to appear on the November 2008 ballot in nine states as a Green Party candidate and one as an independent.

The campaign also qualified as a write-in candidate in 12 states: Connecticut, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont

### **2004 - Cobb/LaMarche**

Going into the 2004 presidential election cycle, Ballot Access News reported that as of October 2003, that the Green Party was already on the ballot in 19 states and the District of Columbia for November 2004 general elections.

The Green Party David Cobb/Pat LaMarche campaign, did not apply for nor qualify for presidential primary federal matching funds.

The campaign was on the November 2004 general election ballot in 27 states and the District of Columbia - all of where it had a Green Party label:

*Alaska, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Hawaii, Iowa, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Washington and Wisconsin.*

This meant the Green Party Cobb/LaMarche campaign, without the benefit of presidential primary matching funds, gained additional ballot status in nine states.

The campaign also qualified as a write-in candidate in 14 states: Arizona, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia and West Virginia

**1996 - Nader/LaDuke**

Going into the 1996 presidential election cycle, Ballot Access News reported that as of May 1996, the Green Party was already on the ballot in six states.

The Green Party Ralph Nader/Winona LaDuke campaign intentionally did not seek to raise nor spend \$5,000, in part so that it did not have to file an FEC report for the campaign; nor did it thereby seek presidential primary matching funds.

The campaign was on the November 1996 general election ballot in 21 states and the District of Colombia - all of where it had a Green Party label, except Tennessee and Washington, where the campaign was on as an independent: and Louisiana, where it was on as Liberty, Ecology, Community (LEC).

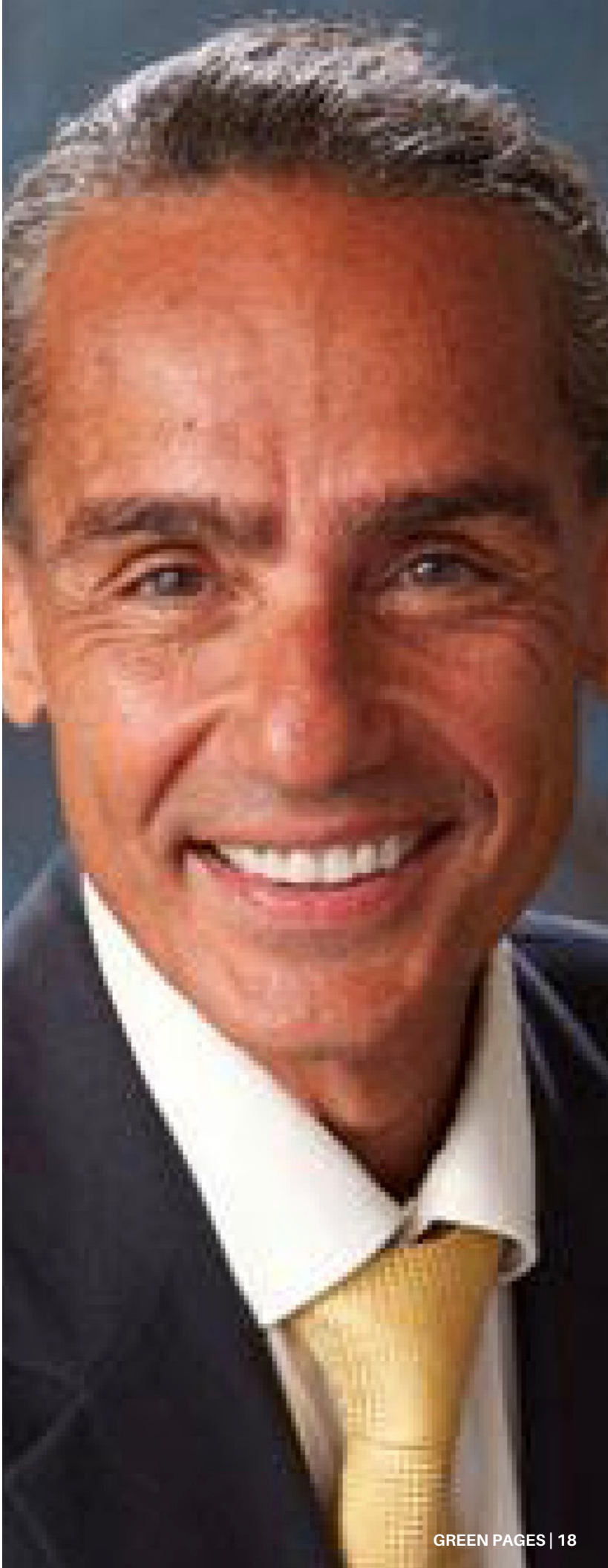
*Alaska, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Colombia, Hawaii, Iowa, Louisiana, Maine, Minnesota, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Washington and Wisconsin.*

This meant the Green Party Nader/LaDuke campaign, without the benefit of presidential primary matching funds, gained a ballot line in 16 states (13 as Green, two as independent, one as LEC),

The campaign also qualified as a write-in candidate in 15 states: Arizona, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas

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Mike Feinstein is a former Green Mayor and City Councilmember in Santa Monica, California; a co-founder of the Green Party of California and a 2018 Green candidate for California Secretary of State.





# #BlackLivesMatter

## GREENS ACROSS THE US SUPPORT THE BLACK LIVES MATTER MOVEMENT

COMPILED BY GARRET  
WASSERMANN  
GREEN PARTY OF PENNSYLVANIA

The North Carolina Green Party joined dozens of protests against state violence and systemic inequity, including a week-long occupation of the Governor's Mansion in Raleigh, which helped to win the successful veto of the onerous SB 168. GPUS national co-chair Tony Ndege served as a local BLM lead organizer, and was aided by several local Green Party leaders such as Charlotte Greens co-chair Jacob Samuels; past candidates for office Keenen Altic, Joshua Bradley, Robert Corriher, assistant Sec. Ade Mowry, and Troy Winfree of Triad Greens, and many others.

Trahern Crews, a GPUS national co-chair, and leader of the Minnesota BLM chapter organized several events, including a rally on Juneteenth demanding reparations and an end to state violence. "For 400 years, the United States government has had its knee on the neck of the black community socially, politically, economically, and spiritually," Crews said. "Today we are here to demand full and complete reparations for the American descendants of the slaves who built this country."



Above: Trahern Crews at black lives matter protest.

Below: Newly-elected Charlotte Greens co-chair Jacob Samuels holds a sign for Jacob Blake. Photo credit: Allison Isley, Winston-Salem Journal







# MINNESOTA GREENS GET REPARATIONS RESOLUTION PASSED IN ST. PAUL

*TRAHERN CREWS,  
CO-CHAIR FOR GPUS, GREEN  
PARTY OF MINNESOTA, AND  
NATIONAL BLACK CAUCUS*

On January 13th the Saint Paul City Council passed the historic Saint Paul Recovery Act Reparations Resolution which apologizes for holding Dred and Harriet Scott in Military slavery and for the destruction of the Rondo community. The Resolution also sets up a legislative advisory committee which will help establish the permanent Reparations Commission for the City of Saint Paul. As the Green Party National Co-Chair, I was honored to Co-Chair the steering committee which did the work of getting the resolution written and passed by the city council.



Covid 19 showed how the racial wealth gap, which is caused by accrued disadvantage & systemic racism, is so devastating to those whose ancestors descend from American Slavery. In addition to governmental entities, higher education, and faith communities, the November 2020 edition of the New England Journal of Medicine stated that reparations are now widely considered to be the most effective means of breaking down the societal structure related to power, money, and access to resources, and indeed may be the only solution that can be applied intergenerationally that “would be an investment in the future and in reducing disparities that have been intractable for generations.”



During the process of getting the resolution passed, the George Floyd uprising really exacerbated the need for reparations for Black Americans. At the age of 8, George Floyd's great-grandfather Hillary Thomas Stewart, who was a slave, got his freedom. As an adult, he had amassed 500 acres of land. However, white farmers stole the land from him and his family, denying his offspring the benefits of generational wealth. This theft has happened to many Black families whose ancestors





descend from American chattel slavery; now it is time for bold reparatory justice policies that will address these historical injustices.

The goal of the Green Party National Black Caucus reparations working group is to get HR40 passed into law. HR40 is federal legislation put forward by a House committee to address the long term effects of slavery with reparations for Black Americans. I believe passing resolutions and ordinances at the local level puts pressure on states and federal governments to address the issue of reparations; we can't wait for another 30 years for this proposal to pass! According to Forbes, the median income for Black households will be zero by 2053. Reparations are part of the Green Party platform and **it feels great to be able to be part of the leadership of this historical initiative and be able to get a part of the Green Party platform passed at the local level.**

# LESSER-EVIL DYNAMIC TRAMPLES GREEN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

*BY HOWIE HAWKINS  
FORMER PRESIDENTIAL  
CANDIDATE OF GPUS*

2020 was the most difficult year yet for a Green Party presidential run because the lesser-evil dynamic was stronger than ever before. Most progressives who considered a vote for the Greens were more concerned with removing Trump from office. “Anybody But Trump” was the dominant view on the progressive side of the political spectrum – and in the media. Our campaign was blanked out by the liberal corporate media (CNN, MSNBC, NY Times, Washington Post, etc.) as well as by the progressive independent media (Democracy Now!, Common Dreams, The Nation, The Intercept, etc.).







This dynamic was reflected in open letters from progressive public intellectuals advocating no votes for the Greens – and in the refusal of publications that ran these letters to print our responses. In 2004, another year when the lesser-evil dynamic was particularly high after Bush invaded Iraq, many of these same progressive luminaries called for a “Safe States Strategy” of voting for Kerry in the battleground states but Green in the “safe” states because Kerry was still a pro-war candidate. In 2020, these same people put forward a “No States Strategy” of no votes for the Greens and all votes for Biden.

**It was so bad that a number of lifelong independent socialists advocated a “No States Strategy” who in the past had regarded voting for the capitalist Democrats to be as beyond the pale as crossing a picket line to scab on strikers.**

The official Federal Elections Commission count gave us 405,035 votes or only 0.3 percent. This vote is much higher than Greens received in 2004 and 2008, but substantially lower than Ralph Nader in 1996 and 2000 and Jill Stein in 2016. 2020 approaches the vote Jill Stein received in 2012. Each election has a different dynamic. For example, the 2016 dynamic of the two most unpopular major-party candidates in polling history running for an open seat resulted in higher votes for minor parties, including the Greens.

Far more than our candidates, message, and campaign execution, it is this larger dynamic in each election that determines our results. But even this range of results, from 0.1 percent in 2004 and 2008 to a high of 2.7 percent for Nader in 2000, is marginal to the overall presidential contest. The biggest obstacle Greens face is plurality voting, which pushes progressives who would prefer to vote Green to settle for the centrist corporate Democrat to stop the far-right Republican.



The enduring power of this lesser-evil dynamic is shown by the fact that in the 46 presidential elections over 180 years since the abolitionist Liberty Party challenged pro-slavery Democrats and Whigs in 1840, independent left presidential challengers have won over 4 percent of the vote only five times. When the left did exceed 4 – with 10 percent in 1848 for Martin Van Buren and 5 percent in 1852 for John Parker Hale as the Free Soil Party candidates, 9 percent for James Weaver of the 1892 People’s Party, 6 percent for Eugene Debs of the 1912 Socialist Party, and 17 percent for Robert LaFollette of the 1924 Progressive Party – the left still finished a distant third, or fourth in 1912.

The strength of this lesser-evil dynamic is stronger today than ever before because over the last dozen years the Republican Party has congealed into a rule-or-ruin party of the far right. As exemplified by the self-described “Grim Reaper,” Mitch McConnell, the GOP senate leader, the Republicans’ goal has been to wreck Democratic administrations rather than negotiate legislation. At both the state and congressional levels, not to mention the Trump presidency,

the Republican Party has become a fascistic party united around brazen racism, nativism, conspiracism, and anti-scientific irrationalism. The incentive for progressives to vote for Democratic centrists in order to stop Republican extremists is stronger than ever.

**The good news out of our campaign is the enthusiastic support we received and continue to receive from young people**

-- who support our Ecosocialist Green New Deal. Their messages tell us that they are disappointed we didn’t receive more votes, but urge us to keep running, some of them because they will be old enough next time to vote for us. They want to fight for their futures. They know that the Biden administration has no solutions to the climate emergency, systemic racism, or the dismal educational and economic opportunities young people face today. We are getting more speaking opportunities post-election than during the election, particularly from high school and college climate justice and racial justice groups. These young people are the future of the Green Party.

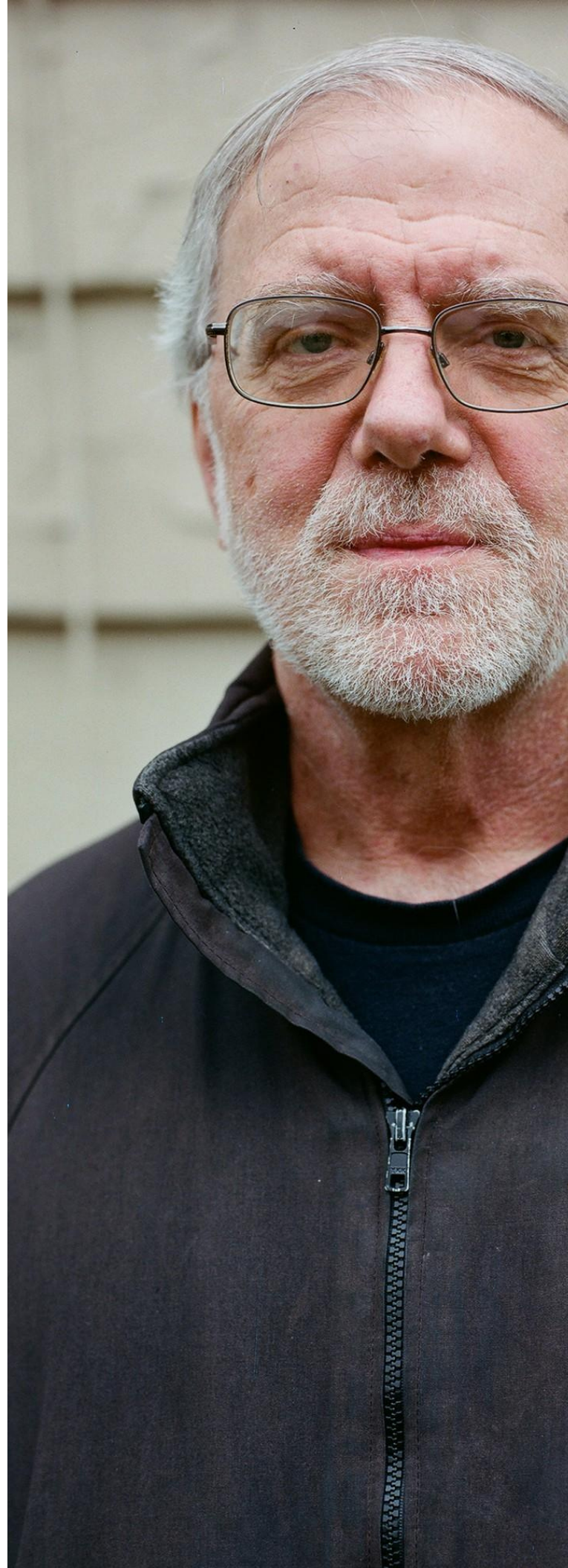


So where do we go from here? We urge a focus on campaigns for local office and for ranked choice voting (RCV).

Greens have won over 1,200 elections over the years. We have over 100 Greens in elected office today. Our focus should be on multiplying these numbers of local Green elected officials into the thousands as we go into the 2020s.

Achieving this goal will require local Green parties to be consistently engaged in community issues and movements and in year-round deep canvassing. We will win more elections when local people know and trust who we are based on our going out to listen to them and demonstrating our commitment to the community through our activism. It is on a foundation of thousands of local elected Greens that we can begin to elect Greens to state legislatures and the U.S. House and become a major force in U.S. politics.

We should also focus on winning RCV to end the plurality voting system that marginalizes the Green Party. RCV is how we break the lesser-evil dynamic that pushes progressives more than ever to vote Democratic instead of Green to stop today's Republican extremists. RCV is a reform we can win at the local, state, and federal levels in the coming years. Five more cities and another state adopted RCV in the 2020 elections. 36 cities and two states have now adopted RCV. RCV is an idea whose time has come. 45 states now have active campaigns for RCV. Greens should be in the middle of these campaigns, particularly to push for RCV in multi-member districts, which will yield proportional representation in legislative bodies. Proportional representation will transform U.S. politics to give Greens real power in the political system.







# STEIN RECOUNT SCORES LEGAL WINS

STEIN EFFORTS IN THREE STATES RESULT IN MAJOR STEPS TOWARD ELECTION INTEGRITY

*DAVE SCHWAB, GREEN PARTY OF WISCONSIN*

After election integrity experts flagged worrying signs in the 2016 election results, Green Party presidential nominee Jill Stein answered the call to file a recount in three states where the largest questions loomed: Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. Even after the recount effort was beaten back by a combination of legal maneuvering and bureaucratic red tape, Stein doggedly continued the fight for election integrity in the courts in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania. In the years that followed, her persistence won major victories for election integrity.

Perhaps the state where Dr. Stein's recount effort has made the biggest impact is Pennsylvania. In 2016, the recount effort was frustrated by the state's antiquated and onerous bureaucratic process for requesting a statewide recount.

Even if they had managed to file for a recount, most

of the state was using paperless direct recording electronic voting machines that made recounts effectively impossible. Stein's legal team took aim at the entire process in Pennsylvania, arguing that the existing election law regime made it impossible to guarantee election integrity.

In 2018, Stein settled her recount lawsuit with the state of Pennsylvania for a guarantee that the state would replace all paperless voting machines with systems using voter-verifiable paper ballots by 2020, and in 2022 would introduce post-election risk-limiting audits to verify the vote before results are certified. Stein took Pennsylvania back to court to demand decertification of ES&S Expressvote XL ballot-marking devices that experts warned were flawed, and while the court ultimately ruled against decertification, the lawsuit played a role in dissuading several counties from purchasing the machines.

## Stein's recount litigation in Pennsylvania struck a critical blow against the use of paperless Direct Recording Electronic voting machines, and brought up-to-date election integrity practices to a state that had been among the worst in the nation.

The recount effort in Michigan, which was quickly halted by a Republican-appointed judge's ruling that Stein lacked standing to compel a recount, exposed glaring problems with Michigan's elections, including an improbable 84,000 undervotes in the presidential race, faulty machines concentrated in urban precincts that broke down in large numbers, and a provision in state law preventing the recounting of precincts where problems arose. In Detroit, more than 80 ballot scanners broke down on election day in 2016, and a whopping 60% of precincts were ruled ineligible for recounting due to problems with the initial count. While the recount was quickly halted, the national attention on Michigan's failings galvanized the state to replace many of its faulty voting machines shortly after the 2016 election.

In Wisconsin, Stein did manage to get a statewide recount in 2016. However, only about half of Wisconsin counties performed a full hand recount of the kind needed to truly verify the results, while others simply recounted ballots with the same machines used to count them in the first place.

This category included counties like Milwaukee that would have been obvious targets for any foul play to suppress the vote. The recount led directly to the state's decertification of Optech Eagle voting machines that were observed miscounting ballots during the recount in Racine County. The recount also produced a mountain of data, which was analyzed by academics from MIT, Harvard, and the University of Wisconsin, and put to use by election integrity advocates and the Wisconsin Elections Commission to improve practices that had led to one out of every 170 votes originally being miscounted.

After the Wisconsin recount, Stein kept fighting in court for nearly four years to exercise her right under Wisconsin law to inspect voting machine source code. While the statute clearly stated that a candidate who files for a recount has the right to inspect voting machine source code, voting machine manufacturers Dominion and ES&S had attempted to impose a gag rule to prevent any public disclosure of the eventual findings. After two victories in court for Stein, the Wisconsin Supreme Court declined to take up the issue by its September 2020 deadline.

While celebrating the legal win, Stein bemoaned the voting machine vendors' efforts to tie the case up in court for almost four years, preventing the Stein recount campaign from examining the voting machines before the 2020 election. "It's outrageous that voting machine vendors that profit from government contracts have been able to use those profits to buy political influence and prevent scrutiny of their machines through legal machinations," said Stein.

Jill Stein is currently in ongoing talks with her designated expert J. Alex Halderman regarding plans to inspect the source code that runs many voting machines used in Wisconsin and across the United States.



# YOUNG PEOPLE IN NEW JERSEY GO GREEN

BEETLE BROWN,  
COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR, YOUNG ECOSOCIALISTS-NJ

Fundamental to the Green Party traditions of grassroots democracy and ecological sustainability, is the party's outreach and support for youth. In few other states is this truer than in New Jersey, where over the last year, Green Party youth have built up a nearly 100 member-strong coalition of young activists and organizers under the New Jersey chapter of the Young Ecosocialists (YES).

The chapter was the vision of Matthew Skolar and Anthony Samaniego, both of whom met state Green Party leaders in New Jersey at the campaign kickoff for Madelyn Hoffman's 2020 U.S. Senate run. Skolar and Samaniego started to organize, taking inspiration from how the party was able to motivate young people into activism and its inclusion of youth in its primary process (minors are included and allowed to vote at the Green Party of NJ Convention).

Officially accredited with the Green Party of New Jersey in April 2020, the caucus had its first officer elections symbolically on May 1st.

**Many of the early members of the caucus were only high school students. Many of them couldn't even vote.**

Some of them were new to political organizing. Quickly, the team built up a social media following on Instagram, and were out of the gate rolling.

Reflecting on the early days of the caucus, Skolar said, "It was amazing how we were able to quickly build up our ranks. These were the early days keep in mind." He continued, "But, with the pandemic came a wave of radicalization in New Jersey youth faced with the fact that the Democratic Party dominated state government was not what it was played up to be."

By August, YES-NJ had reached 50 members, and were actively supporting state and local Green candidates for public office. Multiple members became key parts of Hoffman's campaign success in 2020. Additionally, the advent of increased political and social organizing allowed the caucus to quickly be invited into multiple social justice coalitions.

Matthew Skolar, Avery Seal, Danielle Di Domenico, and Alex Bossart after an over 5 mile march from the Hudson County Jail, to the Essex County Jail, and to the Newark, NJ headquarters of ICE on January 18, 2021.







Chloé Alce, Zoe Tweedie, and Justin Roig after a march on March 20, 2021 through Hackensack, NJ from the Bergen County Jail, where immigrant detainees have been on hunger strike.

In September, the Caucus partnered up with Sunrise Movement and Cosecha to plan an Environmental Justice action in Elizabeth, NJ. The action captured the energy of youth organizing around environmental issues, and the presence of the Young Ecosocialists allowed for political dialogue between Greens and youth who may not otherwise have been attracted to the Party. Madelyn Hoffman was given a platform to speak, and quickly became a figure appreciated by people across the community of youth organizers in New Jersey.

Post election, the Caucus transitioned its focus toward mutual aid work and the cancellation of local contracts between ICE and counties in Northern New Jersey.

Nationally, Justin Roig and Matthew Skolar both serve as the youngest delegates on the Green Party National Committee, and Anthony Samaniego is the

youngest member of Green Party National Peace Action Committee.

In the future, the state caucus leadership has plans to eventually mentor young people in the party to become stronger activists, learn how to use the party to promote political goals, and encourage youth to run for office. In terms of the Green Party of New Jersey, the new and blossoming youth caucus has given them a young, energetic volunteer base to reach voters around the state in communities the party has not always reached.

Let YES-NJ be an example for other state parties as to how they can organize and empower youth activism through their electoral organizing.

For inquiries on joining YES Caucus or learning about the Caucus' mission, please email [yescaucusnj@gmail.com](mailto:yescaucusnj@gmail.com) or reach out to the caucus on Instagram (@young.ecosocialists.nj).



# LISA SAVAGE CAMPAIGN SHOWS HOW RANKED-CHOICE VOTING CHANGES LANDSCAPE FOR GREENS

DAVE SCHWAB,  
COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR, LISA  
SAVAGE FOR US SENATE 2020

Overall, 2020 was perhaps the toughest year for US Greens yet. After four years of being relentlessly scapegoated for the Democrats' losses in 2016, Greens faced unprecedented hostility from the corporate political and media establishment in 2020. One notable exception to this rule was in Maine, where Lisa Savage ran a strong grassroots campaign for US Senate under the system of ranked-choice voting established by popular statewide votes in 2016 and 2018. As communications director for the Savage campaign, I saw firsthand how ranked-choice voting changed the landscape for a Green candidate - although much work remains to be done to truly level the playing field.

Lisa Savage is a kindly, straightforward teacher, grandmother, and activist from the small rural town of Solon, Maine. To the extent she had any name recognition, it was from her role in frequent protests calling on the naval contractor Bath Iron Works to convert from manufacturing warships to producing green energy technology. In a race that also included longtime incumbent Republican Susan Collins and Democratic speaker of the Maine House Sara Gideon, Savage was persuaded to run largely by the fact that ranked-choice voting would be in play. Although ballot access restrictions making it nearly impossible to get on the ballot as a Green forced her to take the independent route to ballot access, she still wore her Green affiliation proudly and as often as not, was identified in the media as a Green candidate.



2020 also being the year of Bernie Sanders' second presidential run, there was a noticeable trend of progressives challenging the establishment in the Democratic Party. In Maine there were 2 progressive Democratic challengers to Gideon, Bre Kidman and Betsy Sweet. After Gideon won handily with the full weight of the establishment behind her, Kidman endorsed Savage, the first time in memory that a Democratic primary candidate endorsed a Green. Savage won Kidman's support with her strong stance on a demilitarized Green New Deal, Medicare for All, and student debt cancellation. In contrast, Gideon offered a typical corporate centrist campaign, with vague positions framed around the need to get Collins and Trump out and support Biden.

While the sudden onset of the Covid-19 pandemic brought grassroots activity and fundraising to a screeching halt, the establishment victory in the Democratic primary helped bring renewed support to the Savage campaign. From October 2019 to November 2020, the campaign raised just shy of \$200,000, a record for a Green campaign in Maine. Meanwhile, the Gideon and Collins campaigns vied to raise tens of millions from across the country, with tens of millions more in dark money pouring in. The flood of outside money and endless barrage of negative ads was a frequent topic of complaint in Maine media, yet few of those journalists saw fit to give a platform to the only grassroots-funded non-millionaire candidate.

The apparent effect of ranked-choice voting on the Savage campaign was to turn Greens in the mainstream media's eyes from undesirable third-class citizens into second-class citizens.

The big-money candidates still got the lion's share of media attention, but

## Lisa Savage did get much more coverage than other 2020 Green campaigns, including the presidential campaign.

Notably, she was included in the first four televised debates of the race, where her strong performances brought in new waves of recognition and support. National media coverage of the race, which otherwise would almost certainly have treated a Green candidate only as a "spoiler", instead tended to focus on how Savage would impact the result under ranked-choice voting. There were some unexpected twists to the media reception, such as the mainstream Bangor Daily News giving Savage equal space with the other candidates in a series of issue-based articles, while the Maine-based progressive independent site Common Dreams (which had given Greens some decent coverage in past years) completely ignored frequent coverage requests from campaign staff and supporters.

Another effect of ranked-choice voting was to make campaigning easier and more rewarding. Instead of being focused on the horse race and the perceived need to fall in line behind the "lesser of two evils", voters were much more receptive to an independent issue-based campaign. For those who expressed concern about keeping Collins from winning, we let them know they could "rank Lisa





first” and still “vote blue number two”. Frequently people would send angry messages demanding that Lisa drop out to benefit Gideon, but when we explained that ranked-choice voting effectively resolved their concerns, they often responded with apologies and a more open-minded attitude to the campaign.

Not surprisingly, the biggest detractors of ranked-choice voting were the corporate parties. Among Gideon supporters, there was a whisper campaign spreading the idea that it was unsafe to rank one’s vote because the GOP would try to have the US Supreme Court overturn RCV after the election. While this argument had no logical basis - the Maine Supreme Court had already ruled decisively that RCV was decided state law - it was still an effective way to perpetuate fear-based voting, and that was clearly the goal of many influential Democrats. Savage supporters heard these talking points from paid canvassers for Gideon and phonebankers from Planned Parenthood. While one of the progressive Democrats who lost in the primary endorsed Savage, the other, Betsy Sweet, was quoted in the media warning voters not to rank their choices.

Aside from the Democratic Party power structure, many of the progressive issue advocacy groups and activists were hesitant when faced with the opportunity to buck the establishment and back a campaign that fully aligned with their stated goals. As one example, after the Democratic primary the Sunrise Movement made some inquiries about the

Savage campaign’s organizing infrastructure, but declined to endorse the only candidate for a Green New Deal.

While a few grassroots groups endorsed Savage, including the Maine chapter of Democratic Socialists of America, most established groups balked at the opportunity to assert their power by urging voters to give their first ranking to a candidate who shared their goals. It seems that with ranked-choice voting still new in the political landscape, and only active in federal races for the 2020 cycle, these players considered it too risky to step outside the Democratic Party’s orbit.

On Election Day, Lisa Savage received over 40,000 first-choice votes, 5% of the total, while Collins took 51%, meaning counting ended after the first round. 5% was a fairly impressive result for a campaign that was outspent 1000-1 by its opponents, but it was disappointing that Collins’ majority win meant the country didn’t get to see multiple rounds of ranked-choice voting in this nationally-watched race.

While Savage did better than almost any other candidate outside the two-party system, the pandemic had severely hindered the kind of grassroots campaigning and fundraising the campaign would have needed to pull off an upset win. In the end, though, the Lisa Savage for Senate campaign set a shining example for future Green campaigns, and showed the early promise of ranked-choice voting to bring progress to a stagnant political system.



# CUOMO ATTEMPTS MURDER ON THIRD PARTIES

## RAMS THROUGH RESTRICTIVE BALLOT ACCESS LAW

DEYVA ARTHUR, GREEN PARTY OF NEW YORK STATE

New York State governor Andrew Cuomo is trying to assassinate the Green Party, and though he has made it nearly impossible for the party to have ballot status, the state party is doing what it can to stay alive.

In 2019 Cuomo appointed a commission to address campaign finance reform which also put into law significantly higher ballot access thresholds. It raised the requirements to maintain ballot access from 50,000 votes for governor to needing 130,000 votes or two percent votes cast for both governor or presidential elections. This not only increased the threshold by over two and half times but also shortened the time frame for maintaining ballot status to every two years instead of four.

The commission law also tripled the petition signatures required to put an independent candidate for statewide office to 45,000 to be collected within a six-week window. Peter LaVenja, state Green Party co-chair said in a good year Greens could collect 30,000 signatures maximum.

They also moved the petitioning schedule from the summer to early spring when it's harder to get signatures. Board of Elections also denied Green Party requests to get digital signatures to reduce risk of Coronavirus exposure.

**Cuomo's thresholds make New York's ballot access law among the most restrictive of any state in the nation.**

Unlike most states, New York does not permit third parties to qualify for a ballot line by petition, by reaching a vote threshold for any statewide office, and/or by having a set number of people enrolled in the party.

Howie Hawkins, presidential candidate in 2020 and longtime NY Green said when the restrictions first went into place, "The U.S. has the most restrictive ballot access requirements of any electoral democracy in the world and now Cuomo wants to make them even more restrictive.





It is anti-democratic for the Democrats and Republicans to keep their competition off the ballot, especially when combined independent and third-party enrollment is 27 percent of the active New York electorate.”

The commission’s ballot access law was overturned by a State Supreme Court justice in 2020 stating the legislature could not delegate law-making to an appointed commission. All the members on the commission were appointed by Cuomo himself, with Jay Jacobs, Democratic Party chair, leading the commission.

### **“What Andrew Cuomo and the Democratic Party in New York State have done is to limit voter choice specifically to prevent any jailbreak from austerity and ruling class politics**

and by doing so openly admit they will do anything to preserve the two-party cartel in this country,” LaVenía said.

Despite the court striking down the Draconian ballot access restrictions, Cuomo was able to reinstate them by putting them in the 2021 state budget. Legislators had to approve them in order to pass the budget. The Green Party of New York State has filed a court case along with the Libertarian Party to again overturn the ballot threshold law, but LaVenía said he is not certain of the case’s success.

If the Green Party loses the court case, they will keep going and bring it to the state legislature to appeal. LaVenía said “We are going to have to get the legislature to pass a bill and there is not a lot of support there.”

LaVenía said this was a direct attack on smaller political parties especially the Green Party. Cuomo outright said in a press conference, he knew third parties such as the Working Families Party, that consistently back him, would make the threshold and that these restrictions were designed to wipe out parties running their own candidates.

“Cuomo may dislike the Working Families Party for pestering him for more progressive policies...But they always back him for governor. It is the Green Party that has always run a candidate against him in the general election,” said party co-chair Gloria Mattera.

Under the new restrictions, the Green Party in New York lost ballot status last year when Hawkins did not garner the 130,000 voter threshold running for president. The party had held the ballot line since 2010. Losing ballot status means not only are there high signature thresholds for national and state candidates, but it also makes it significantly more difficult for local campaigns.

“We need a spotlight shown on what the Democrats and Republicans have done to restrict and limit voter choice and their refusal to consider any type of voting reform that would allow the Greens, Libertarians, or others to consistently win seats in legislatures and better represent the outcome of elections and voting,” LaVenía said.

This doesn’t mean the Green Party in New York is now defunct. Greens have only just upped their game. In addition to battling ballot restrictions in court, the party is doubling its effort to get more Green candidates at the local level and help them get the needed signatures. Also party members continue to be in the forefront of important social and environmental issues which also helps grow the party.

LaVenía said anyone who is interested in helping the Green Party of New York State with fighting voter suppression can donate money to cover legal expenses or contact state legislators to let them know how important it is to have more choices in elections.



# PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION THROUGH RANKED CHOICE VOTING

BY HOWIE HAWKINS  
FORMER PRESIDENTIAL  
CANDIDATE OF GPUS

The platform of the Green Party of the United States calls for proportional representation (PR) for legislative bodies and ranked choice voting (RCV) for executive offices. With the movement for ranked choice voting gaining unprecedented momentum, now is the time for Greens to push for multi-seat RCV for PR in legislative bodies.

Replacing plurality voting with RCV for single-seat executive offices solves the “spoiler” problem that pushes progressives to vote for centrist Democrats instead of progressive Greens in order to defeat rightwing Republicans.

**But RCV in single-member districts for legislative bodies doesn’t solve the winner-take-all problem.**

Single-member-district, winner-take-all elections produce legislatures dominated by two major parties, whether plurality voting or RCV is used.

Two-party domination under single-seat RCV is clearly demonstrated in Australian elections where the House of Representatives is elected by single-seat RCV and the Senate is elected by multi-seat RCV. In 2019 under single-seat RCV, the Australian Greens received 10.4% of the first-choice votes for the House nationwide but only 1 of 151 seats. In the Senate under multi-seat RCV, the Greens won 9 of 76 seats, which was 11.8% of the seats and close to their 10.2% of first-choice votes. The vote percentages were nearly the same and seat numbers exactly the same for the Greens in 2016.

Single-seat RCV magnifies the popular vote for the two major parties in Australia into disproportional over-representation. In 2019, the Liberal/National Coalition received 42% of the vote and 51% of the seats, while Labor received 35% of the vote and 45% of the seats.



RCV PR elections have been conducted in some U.S. jurisdictions for over a century. It was adopted by two dozen cities in the Progressive Era, including Ashtabula, Boulder, Cambridge, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Kalamazoo, New York City, Sacramento, Toledo, and Worcester. More parties elected representatives to these city councils. In New York City, for example, where Democrats had long held nearly all the seats, four or five parties elected councilors after each of the five city council elections under PR from 1937 to 1945.

PR also enabled ethnic minorities to elect representatives: the first Irish Catholics in Ashtabula, the first Polish-Americans in Toledo, and the first African-Americans in Cincinnati, New York City, Toledo, and other cities. The first African-American elected to the New York City council was Adam Clayton Powell Jr. in 1941 as a third-party candidate of the American Labor Party.

The success of RCV PR in creating multi-party, multi-racial municipal democracies is what undermined it in the reactionary McCarthy Era. In the context of the rising post-war civil rights movement, the election of African-Americans was used by Democratic machines in cities like Cincinnati to mobilize a white backlash against PR. The election of two Communists to the New York City council was used to mobilize an anti-communist backlash against PR.

What is different about the revival of RCV in the 2000s is that it has not been used in most jurisdictions to create PR in legislative bodies as it was in the Progressive Era.

Most jurisdictions adopting RCV in recent years have retained the single-member-district, winner-take-all system for electing legislators.

A new RCV law in New York City reflects the interests of the Democrats who have 48 of the 51 of the city councilors. The new law taking effect in 2021 uses single-seat RCV for both executive

offices and city council, but only in primaries and special elections, not general elections. The law shields Democrats from Green competition in both single-seat executive office elections, where Greens would compete with Democrats without the burden of the spoiler problem, and in city council races where RCV PR would certainly enable Greens to elect city councilors.

The principal organization advocating this conservative form of RCV falsely claims on its website under the tab reading “History of RCV in NYC” that the “First RCV elections!” in New York City are being held in 2021. In fact, New York City (1936-1947) and nearby Yonkers (1940-1948) and Long Beach (1943-1947) held many multi-seat RCV PR elections.



For 32 years from 1970 to 2002, Community School Boards in New York City were elected by RCV PR in 32 nine-member districts.

Greens cannot allow RCV PR to be forgotten and suppressed. RCV PR in legislative bodies will create a multi-party democracy where Greens get their fair and proportional share of representation. If Greens settle for RCV in what are still single-member-district, winner-take-all elections for legislative bodies, the two corporate parties will continue to dominate and the Greens will remain marginalized.

# DEMOCRATS VICIOUSLY ATTACK GREEN BALLOT ACCESS

WISCONSIN, PENNSYLVANIA AND  
TEXAS BLOCK CANDIDATES IN 2020  
ELECTIONS

*GARRET WASSERMANN,  
GREEN PARTY OF PENNSYLVANIA  
& DAVE SCHWAB,  
GREEN PARTY OF WISCONSIN*

The Democratic Party has a long history of trying - often successfully - to remove Green Party candidates from the ballot, and 2020 was no exception. Wisconsin, Texas, and Pennsylvania all saw coordinated Democratic Party efforts to keep Greens off the ballot last year.

In Wisconsin, Greens submitted 3,966 signatures to place Howie Hawkins and Angela Walker on the ballot. Wisconsin Election Commission (WEC) staff validated 3,737 signatures, with only 2,000 needed for ballot access. However, a Democratic attorney challenged nearly 2,000 of the validated signatures because Angela Walker moved in July and some of the petitions listed her previous address. Although the Wisconsin Greens had informed WEC staff about Walker's move and followed their instructions, Democratic members of the WEC board upheld the challenge, denying the Hawkins/Walker ticket a place on Wisconsin's ballot.

After the WEC's decision, the Hawkins/Walker campaign began searching for a lawyer licensed in Wisconsin to file their appeal. According to the campaign, they spent days contacting liberal and





Democratic-affiliated attorneys, but none would take their case. Eventually, they had no choice but to hire a lawyer associated with the Republican Party, which was quickly seized on by media outlets that attempted to create a scandal out of Hawkins and Walker exercising their right to counsel. The furor grew when they filed their appeal in September. Democrats nationwide claimed delaying the printing of ballots while the Wisconsin Supreme Court heard the case, would prevent voters from getting absentee ballots in time. In a 4-3 decision, the court ruled against Hawkins and Walker. They said it was not based on the merits of the case, but in their opinion it was too late because county clerks, despite a pending ballot access lawsuit, had already started printing ballots. Much of the media coverage was blatantly partisan, such as Rachel Maddow's MSNBC story headlined "Court foils Republican Green Party scam to sap Democratic votes."

Meanwhile, the Green Party of Pennsylvania (GPPA), anticipating ballot access trouble due to the global coronavirus pandemic and the state governor's stay-at-home orders, quickly filed in US Federal Court to seek ballot access relief. However, the US Federal Court ruling ultimately declared that any such relief would "seriously and irreparably harm the State," forcing GPPA supporters to obtain the needed 5,000 ballot access petition signatures, putting themselves at personal risk during a pandemic.

Ultimately, GPPA was successful, filing over 8,000 valid petition signatures from registered voters before the legal deadline. The Democratic Party of Pennsylvania (PADEMS) then immediately filed a challenge to the petition, claiming that many of the signatures were invalid for various reasons. Thanks to the quick mobilization of volunteers to audit the signatures and verify them against registered voter lists, including calling voters to verify they are still

alive after PADEMS claimed some voters were deceased, GPPA was able to survive the signature challenge. However, it significantly drained GPPA resources.

The PADEMS then argued that paperwork was incorrectly filed for the presidential ticket, in part due to one form being electronically submitted to the office instead of delivered in person, even though offices were closed to the public during the pandemic due to the governor's emergency order. The state Commonwealth Court initially ruled that Hawkins would be listed on the ballot, while Walker would not due to the incorrect paperwork. After an appeal to the state Supreme Court by the PADEMS, the courts ultimately ruled in a 5-2 decision that both Hawkins and Walker would be stripped from the ballot due to paperwork "defects." It is notable that Pennsylvania elects its judges in partisan elections; one article in the

**Columbia Undergraduate Law Review observed "Every Democrat on the bench ruled against the candidates" and concluded "The exclusion of one party on flimsy grounds and against precedent, decided along party lines, ultimately amounts to voter suppression."**

The ongoing Democratic Party lawsuit in Pennsylvania meant the state could not print ballots until it was determined who would be on the ballot. Many newspapers and magazines took advantage of the situation in order to bash the Green Party even though it was the Democratic Party that initiated the lawsuit. "No, Mail-In Ballots Won't Be Available On Monday. Blame the Green Party" declared a September 2020 headline from Philadelphia Magazine. These attacks were particularly ironic given the state only first adopted paper ballots, which could be used for mail-in voting, in 2020 after a lawsuit settlement with Jill Stein and state Green Party members. The state Democratic Party and Democratic Governor Tom Wolf had argued against paper ballots for years.

On top of that, the Democratic Party's action delaying the printing of Pennsylvania's absentee ballots came days after the Democrats began attacking Wisconsin Greens for supposedly delaying ballot printing.

GPPA has already had its first ballot challenge of 2021, as Democratic Party members filed to eliminate Marlene Sebastianelli from the ballot in a special election to replace the state senator in the 22nd district. The challenge frivolously claimed the Green Party was not recognized as a minor party under state law, and was almost immediately withdrawn, but it is a sign the Democratic Party intends to continue pursuing a strategy of legal action to keep Green candidates off the ballot.

In Texas, the Democratic Party initially won a lawsuit kicking several Texas Green Party (TXGP) candidates off the ballot for not paying filing fees. The filing fees, as much as several thousand dollars, were brand new in 2020 due to a recent law change, and made the filings prohibitively expensive for some candidates. As a result, the Green Party had not paid the fees while it was awaiting a court decision on the constitutionality of the ballot fees. The Texas Supreme Court ultimately ruled in September that three TXGP candidates should be placed back on the ballot immediately. While the ruling was overall good news, it came too late for some candidates, including a candidate for the Texas Supreme Court itself, who dropped out due to eligibility and cost questions around the original lawsuit.

The best way to prepare for 2021 attacks on minor party campaigns is to volunteer for your state's ballot access efforts and help raise legal defense funds.

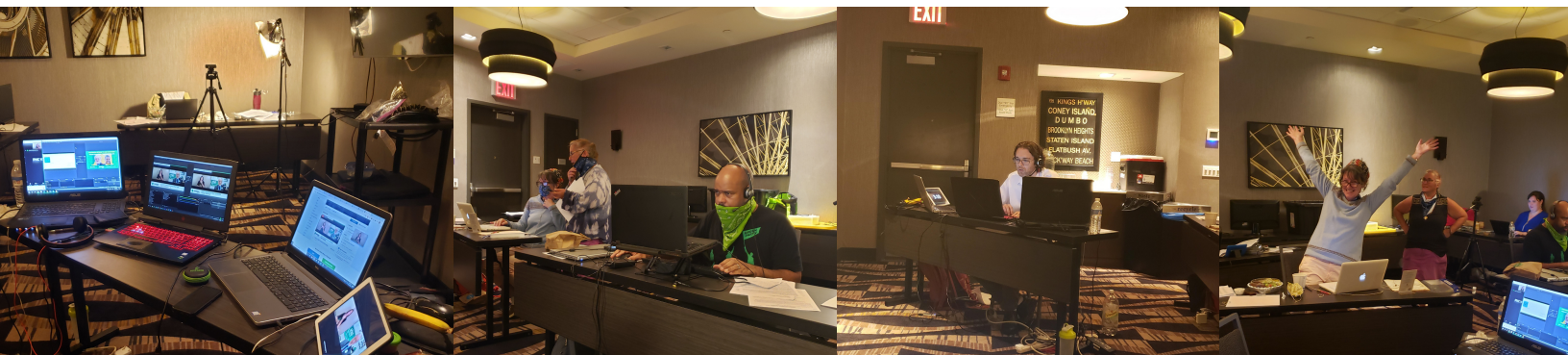




**“DISMANTLING OPPRESSION, BUILDING SOLIDARITY” IS THE THEME FOR THE 2021 ANNUAL NATIONAL MEETING**

BY GARRET WASSERMANN  
GREEN PARTY OF PENNSYLVANIA

This year's theme is "Dismantling Oppression, Building Solidarity: A Green Party For Everyone." As a result, the primary goal of the meeting will be "comprehensive training for members on inclusiveness, anti-racism, and anti-oppression, and solidarity," according to the Annual National Meeting website. A Request for Proposal issued by the GPUS Steering Committee notes "Our training will include an overview on colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism and how these historical practices inform our interactions today." The RFP describes that training topics to be covered will likely include: white privilege, entitlement, micro-and macro-aggressions, bias, intersectionality, and improving relationships and interactions across race, gender, and sexual orientation.





# **Green Pages Editorial Board**

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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 at [greenpagesnews.org](http://greenpagesnews.org).

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

[Sendtogreenpages@greens.org](mailto:Sendtogreenpages@greens.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.