

Bock by Popular Demand

Audie Bock first Green to win state legislative seat in US

beats heavily-favored Democrat in one-on-one race

On March 30th, 1999, less than seven years after Greens first began to run for state legislative seats in the United States, Audie Bock became the first Green to be elected to one, defeating her Democratic opponent 50.6% to 49.4%, in a two-way, special election for California State Assembly District 16, which includes the city of Oakland.

Bock's victory was monumental in part because it came within the confines of the US 'winner-take-all' electoral system, renown for its antipathy towards minor parties. No minor party candidate had been elected to the California state legislature since 1914. By contrast, all of the 238 Greens globally who are elected on national levels, have come from countries that use proportional representation instead.

Bock was also the first Green to compete directly against a Democrat in a

state level race, without a Republican present in the race. Thus, the Democrats could not resort to the 'spoiler' argument, leveling the playing field enormously. As a result, Bock not only got a good percentage of the vote, *but she actually won*. This suggests a much larger potential base for the Green Party than many thought. It also suggests that many voters will prefer more progressive Greens to more centrist Democrats.

On the campaign trail, Bock spoke about six main issues - universal health care, public transportation, affordable housing, environment, education, and encouraging small business while closing corporate tax loopholes.

Since taking office, Bock has become a focal point of attention. But she's remained calm and focused, while she

as faces the enormous task of entering the state legislature in mid-session, as a 'caucus of one' with few resources, and with Greens having little direct experience inside the state capitol.

Despite this, or perhaps because of it, Bock has risen to the moment. She's built an identity -from the cafeteria workers, custodians, and legislative analyst staff to the head of Republican caucus - as a 'breath of fresh air', in an otherwise mechanical, partisan machinery.

In her first two months, Bock has also shown surprising leverage. Democrats and Republicans come to her alike, seeking a Green 'stamp of approval' for their own initiatives. Her support will also be important this summer to pass the budget, which requires a 2/3 majority. *For more on Audie Bock, see pages four through seven inside.*

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ASGP Prepares for 2000 Election Season

by Dean Myerson, Secretary, ASGP

As this issue of *GreenPages* goes to press, we are preparing for the fifth meeting of the Association of State Green Parties (ASGP), this time in Connecticut. The Green Party of Connecticut formed as a result of the 1996 national campaign for Ralph Nader and Winona LaDuke, so this time we are celebrating the growth of new Green Parties. The ASGP also formed as a result of the 1996 campaign. Now we are focusing on the next round of national elections in 2000.

The ASGP's Transition Committee distributed its formal recommendations in mid-April for representation at a national nominating convention. Trying to fairly represent state parties, which are subject to different state laws and are at different stages of growth, is a challenge. ASGP delegates will be considering this recommendation, as well as one for proportionally representing members between states on our Coordinating Committee, as opposed to the two representatives per state format that is now in use.

We will also be looking at other issues regarding a 2000 campaign. There are proposals regarding the timing and location of an ASGP hosted Green Party National Nominating Convention, and a committee to plan such a convention has been proposed by our Presidential Exploratory Committee.

Our Platform Committee has revamped its web page at www.gp.org. Please visit it and send us your comments. The Platform Committee is working to integrate many of the suggestions it has received, and will continue this process, with adoption of the platform scheduled for a 2000 Nominating Convention.

Three state parties have joined the ASGP since our last meeting in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Green parties in Georgia and Minnesota were accepted last fall, and the Green Party of California was welcomed earlier this year. This brings our total membership to 25 state parties across the country, ten of which have legal ballot status.

The ASGP has also been busy on the international front. We were well represented at the European Federation of Green Parties Congress in Paris last February, as well as at a conference on globalization ("From MAI to the Millennium Round") put on by Green members of the European Parliament in Brussels. The EFGP has designated the ASGP as its official partner in the United States, and we are working on a joint Common Ground declaration with them.

There will be a global Greens co-operation meeting prior to the main meeting in Connecticut. Participation by Greens from the EFGP, Mexico, Peru and Ukraine has been confirmed. Canada and Benin, West Africa, are also possibilities. Work on a global Green Party statement is being coordinated by Australian Greens, in preparation for a global Greens meeting there in 2001. There will also be another follow-up meeting before then, scheduled this September 20th-25th in Oaxaca, México.



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Greens in the 1999 Spring Elections

In addition to Audie Bock's historic victory to the California state legislature, nine other Greens ran in spring elections.

Below are some highlights:

Gary Novosielski, WIN Board of Education Rutherford (NJ)

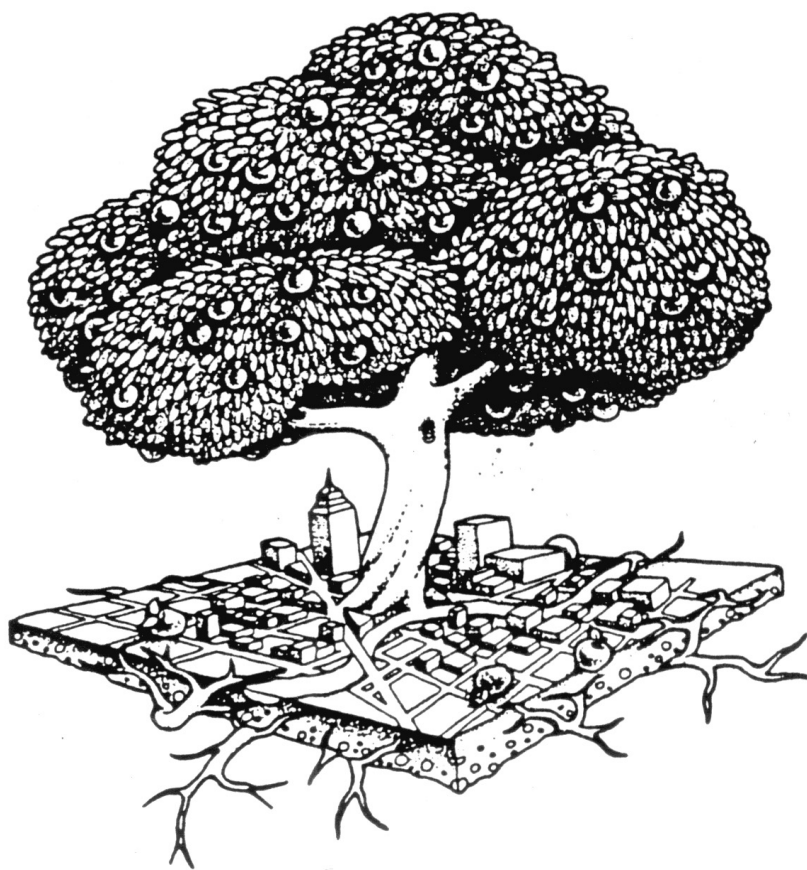
On April 20 Gary Novosielski, outgoing Chair of the Green Party of New Jersey, was elected to the Rutherford Board of Education. In a field of six candidates vying for three open seats, Novosielski placed first, with 948 votes (53%). He served a full two-year term as GPNJ Chair from the establishment of the Party in March 1997 through March 1999. This was his fourth attempt to win a seat on the Board in the last six years. With each run he garnered more votes than the time before, demonstrating the virtue of persistence.

The campaign centered on whether the district should build a middle school. Students now either attend the borough's smaller K-5 schools, typically closer to the children's homes, or the larger K-8 schools, which have better resources. Novosielski favored the current system of neighborhood schools, opposing encroachment of the proposed new school construction on a parcel of "Green Acres" dedicated open space. There were also issues of democracy and openness. His campaign struck a chord with many voters by advocating increased public awareness and involvement in decision making, including the televising of Board meetings on the local cable access channel, the posting of the minutes and agenda of meetings on the Internet, and strict adherence to Sunshine Law provisions dealing with closed meetings.

Campaigning was primarily via one televised "candidates night" in which all candidates fielded questions from the public at a meeting in the borough's public library. Letters to the editor figured heavily in the campaign, as did an endorsement by the local Taxpayer's Association, which published and distributed a flyer supporting Novosielski and two other candidates with him on a de facto "slate." The slate self-financed a trifold brochure, and had 9,000 distributed via two local newspapers. Novosielski did some door-to-

door campaigning, some handshaking at a local Little League parade, and addressed the local teachers union (NJEA affiliate) to inform them about his views and past activism against school vouchers and privatization.

The joy on election night was overshadowed by the tragedy in Littleton, CO. Ironically, Novosielski first addressed the Rutherford Board of Education on the issue of conflict resolution (and related it to the US policy of bombing Iraq) back in 1991.



Sherry Tippet, WIN Board of Education Santa Fe (NM)

On February 2nd, Sherry Tippet became the third Green to be elected in Santa Fe, winning an uncontested School Board seat in District 2. Earlier Cris Moore won for City Council in 1994 and 1998 and Fran Gallegos was elected as Municipal Judge in 1996.

Tippet, a water and utilities lawyer for the City of Santa Fe, campaigned against the school district administration's attempts to close Santa Fe's small neighborhood schools. Instead, she sought to preserve them, and make them available to all students. "Every child in this district deserves to be educated in a stimulating and nurturing environment."

Tippet took office on April 2nd, three weeks before the tragedy in Littleton, CO. Ironically, just a few years prior to running for office, she formed a gun violence prevention organization in 1994 entitled "New Mexico Ceasefire!"

Dorothy Wescott, WIN Village Trustee Village of Perrysburg (NY)

Thirty-five miles south of Buffalo, in a 200 year-old village, came the Green Party's first victory ever in far western New York state - Dorothy Wescott. Wescott won 38-4 for Village Trustee in Perrysburg (pop. 450). An incum-

academic standards, and stopping domination and mismanagement by long-time incumbents and their supporters.

Pearlman helped organized the first Earth Day in 1970 in Los Angeles, has been a social/peace/environmental activist in Southern California for over thirty years and is recognized internationally for her environmental work. She teaches community college anthropology, and produces weekly national environmental radio and television shows. The election is June 8th.

Chris Patrouch City Council West Hollywood (CA)

In a city where an incumbent has never lost, running against three incumbents for three seats, Chris Patrouch finished with 1591 votes, a painful 54 votes short (0.43%) of victory for West Hollywood City Council.

Patrouch promoted a 'human-scale, pedestrian-oriented urban environment' and sought to preserve neighborhood-serving business and affordable housing in the face of increasing gentrification. He contrasted the Greens' extensive gay/lesbian rights platform with the paltry two sentences of the Democrats. In response, Patrouch was outspent 4:1 and 5:1 by his main opponents, and as a credible Green challenger, opposed by all three local Democrat clubs. There were also three specific attack pieces against him (two in the mail and one walked door-to-door).

But Patrouch had by far the best grassroots precinct-walking campaign in the race, and was recognized as such by political observers across the community, including the Los Angeles Times and LA Weekly. Just a few months earlier, Patrouch had led a pro-bicycle coalition of environmentalists, pedestrians, cyclists, the disabled, planners, architects, business owners and residents to overturn a city staff recommendation against a bike lane as part of the redesign of Santa Monica Boulevard, into a pro-bike plan that the city council ultimately approved.

In the end it was perhaps the fact that Patrouch lacked the finances for additional mailings that could've penetrated the many security buildings to which his people could not walk his literature, that probably cost him the race "I was hoping for the 'Rocky moment' but it wasn't to be," said Patrouch after the election. Nevertheless, he was pleased that he ran a campaign that was "built from the grassroots level and made up of small donations". Patrouch was the most vocal critic of the contributions the three leading Democrats accepted from developers and billboard companies, and he took pride in bringing about a real debate about campaign finance reform.

bent appointee, she ran on both the Green and Citizens' Party lines.

An environmentalist, Wescott main campaign issue was ensuring the cleanliness and stability of the city's water supply, which had been tied to the operation of a local health institution, which was now being closed by the state. She also ran on fiscal responsibility, pledging to resolve problems with the village's official records and bookkeeping.

Nancy Pearlman, Community College District Office #1 Los Angeles (CA) advances to June run-off

In the April 13th Los Angeles elections, Nancy Pearlman finished second with 17% among ten candidates for one seat, advancing for the second time to a June run-off. In 1997, Pearlman also advanced to the run-off, where she lost by only 249 votes among approximately 160,000 cast. Pearlman's District is an enormous at-large one which includes the entire City of Los Angeles and parts or all of 33 other surrounding cities

Pearlman is the only candidate in the runoffs who vowed to 'Save the Farm' (240 acres of open space) at Pierce College in the San Fernando Valley. She also supports turning the campuses into ecological facilities, raising

Green Mayors in the United States

In December, 1998 Bob Ornelas was appointed as mayor of Arcata, California, becoming the eighth Green mayor so far in the United States. Who will be the first Green mayor in the next century?

Bob Ornelas, Arcata, California 1999-2000

Julie Partansky, Davis, California 1998-2000

Leslie Dahlhoff, Point Arena, California 1998-1999

Bruce Mast, Albany, California 1997-1998

Steven Schmidt of Menlo Park, California 1996-1997

Terri Williams, Webster Grove, Missouri 1994-1997

Raven Earlygrow, Point Arena, California 1992-1993, 1996-1997

Kelly Weaverling, Cordova, Alaska 1991-1993

Greens in the 1999 Spring Elections

Rex Frankel City Council, Los Angeles, District Six

Few issues divide Green candidates apart from others more than 'appropriate development'. Nowhere was this more apparent than in Los Angeles' Sixth City Council District in April, where Green Rex Frankel ran against a three-term incumbent Democrat.

The primary issue was the proposed Playa Vista mega-development (featuring movie studio DreamWorks) - with its 200,000 a day new car trips coming from new offices, hotels, shopping and over 20,000 residents. Playa Vista is proposed to be built on and next to the last remaining large coastal wetlands (the Ballona) in Southern California. Frankel opposes it. The incumbent has been working for it ever since she was first elected in 1987, although she claims she has significantly reduced the project's size and impacts. Frankel says the project should not be built at all, and that the land should be purchased and preserved as land trust for wetlands restoration and park use.

Playa Vista has been a defining issue in Los Angeles for years, separating Greens from 'developer-Democrats'. The grassroots group fighting the project - the Coalition to Save all of Ballona - has 80 groups as members, including the Green Party of Los Angeles County. Many of the Coalition's main organizers are Greens.

Frankel only decided to enter the race at the last minute, after another potential Save Ballona Coalition candidate chose not to. Frankel ran an educational campaign, using his candidacy to highlight the Ballona struggle. Called an 'environmental whiz kid' by New Times Los Angeles for his grasp of major regional quality-of-life battles, Frankel and over 30 supporters walked to over 20,000 homes in the district, which stretches from the beach at Playa del Rey and Venice eastward for several miles. They distributed literature and talked about both his campaign and about the Ballona.

Talking was easy. It was much harder for Frankel to generate coverage of the race in the mainstream media, which had already made up its mind about Playa Vista and about the city council race. The incumbent herself refused to debate Frankel on television. She also walked off the set of a tv show right before broadcast, when she learned her appearance there would mean Frankel would be entitled to equal time at a future date. Playa Vista Management also played its part. According to a leaked internal company memo, they intentionally delayed releasing new Playa Vista planning documents until after the election, so that the project would not be a part of the city council race debate.

Just before election day, the conservative editor of a local weekly even warned pro-incumbent voters that they better turn out, lest what happened with Green Audie Bock being elected would repeat itself locally with Frankel. On the election day, Frankel received 2,038 votes and 10.2%, spending would not be a part of the city council race debate.

Just before election day, the conservative editor of a local weekly even warned pro-incumbent voters that they better turn out, lest 'what happened with Green Audie Bock' being elected would repeat itself locally with Frankel. On the election day, Frankel received 2,038 votes and 10.2%, spending \$1,800. The incumbent, spending \$200,000, was returned to office with 69%.

James Henderson 38th State Senate District New York

In a three-way special election in Rockland County and southern Orange County on May 25th, James Henderson received 1.5% for State Senate District 38. This was the first state legislative race contested by New York Greens since they received statewide ballot status in 1998, and the first state level campaign waged ever by Rockland County Greens.

One of the Henderson for Senate campaign's primary goals was to raise the Green Party profile. Henderson was invited to participate in the League of Women's Voters debate and the reporting on that was favorable to the Greens. He was also invited to participate in a local radio station debate, as well as a one hour call-in show where he was the only participant.

Henderson criticized his Democratic and Republican opponents for not paying attention to local environmental problems, such as the pollution of the area's aquifers by pesticide run-off, which also leads to the area being #1 in the state in incidents of breast cancer.

On land use, Henderson criticized the construction of the new Pyramid Mall, which his Republican and Democratic opponents supported. Henderson claimed the mall, which is owned by out-of-town corporations, was drawing money out of the community, and returning little for local reinvestment, while at the same time undermining existing, locally-owned small businesses.

Henderson sought tax relief for businesses 'that are truly owned and operated by members of the community'. He also promised to promote, through subsidies, the transformation of chemical farming to organic farming, as well as to push for labeling of bioengineered food and food products so consumers have informed choices.

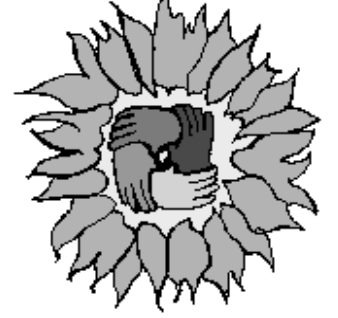
While his opponents each spent \$350,000 to \$400,000 on their campaigns, Henderson spoke of campaign finance reform. He advocated a law similar to the Clean Money Act passed in Maine, where legitimate candidates who pledge not to take money from private source get state funding and other state support.

He also spoke out against the proposed repeal of the commuter tax on non-New York City residents who work in the city - a move which he criticized as purely political. Rockland County, where most of the people in the 38th State Senate District live, is a commuter county located west of the Hudson and north of the New Jersey/New York border, consisting of many upper middle class professionals who work in New York City or Westchester County.

Both parties in the state legislature (the Republican-controlled Senate and the Democratic controlled House) sought to help their respective candidates in the 38th District Senate race by proposing to repeal the tax. Henderson observed that while the tax level per individual is small - 0.45% flat tax on income earned in NYC (\$100 a year on someone making \$45,000/year after federal tax deductions for local taxes) - it was important to support the needs of the larger community which the commuters use. He also observed that repeal of the commuter tax would cost New York City over \$360 million a year, further aggravating what many New York Greens feel is already one of the most regressive tax structures (and income inequalities) of any state

in the union.

Speaking of 'other parties', the special election was the first time that the Greens and the 'left-of-center' Working Families Party (WFP) squared off head-to-head since they both achieved ballot status in November, 1998. The Greens ran Henderson.



Under New York's fusion law, WFP did not run a candidate of its own, but instead endorsed the Democrat on the WFP ballot line. Despite Democrats outnumbering Republicans in the district 4-3, the WFP-endorsed Democrat lost 51.6% to 47%. The WFP is supported very strongly by the New Party, a national political formation which advocates 'fusion' as a primary electoral strategy. WFP also contains other forces such as various unions and Citizen Action, which also share a similar perspective on fusion.

Thus far, there is no indication that the WFP (nor the New Party nationally) has intention of 'fusing' with anyone except Democrats. However, that may change. Based upon the positive reception gained via Henderson's candidacy, Greens may contest some of the 17 seats up for Rockland County legislator this November. There also have been overtures from the local WFP about a possible alliance. It remains to be seen whether such action, if it occurs, is seen as 'bucking' state WFP leadership.

The Ten Key Values of the Greens

- Ecological Wisdom
- Social Justice
- Grassroots Democracy
- Nonviolence
- Decentralization
- Community-Based Economics
- Feminism
- Respect for Diversity
- Personal and Global Responsibility
- Future Focus/Sustainability

Audie Bock Campaign Report: How We Beat the Democrats

by Greg Jan

On March 30, 1999, the Green Party made history. For the first time ever in the United States, a Green won a state-level race, and for the first time since 1917, a "third-party" candidate was elected to the California state legislature. Green Audie Bock won a special election for the 16th district State Assembly seat in Alameda County (encompassing the cities of Alameda, Piedmont, and most of Oakland, excluding only North Oakland). She received 14,674 votes (50.6%), and her Democratic opponent, former Oakland Mayor Elihu Harris, received 14,347 votes (49.4%). Close, but nevertheless historic.

The media called the results "stunning", "shocking", "the biggest upset in decades". Pundits described it as a 'fluke', blaming Harris and the Democrats for making mistakes and taking the race for granted. Following the election, only a handful of the hundreds of articles written gave either Audie or the Greens any credit for the victory. But contrary to the "conventional wisdom", we ran a solid, strategic campaign - and actually began laying the groundwork years in advance.

To be sure, Harris and the Democrats did make mistakes. But had we not been prepared to take advantage of them, we would not have won. A majority of voters felt Harris had not done a good job as Mayor, would not be a good representative and/or they simply did not like him. But they also would not have voted for Bock unless they felt she would be an acceptable alternative. Instead, they would have simply "thrown up their hands in disgust", and stayed home. *How we established sufficient credibility for Audie and the Greens that is the untold story of this election.* Interwoven with that story are a number of "lessons" we can learn from this experience which can benefit Greens across the country.

Lay the Groundwork

"What's a Green?" "Who are the Greens?" We couldn't expect to do well in partisan elections (let alone win) unless people had positive familiarity with us. Hearing about Green success in Germany and elsewhere is helpful, but insufficient. Fortunately, the Green Party of California qualified for ballot status back in 1992, and over the years, through careful and measured steps (as well as a couple of lucky breaks), we've made beneficial

use of it. The first time a Green Party candidate appeared on the ballots of 16th Assembly district voters was in 1994, when we ran statewide candidates for U.S. Senator (against incumbent Dianne Feinstein), Lieutenant Governor, and Secretary of State. We ran to publicize ourselves broadly, and to give the electorate everywhere in the state a chance to vote Green.

In 1996, Ralph Nader (for President) and Winona LaDuke (for Vice-President) were our statewide Green Party candidates. Nader, already well-known, especially helped raise the positive reputation of the Green Party - including in the 16th Assembly district. Our most recent statewide candidates were former U.S. Congressman Dan Hamburg (Governor) and California Environmental Protection Agency scientist Sara Amir (Lieutenant Governor) in 1998 - again furthering our publicity and electoral opportunity goals.

In addition to Green candidates on every 16th Assembly district voter's ballot for each of 3 consecutive major elections (along with the related publicity), we also had been steadily developing a positive local reputation and infrastructure. Alameda County had been the headquarters for our statewide ballot qualification drive in the final key eight months of 1991, and into 1992, when we won official party recognition from the state. Additionally, Green Party member Dona Spring won election to the Berkeley City Council in 1992, with several Greens gaining electoral experience by volunteering on her campaign.

We continued to grow, with Greens volunteering on an increasing number of campaigns, including three Greens running for local office in 1996, and five in 1998. Although the majority of our work was next door to the 16th District, up in Berkeley and North Oakland, we gained substantial campaign experience, plus an ongoing pool of volunteers, both of which we put to good use during Audie's campaign. We also built our presence and contacts by publishing an 8 to 16 page voter guide with our analysis and recommendations for every major election since 1992. This was mailed to all Greens in the county (varying from 7 to 10 thousand), with additional thousands distributed at public locations in area.

Look For Opportunities

Bock's race was the last of a series of special elections triggered over the past year by Berkeley resident Ron Dellum's resignation from the U.S. Congress. Our incumbent State Senator was elected in spring, 1998 to replace Dellums, and in November, 1998, our incumbent 16th district Assemblyman won a special election for the state Senate seat. The Greens chose not to contest those special elections, given all the other elections in 1998 we were working on, and since we didn't see any special opportunities in them.

...How we established sufficient credibility for Audie and the Greens is the untold story of this election.

But the 16th District special election would be different. We would not be competing with other 1998 elections for publicity and media. That alone made the race worthy of our consideration, to be able to significantly publicize the Greens. We also wouldn't be competing with other campaigns for volunteers, although many of our own were inclined to take a break after a long and grueling 1998 election year.

Discussions came to a head at our mid-December holiday party. At that time, we were aware of two Democratic candidates, party activist and lawyer Frank Russo, and outgoing Oakland Mayor (and former 6-term state Assemblyman) Elihu Harris. From newspaper articles and other sources, it seemed that the two of them would be waging a tough, expensive battle. We would "stay above the fray", publicize the Greens, and hope neither of them would win more than 50%, in which case there would be a run-off between the leading Democrat and ourselves. This would give us two more months to publicize ourselves. Harris himself had a lot of "negatives" - if we got into a run-off with him, we might do well. But it was anyone's guess in mid-December whom the winning Democrat might be, let alone whether there would even be a run-off.

Although no one that night volunteered to run, several of us agreed to ask other Greens. I asked Audie. Shortly afterwards, we learned no Republican had filed, which would be to our advantage, especially if in a run-off. Republicans normally contest the regular elections, but it didn't surprise us that they didn't this time. Typically they receive 20% to the Democrats 80%. Republicans are 14% of the district's registered voters, Democrats 66%, "no party listed" 15%, Greens 1%, and other "third parties" 4%. We also learned a third Democrat, educator Enrique Palacios, had entered the race. After a few days, Audie said "yes", we gathered and filed our nomination signatures, and the campaign began.

Choose an Excellent Candidate

We started by "tabling" with a simple, all-text photocopied 8 1/2 by 11 flyer, highlighting Audie's campaign positions. In the meantime, we began lining up endorsements, formed Audie's campaign committee, and started fundraising (mainly to other Greens).

Because of our contacts over the years, we quickly lined up a number of important endorsements, including Dan Hamburg, environmentalist David Brower, Ralph Nader, musician Bonnie Raitt, Medea Benjamin of Global Exchange, Dona Spring, and twenty other local activists and community leaders. We then used the money we'd raised to print a "professional-quality" campaign piece, with the above endorsements, new text, and three photos.

Audie had first gotten involved with us when she volunteered for the Nader/La Duke campaign. From that experience, and from other volunteer work she did, as well as her participation at local and state meetings, it was clear she would make a good candidate. She was bright, articulate and committed to Green values. What we didn't know was how dedicated a campaigner she would be. By the last month of the campaign, she was putting in over 50 hours a week! Also, she had a Master's degree from Harvard, and is an accomplished writer (with at least two published books to her credit) -- qualities which turned out to be helpful as well during the campaign. It helps to run the best-qualified candidate you can - in this case, we got more than we were initially even aware of.

Audie's exceptional skills and dedication revealed themselves early, when she spoke at several candidate forums during the first month of the campaign. She prepared thoroughly, rapidly learning about the relevant "hot" local issues, then applying a Green analysis to each. She articulated her positions, responded to questions, and networked with people before and after each presentation. Many were surprised that a "fringe" party could field such a good candidate.

In the end, Audie addressed a dozen forums prior to the February 'primary' election. The largest was 150 people, which was also broadcast on the City of Oakland's cable TV station. Most of the candidates appeared at most of the forums, in particular at the three League of Women Voters forums, which were attended by all four candidates.

Every Saturday and Sunday, Audie joined volunteers in outreaching to the district - introducing herself in front of supermarkets and coffee shops -- handing out literature, and asking for their vote. The press did its part, as we had predicted, with each newspaper running several stories, profiling each candidate, even covering several of the forums. We received tolerable treatment, although most of the articles, predictably, spent the bulk of their coverage on the "contest" between Harris and Russo. We also organized a letters-to-the-editor campaign, which netted 7 or 8 letters, not too far behind what Russo or Harris were getting.



Elected Greens Mike Feinstein (City Council, Santa Monica), Julie Partansky (Mayor, Davis), Audie Bock and Kevin McKeown (City Council, Santa Monica) following Bock's swearing in

Audie Bock Campaign Report: How We Beat the Democrats

The two "leading" Democrats meanwhile, were busy spending money. Both sent out expensive absentee voter mailers. Russo also sent out "hit pieces", criticizing Harris's long record. Harris concentrated on publicizing his list of endorsements, from Governor Gray Davis and both of California's U.S. Senators, through the majority of Democratic state legislators, to a host of local elected officials. Harris was clearly the Democratic Party establishment candidate. But Russo managed just enough endorsements to be seen as a credible challenger. He also had recruited some 400 volunteers, perhaps a couple hundred less than Harris. Palacios had maybe 100 and we had 40.

By election day, Russo spent \$300,000, Harris and the state Democratic Party \$600,000, and Palacios \$40,000. We spent \$1,500. What did the candidates get for their money? Harris received 49%, Russo 36%, Bock 9%, and Palacios 6%. In dollars per vote, it was Harris \$30, Russo \$20, Palacios \$16, and Bock 40 cents.

Although Audie was an excellent candidate, our lack of resources meant the majority who voted for her did so without having received any direct communications from our campaign. We believe it was our prior years of having good Green candidates on the ballot, our generally positive reputation in the district, and that we were the only alternative to the Democrats, that served us well, boosting us to a relatively respectable showing.

Run To Win

Looking to the March 30 "run-off" Harris at first glance seemed unbeatable. He had almost won the election outright. He had polled over five times as many votes as Audie (49% to 9%) and the Democrats had a 66 to 1 advantage in voter registrations. Harris also raised 400 times as much money - if need be, he could overwhelm any amount we might raise.

However, there were other factors, the most glaring of which appeared a few days before the election. About 5,000 voters in low-income, low-turnout areas - voter whom were likely to favor Harris - received letters from the state Democratic Party, good for a "free chicken dinner", if they presented the letter along with a ballot stub, as proof of having voted. Such an "enticement to vote" was already illegal under federal law, but the Democrats had twice blocked a similar law from covering state elections. The media had a field day with the "fiasco", with front-page stories, and one editorial, explicitly calling upon Harris to denounce the practice. The County Registrar of Voters requested that the Secretary of State support outlawing the practice, calling it "the closest thing to legal vote buying" he'd ever seen. It was clear that "chickengate" would cast a shadow on the remainder of Harris's campaign.

Less obvious was the effect of the primary campaign. Russo, through numerous mailings, made Harris's record THE campaign issue. Either Harris had done a poor job and didn't deserve your vote - or you weren't convinced, and would vote for Harris anyway.

We did a quick analysis on the numbers. It was unlikely the Democrats would pull the "chicken offer" stunt again, so we assumed few of those voters would be returning to the polls. If this were true, then Harris's 49% dropped to 43% -- with the balance, 57%, casting their votes "against" Harris. The formula for success looked clear - we had to demonstrate to that 57% that Audie was credible and could be a good (or at least 'acceptable') representative. Then, we would expect the bulk of the 57% to cast their ballots against Harris again - although this time, voting for Audie. We also explored economical ways of swaying and turning out some of those voters who had not voted in February.

To reach all of the targeted voters, we needed to run the maximum campaign we were capable of. Fortunately, this a special election, we needed to reach fewer than half the voters who would normally vote in a regular election.

Still, we needed to raise enough money for mailings, ads, signs, literature, and other expenses. We needed to hire a full-time, paid campaign manager to coordinate the whole operation. We felt we could raise between \$25,000 and \$35,000 -- just enough. Were we ready to mount an all-out effort? The "energy" felt like we should go for it. Every day another article appeared criticizing Harris and the Democrats over "chickengate". Democratic volunteers who had worked for Russo began contacting us about helping Audie.

The final decision, of course, was up to Audie. She would have to cancel an upcoming part-time teaching job so she could be a full-time candidate. Her attitude and public presence had been that she was running to win. Now that it looked like we might actually be able to pull it off, would she maintain that? Could she give it her all, even if it meant a huge personal sacrifice? For several days, Audie agonized over the decision. Yes, we had an incredible opportunity. But what would this mean for her career, let alone the lost income? Could we get Ralph Nader or Bonnie Raitt to do fund-raisers? It was a very difficult, even painful decision. But in the end, Audie took the risks and decided to make an all-out effort to win.

Make Use Of Your Opponent's Mistakes

After that, we moved quickly. Using contacts we'd developed over the years we raised enough money to hire a campaign manager. "Chickengate" was still in the press, so we used it for all we could. We filed a complaint with the Fair Political Practices Commission, and sent out press releases about the complaint to get additional coverage. We gathered additional endorsements, including current and former city council members, the National Women's Political Caucus, a former Republican Congressional candidate, the Oakland Tenants Union, and more community leaders. We met with community groups, continued our letters-to-the-editor campaign, and organized house parties. We sent out fundraising letters locally, statewide, and even across the country. And Ralph Nader came in and did a fund-raiser for us.



Wearing her Green Party buttons, Audie Bock talks with Los Angeles Times reporter Jenifer Warren after Bock was sworn-in as a member of the California State Assembly

Several local organizations, particularly the League of Women Voters, tried to arrange candidate forums. Harris turned down all of the proposed dates, saying that he was already busy. Part of the rationale was not to give his "unknown" opponent any further exposure. He also sought to prevent "chickengate" from coming up again. Effectively, his campaign closed up shop. So effectively, Harris was busy up at the state capitol arranging committee assignments, putting on fundraisers, making connections, and preparing to take office. Apparently, to him, the election was a foregone conclusion -- no need to campaign

We responded by sending out press releases about Harris's refusal to debate, gaining additional media coverage. We started weekly phone banking (first to get volunteers and donations, then to "get out the vote"), and shifted our weekend operations from "tabling" to door-to-door precinct walking. We printed window and yard signs, and found people to display them. Having managed to raise sufficient funds, we sent out our mailer, "Audie Can Win", to everyone who had voted in February, and we ran ads in the local papers.

We had a real campaign underway -- certainly not on the scale of Harris's or Russo's in the February election, but we had enough to establish Audie's credibility. And so far, Harris was still "asleep at the wheel".

Run a "Professional" Campaign

With less than two weeks remaining, the first Harris mailer appeared in voters' mailboxes. Soon, different mailers were appearing almost daily.

The press reported that Harris's consultant had taken a poll showing Harris was in trouble. They took a second one that told them the same thing. We told our volunteers that the race was essentially tied and with their extra help we could win. In the end, Harris's campaign sent out a dozen different mailers, some targeted to Republicans, some to women, etc. -- but it was too late. They spent well over \$100,000, maybe even \$200,000, on their last minute blitz. We spent \$33,000, the largest portion for a district-wide mailing to everyone who voted in February.

Our plan to establish Audie's credibility and to provide an outlet for the majority 'anti-Harris' voters had worked. We managed to tailor the basic components of running a "professional" campaign, as described in a typical "How to run a campaign" training manual, to the unique circumstances of the Greens and Audie's race. We made broad use of our available skills and resources. We were fortunate in having a superb and dedicated candidate. Our opposition was not in touch with the voters, and made several major mistakes (which we took advantage of). The groundwork we'd laid for the past seven years paid off.

Our historic win was not a mere fluke coincidence. Rather, it was a reflection of the seriousness and commitment with which we have been building the Green Party over the years.

• Greg Jan is a founding member of the Green Party of California and a current member of the party's state Coordinating Committee. He served as Audie Bock's Campaign Manager (for the first and last thirds of the campaign). He can be reached at P. O. Box 3727, Oakland, CA 94609. •

Bock to the future?

Help re-elect Audie Bock in 2000
send your contributions to

Bock by Popular Demand

1714 Franklin ST #222, Oakland, CA 94612

(510) 655-6520 www.bockbypopulardemand.org

Excerpts from Assemblywoman Audie Bock's Speech to the East Bay Commonwealth Club, May 20, 1999



Why did Oakland choose the first Green Party legislator in the United States?

Because from California, and especially the Bay Area, have come the major influences in political progress and new forms of political activity over the second half of this century. From the Beats to the Free Speech Movement, from anti-war protests to the Summer of Love, from Black Panthers to feminists, from Gay rights to the anti-nuclear and environmental movements, the Bay area has given birth to new forms of political expression which have connected with progressive forces around the world.

What transpired in the recent elections in Oakland and the 16th Assembly District is the birth of a hopeful politics. That hope is expressed in the Ten Key Values of the Green Party.

My District is a mirror of the New California. Its cultural and racial diversity is complex and exciting. Its urban heart is alive with activists and community leaders. Its churches and charities are magnets for civic involvement. Its consciousness of politics as it could be is awakened, and it is my intention to use this office to nurture the spirit of hopeful politics among my constituents and throughout California.

My legislative priorities are first and foremost to address the basic needs of the District:

- I want to help my community rebuild quality public education from the Administration to the classroom teacher, to the school buildings themselves. I see my role as becoming an accessible facilitator to the forces for change in the education community. I will continue to oppose efforts to overturn local control.

- I will try to bring higher quality jobs to the District by seeking the relocation and expansion of small and mid sized environmentally-friendly companies. Perhaps my position on the Assembly International Trade and Development Committee will create such opportunities.

- I am committed to reducing the risk to human health and safety of toxic pollutants in the District, and am sponsoring legislation to implement the Zero Dioxin Emissions policy.

- *I want to improve our basic transportation infrastructure by helping to find funding for more cleaner non-polluting buses.

- I want to help assure that one of the primary economic engines of the District, the Port of Oakland, is responsive to the community and the future community by making sustainability the *sine qua non* of its growth philosophy.

Secondly, my goal is to build upon my incumbency by strengthening Green Party-style grass roots politics throughout the District and working with others around the State.

- I have joined Former Acting Secretary of State Tony Miller (Democrat) and Proposition 227 leader Ron Unz (Republican) as Green co-chair of the statewide campaign to reduce the impact of money in campaigns and to bring mandate disclosure through the Internet. The proposed initiative would also close the "Chicken Dinner" loophole in California's Election Code.

- I want to help identify and nurture emerging leaders who demonstrate progressive grass roots politics.

- I have initiated GreenPAC, a statewide political Action Committee to raise funds for new candidates and Party building.

My third priority is to speak out wherever I can on the Green values common to most of us,

and to find ways to explicitly incorporate those values in the public policy we make in Sacramento and in our cities and counties, values like 'ecological wisdom', 'grassroots democracy', 'social justice & responsibility', 'nonviolence', 'decentralization', 'community-based economics', 'feminism', 'respect for diversity', 'global responsibility', 'sustainability'.

It is my firm belief that while we all share many of these values in our private and personal lives, when it comes to making public policy, Members of the Legislature find it difficult to apply such values when confronted with the enormous pressures of special interests in Sacramento. I want to remain a citizen lawmaker who is able to put this value-driven politics before career ladders and term-limit musical chairs.

I came to Sacramento on a train from Oakland, a train filled with well-wishers and campaign volunteers. I was sworn in as the first "third party" Member of the California Legislature since 1917. My arrival brought with it a new spirit of "Tri-Partisanship" which was described by many as a "breath of fresh air."

Dozens of Legislative staffers and insiders (and some Legislators themselves) approached me as "closet Greens," offering help and assistance in finding my way through this sometimes arcane and self-contained world of state government.

What has surprised me the most, I think, has been the warm welcome, both personal and professional, which was given to me by my colleagues and fellow Legislators.

Because of the deadlines on the introduction of new bills, I was given opportunities to co-author important legislation which paralleled my campaign issues... bills on health care, education, toxics, and campaign reform among others. To my surprise, I found that many of the initiatives were underway, and was able to add my "green" perspective and support.

The leadership of the State Assembly, consisting of the Speakership and senior Democratic Members, has thus far offered much graciousness but little substantive help to this Third Party caucus of one. I have been described as a threat to the leadership to be "taken out" at the earliest opportunity. But some Democrats have expressed not only similar beliefs, but genuine friendship. On the other side, some Republicans have offered real help and guarded hope for alliance on some issues, such as local control.

I insist on using the term "Tri-Partisan" at all times.

I will be one of 54 votes on the Budget and one of 41 votes whenever a new Speaker is chosen. I have already made several key votes on the committees to which I was appointed, which include: Judiciary, Environmental Safety and Toxics, Human Services and International Trade and Development.

One of the most difficult aspects of being Green is the lack of resources which members of the Democratic Caucus and Republican Caucus enjoys. Hundreds of staff people are employed by the Speaker and the Republican caucus for research, media relations, policy development, constituent services and the host of day to day tasks of running a political operation. The Green Caucus, which is I, gets no such resources. My very energetic and creative staff has to do it all.

One reason that I hope to be joined next year by more Green Party legislators is the establishment of a full-fledged Green Caucus with the required allocation from the Assembly budget.

As a new Legislator I was invited to more than 500 events and what we call "meet and greets" in my first month in Sacramento. A steady stream of lobbyists and associations came through my office to get a look at the first "openly Green" legislator. At the same time, I have had to absorb and evaluate committee issues, and to cast votes on hundreds of bills both in committees and on the floor. Another big surprise has been the sheer volume of legislative activities and the incredible pace of the process.

My process for casting votes is to review the analyses of both Parties and to decide for myself using Green principles. Both the Republican and Democratic Caucuses provide me with materials which their staff develop on each bill. But what I look forward to is being able to rely on research which comes from the "third" Dimension of the political perspective, and that will only come when more Greens are elected to state office.

For now, and for the rest of the Session, I am learning the business of being a Legislator, and the learning curve is very steep coming in mid-year. As the only Green in an otherwise bi-partisan Assembly, I have to do without the support staff, the perks, the comfort that comes with being part of a group.

On the other hand, I am free to go against both Parties at any time, to vote my conscience regardless of consequences, and to propose bills and initiatives which no Democrat or Republican might ever introduce. As an example, I am readying legislation to introduce on the death penalty, one bill to abolish capital punishment (which I expect to fail) and a second bill to provide counties with new violence prevention funding equal to the amount the state would save on appeals when a county seeks "life without parole" instead of the death penalty for capital cases.

I can advocate for universal health care without being concerned about the contributions of the insurance industry or medical association.

Above all, my goal in office is to bring the philosophy of "sustainability" to public policy. Every decision we make as legislators will affect the quality of life for future generations. I want these future generations included as key interests in the decisions we make about how we manage our resources and our environment, and how we prioritize our expenditures each year.

Ms. Bock Goes to Sacramento - What they're saying:

“We have a new system. It’s tripartisan.” - *Audie Bock (G-Oakland), San Francisco Chronicle, April 1st*

“Bock starts with a reputation for fairness, openness and intelligence, qualities that will serve her well when she has to face hard-playing maneuvering legislators from both the Republican and Democratic Parties...We say this to her: Go forward with the confidence of this community behind you. There is much to do in Sacramento, and your fresh approach is welcome.” - *The Oakland Tribune Editorial Board, April 6th*

“Third parties received a surprise boost last week when Audie Bock of the Green Party won the a special election for the 16th Assembly district. And she’s not even a big-time wrestler” - *Orange County Register Editorial ‘Green thumbs up’, April 6*

“It was not unlike marching into Paris following the occupation. It was truly exhilarating and there were tears in the eyes of many of us. 4 or 5 standing ovations, whoops, hollers, bravos and ole! We waved sunflowers and olive branches and overall were treated with respect, as was Audie. Everyone in that building knew the gravity of the moment. - *John Strawn, Green Party of California co-spokesperson, reflecting upon Bock swearing-in*

"It was unheard of; too far-fetched to be believable if offered as fiction. It’s like the L.A. Lakers losing to a church team." - *George Skelton, writer, Los Angeles Times, April 12th*

“With the Greens, you could get some wacky person with a tie-dyed T-shirt who hasn’t had a haircut in 10 years. But Audie is a grounded, sensible, mature woman who has been thrown into a swirling vortex and is trying to make this life work.” - *Assemblywoman Carole Migden (D-San Francisco), LA Times, May 11th*

"If I was this Green candidate, I wouldn’t be signing any long-term leases in Sacramento.” - *Bob Mulholland, Contra Costa Times, April 1st.* “Greens are like mosquitoes. They’re still around, but they’re not taking over.” - *Bob Mulholland, Sacramento Bee, April 2nd. And more Mulholland* - “Democrats failed on Tuesday, but they won’t fail in that district in November of 2000. We’re not here getting ready for the next chess tournament."

"The chicken dinners were reportedly the brainchild of Bob Mulholland, the Democratic Party consultant who is best described as the troll under the bridge of California politics. Smart Democrats keep Mulholland away from their campaigns, allowing him do the partisan dirty work they would prefer to avoid. His presence in Oakland is sufficient proof of the low priority the state Democratic hierarchy put on the race. And his decision not to promise safe streets, better schools or lower taxes, but free chicken is both condescending and patronizing to voters who deserve better.” - *Dan Schnur, consultant to Republican candidates, Sacramento Bee,*



Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa welcomes Audie Bock to the California State Assembly

“She deserves kudos for her phenomenal win. She ran a tough campaign. She was a fresh face and clearly a tough competitor. We’re looking forward to working with her, since members of the Democratic and Green parties share many core values and philosophies, including concern for the environment, health care reform and education.” - *Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa (D-Los Angeles), San Francisco Examiner, April 1st*

"Anybody with that kind of character is someone I can always work with." - *Assembly Republican leader Rod Pacheco (R-Riverside), San Francisco Examiner, April 1st*

“She’s a nice person, but she’s in the wrong party,” says one top Assembly Democrat. “This isn’t personal, it’s professional. That’s a Democratic seat. We’re gonna take her out.” - *Los Angeles Times, April 12th*

“Vote Green, Not Machine” - *Bock campaign slogan*

“She’s not beholden to anyone, so she’ll have the luxury of proposing some pretty dramatic ideas.” - *Michael Twombly, Green, and Audie Bock’s chief of staff*

“We want to cut straight to the chase and go for universal health care. The people are ready and the HMOs are not. They have been gradually reducing the amount of care and pleading that they can’t afford to give the care. And they need to stop talking about saving money and start talking about saving lives.” - *Audie Bock, Oakland Tribune, April 6th*

“As a progressive, I see Audie as an ally.” - *Assemblymember and former speaker Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica), San Francisco Examiner, April 27th*

“There are Greens working in the building,” Bock said almost conspiratorially, “and they’re not working in my office.” She laughed. “They come over and whisper, ‘I’m a Green.’ We’ve got a lot of closet Greens here.” - *Audie Bock, San Francisco Examiner, April 27th*

The Green Party - A Growing Movement Across the Globe

In only 25 years, the Green Party has grown from humble beginnings in three countries, to a global movement spanning 80 countries on every continent.

The first Green Parties were formed in 1972-73, in Tasmania (Australia), New Zealand and Great Britain. Today there are Green Parties in Western and Eastern Europe, North and South America, Russia, Africa, Asia and Oceania. Many thousands of Greens are elected on municipal and state levels.

On the national level, over 210 Greens are elected to the national parliaments in 18 Western and European countries, as well as the Australian Senate, the Brazilian Congress, the Mexican House of Deputies and the Taiwanese Congress. There are also 28 Greens are elected to the European Parliament as of May, 1999.

In terms of ruling coalitions, Greens have been the junior partners in state governments in Germany and Tasmania since the late 1980s.

Today, Greens are coalition government partners on the national level in Finland, France, Germany, Georgia and Italy. In each of these countries, Greens hold the position of Environmental Minister. In Italy, the Greens also hold the Minister for Equal Opportunities and in Germany, Greens also hold the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Health.

Green Parties also have formal cooperation internationally. In Europe, such coordination began in 1984 and today, the European Federation of Green Parties has 30 national parties as members, from Western and Eastern Europe. In North America, the CANAMEX (Canada, United States, Mexico) process began in 1991. Hemisphere-wide, the Federation of the Green Parties of the Americas was founded in Brazil in early 1998. In Africa, the Federation of African Green Parties was also founded in 1998.

On a global level, the first planetary meeting of Green Parties was held in Brazil in 1992, in conjunction with the historic United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

The second planetary meeting will be held in Australia in 2001. In 1996, a global Green Party statement was released against the French testing of nuclear weapons in the Pacific Ocean, and in 1997 a global Green Party statement was issued regarding the global climate negotiations being held in Kyoto, Japan.

Historic Victory as Scottish Greens Enter Parliament

On May 7th, Scottish Green Party Principal Speaker Robin Harper was elected to the Scottish Parliament, the first Green in the United Kingdom to be elected on the national level.

After winning more than 22,000 votes in the Lothians, Harper said: I have the voters to thank from the bottom of my heart, who understood the Green campaign. This is a wonderful day for the Green movement and for all of the tens of thousands of people who have put their faith in a better future for Scotland's children. People who care about Scotland's environment will now have a vigorous campaigning voice right in the heart of Holyrood. As Britain's first Green Parliamentarian I am committed to making the Scottish Parliament think green and act green at every turn. The polluters, the wasters and the destroyers in our society should take heed now!

Weeping with joy, Harper looked forward to the long-term effect his election could have, Keir Hardie was

elected at the end of the last century and the color of his century was socialist. For the next century, the color for the future of the world has to be green.

Scottish Green Co-Spokesperson Marian Coyne concurred, the Greens are the party with Scotland's future at heart. The four gray parties may have green-speak in their manifestos, but we need Greens in parliament to ensure our environment, on which we all depend, is really at the heart of Scotland. °°°

The Scottish Green Party was established in 1979 and until 1990 was part of a British-wide Green Party. Eight years ago it° formed an independent party from the rest of Britain in line with its policy of devolution for Scotland. The Scottish Party works alongside its sister parties in Britain, Ireland and throughout Europe but is constitutionally separate.

Harper has been member of Center for Nuclear Disarmament for over 40 years

and an active trade unionist for over 20, Robin joined the Scottish Green Party (then the Ecology Party) in 1985. He has stood for the party at numerous elections, including the 1989 European election when he polled 10.5%. In 1995 he was elected Convener of Scottish Green Party Council, and in 1998 was elected Principal Speaker. °

After University in Aberdeen, Harper taught in Scotland and Kenya before returning to Boroughmuir High School, Edinburgh, where he now teaches Modern Studies.

Harper's election coincides with the introduction into United Kingdom of proportional representation for the first time. Although it is not yet planned to be used for the England's House of Commons, it will be used in England for the upcoming European Elections in June. For more information about the Scottish Green Party, go to

www.clan.com/environment/scotgreenparty

Green Party of England & Wales Greatest Success

At the same time their Green neighbors to the north were entering the Scottish Parliament, the Greens in England had record success, winning 14 new seats - the most ever in a single election, and 39 local seats on 18 different Councils, increasing their number of councillors to the highest number ever. Overall, Green Party candidates ran in 551 Wards across England and Wales. The Greens are now represented on all levels of local Principal Authority in England: District, Unitary, Metropolitan Borough, County and London Borough Councils.

The impressive Green showing in both England and Scotland continues a recent upward trend in United Kingdom

since May 1998, and strengthens the view that the Greens can win European Parliament seats for the first time, particularly since proportional representation will be used for the first time. In particular, the introduction of since proportional representation in Scotland clearly shifted public perception of the Greens prospects of winning and changed their voting behavior accordingly. In particular, English Greens hope to pick up one and possibly two European Parliament seats in London, and possibly another seat outside of it.

The British Green Party was founded as in 1973. Originally called The Peoples Party it soon changed its name to Ecology Party. In the gen-

eral election of 1979, despite having only 500 members, the party fielded 50 candidates, thus securing a television broadcast. This led to the first big expansion of the party, to 5,000 members.

In 1985, the party changed its name to Green Party. In the 1989 European election, the party achieved the then highest ever percentage vote for a Green Party in Europe, with 15%. The British winner-take-all system however, similar to that in the United States, prevented Greens from winning any seats.

For more information about the Green Party of England & Wales, go to www.greenparty.org.uk.

Upcoming Global Green Party meetings:

Green Millennium Reunion

Oaxaca, Mexico

host: Partido Verde Ecologista de México

September 20th - 25th, 1999

pve@infosel.net.mx

Global Greens Conference 2001

Canberra, Australia

host: The Australian Greens

April 14th - 16th, 2001

jo.desilva@aph.gov.au

www.global.greens.org.au

Proportional Representation: Electoral System for a True Democracy

By Betty Traynor,
Green Party of California

With the election of Audie Bock to the California State Assembly, the Green Party has broken through the two-party barrier on the state legislative level. This was a momentous and joyous occasion. Do we still need to reform our electoral system? You bet!

Bock was the first third party candidate since 1914 to reach Sacramento. The overwhelming attention her election generation attests to its rarity. The winner-take-all voting system rarely allows minor parties to reach state or national office. Bock's victory says much about her as a candidate, her campaign and the organizational efforts over the years by the Green Party in Alameda County. But it says even more about the U.S. electoral system.

Currently, the members of our legislatures are elected one at a time in single seat districts, with the winner being the one who receives the most votes. This is heavily stacked against minority party candidates. There can be only one winner per district. This is almost always a Democrat or Republican.

The U.S. voting system is an insult to the voters. *It says that up to 49.9% of our votes, and even higher percentages in plurality races, don't count.* The majority of eligible voters are not voting because they feel disconnected from their government. Decisions are made which affect their lives on a daily basis, but they are not part of the decision-making. They feel powerless. They are not represented and see no chance they will be. But with proportional representation, they can be.

Proportional representation (PR) embodies the principle that any group of like-minded voters should win legislative seats in proportion to its share of the popular vote. It is fairer. It is more democratic. The majority political opinion still has majority representation in the legislative arena. But the minority view is represented too.

How Does Proportional Representation Work?

First, multi-member districts are established, with each having several representatives, not just one. After an election, seats are allocated in proportion to the number of votes won: in a 10 seat district, 20% of the vote wins 2 seats, 50% wins 5, etc. PR assures that all political parties (or other voting blocs) get their fair share of seats. Another way of looking at it, is that PR assures that almost all voters end up by being represented by someone they support (usually a threshold of 4% or 5% has to be cleared for representation).

PR would greatly alter the gender and color of state and federal legislatures. Women, who make up over 50% of the population, are only 11% of the U.S. House of Representatives, 9% of the U.S. Senate, and 20% of the California state legislature. Women of color are even more underrepresented. Research worldwide (much of which was done by San Francisco Bay area scholar Dr. Wilma Rule) shows that the number one predictor of women's success in national legislative elections is the presence of PR voting systems. This has been shown most strikingly in countries which use both PR multi-seat districts and U.S.-style single-seat winner-take-all districts in the same national election. Australia and Germany are two such countries. Three times more women legislators were elected in Australia and Germany by PR than by winner-take-all.

PR is used by dozens of democracies worldwide, from Asia to Africa, from Europe to Latin America. In recent years, Russia and most of the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe have chosen PR as their election system, considering the US-style, single-member district system to be outmoded and unfair. South Africa, when it threw off the shackles of apartheid, PR rather than winner-take-all because of PR's unique capacity to allow both minority representation and majority rule. In forming their new government, South African leaders - both white and black - saw this as crucial to a nonviolent transition to a society of full inclusion.

Are there different forms of Proportional Representation?

Yes - PR is a flexible system that may be adapted to the local situation of any city, state or nation.

The most common form of PR is the *List System*. The voter selects one party and its list of candidates. If party lists are open the voter can also indicate choices for particular candidates on the list. If a party receives 30% of the vote, it wins 30% of the seats, with the elected officials being those who won in their party's list. This form of PR is usually used in large legislatures on state and national levels. Some countries, such as Germany and Japan, use a *Mixed Member Proportional* system. In this electoral system, PR is used for some of the seats (usually half), while other seats are determined by the winner-take-all single member district system. Some think this PR system would be a good choice for the U.S. where voters are used to geographic districts and could combine this with a fully proportional system at the same time.

For local, non-partisan elections like city councils, *Choice Voting* or *Single Transferable Vote* is the PR system most commonly used.

In this system voters rank all the candidates in order of their choice (1,2,3,4,etc.). Votes are tabulated in such a way that, in addition to their first choice, a voters second, third and sub

and one for another, or all three votes for one candidate. If an under-represented group can get behind one candidate and cast most of their votes for her, they stand a chance of gaining representation using this system. Cumulative Voting has been used in Alabama, Texas, and Illinois to elect groups that previously had not been represented - blacks, Latinos, and women.

...Proportional representation embodies the principle that any group of like-minded voters should win legislative seats in proportion to its share of the popular vote. It is fairer. It is more democratic. The majority political opinion still has majority representation in the legislative arena. But the minority view is represented too...

sequent choices may be used to achieve proportional results in the selection of the winning candidates. Very few votes are wasted and most voters have a greater chance of their votes actually electing a winner that they can support.

Choice Voting is not new to the U.S. This PR system was used by many U.S. cities during the first half of this century, including Boulder, Cleveland, Cincinnati, New York, and Sacramento. It was successful in achieving its reformers primary goal: undercutting the power of one party political machines and promoting more racial diversity. Predictably, these political machines did not like the diversity Choice Voting provided and were successful in repealing it. Nevertheless, it remains in use today for City Council in Cambridge, MA and for New York City school elections.

Civil rights lawyer and scholar Lani Guinier is a vocal advocate of PR in general, and in particular, a semi-proportional election system called *Cumulative Voting*. In this system, voters can cast more than one vote for the same candidate. In a three-seat district, voters could cast one vote each for three candidates, two votes for one

How Can Proportional Representation be Enacted Where I Live?

A crucial requirement to implement PR is the presence of multi-member districts. Most state and local elections can be changed to PR, simply by changing local or state laws, without amending state constitutions. In some states, it can also be brought about through the initiative process. For use for the House of Representatives, the U.S. constitution does not have to be changed, but a federal law passed in 1967 that mandates one-seat districts for U.S. House elections does. Fortunately, there is a bill in the House now, HR 1173, introduced by Representative Mel Watt of North Carolina, which will repeal this law. It needs additional sponsors to move forward. Green Party members should contact their congresspersons immediately to ask them to support HR 1173.

Betty Traynor is an activist with the Green Party in San Francisco and a board member of Northern California Citizens for Proportional Representation (NCCPR). She can be reached at btraynor@energy-net.org.

How Can I Learn More About Proportional Representation?

Proportional Representation, The Case for a Better Election System, by Douglas Amy. (Crescent Street Press, 1997)

Reflecting All of Us, The Case for Proportional Representation, by Robert Richie and Steven Hill (Beacon Press, 1999)

Lift Every Voice, by Lani Guinier (Simon & Schuster, 1998)

Real Choices New Voices, by Douglas Amy (Columbia University Press, 1993)

also contact

The Center for Voting and Democracy
www.fairvote.org (301) 270-4616

Green Ballot Status Update

Correspondents include Carolyn Campbell (AZ), Richard Winger (CA), Hugh Esco (GA)

Arizona Green Party Wins Federal Court Decision in Ralph Nader Case

from an Arizona Green Party press release, April 8th, 1999

After almost three years in federal court challenging Arizona's election laws regarding the effort to place Ralph Nader on the ballot for U.S. President, Green Party activists won a big victory in the U.S. District Court yesterday with a ruling by Judge William Browning. The suit was originally filed in July 1996.

At issue was Arizona's unique law that prohibits registered members of recognized parties -- then Democrats, Republicans and Libertarians -- from signing nominating petitions for independent candidates. Green Party plaintiffs Sloane Haywood and Carolyn Campbell assert that the law uncon-

stitutionally burdens their ability to nominate the candidate of their choice thereby infringing on their First and Fourteenth Amendment rights. Also challenged were Arizona's early filing deadline and the number of signatures required to place an independent candidate on the ballot.

In his decision, Judge Browning said, "In combination, the June 27 deadline (the third earliest in the nation), the mandated non-qualified party status of nomination petition signors (the only one in the nation), and the requirement of 3% of the voters in the last election who were not affiliated with a qualified party impose severe burdens on voters and non-qualified party candidates." The judge also wrote, "Historically in Louisiana and Arizona this restriction 'freezes' the status quo by effectively barring all candidates for national office other than those of the major parties."

Louisiana was the only state in U.S. history to impose this same restriction, from 1918 to 1949. During that time period, no independent or third-party statewide or federal candidate, including a 1924 Progressive Party candidate who appeared on the ballot in every other state, was able to get a place on the Louisiana ballot.

Richard Winger, San Francisco-based national activist for ballot access issues and Ballot Access News publisher, calls this case one of the two most important ballot access cases in the country. John Kromko, a third party in the suit and a registered Democrat, agrees. "The two parties, Democratic and Republican, have cooperated for a long time to keep third parties off the ballot," said Kromko.

Ballot Access Bill Fails in Georgia

A bill to lower the number of signatures for 'third party' candidates to run

for office failed in the Georgia state legislature in March. Current Georgia law says candidates seeking state office must have a petition signed by 1 percent of all registered voters in the last general election — about 39,000 people. Local races require 5 percent.

The legislation, would have changed the law to require 7,500 to sign a petition or signatures or 2 percent of the total number of people who voted in the last state election, whichever is less. Either standard would be lower than the current threshold.

The bill was defeated in the State Senate by a 39-5 margin. The Georgia Green Party supported the bill, as did a diverse collection of other independent political parties, who all agreed Georgia has some of the most restrictive ballot access in the nation.

or more ballot access info, go to www.ballot-access.org

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Green Party Members Holding Elected Office

Sixty-eight Greens in seventeen states hold elected office as of May, 1999

Arizona (2)

Alva d'Orgeix, City Council, Bisbee
Norm Wallen, City Council, Flagstaff

California (32)

Audie Bock, State Assembly, District 16, Alameda County
Kerry Arnett, City Council, Nevada City, Nevada County
Colby Crotzer, City Council, Morro Bay, San Luis Obispo County
Leslie Dahlhoff, City Council, Point Arena, Mendocino County
Alan Drusys, City Council, Yucaipa, San Bernadino County
Mike Feinstein, City Council, Santa Monica, Los Angeles County
Tim Fitzmaurice, City Council, Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz County
Suza Francina, Vice-Mayor, Ojai, Ventura County
Jennifer Hanan, City Council, Arcata, Humboldt County
Debra Keipp, City Council, Point Arena, Mendocino County
Kevin McKeown, City Council, Santa Monica, Los Angeles County
Bob Ornelas, City Council, Arcata, Humboldt County
Julie Partansky, Mayor, Davis, Yolo County
Larry Robinson, Vice-Mayor, Sebastopol, Sonoma County
Steven Schmidt, City Council, Menlo Park, San Mateo County
Dona Spring, City Council, Berkeley, Alameda County
Ryan Titchenell, City Council, Trinidad, Humboldt County
Ted Bertsch, Board of Education, Mendocino County
Carol Skiljan, Encinitas, Encinitas School Board, San Diego County
Cynthia Strecker, Monte Rio Union School District, Board of Trustees, Sonoma County
Janna Waldinger, Board Member, Napa County Office of Education
Scott Bugental, Lompico Water Board, Santa Cruz County
Lois Humpheys, Leucadia, Leucadia Water Board; San Diego County
Selma Spector, Rent Stabilization Board, Berkeley, Alameda County
Glenn Bailey, Resource Conservation Dist. of the Santa Monica Mtns., LA/Ventura counties
William Bretz, Crest/Dehesa/Harrison Canyon/Granite Hill Planning Group, San Diego Cty.
William Bretz, Resource Conservation District of Greater San Diego County
David Diehl, Ocean Beach Planning Group, San Diego County
Kip Krueger, Ocean Beach Planning Group, San Diego County
Barrie Smith, Ocean Beach Planning Group, San Diego County
Aaron Willett, Ocean Beach Planning Group, San Diego County
Timothy Moore, Ramona Planning Group; San Diego County

Colorado (2)

Art Goodtimes, County Commissioner, San Miguel County
Krista Paradise, Board of Trustees, Carbondale

Connecticut (2)

Karin Norton, Town Constable, Mansfield
Amy van Nunes, Town Constable, Mansfield

Hawai'i (1)

Julie Jacobsen, County Council, District 6, Island/County of Hawai'i

Illinois (1)

Marc Loveless, Local School Council, Alfred Sabin Magnet Middle School, Chicago

Iowa (1)

Karen Kubby, City Council, Iowa City

Maine (2)

Harold Hansen, School Board, Biddeford
George Lehigh, Town Council, Eastport

Massachusetts (1)

Bill Shay, Martha's Vineyard Commission, Oak Bluffs

Minnesota (4)

Debra Orton, City Council, Hermantown
David Abazs, Crystal Bay Township Supervisor, Finland
Annie Young, Parks & Recreation Board, Minneapolis
Dean Zimmerman, Parks & Recreation Board, Minneapolis

New Jersey (1)

Gary Novosielski, School Board, Rutherford

New Mexico (4)

Cris Moore, City Council, Santa Fe
Fran Gallegos, Municipal Judge, Santa Fe
Gary Claus, City Council, Silver City
Sherry Tippet, School Board, District 2, Santa Fe

New York (3)

Liz Simonson, Town Board, Woodstock
James Corrigan, Board of Trustees, Northport Village
Dorothy Wescott, Village Trustee, Village of Perrysburg

North Carolina (1)

Joyce Brown, City Council, Chapel Hill, Orange County

Virginia (2)

Stephanie Porras, Natural Bridge Soil & Water Conservation District Board, Lexington
Phil Welch, Natural Bridge Soil & Water Conservation District Board, Buena Vista

Wisconsin (7)

Thomas Powell, Board of Supervisors, District 5, Dane County
Echnaton Vedder, Board of Supervisors, District 8, Dane County
Bill Anderson, Board of Supervisors, Douglas County
David Conley, Board of Supervisors, Douglas County
Bob Browne, Board of Supervisors, Douglas County
Bob Olsgard, Board of Supervisors, Washburn County
Scott Tice, School Board, Cumberland

What do elected Greens do in office?

My first six months on the city council
by Kevin McKeown, City Councilmember
Santa Monica, California

Serving on the Santa Monica City Council exercises my intellect, engages my heart, expresses my spirit, exults and exhausts me. I'm working harder than I ever have in my life.

The transition from activist to legislator has brought me exploded access to information and resources, along with sobering new responsibilities. I still advocate with my familiar enthusiasm, but I must also extend an added evenhandedness. My role is to fairly represent everyone in our community, including some with decidedly un-Green perspectives. This has challenged my Green consensus-building skills.

One of the joys of my first six months has been seeing residents and city staff work so quickly and enthusiastically to help effect change. Below are some of the policies I have initiated with support from my colleagues on the city council:

Individually:

- Moved a revision process for city noise ordinances, to give residents greater protection from commercial intrusions into neighborhoods.
- Co-wrote the ballot argument for a tenant protection ballot initiative I helped craft. (It was passed by the voters 71% - 29%)
- Established an issue-based 'Councilmember McKeown website' giving residents resources on issues I'm championing and the opportunity to share (or criticize) confidentially - www.mckeown.net.
- Moved a community-based planning process for a "neighborhood commercial" street that has grown into a regional draw with attendant traffic, pedestrian safety and parking problems.

Along with fellow Green Councilmember Mike Feinstein:

- Secured a resolution of City support for low power FM licensing by the FCC, paving the way for a Santa Monica micro radio station carrying community meetings and cultural events.
- Revived the concept of a one percent advantage for Santa Monica vendors on City bidding, both encouraging local business and saving taxpayers money (part of the sales tax goes to the city).
- Opposed the double-charging of ATM fees by banks on both ends of ATM network transactions.
- Pursued the use of email listservs to create immediate interactive consultations with residents on issues, building on Santa Monica's previous successes with electronic democracy.

With the new progressive Council majority, elected by a coalition of local renters' rights, worker, Green, and neighborhood activists:

- Put a City-wide moratorium on run away development to stop loss of affordable housing and neighborhood character in multi-family neighborhoods, while we revise our Housing Element.
- Scheduled the country's first-ever two day weekend election to fill a vacant Council seat. Turnout was significantly above comparable Tuesday spring elections in surrounding cities.
- Saved our city's single-family neighborhoods from demolitions replacing homes of charm and character with "monster mansions."
- Laid groundwork to oppose Phase Two of the huge nearby Playa Vista development that would threaten our region's last remaining wetlands and choke the region with traffic and pollution.
- Converted City Hall and all other City facilities to 100% renewable energy sources. Santa Monica is the first city in California to do so. Created a Santa Monica Energy Authority to encourage and perhaps aggregate green electricity use for our entire community.

Green 2000 - politics for our planet

Excerpts from the report of the Presidential Exploratory Committee of the ASGP

By David Cobb, Green Party of Texas

In 1996, the Green Party ran its first Presidential campaign ever - Ralph Nader for President and Winona LaDuke for Vice-President. That campaign helped to build the Green Party in numerous ways - from gaining new members and building state Green parties, to gaining higher visibility and credibility with both the public and the press.

Looking towards 2000, the Association of State Green Parties (ASGP) Presidential Exploratory Committee was created in December, 1998, and charged with facilitating the dialogue between the ASGP and potential Green Party presidential candidates. An introductory letter/questionnaire was sent to over 20 people suggested by Greens from around the country.

Answers to Green Presidential Exploratory Committee Questionnaire:

Lester Brown

Founder/President World Watch Institute

"Building an environmentally sustainable economy within the short time that is available is perhaps the greatest challenge that our generation or, indeed, any generation has faced. If the Green Party can accelerate this effort, future generations will be forever indebted...At the personal level, I cannot begin to tell you how much it means to me to be asked to consider being the Green Party candidate. Were I less constrained by circumstances, I might well respond positively. I wish you the best in your effort to build an environmentally sustainable future.

Bill McKibben

Environmental Author

'The End of Nature'

"I just got your letter. It was nice of you to write, though I'm not really presidential mate

rial. I've read the green platform before, and agree with nearly all of it. I think you have a crucial role to play-maybe more in the 2000 election than ever, what with the need to keep Gore's feet to the fire."

Noam Chomsky

Professor of Linguistics, MIT

"I was most interested to learn about the prospective candidate project, and appreciate the invitation to enter into the dialogue on the matter. I'd be interested in doing so, if I can help, but not as a candidate -not my cup of tea, and far removed from whatever useful talents I might have."

Lani Guinier

Professor of Law, Harvard

"I have no interest in running as a candidate in the political system as it is now constituted. I am, however, honored by the interest and would be happy to engage in a dialogue on the issues."

Paul Hawken

**Ecological Economist and Author
Founder "The Natural Step"**

"I was surprised (and flattered of course) to receive your request. Having written speeches for Presidential candidates and been on the road, I actually have a smidgen of a sense of what this would entail. I am actually a more behind the scenes person, and have never loved politics, or I should say the meanness of politics. If I thought I could make a difference, I would consider it. But I do not believe I have the public profile or position to lend much credibility or 'gravitas' to the Green Party. I am very supportive of the idea, the effort, the initiative. I am very grateful and honored you would ask."

Carol Miller

New Mexico Green Party

Congressional Candidate 1997 & 1998

"I am deeply honored and flattered to receive your invitation to consider seeking the Green Party Presidential nomination. I must respectfully decline. I will enthusiastically support any serious, credible candidate who emerges from this process, and offer to campaign for such a candidate. I also offer to serve as an advisor to such a candidate on rural community and health care issues (my areas of expertise) as well as other national policy issues as needed."

Ralph Nader

consumer advocate and Green Party

Presidential Candidate 1996

"Thank you for inviting my response regarding the seeking of the Green Party's Presidential nomination in the year 2000. If I seek the nomination - a decision that will not be made until next year- and receive that designation, I will pursue a dedicated and thorough campaign that meets the Federal Election Commission requirements."

Such an active campaign will have the objective of strengthening our nation's democracy by strengthening the Green Party movement at the local, state and national levels; by emphasizing the problems of, and remedies for, the excessive concentration of corporate power and wealth in our country, by highlighting the important tools of democracy needed for the American people as voters/citizens, workers, consumers, taxpayers, and small savers/investors."

"If there are Greens who support my seeking the nomination, I encourage them to expand the number of volunteers and increase the time spent working to build the Green Party this year in order to advance the Party's "Key Values" and to increase the likelihood of ballot access in all fifty states."

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