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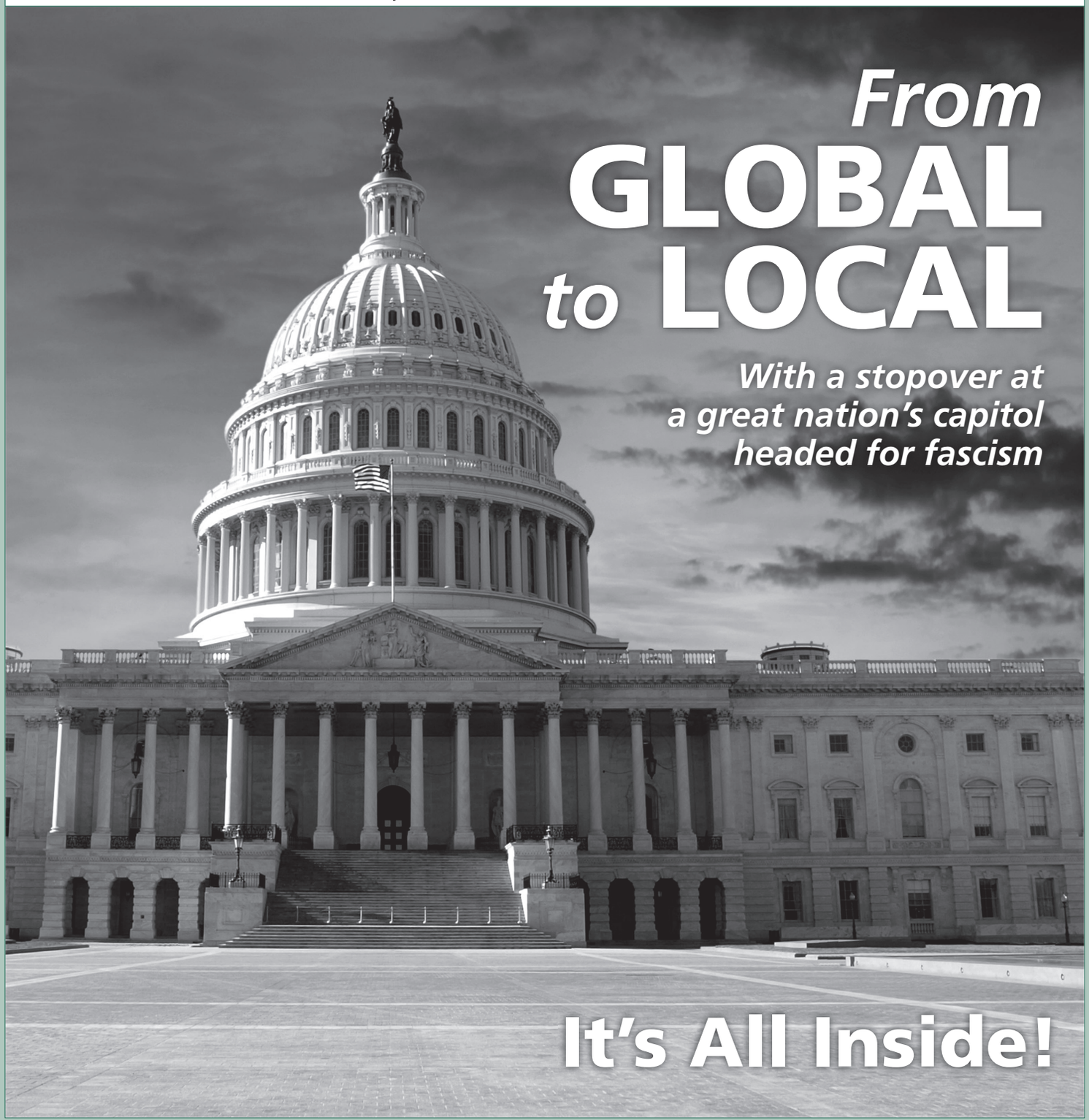

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ECONOMISTS *and* NUMBERS

HERSCHEL STERNLIEB

Once upon a time, there was an economist
who sought to put valid numbers on anything and everything.

He could put numbers on wages and hours and productivity and the cost of money, the gross domestic product and the value of imports and exports, but he spent most of his career trying to put numbers on, hope, joy, love, kindness, contentment and peace.

He reasoned that a new economy would figure out how to measure them. Whereas the current values measurement puts numbers on a gross national product of war and poisons which always show great economic activity.

But how do you measure a world of contented and peaceful inhabitants?

How many smiles how many laughs how many hugs? How many helping hands?

He spent his life trying to put numbers on all these.

By many he was considered a saint,
but he never won a Nobel nor was called on to advise a president.

HERSCHEL STERNLIEB is a fabled story teller and contributor of many fables in our pages since we began in 2003. He is a businessman (decades in textiles), a lay economist, an inventor, a strong family man, an outside-the-box thinker, and a long-time active member of the Green Party. As he approaches four score years and ten, he opines that "as I approach 90, I feel 14 from the neck up and 190 from the neck down." Hail to you, Hersch, there is that about you that is indestructible. —Eds

THE TEAM

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The Issue This Time is BIGGER THAN EVER *How Come?*

Well, as you probably know, we missed producing a Fall/Winter issue. My colleague Steve Welzer, as Treasurer of Jill Stein's campaign for President, got absolutely flooded with work as the campaign really came on fast in the summer. I became ill in July and ached on into early Fall. So there was a natural build up of copy.

But that's not the only reason for a bigger than usual issue. Post mortems of the strange and fateful election of 2016 poured in. There are eight commentaries plus two LTE's (Letters-to-the-Editor) on Trump's ascension to the White House.

And then, in addition to all that, we lucked on to a spate of big articles. Rob Richie's is bigger than ever and pointedly timely, given the subject, Ranked Choice Voting. A hoped-for analysis of the German Green Party came in with greater depth and scope than I expected. It was welcomed with excitement and gratitude. I hope you agree, and enjoy the searching insights of German Greens Michael Vester and Daniel Gardemin. And there are substantial articles by Joe de Rivera on global governance; by Mary Lawrence on Animal Rights; by Romi Elnagar on the ongoing fight for Indigenous Lands and Rights; and by Jon Olsen on the Green Party and Socialism.

Also, we especially wanted to feature right now the engaging article by Keli Yen on the coming congress of the Global Greens on March 31-April 2. It not only puts attention on an important upcoming event but gives a direct and insightful look at this crucial global green movement, so crucial now especially in this time of Trump mis-governance.

We will continue from now on to give good space and time to the Global Greens.

So this small hiatus of a missed publishing moment has shifted us to a new schedule. No longer Spring/Summer and Fall/Winter but Winter/Spring and Summer/Fall. And notice that both issues from now on will be part of the same calendar year. This is the first Issue of the calendar year 2017!

I trust that you will fully enjoy this issue of *Green Horizon Magazine!* I referred above to the eight articles and two LTEs on the 2016 election. Several other magazines have done or will do something similar. I think, however, that no one has among their authors an actual candidate for President! Not only that, we feature both a presidential and her vice presidential partner. ***We are very proud and excited to have Jill Stein and Ajamu Baraka write for us!*** It's an historic piece from two intrepid persons as you will see.

See the parallels and the differences in the points of view among the eight. Jan Martell and Darryl! Moch are effective and balanced Steering Committee co-Chairs of the US Green Party's National Committee. Sam Smith is a keen veteran journalist in Washington and Maine. I have cited Rob Richie's powerful article above. Charlie Keil is poet and political savant in his amazingly fertile and expansive retirement years. Steve Welzer and I pretty much take a similar approach though varied. His is more oriented to "What now?" And I to what "might have been." Don't forget to check out the Letters from Barbara Geisler/Maynard Kaufman and from Jon Olsen. They radiate grit, courage, and acumen in equal parts.

All in all, I hope you like it! I have had a ball putting it together and I can tell you that Sharon our incredible layout guru feels the same.

—JR

The Peace of Wild Things

Wendell Berry

When despair for the world grows in me
and I wake in the night at the least sound
in fear of what my life and my children's lives may be,
I go and lie down where the wood drake
rests in his beauty on the water, and the great heron feeds.
I come into the peace of wild things
who do not tax their lives with forethought of grief.
I come into the presence of still water.
And I feel above me the day-blind stars
waiting with their light.
For a time I rest in the grace of the world, and am free.

What the World Needs Now is Gove *(As in "All you need is...")*

JOSEPH DE RIVERA

"Internationalism is in any case hostile to democracy... The only purely popular government is local, and founded on local knowledge."
— G.K. Chesterton

"There is no salvation for civilization, or even the human race, other than the creation of a world government."
— Albert Einstein

We need a peaceful way to resolve conflict and achieve the common good. However, states involve violence, nationalistic rivalries lead to struggles for power, and it's hard to imagine a government for billions of people with diverse needs. How can we achieve efficiency, control corruption, and contain power to prevent dictatorship? The mere size of the world and the diversity of its peoples make it difficult to imagine an adequate political-economic system. We consider four possibilities.

DECENTRALIAZED PEACE SYTEMS

Gandhi argued that individuals should accept responsibility for self-governance and live in small, self-sufficient, communities with non-hierarchical assembly government. Small, economically self-sufficient groups can have a non-hierarchical social organization that favors cooperative egalitarian practices and harmonious nonviolent social relations. Small communities can control antisocial behavior with gossip, mockery, or ostracism rather than killing or imprisoning and it is possible to imagine people learning the patience required to adjust to a simpler and more cooperative life style. However, local communities have interests that lead them to ignore what is needed by others and favor what benefits themselves. Poorer communities want the richer to share their wealth and the richer are reluctant to do so. Communities can become inbred and filled with prejudice, and if one becomes militarized it begins to dominate and establish a state system. Thus, although power can be based on community there needs to be some overall system of governance.

Gandhi suggested that his village republics could be related in "ever-widening, never-ascending circles" and Jóam Pim (in *Behavioral Processes and Systems of Peace)* has provided examples of such systems of decentralized self-government. These include past successes such as the Icelandic Commonwealth and Iroquois League, and present endeavors such as the Council of European Communes, the Zapatista Autonomous Rebel Municipalities, and the Kurdistan Communities. Details vary widely, but all provide for considerable local control, popular decision-making and representative assemblies. Pim describes a number of current peace systems where independent units have social institutions that manage group conflict, arrangements that ensure cooperation. They are "Oceanic Circles" of expanding social identities that are interconnected with peaceful values and symbolism.

In spite of the appeal of local power, I doubt that a system based solely on local government can meet contemporary needs. We are used to a standard of living that requires the large infrastructures of communications and transportation established and maintained by states and large corporations. The complexity of contemporary interdependency requires an organization that can attend to the good of the whole. This suggests a modification of Oceanic Circle: a world federation built on the power of small interdependent units where local governments attend to local needs and more encompassing state and national systems have the power to address things that affect everybody.

The best example may be the Swiss system where hundreds of relatively small local communities, often with assembly type government, operate independently from larger state systems, but have a representative central governmental assembly that appoints

executive and judicial establishments. The Swiss government provides an example of how diverse groups can be united in a relatively non-hierarchical way. Its federal system uses national, canton (state) and commune (municipality) assemblies structured in ways that divide power among numerous political parties, language groups, and local interests. Communes levy local taxes and do local planning, run the schools, social welfare and the fire service, organize their own referendums and make decisions at communal assemblies or a local parliament. The national assembly (legislature) is bicameral as in the U.S. but establishes an executive council and the judiciary. The Swiss system of assemblies and referendum peacefully manages conflict among four languages, 26 cantons, and 8 million people. The question is whether this design could manage conflict among 600 languages, 196 nation-states, and 7 billion people.

ALTER-CULTURES

Might it be possible to build a system of governance that relied on neither local communities nor nation states? Bou Zeineddine's recent doctoral thesis describes the development of wide flung communities of practice that are organized in ways that transcend traditional social identity boundaries. He shows how these networks constitute "alter-cultures" that provide positive alternatives to systems of living detrimental to the common welfare. Thus, the Baha'i and the permaculture communities offer a relational model of social interaction that is communal and care-based without being exclusive. Rather than fighting against or attempting to reform globalized capitalist culture they provide an alternative niche to which people may repair. Bou Zeineddine compares such communities with species that behave in ways that benefit themselves but contribute to the welfare of other species. Opposed to the negative competiveness of markets and politics, such communities focus on practices that will be personally beneficial yet also benefit the common welfare. Such "social mutualism" need not involve direct cooperation or altruism. It simply focuses on meeting personal needs in ways that benefit the commons. Thus the open-source/access movement keeps the idea of intellectual property but opens the possibility for mass distribution without commercialization; B-corporations such as Ben and Jerry's and Jitasa seek profits but benefit others; religious communities such as Taize seek to satisfy spiritual hunger in ways that do not exclude.

Those involved in social mutualism reject competition for top levels of social hierarchies as a way to fulfill needs. Rather than compartmentalizing people into Us and Them, or Good and Bad, they think of gradients and urge the acceptance of personal responsibility to participate in practices that benefit both self and commons. Rather than combatting injustice by participating in partisan opposition to public ills, they seek change by providing examples of public goods. Thus interviews with those involved in social mutualism reveal an emphasis on nurturance and empowerment with little reference to government, authority, law and power. Political solutions are rejected because "political" is taken to imply the polarization and social dysfunction that is rejected.

Might communities of social mutualism provide a substitute for world government? If markets really were free from government subsidies and companies were concerned with the common good as well as their own profits in the manner of B-corporations, credit unions and public banks, needs could be met. Many, perhaps most people, would like to simply meet their own needs and contribute to the common good. However, there are two challenges to this anarchic ideal: First, there are some who desire power and status more than the common good. Some are willing to kill to get what they want and this leads others to want protection . Second, there are extreme differences in the resources and power of different peoples and places. These differences in personality, resources and power lie at the base of politics. As important as community is, it cannot replace politics. Unfortunately, our current politics is simply war by other means. The question is how to fashion a politics that is based on the artful compromising of different needs, interests, degrees of power and points of view rather than a simple struggle for power. Since contemporary power is controlled by states we must ask if world government might be attained through the United Nations.

REFORMING THE UN

It might be possible to establish a world government based on nation states if the United Nations were transformed. The Security Council could be restructured by granting permanent membership to some more powerful states and restricting the use of veto power; more authority could be granted to the World and Criminal Courts; the General Assembly could find more ways to give voice to the world's people rather than simply its nations; and the UN bureaucracy could be improved so its personnel system reflected competency and integrity as well as national representation. However, all these changes require less chauvinism. In *Making the UN Fit for Purpose in the 21st Century* Weiss shows the need for partnerships rather than posturing across wealth and ideologies, and how this requires the expansion of national interests to include concerns for global goods such as world climate, the control of pandemics, and international law.

It is hard to imagine China, Russia, or the United States giving up the power that would be involved in serious reforms. However, global cooperation on aviation and health is occurring, political situations do change and, paradoxically, the popular

"The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be ex-pressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures."
— Article 21(3), Universal Declaration of Human Rights

pressure for more local identity and control may be accompanied by more pressure for world government. Popular representation in the UN is being gradually strengthened by adding spaces for the voices of NGO's and indigenous peoples, and non-governmental organizations are working to establish a people's parliament and more knowledge of the power and importance of the UN's Secretariat's Secretary General. The Secretary General is supposed to be elected by the General Assembly and the closed door selection by the Security Council is gradually being replaced by public presentations from candidates who are being asked questions by the press. Public presentations with an open procedure for electing a Secretary General is advocated by One in Seven Billion and would seem to be an ideal function for a world parliament that was constituted by people rather than nations. The central problem seems to be the UNs basis in national hierarchical bureaucracies.

AN ALTERNATIVE DESIGN

There is a tendency to either focus on the cooperative humanness available in decentralized communities and alter-cultures or the necessity of state identity and efficient central government. Adherents of both views tend to idealize what they advocate and ignore or minimize inherent problems. Self-governance humanizes but underestimates the difficulties of community living and coordination between communities. Liberal states achieve coordination but create central bureaucratic hierarchies that fail to attend to local needs. The founders of the European Union recognized the need for community councils and enacted a Council of communes, but the need for coordination led political power to rapidly go to a central bureaucracy. *Paradoxically, we need an efficient center whose job is to foster local community.*

Rather than imagine power coming up from the base of a pyramid or flowing down from its apex we need a system based on interchanges of communications and personnel between a center and localities. In *The Populist Moment* Lawrence Goodwyn notes that such interchanges were characteristic of the populist movement of the 1880's where lectures took ideas from the center to local granges and brought information of local conditions back to the center. The realities of power and the need to consider the complex interactions among different organizations and communities require a center. However, this center must be designed to support rather than dominate the communities it helps govern. Such a center could be granted authority by communities of place and interest who send representatives instructed to operate by consensus. This would require negotiations based on mutual caring. Such a design grants power to those who care for others and the common good with the corrupting effects of power controlled by open procedures, elections, and the possibility of recall.

There are problems posed by size, complexity and enforcement. However, expanding circles of concern may be more manageable than expanding hierarchies. A central council of 15 persons could represent 15 different regional needs. Each region could represent 15 different peoples with different mother languages so that the needs of 225 peoples could be represented with only two expanding circles. If one imagines people meeting in successively smaller groups over two billion people could be represented by the eighth expansion. Such a system of consensual governance, operating on considerations of mutual needs, would not attempt to replace the complexities that are addressed by markets that operate from individual interests. The failure of central economic planning in China shows the limitations of central planning and the usefulness of markets in matching supply with demand. However, a center could control financial speculation and regulate the supply of money. It could foster and support the local communities on which both state and market are dependent. Although some coercive power might be needed, a consensually based system makes it difficult to accumulate power without caring for others and there is less need to enforce consensually based contracts. The enforcement needed to deal with breach of contracts and whatever sociopaths need to be imprisoned could be furnished with fairly local systems of justice operating by the consensus of those not involved in particular cases. A design for governance by a center that supports the periphery on which it rests, with power based on consensus and the meeting of mutual needs, requires more elaboration than space permits. Here, however, we note some foundational elements.

FOUNDATION FOR AN ALTERNATIVE DESIGN

The foundation for a world government that supports the social mutualism of the communities that form its base requires a broadening of philosophical, political, and economic theory. Philosophical theory has stressed either the morality of liberal individualism or the mannerism of collectivism. Yet the former leads to competition among political parties and the latter to in-group conformity. In contrast, John Macmurray's *Persons in Relation* convincingly shows that both individualism and

collectivism are the products of fear and can be supplanted by the unity that occurs when caring for others dominates our fear of them. His philosophy furnishes the basis for a morality that recognizes the value of all persons and the establishment of a global community that encourages communities to unite for the common good.

Political theory has largely ignored how the fear of loss of power prevents compromises that could meet present needs. More generally, it fails to sufficiently distinguish aspects of the competition for power that benefit vs. harm the system of governance and how the judicial system might be better used to insure fair competition. It deals with the corrupting effects of power by stressing the separation and division of power and by the holding of elections based on competitions between different parties but ignores the fact that elections are often simply war by others means rather than a healthy competition between different ideas and interests. By focusing completely on multiparty systems it ignores exploring variations on the single party structure advocated by the founders of the American government and the administrative structure of the Swiss model.

Economic theory has been reduced to a capitalism that focuses on the production and consumption of goods. It has ensured a global standard of living and life expectancy that has never been higher. However, we need community as well as economic goods and large enterprises often harm local communities. The shifting of jobs and mechanization has come at the expense of local communities whose people have lost work and local businesses. And the migration to cities has resulted in the loss of systems of morality and harm to our environment. The political consequence is a desire for smaller more manageable units that are sensitive to local needs and support for ethnic rather than state identities. These desires can be met by the proposed design making use of distributist economics with its focus on private ownership but worker-owned means of production.

Expanding our philosophical, political, and economic theory will allow us to begin the pragmatic exploration of an efficient world government that promotes the communities on which it rests.

JOSEPH DE RIVERA
is research professor at Clark University where he established its program in peace studies. Living in Brunswick, Maine he is leading an international research group that works on ways to build the global community needed for a democratic world government. The author of *The Psychological Dimension of Foreign Policy, A Structural Theory of the Emotions,* and the editor of *Field Theory as Human Science, Believed-in Imaginings,* and *Handbook on Building Cultures of Peace,* his tools for peace may be found by clicking on the peace resource tab at www.pwpp.org

GLOBAL GREENS: Building *a* Pathway *to* Global Friendship

KELI YEN

Just as forests thrive in a community of diverse symbiotic relationships, so shall we thrive in an ecology of ways in which Greens build the future together.

2016 was a year of unrelenting revolt and disunion in which the politics underlying our lives grew to become the major issues in our life. There's good reason to feel exhausted by 2016, and also good reason not to despair. This article presents my vision for the future of the Global Greens, the global family of Green parties and movements, in which we showcase and scale-up the many ways in which Green activists are being the change that we want to see in the world. I want to create with you an ecology of projects in which we build the future together by mutually supporting each other's development from idea to initiative to impact from a local to global scale.

CONNECT

In 2016 politicians became popular by blaming problems on "other" types of person. Walls were built where borders did not exist before, physically as well as in people's minds and hearts. The precursors to conflict that humanity promised never again to repeat seem to be eerily repeating themselves.

Friendship is the antidote to this warpath. That's our work as members of the Global Greens. As attempts to disconnect people from one another increase, so must Greens increase in building connections—because the more we mutually understand and care about one another, the more we generate mutually assured peace and the construction of a world that works for us all.

As Coordinator of the Global Greens I've had a wonderful opportunity to learn about Green parties around the world, to build friendships with their members, and to gain insights on opportunities for Greens to thrive and actualise our core values at a greater scale.

One insight is that Greens want useful and stronger relationships with each other. The possibilities are as numerous; some immediate opportunities are in building collaborative relationships among Greens with a similar function such as campaigners, advisors, party leaders, elected Greens, and so on. Greens with similar interests could also connect globally to support one another on policy issues, skill building, projects and by applying the many types of talents and resources available in our community.

Supporting the development of Green party members and projects is an enormous opportunity for the future flourishing of the Global Greens and of our world.

SUPPORT

The Global Greens is a platform to support Green political activism around the world. Green parties and their members are constantly creating solutions to problems our societies face. We are entrepreneurial. Yet while public investment in sustainability is growing, both Green parties and the Global Greens continually struggle with

In order to develop supportive connections among Green parties and projects everywhere, the Global Greens secretariat needs to evolve into a globally capable structure.

inadequate financing to scale up our initiatives for social change. We're so busy implementing progressive change that we give less resources to communicating it. That's why I want to create an online platform which showcases the practical ways in which Green parties and their members are practicing our core values; and to enable us to support projects by sharing resources available in our community, including micro-financing.

Wherever people are gathered together the basic elements for growing an effective economy is present, the demand and supply just needs to be organised. Since the Global Greens' first congress in 2001 we have organised our global family to be able to operate together, and now is the time to use our relationships to achieve our goals with ever greater effectiveness. In the book *The Alternative: towards a new progressive politics*, David Boyle points out that a progressive economic policy would provide the framework for economic devolution, local lending institutions and the development of social and economic institutions that include as many citizens as possible. This would create a market economy that encourages social entrepreneurship and people-powered prosperity. The Greens can create the new future economy starting with supporting one another and prototyping the future in many forms, cultures and contexts. That's what ecological wisdom looks like in practice, just as forests thrive in a community of diverse symbiotic relationships, so shall we thrive.

EVOLVE

To develop supportive connections among Green parties and projects everywhere, the Global Greens secretariat needs to evolve into a globally capable structure. Currently, governance of the Global Greens is managed through regional federations: the Federation of Green Parties of the Americas (FPVA), European Green Party (EGP), African Green Federation (AGF) and the Asia Pacific Greens Federation (APGF). Three people from each Federation (supported by 3 Alternates) serve on the Global Greens Coordination Committee, which communicates and meets frequently to set the strategic and political direction of the Global Greens. An Executive Committee with representatives from each Federation manages the daily operations of the Global Greens. And the GG Secretariat supports and facilitates the functioning and development of the Global Greens organisation. The Secretariat is based in Brussels, Belgium; the office is hosted by the European Green Party, and currently employs a full time Coordinator, Keli Yen (Taiwan, United States, and global), and a part-time Communicator, Mr. Djalel Boukerdenna (Spain).

Currently, the bulk of Global Greens communications and services flows through the email of secretary@globalgreens.org, which is managed by the GG Coordinator. This is a bottleneck on the capacity of Global Greens. I am confident that it's possible for the Coordinator to coordinate staff located in each federation who provide localised services to members and who manage the global platform of collaborative projects. The secretariat would grow into truly a worldwide presence and capability.

To grow the flow of resources in the Global Greens, I'd like to evolve the GG platform to support the exchange of both services and goods among Greens. We have an abundance of know-how in our community, how to do green mobility, renewable energy, consensus-building facilitation, and policy knowledge held by our elected representatives, shadow cabinets and committees. I envision the platform enabling Greens to provide services as professional and paid consultants and facilitators.

The result is an ecology of ways in which we build the future together.

I'm keen to get started on this project right away. If you're interested to build the platform with me, let me know by writing to secretary@globalgreens.org. To brainstorm the idea further we can convene a session at the Global Greens congress, which will be held 30 March–2 April 2017 in Liverpool, UK. Visit the congress website at: http://greens2017.org, and register! And after congress I'll be working with you to bring the Green horizon to life!

KELI YEN

has been serving as the Coordinator of the Global Greens since November 2015. From 2011-2015 Keli was the Convenor of the Asia Pacific Greens Federation (APGF), the APGF Representative to the Global Greens Coordination and Executive Committee, and supported Green Party Taiwan's International Secretariat and as a Director of the Taiwan Friends of the Global Greens. Keli loves the Global Greens because it's all about caring for one another–for the earth and all its inhabitants–by facilitating global progress through the respect for diversity, participatory democracy, sustainability, ecological wisdom, nonviolence and social justice.

SOCIAL CHANGE *and the* RISE *of the* GREENS *in* GERMANY

MICHAEL VESTER AND DANIEL GARDEMIN

At first sight, the success of the German "Greens" seems to be a result of the proportional electoral system that translates voting percentages into similar percentages of parliamentarian representatives. But where did its electorate come from?

The social movements which gave rise to green politics resulted not only from new ideas but also from long-term structural changes of the economic and social structures as well of the field of political power.

THE MAKING OF A NEW POLITICAL CAMP

Politics in Federal Germany for a long time were dominated by the two party system of the conservative Christian Democrats (CDU/CSU) and the Social Democrats (SPD), occasionally helped to majorities by the small party of Free Democrats (FDP). Until the mid Sixties the CDU/CSU even seemed invincible. Led by its catholic Chancellor Adenauer it had integrated Federal Germany into a West European economic alliance as well as the military alliance with the USA directed against the Communist bloc. This helped to curb German nationalism and to prevent a return of the Nazi party.

Germany regained its position of strong industrial exports. The CDU/CSU developed a conservative welfare state allowing rising standards of living, education and social security and even a certain participation of employees in management decisions. The huge industrial working class and the diminishing middle class of small farmers found employment in the prospering industrial and service occupations thus benefiting from economic growth.

They (the Greens) are a coalition across vertical class barriers kept together by the experience of a deep conflict in society as a whole, a kind of "horizontal" class conflict between traditional and modernizing milieus.

However, by this success, the conservatives also prepared their own exhaustion. The rising welfare and educational standards supported a change of social structure and everyday culture. Even the catholic workers, once loyal conservative voters, began to turn away from authoritarian gender and family structures and from submissive behavior at their workplaces. This became the base of a slow shift of votes towards the Social Democrats. During the 1960's similar shifts occured in other milieus provoked by the authoritarian complacency of the conservative politicians. Oposition rose against the risks of nuclear war, the support of foreign dictatorships, racism and the refusal to end the discrimination of women and of ethnic and sexual minorities. These were already "green" ideas.

Of course, the growing youth and student subcultures and movements of the Sixties were most spectacular. But how could their ideals be translated into a change of public opinion? This became possible through a growing opposition in the milieus of academics, intellectuals, authors, artists and journalists. This coincided with a

remarkable opening for political change that contrasted with the Sixties in the United States. In the U.S., the progress of civil rights and peace movements and presidential welfare state efforts was overshadowed by the assassination of civil rights activists, of Martin Luther King and the Kennedys, by the Vietnam war and by a reactionary mobilization which, in 1969, brought a conservative president, Richard Nixon, to power.

While social space closed for the American movements, it opened in Germany. The German movements could translate into new political majorities in regional elections and especially in Willy Brandt's great electoral victories in 1969 and 1972.

The Brandt years brought remarkable expansions of welfare and civil rights politics. Movement aims were translated into legislation, seeking the end of discrimination against women, overturning the criminalization of homosexuality and abortion, enlarging the participatory rights of apprentices and students, expanding and opening the schools and universities for the working classes, raising welfare state benefits and enlarging the rights of the employees at their work places.

This provoked counter-reactions. After Brandt's resignation, from 1974 to 1982, the governments of the right-wing SPD Chancellor Schmidt pursued systematic policies of containment. Welfare expansion was slowed down. Democratic participation of workers and students was reduced. The right majority wing of the SPD defended the construction of nuclear power plants and, in the late 1970s supported the United States' plans to station nuclear missiles in Germany.

The left and liberal forces now lost influence in the political parties, but gained much ground in the movements, in the alternative youth cultures and in the liberal public opinion and media. Because of its commitment to participatory democracy and non-violence, it found rising support when, after the 1973 oil crisis, new civic mobilizations were caused by the ecological and social risks of modernization and growth, of nuclear armament and energy and also of recurring unemployment, insufficient civic rights and participation, urban and infrastructural problems. This included more attention to the inequalities between women and men and in the families, between different ethnic, regional and age groups as well as the healthy and the handicapped. From 1979 to the early 1980s a huge peace, anti-nuclear and ecological movement arose, linked to feminist and inter-ethnic initiatives. It was widely supported by the growing left currents in the churches, in the labor unions and among liberal opinion leaders.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE GREEN PARTY

This progress provoked an escalation of conflicts between the different wings inside the established political parties. In these confrontations the movement activists began to form their own political camp, separated by deep cleavages from the old party majorities. Since 1980, they began to form a separate "Green" party which soon commanded a stable electorate of five to ten percent. Many sympathizers remained inside the old parties, forming strong "green" wings, especially within the SPD. The "Greens" as a separate party were a broken off branch of the Social Democrats.

> Therefore we hold that in the long run the socio-ecological wing will remain stronger than the neo-conservative forces inside the party which are nearer to market liberalism.

Simultaneously, civic participation was professionalized and institutionalized. Acceptance by the left part of the mainstream implied an increase of political realism, of institutionalization and of reconciling idealism with everyday ways of life.

This progress, however, provoked more counter-mobilizations from the right, encouraged by the victories of Thatcher in Britain and Reagan in the US. The FDP became the spearhead of neo-liberalism in Germany. In 1982, it left the SPD-led government to form a government with the CDU headed by Kohl until 1998. Kohl promised "a spiritual and moral turn".

But German development again differed markedly from British and US developments. Welfare state achievements were de-regulated too, but slower and only to a certain degree, due to the counter-pressure of labor unions and even the labor wing and voters of the CDU itself. Also, the return to authoritarian politics (in the fields of gender, immigration, civil rights, democratic participation, multi-ethnic structures, ecology and foreign politics) was prevented by counter-pressures from the "Greens" and the "green" wings in all political camps. Much remained of the "green" democratic culture generated since the movements of the 1960s: with its large milieu basis, that current retained its role as one factor among a plurality of social and political camps, alongside the historic camps of Conservatism, Socialism and Liberalism.

A MILIEU BASE EXCEDING THIRTY PER CENT

The Green milieu base is still expanding. As in other countries, new and younger milieu factions have been rising, with increasing emancipative and non-authoritarian elements of mentality. They are the most modern factions of the upper, middle and lower class milieus adding up to more than one third of the total population. This growth has been related to

As a whole, the older age groups among the Green members and voters have grown, but at the same time the Green votes are above average among the young age groups who also do not belong or do not yet belong to the well-to-do.

the change of everyday culture and the shifts from industrial towards service and knowledge occupations that need higher professional specialisation, educational capital and autonomy at work. Movement members often found occupation in the expanding welfare sectors (education, culture, health, science, social work, urban infrastructures etc.), technical professions and semi-professions. In these "new occupations" the sympathizers of the "new milieus" formed a majority, but this also means rising conflicts with the members of the more conservative older milieus in the rest of society.

These conditions inevitably imply a contradictory structure between participatory and oligarchic tendencies inside the Greens. They are a coalition across vertical class barriers kept together by the experience of a deep conflict in society as a whole, a kind of "horizontal" class conflict between traditional and modernizing milieus. In the Green coalition of parts of the popular and of the higher classes the latter are more experienced in institutional politics and therefore often have become dominant or formed oligarchic leadership groups. On the other hand, the establishment of a new camp cleavage between "green" issues and traditional politics remains a lasting effect of the alternative movements in society as a whole.

NEW CONFLICTS AND PERSPECTIVES

The Greens of the 21st century carry their history with them. Especially, they are strongly identified with ecological objectives. Eventually, a series of influential political changes has been achieved. The German government gave up nuclear energy and began to play an active role in international climate change politics. But, forty years after its foundation, the Greens entered into a new phase of its history. They are facing a new generational change and a factional dispute. The cleavage between the two ideological camps that was visible in its founding years becomes important again. The so called "Fundis" (or fundamentalists) who advocate radical democratization are facing the so called "Realos" (or realists) who believe in progressive technocratic solutions. The first group stands for ecological values and solidarity and give priority to nature, a strong state, progressive taxation and the protection of minorities. The second group stands for alliances in power politics and for the solution of the ecological problems by modern, scientific and technological means.

Until recently, these two camps could act as the different wings of the party representing the respective factions of modern middle class milieus. But now new factional disputes are imminent. This is owed to a shift of political weights caused by the constant loss of votes of the two old big popular parties, CDU/CSU and SPD. For many years, the fundamentalist wing, though through severe conflicts, could form coalition governments with the SPD on state and federal levels. Now, the Greens seem to lose this coalition partner exactly because of their own electoral success. SPD voters have been shifting towards the Greens as well as towards the CDU which has modernized its image to stop its losses among modern, young and female urban milieus.

Thus, the old political camps lost their balance and are asking for new coalitional options.The left wing of the Greens is alerted by perspectives of changing alliances on the base of tactical power calculations. This may revitalize conflicts like those of the 1980's when the former extra-parliamentarian conglomeration of green movements had to enter a coalition with the SPD and its structural conservativism. Moreover it is feared throughout the Green party to become just a junior partner of dominant interest groups – a fate that resembles the crumbling of the FDP that had turned into an oportunistic helper of CDU/CSU and SPD majorities and therefore was no more recognized as a political force of its own.

But not only are the political camps looking for new orientations. Also, the scope of political issues is enlarged. Especially the questions of distributive justice and of the integration of minorities attract more attention. In their campaign for the 2013 federal elections the Greens presented the economic concept of a "Green New Deal" demanding a reconstruction of industrial society through state interventions into ecological, social and technical innovations, paid by higher taxation of the upper income groups.

These leading milieus of the above average income groups include those Green clienteles that work in the highly qualified service and educational professions while other factions of the Green clientele live in modernized urban milieus for which discontinuous life situations are typical. Part time jobs, diminishing real wages and also situations of the working poor and of old age poverty are the other face of Green everyday reality. As a whole, the older age groups among the Green members and voters have grown, but at the same time the Green

Its political base is their continuous activity in the "small politics" of civic activities, face-to-face communication structures and parliamentarian politics with a strong local presence.

votes are above average among the young age groups who also do not belong or do not yet belong to the well-to-do.

These upper and middle milieus as well as the younger generation of Greens are kept together by a common understanding as a community of values and mutual dependence. Not only for altruistic reasons but as a camp of common socio-political convictions which meanwhile represents a considerable political weight in Germany. Therefore we hold that in the long run the socio-ecological wing will remain stronger than the neo-conservative forces inside the Green party which are nearer to market liberalism.

The assumption that the left camp is the larger group is supported by electoral analyses. Of course there have been repeated shifts of conservative middle-class voters towards the Greens. But this happened only when the formula "the common good outweighs self-interest" offers a moral advantage. Meanwhile even parts of the CDU noticed how threatening ecological and humanitarian catastrophies can be for the cohesion of society as a whole.

This leverage effect was clearly to be seen after the catastrophe of the Fukushima nuclear power plant. In the state elections of 2011 in Baden-Wuerttemberg, the third largest federal state, the Greens could double their votes to 24 per cent and take the post of the prime minister which for decades had been reserved for the CDU. In 2016, the new Green prime minister, Wilfried Kretschmann, even gained 30 per cent and was re-elected for a second period. The bulk of additional Green votes, however, did not come from the CDU but from the SPD. (In 2011 of the additional Green votes 140,000 came from the SPD while 87,000 came from the CDU; in 2016 an additional shift of 157,000 votes came from the SPD while 107,000 votes came from the CDU.)

Also, the majority of the Green voters considers itself left of the center and feels obliged to the Social Democratic tradition of social criticism. This combined ecological and social competence is deeply rooted and of central importance. It is, however, also the base of a structural conservatism at the left wing of the party. A considerable part of its clientele massively rejects new technologies, like wind turbines in the vicinity of residential areas or specific forest areas, although they seem to be indispensible for the energy revolution.

FOUR PILLARS OF GREEN STRENGTH

Summing up we can see, that the real strength of the German Greens is based on four pillars:

- Its electoral potential includes not only idealistic vanguards and well-to-do professionals but also the larger progressive milieus in often discontinuous social situations.
- Its antidote against phenomena of ageing and oligarchic self-righteousness roots in the continuous growth of the new milieus of the young generation as the seedbed of emancipatory everyday culture and political participation.
- Its political base is their continuous activity in the "small politics" of civic activities, face-to-face communication structures and parliamentarian politics with a strong local presence.
- On the national level the Green camp is the most visible representation of the general cleavage between Green and traditional politics.

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BERTA CÁCERES *and the* FIGHT *for* INDIGENOUS LANDS *and* RIGHTS *in* LATIN AMERICA

ROMI ELNAGAR

The assassination of indigenous activist Berta Cáceres last March focused world attention on the struggle of indigenous people in Latin America for their lands and rights. Cáceres led a grassroots campaign that successfully ended the construction of the Agua Zarca hydroelectric dam in the mountains of Intibucá department (province) in western Honduras. The dam would have blocked the Río Gualcarque, sacred to the Lenca for millennia, flooding their lands and destroying access to food, water, and medicine, thus ending the traditional way of life of the Lenca.

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After years of fighting against the destruction of their rivers, and numerous threats on her life, Cáceres was killed on March 3 of last year, and the organization she co-founded, the Civil Council of Indigenous and Popular Organizations of Honduras (COPINH), accused the Honduran government and the dam's backers of complicity in her murder. Social justice and environmental activists, many of them indigenous, have been targeted by the Honduran military

Cáceres herself had pointed the finger at then Secretary of State Hilary Clinton for supporting the 2009 coup of the elected President, Manuel Zelaya. Zelaya was replaced by a military regime whose special forces have been trained by the US. *Democracy Now!* notes, "Only hours before she was slain, Berta Cáceres accused the military, including the U.S.-funded special forces TIGRES unit, of working on behalf of international corporations." (6.15.16)

The sole witness to her murder, Gustavo Castro Soto (director of Friends of the Earth, Mexico), was barred from leaving Honduras after Cáceres was killed, but was released after international protests. In an interview with *The Intercept,* he explained the connection between free trade agreements and big corporations, and their impact on indigenous communities: "...free trade agreements allow major investors to put up factories, industrial parks, infrastructure, and mines, which all consume a ton of electricity and a ton of water...That implies relinquishing the water that belongs to communities, their rivers, and their wells — using it to instead generate electricity for the big industrial corridors. **So the sale of energy, and thus investments in energy, is one of the most profitable businesses for big capital. But that means entering into battle over territory with campesino and indigenous communities.** [emphasis mine]

"…This will only deepen with things like the Trans-Pacific Partnership, and governments prefer to react by criminalizing citizen protest. Peaceful protest used to be a human right. Now they call it 'terrorism,' 'violence.' They're criminalizing human rights.

"What we are confronting are forces very powerful, obscure forces, filled with ambition, and these forces are what the movements are fighting. And I think for this, as well, COPINH has been an example of the power of this struggle and the unbreakable spirit of the comrades of the indigenous communities, who have marched, who have walked, until exhaustion, all to demand respect to their territories and to demand their land be free of these mega projects that are being imposed and that are evicting people from their lands."

Castro says when the Kyoto Protocol invented the notion that dams make "clean energy," wealthy countries began investing in dams to obtain carbon credits and reduce greenhouse gases. The Lenca still face the prospect of forty (40!) dam projects planned in the area that they have husbanded for millennia, and they accuse the government of failing to notify them of these plans.

Cáceres was far from alone in her killing. Across Latin America, indigenous leaders who fight for the rights of their communities to ancestral waters and lands against oil companies, dam builders, and ranchers are under attack. Global Witness, which tracks by country the killings of environmental activists, says that in 2015, seven Latin American countries—Brazil, Columbia, Peru, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Honduras and Mexico—had the highest numbers of assassinations of activists on the planet. *Almost forty percent of the dead were indigenous, roughly the percentage of the indigenous population in Guatemala and Peru. (Latin America as a whole is roughly 10% indigenous.)

*Indigenous activist deaths: Brazil, 50; Columbia, 26; Peru, 12; Nicaragua, 12; Guatemala, 10; Honduras, 8; Mexico, 4. (The only nations on the list not from Latin America were the Philippines and the Congo). Source: GlobalWitness.org, which says that killings are probably underreported, especially in remote, rural areas.

BRAZIL: THE BELO MONTE, FUNDÃO, AND SÃO LUIZ DO TAPAJÓS DAMS

The death of Cáceres underscores the devastating impact of dam construction on indigenous communities in Latin America. The best-known—and most egregious—example of this is the gigantic Belo Monte Dam—the third largest dam on the planet—on the Xingu River in Brazil. The dam has been labeled a form of cultural genocide by indigenous groups, who fear the catastrophic effect on indigenous communities of flooding if the dam is completed. In this El Niño year, dam construction has been responsible for massive fish deaths and destruction of turtle breeding sites, seriously affecting thousands of indigenous people who depend on fishing for their livelihoods.

The tangled saga of the dam goes back decades. It was first proposed by Brazil's military dictatorship in the seventies, but it has always faced fierce indigenous opposition. The courts have blocked its construction on several occasions because of the environmental devastation the dam would cause, and because of the failure of its planners to consult with the Indians. Last year, the massive corruption scandal in Brazil, the "Car Wash" scandal (named after the location used for money laundering by corrupt politicians and businessmen) led to the downfall of the Dilma Roussef government and the installation of Michael Temer. Most observers called it a coup. Although members of Congress and some unions have expressed concern, official Washington called it democracy, ignoring the web of corruption that spreads from the financing of the dam to politicians who took bribes from construction companies seeking contracts for the dam.

At the time this article goes to press, the ultimate fate of the Belo Monte dam and of the Temer government has yet to be decided. The Roussef government put construction of the Belo Monte back on track after years of delay, but there was also some concern under Roussef for indigenous rights, a concern that has vanished under the right-wing cabal now running Brazil. There are indications, however, that revelations of the corruption of officials of the Temer regime, which has already led to the resignation of several cabinet ministers, may mean that the construction of the dam will continue to be successfully delayed. (Temer himself was convicted of violating election laws and is banned from running for office for eight years.)

The Munduruku, a tribe with a strong warrior tradition, have been fighting both the Belo Monte and the São Luiz do Tapajós

Indigenous Brazilians are...struggling with the disastrous release of toxic waste from the Fundão iron mine in Minas Gerais state. On November 5, 2015, the dam holding the mine tailings burst and fifty million tons of ore and toxic waste polluted the Rio Doce and its croplands, its fish and wildlife; 1.6 million people were affected by the disaster.

The Message of the Kogi

On the highest coastal mountain on Earth, a mountain nearly five miles high in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta on Colombia's Caribbean coast, the 20,000-member Kogi tribe have remained isolated from the havoc wrought by the Spanish Conquest. They are revered by other Native Americans from the Hudson to the Amazon because they have retained a profoundly spiritual relationship to the Earth, and they believe they exist to care for the world. In their cosmology, cosmic consciousness is the source of all life, including the mind inside Nature.

In 1990, they came out of their seclusion to warn of the dangers of the destruction of the environment. In widely-acclaimed BBC documentary, they decried the damage done by mining, logging, roads, power stations, ports and all the infrastructure of global capitalism. Their snow-capped peaks had turned brown, their lakes were—and still are—parched, their trees and plants needed for food and medicine were shriveled and dying.

Twenty years later, with mounting alarm, the Kogi repeated their message that civilization is releasing forces we do not understand, and that within the natural world are hidden connections, both subtle and critical, that we cannot ignore. The Kogi believe we must protect the rivers, using indigenous knowledge and guidance to do so. While the Kogi hold out hope for the planet, they warn that industrialized societies must change to avoid catastrophe. In their view, destruction of the environment is not only wrecking havoc on the physical realm, but stunting the consciousness which underlies existence. The planet is alive, they believe, and feels what we do to it.

Dam in their ancestral homeland in Pará state. They have been working to build alliances with other tribes in the region and organizations like Greenpeace, and they even spoke out at the UN climate change summit (COP21) in Paris. The Munduruku leadership has become expert in Brazilian and international law in defense of their lands and rights.

The Munduruku will need all their skill at the bargaining table. Brazil's politics of coup and corruption may play havoc with indigenous rights. They are fortunate that shortly before Temer took power, government agencies took actions designed to cause trouble for Temer's interim government, which would find itself supporting construction of a highly controversial hydroelectric plant likely to bring irreparable harm to the Munduruku people. At the same time, hurried government decisions seemed intended to appease social movements who have long complained of the indifference of the Rousseff administration toward environmental protection and indigenous causes.

The Munduruku, a tribe with a strong warrior tradition, have been fighting both the Belo Monte and another dam, the São Luiz do Tapajós, in their ancestral homeland on the Tapajós River in Pará state. They have been working to build alliances with other tribes in the region, with organizations like Greenpeace, and even spoke out at the UN climate change summit (COP21) in Paris.

During her last four months in office, Rousseff passed more indigenous and *quilombo* (Afro-Brazilian) land demarcations than in the previous six years of her presidency. She signed off on the land demarcation of the Munduruku, which effectively halted the construction of the São Luiz do Tapajós dam.

If built, the dam will be one of Brazil's largest, flooding 279 square miles of forest inhabited by the Munduruku and other communities. It would be part of a gigantic complex of dams, rivers, waterways, ports and railroads planned for the state of Mato Grasso, a complex which would turn the region into a hub for the export of commodities like grain and soy.

A constitutional amendment to freeze demarcation of indigenous lands and end Brazil's environmental licensing process, thus speeding approval of the dam, is backed by the powerful Senator "Soy King" Blairo Maggi, who owns extensive interests in growing and transporting soy in Mato Grasso. Maggi is part of a group of wealthy, evangelical landowning elite Brazilians call the "Bullets, Bible and Beef" caucus; he famously declared that, "A 40% increase in deforestation does not mean anything for me; I do not feel the slightest guilt over what we are doing here. We're talking about an area larger than Europe... There is no reason to worry."

Environmentalists and human rights activists are alarmed. Maggi was chosen by Temer to be Agriculture Minister.

Indigenous Brazilians are also struggling with the disastrous release of toxic waste from the Fundão iron mine in Minas Gerais state. On November 5, 2015, the dam holding the mine tailings burst and fifty million tons of ore and toxic waste polluted the Rio Doce and its croplands, its fish and wildlife; 1.6 million people were affected by the disaster.

Environmentalists are coming to understand that human rights activists for indigenous peoples are their natural allies and that the relationship that indigenous peoples have to their land is the best protection of fragile ecosystems.

Reports show the mine owner knew about a leak hours before the dam burst, but did nothing. More than a dozen people died. In the midst of a regional drought, drinking water on the 530-mile (853 km) length of the river was contaminated with heavy metals, and communities along the river continue to experience difficulty in obtaining potable water, leading to mounting frustration with the government for what they perceive as its slow response. They also hold Samarco, the dam's owner, responsible. Samarco is a joint venture of Vale and BHP Billiton, two of the world's largest mining companies.

ILLEGAL LOGGING AND MINING

Global Witness says that most murders of activists in 2015 were linked to the mining and extractive industries, pointing out, "Increasingly companies are encroaching onto indigenous people's land and silencing those who oppose their plans to extract natural resources."

Twenty years ago, in an incident that outraged the Venezuelan Amazon, illegal miners in the Yanomami community of Haximu massacred sixteen Yanomami Indians. The miners were accused of genocide and five were convicted, but today only one remains in prison, and the Yanomami territories continue to be invaded by illegal gold-miners who pollute the rivers with mercury and devastate the forest, despite efforts by Brazilian authorities to stop them. The Yanomami fear legislation that would open up indigenous territories to mining. They say the mining brings them no benefits, only problems and disease, and will destroy the land that is their heritage.

OIL DRILLING – ECUADOR, PERU

Oil spills rank high among the endless abuses of the indigenous environment. As of June of this year, there have been three spills in Peru from pipelines of PetroPeru. Indigenous workers hired to clean up do so without protective equipment, risking poisoning and burns. The failure of PetroPeru to take action to prevent spills has been criticized by the indigenous rights organization AIDESEP (Alliance of the Indian Peoples of the Peruvian Amazon). AmazonWatch notes that virtually none of the profits from the oil are used to protect from pollution the sources of indigenous water and thus livelihood from fishing, and furthermore, says that PetroPeru appears to be pumping oil without making necessary repairs and replacement of corroded pipelines as ordered by the country's environment agency (OEFA). Villagers affected by the spill had high levels of mercury, lead, cadmium and other heavy metals in the urine.

CONCLUSION

All over the world peasants and indigenous people are being displaced from their territories in order to develop large-scale agricultural projects, such as massive palm oil and soy plantations, as well as mining projects, hydroelectric dams and tourist resorts. State-sanctioned violence and impunity from prosecution create the conditions for investors to acquire land, often inhabited by indigenous peoples. The results are serious threats to the subsistence and socio-ecological resilience of millions of people across the world. As Eduardo Galeano pointed out in his masterful Open Veins of Latin America, "our wealth has always generated our poverty by nourishing the prosperity of others."

Environmentalists are coming to understand that human rights activists for indigenous peoples are their natural allies and that the relationship that indigenous peoples have to their land is the best protection of fragile ecosystems. To combat climate change, the rights of indigenous peoples must be upheld and their access to their ancestral lands must be restored and maintained. It is clear that to do this, concerned activists and environmentalists must confront the most entrenched, most powerful, determined and violent forces of capitalism and greed on the planet.

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Why ANIMAL RIGHTS *Matter*

MARY LAWRENCE

Every day we exploit the ghosts in the machine, the billions of animals hidden from our sight, contributing unnecessary suffering and violence to this world. With each meal, we are complicit.

What do Susan B. Anthony, Cesar Chavez, Coretta Scott King, Dick Gregory, and Angela Davis have in common? You might easily have guessed that they are all well-known civil rights activists, heroes who have dedicated their lives fighting for women's rights, worker's rights, racial equality, LGBTQ rights, and social justice, as well as anti-war advocates promoting nonviolence and peace. Each has been a powerful voice for the oppressed, the marginalized members of our society deemed by the dominant white male paradigm as "different," and therefore inferior.

Their belief is that as long as one form of oppression exists, no form of oppression can be completely eradicated, whether because of the color of one's skin, race, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, physical ability, age, class, or social status. What you may not know is that they also have contended that animals likewise possess inherent rights to live free from exploitation, and that these interconnected social categorizations create systems of oppression that also extend to species. In fact, many of today's oppressions result from man's domination over and domestication of animals into hierarchical herding communities 10,000 years ago. If we follow the example of these great leaders and truly believe in social justice, it is our duty to be a powerful voice for animals to end this compartmentalization of ethics.

Animal rights is quickly becoming the social justice movement of the 21st century, and the Green Party has taken a leadership role in that crusade with the recent formation of the Animal Rights Committee. Because animals have inadequate protection by local, state, and federal laws, the GPUS ARC advocates for their protection in all categories that are subject to some form of human influence – companion animals, exotic pets, farmed animals (for food and clothing), laboratory animals, animals in sport and entertainment, endangered/threatened species, and captive wild animals. While the motivation to protect animals may primarily be ethical, environmental concerns, social justice issues for farm workers and slaughterhouse employees, as well as human health are also of great importance.

THE IMPACT OF ANIMAL AGRICULTURE

The category with the greatest disregard for animals, in terms of sheer numbers as well as catastrophic impact, is animal agriculture. Conditions that exist on 99% of animal farms in this country are deplorable for animals, people, and the planet. The policies in place primarily protect owners of large scale operations to the detriment of both farmed animals and native wildlife such as Grey Wolves, prairie dogs, and coyotes which are deemed a nuisance by cattle ranchers and eradicated at taxpayer expense. Wild horses and burros are routinely rounded up on public lands by the Bureau of Land Management and stockpiled in holding facilities. Even the iconic Yellowstone Bison is perceived as a threat and herds are culled annually by the BLM because

It is only when we stop to critically examine the underlying system of oppression, which depends on our disconnection to exist, that we recognize our complicity.

they compete with livestock for grazing space. Further, animal agriculture destroys the greater ecosystem through toxic runoff that contaminates groundwater, promotes algae blooms that kill fish and other aquatic life, pollutes air quality, destroys native habitats that are essential for pollinators like bees and butterflies which have subsequently had their populations decimated at alarming rates, and contaminates nearby communities which are often socio-economically disadvantaged and disenfranchised.

SYSTEMIC VIOLENCE

Animals are routinely and callously abused in laboratories, on farms (for food and clothing), for entertainment, for profit, and merely for pleasure. These are all examples of systemic violence which must be addressed if we are to truly become a peaceful society. Recognizing the interconnected nature of oppressions, Cesar Chavez once said, "kindness and compassion towards all living beings is a mark of a civilized society. Racism, economic deprival, dog fighting and cock fighting, bullfighting and rodeos are all cut from the same defective fabric: violence. Only when we have become nonviolent towards all life will we have learned to live well ourselves." How can we expect to end war and eradicate poverty if we don't recognize our unwitting involvement in these atrocities? Every day we exploit the ghosts in the machine, the billions of animals hidden from our sight, contributing unnecessary suffering and violence to this world. With each meal, we are complicit.

Farmed animals are among the most abused of all animals, and the females suffer the greatest cruelties. Pregnant sows are confined in gestation crates which render them immobile and separated from their babies. Cows are forcefully impregnated every nine months to ensure a continuous supply of milk while their babies are taken from them within days of birth. Young male calves spend their brief lives tethered in crates and are fed an iron-deficient formula in place of their mother's milk so that their muscle tissue won't develop and become tough when they're sold as veal. Layer hens live approximately 18 months in row upon row of battery cages stacked several cages high in windowless, football field sized sheds where they cannot stretch their wings or engage in any natural behaviors. Even in "cage free" environments, chickens are prone to cannibalism and other stress-related disorders due to the overcrowding. The federal Animal Welfare Act (AWA) of 1966 regulates the treatment of animals in research and exhibition; it does not protect non-mammalian species (i.e. chickens and other birds, amphibians, reptiles, fish, crustaceans), which represent about 58 billion animals killed for food in the US every year (10 billion are land animals, of which about 9 billion are chickens). The AWA and the Humane Methods of Livestock Slaughter Act (HMLSA, 1958), which are overseen by the USDA, offer minimal standards for the welfare of farmed animals. The most notable requirement is that an animal must be completely sedated and insensible to pain at time of slaughter. Where line speeds on "the chain" (the slaughterhouse conveyor belt) entail slicing the throats of an average of 175 birds per minute, little is done to ensure that these minimal standards are met.

EXPOSING THE LIES/SUPPRESSING THE TRUTH

Egregious cruelties occur in these environments. Workers are stressed, overworked, and routinely injured, often with the looming threat of termination or deportation should they fail to comply with the demands of the job. Animals suffer as a result (see Mercy for Animal's 12-minute documentary *Meet Your Meat*). We are aware of these horrific conditions because of the work of undercover investigators who surreptitiously document standard industry practices allowed under the AWA and HMLSA which many of us would shudder at. Because of this filmed evidence, industry lobbyists have pushed for state laws ("ag-gag") that forbid the act of undercover filming or photography of activity on farms without the consent of their owner–particularly targeting whistleblowers of animal abuses at these facilities. Equally restricting is the federal Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act (AETA) which was passed in 2006 to prevent animal activists from staging demonstrations, leafletting, or conducting website campaigns and other forms of protest against businesses that mistreat animals. The Center for Constitutional Rights believes that "the AETA unlawfully criminalizes constitutionally-protected activity in the name of corporate profit and is one small part of a larger corporate and government agenda to constrain social activism and exploit the public's fear of terrorism." (www.ccrjustice.org/) If we are to live in a free society protected by first amendment rights, activists who investigate the horrific conditions that animal industries

Mindful reintegration and solidarity with all who are oppressed, including non-human animals, becomes an act of rebellion capable of dismantling institutions of injustice.

hide from the general public must be given the same protection as whistle blowers who expose corruption, not treated as terrorists.

Whether it's extreme confinement with inadequate ventilation, beaks and tails and testicles mutilated without anesthesia, or being repeatedly slammed against the concrete floor, a question one might ask oneself is, "Would I do this to my dog/cat/companion animal?" The majority of people would objectively find these conditions appalling and unequivocally answer, "Of course not." But why is it ok for the animals we eat? And if we believe that it's not, why do we consciously ignore this reality and choose to continue to consume animal products nonetheless? To Angela Davis, the reason lies in the system of oppression upon which our society is based. "The food we eat masks so much cruelty. The fact that we can sit down and eat a piece of chicken without thinking about the horrendous conditions under which chickens are industrially bred in this country is a sign of the dangers of capitalism, how capitalism has colonized our minds. The fact that we look no further than the commodity itself, the fact that we refuse to understand the relationships that underly the commodities that we use on a daily basis. And so food is like that." ("Vegan Angela Davis Connects Human and Animal Liberation," by Jon Hochschartner, CounterPunch.com, January 24, 2014)

SOMEONE, NOT SOMETHING

When we see an animal as a commodity, cut into parts for our consumption, she becomes an object for our use, no longer an individual possessing a unique personality, characteristics, or sentience. Why would we even consider the notion that our dinner had inherent rights? It is only when we stop to critically examine the underlying system of oppression, which depends on our psychological disconnection to exist, that we recognize our complicity. Mindful reintegration and solidarity with all who are oppressed, including non-human animals, becomes an act of rebellion capable of dismantling institutions of injustice. That is why we need to recognize and promote animal rights.

In a 2012 philosophy conference at Cambridge University, noted scientists, bioethicists, and philosophers formed consensus with the Cambridge Declaration on Consciousness, stating that non-human animals are "sentient beings." This led to numerous states, provinces, and countries (most recently, Canada and New Zealand) changing the status of animals from "property" to "person," thus granting them rights and protections under the law similar to human beings. Animals feel love, joy, surprise, excitement, fear, sadness, anger, frustration, pain, and suffering. They nurture their babies and grieve the loss of friends and family members just like we do. The animals need us to protect them, and we owe it to them to be their guardians. "We need in a special way, to work twice as hard to make all people understand that animals are fellow creatures; that we must protect them and love them as we love ourselves. And that the basis for peace is respecting all creatures. We cannot hope to have peace until we respect everyone, respect ourselves, and all living beings. We cannot defend and be kind to animals until we stop exploiting them. Exploiting them in the name of science, exploiting them in the name of sport, exploiting them in the name of fashion, and yes, exploiting them in the name of food." (Cesar Chavez)

LEARN MORE

If you'd like to learn more about animal rights and intersectional social justice, some excellent resources include the documentaries *The Ghosts in Our Machine, Speciesism, Peaceable Kingdom,* and *Earthlings* as well as the collection of essays *Circle of Compassion* edited by Will Tuttle (2014). One of the most powerful speeches on the subject can be found on YouTube from former Citicorp General Manager Philip Wollen's keynote address to the Wheeler Centre's debate, "Intelligence Squared: Animals Should Be Off The Menu" (2012).

MARY LAWRENCE
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GREEN PARTY *and* SOCIALISM—
Engagement, *but Marriage?*

JON D. OLSEN

In place of corporate capitalism and state-run economies, the 2016 Green Party Platform (p.56) states:

"Instead, we will build an economy based on large scale Green public works, municipalization, and workplace and community democracy. Some call this decentralized system "ecological socialism," "communalism," or "the cooperative commonwealth," but whatever the terminology, we believe it will help end labor exploitation, environmental exploitation, and racial, gender, and wealth inequality and bring about economic and social justice due to the positive effects of democratic decision making. Production is best for people and planet when democratically owned and operated by those who do the work and those most affected by those decisions . . .not at the whim of centralized power structures of state administration or capitalist CEO's and distant boards of directors."

I personally like the phrase "eco-socialism," but not everyone does, so objections to it must be raised and addressed honestly. I can think of two principal related reasons why some object. First, when people hear the word "socialism," they flash on late-stage Soviet Union, as if that were the only possible model, but this response short-circuits thinking before it can get off the ground.

The second reason is related because it assumes that it will be too hard to overcome the first objection among other people, even if one is comfortable with the term. If we regard corporate globalism as the chief enemy of the people of the world, and as Greens we must do so, then surely we ought not to be timid in using a term that unequivocally challenges that hegemony, namely socialism. However, it is incumbent upon us to clearly define what we mean by socialism, and not let false narratives be put in our mouths.

In my view, we need to invent a form of socialism that not only can replace the dominant feudal-like corporate structures we detest, but just as importantly, be culturally acceptable to the general public. In the USA, of course, this is a challenge, but one we are capable of handling.

The platform description goes a long way toward clarifying our intent. Despite ideological resistance, even the strictest libertarian is not threatened by the existence of a cooperative health food store, or the municipally run library, though they can be termed socialist structures. Why? Because there is no government coercion!

But what if these cooperative enterprises were the dominant structures? What if we could have a referendum to yank the corporate charters of the most objectively malevolent mega-corporations—the ones that grossly offend the environment, human rights and practice extreme labor exploitation? What if we declared, as the ultimate collective sovereigns (remember "We, the People declare our own Constitution) that these offenders had not more than one year to sell off inventory and dismantle themselves or their Boards of Directors would be arrested for such crimes as poisoning the air, soil,

We need to invent a form of socialism that not only can replace the dominant feudal-like corporate structures we detest, but just as importantly, be culturally acceptable to the general public.

and water, along with various fraudulent representations, and their corporate assets seized?

If the products and services provided were truly needed, they could be produced under terms consistent with eco-socialist values. We need to re-activate the original intent definition of socialism to mean "control by the working class" including those currently not employed—all those who have nothing to sell but their labor. This involves expropriating the expropriators. It does not mean, of course, killing them off or wholesale imprisoning them, although some cases must undergo careful evaluation in that regard. The word "socialism" is a defiant repudiation of the rule of capital which now has a stranglehold not only on "the" economy (as if there could only be one!) but on all three branches of this government, and of the pervasive culture of commercialism.

Some will object, with good reason, "What about all the employees who are displaced? They would rather work under exploitative conditions that have no income at all!" Of course we need to plan ahead to provide at least equal if not better compensation from the moment of dissolution. We can do this! There is work to be done until everyone has sufficient housing, food and water, energy supply, health services and educational opportunities. Once we have achieved this, then we need to apply this test to the rest of the world—no end to the need for labor, once we reject the notion that only when a profit is to be made by the capitalist class, shall there be a demand for labor! Bad premise! It is a matter of re-allocation of resources away from a war economy and mega-profits fora few to humane objectives. It will be the responsibility of a Green eco-socialist government to facilitate this transition.

Will we allow private business? Indeed, for this is where we see the rewards of innovation via entrepreneurial energy and the motivation to invent. But these enterprises need to be run within the context of reasonable ecological and human rights parameters and at a scale consistent with local supervision. Instead of positive socialist features within the context of an overall capitalist economy (e.g. the Scandinavian countries), we do just the opposite! We allow creative small businesses to operate within the context of a decentralized cooperative economy.Not everyone wants the responsibility to be an owner or manager, and will be satisfied to work for an entrepreneur, under humane and generous working conditions. We need to terminate conglomerates by outlawing one company owning another company, though it may be permissible for one family to own more than one small business.

Needless to say, as part of this radical change, we need to break up the huge media complex that dominates news coverage that increasingly is hardly respected, and appropriately so! We have to encourage honest journalism that feels no need to self-censor due the need to conform to the value system of upper levels of corporate management, including CIA infiltration (note: Operation Mockingbird).

I look forward to an honest commitment to Truth, which is the daughter of Reality, no matter where she leads. Truth matters, but Reality does not care what people merely "believe." It just is! If people in media positions are free to and encouraged to act with honor, we can get truth. With truth we can pursue justice; and with justice, peace among all peoples becomes a realistic objective. all in favor , say "Aye!"

JON OLSEN

is co-chair of the Maine Green Independent Party. He is a long time peace and justice activist and a Green Party member for 25 years. A graduate of Bates College in Maine with a degree in philosophy, he went to the University of Hawai'i for a Master's Degree in the same field. He returned to Maine in 2001, serving twice on the Steering committee of the Maine Green Independent Party. He has conducted town caucuses and gathered signatures for Green Party gubernatorial candidates. His recent book, *Liberate Hawai'i,* describes the legal and historical research done by Hawaiian scholar-activists. The book documents the illegal claim of the US to the sovereignty of Hawai'I and demonstrates its fraudulent nature as well. Olsen draws a parallel with the similar fraudulent attempt by the late USSR to do the same to Lithuania.

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To *Break Out,* Greens Need to *Break Away*

STEVE WELZER

Hillary Clinton didn't do poorly on November 8. She won the popular vote by more than two million. She had large margins in the states where she was expected to do well. She lost by a little in some of the key swing states, and that gave Trump his victory in the Electoral College.

Nonetheless, the Democratic Party as-a-whole had a very bad day. They gained fewer than expected seats in both the House and the Senate. They came away controlling only 13 statehouses out of 50! The results constituted a repudiation by the Outsiders — and that's ironic because the Democrats used to *be* the party of the Outsiders.

Until the Great Depression in the 1930s the establishment elites were the conservative Northern WASP industrialists. They were associated with the Republican Party. Outsiders included farmers, immigrants, ethnics, workers, and Southern former-confederates. They generally supported the Democratic Party.

Now the establishment elites are the cosmopolitan liberals, financiers, and media magnates. Vast numbers of those who live outside the cosmopolitan centers are deeply alienated and tend to vote in a way that they viscerally feel to be "anti-establishment." It's their perception that the liberal elites, in the manner of *noblesse oblige,* pay a lot of attention to urban and identity minorities — but little attention to *them,* the salt-of-the-earth traditional Americans of the heartland. They associate the elites with the Democratic Party and so they express their resentment by voting Republican. When the cosmopolitans refer to these states and communities, the vast red expanse on the electoral map, as "fly-over territory," it rankles deeply. The inhabitants of that expanse have been trying to send a message for decades — in essence: *"Fly-over" Lives Matter, Too.* They saw the Trump campaign as a vehicle for delivering that message.

It wasn't Trump's (shifting) platform positions or (incoherent) solutions they were paying attention to. Rather, it was his strident critique and audacious anti-establishment posture.

The American election of 2016 shows the extent to which the marginalized are clamoring for an "outside of the box" alternative to the status quo.

LOSS AFTER LOSS

The way the red-state marginalized are venting their frustration is counterproductive at best and pathological at worst. Nonetheless, it needs to be acknowledged how they've been suffering loss after loss:

- they lose the best and brightest among their children, who leave town to go off to the Significant parts of the country
- they've lost the "material stuff" ...secure, decent-paying unionized jobs
- beyond that, and equally distressing, they've lost the "soul stuff"...cultural stature, community cohesion, and a meaningful future.

The Republican Party cynically manipulates their valid sentiments of despair. The mainstream of the Democratic Party — the faction entrenched since the Bill Clinton-led ascendance of the Democratic Leadership Council thirty years ago — barely pays

Vast numbers of those who live outside the cosmopolitan centers are deeply alienated.

lip-service. Why? Because the Republicans and Democrats, equally committed to the globalized-trade/industrial-growth economic paradigm, have no idea how to address the frustration of those who wind up being a casualty of it.

I believe the Green Party could address that frustration. In fact, I think GP national campaigns will under-realize their potential *until* they do so. The key is to convey the distinctive Green economic alternative. That sounds straightforward, yet too often, especially in electoral campaigns, its most transformative aspects are attenuated or compromised. Green candidates tend to be reticent in this realm of policy due to concern that mainstream discourse will write them off as unrealistic.

Such a scenario played out in post-liberation India. Gandhi's ability to inspire the populace was appreciated by the practical politicians of the movement. But when he tried to convey his vision of what the Greens now call "community-based economics," Gandhi was dismissed as a dreamer who ought to stick to spiritual matters. Mainstream discourse considered the serious discussion to be centered around the debate between the socialist development model and the left-liberal New Deal model. Seven decades later we can say that both of the latter have been tried and found wanting. Neither has been able to address the needs of the hundreds of millions of Indian villagers who suffer from a frustration that disaffected red-state Americans — probably to their surprise — might very much empathize with.

They associate the elites with the Democratic Party and so they express their resentment by voting Republican.

THE ONLY VIABLE ALTERNATIVE

The Greens hold a programmatic key to the conundrum that confounds all the mainstream parties and ideologies. Community-based economics is the only viable alternative to the globalized-trade/industrial-growth paradigm. In this country, the Greens, from their unique decentralist perspective, could and should explain that the fate of America's small cities and rural towns within the hegemonic world-system is decidedly inauspicious, in fact is bound to yield nothing but despair. Industrial jobs are not coming back; upward-mobility is not coming back; American Greatness, in terms of the old conception of it, is not coming back.

But there could be a liberatory kind of hope in a reconceptualization of "greatness" as a high quality of life within the context of a thriving localized economy. Such would involve a gradual disengagement from the globalized juggernaut, with an objective of restoring communitarian self-reliance, integrity, and stability.

It's the only real solution. A problem is that, even when fully embraced, it's not all so easy to elucidate in the electoral arena.

BEYOND THE "GREEN NEW DEAL"

In 2016 Jill Stein arguably ran the best Green presidential campaign in the party's short history. She tripled her vote total from 2012. The final metrics of the campaign didn't quite match those of Ralph Nader's campaign of 2000, but Jill is much more of a party builder, and so the legacy of her campaign will benefit the Greens more than did Nader's.

Programatically, however, the Stein campaign continued the pattern of Green Party candidates putting forward an essentially social democratic platform: too much statist dependency, too much standard leftism. Such has been the default orientation of just about all contemporary progressive electoral campaigns, Green or otherwise, for decades (*vide:* Jesse Jackson, Nader, Kucinich, Sanders).

It's not visionary enough. It's not alternative enough.

I'm not saying that unsympathetically. Introducing a fundamentally new paradigm is enormously challenging. *But the Greens should see that as their role.* Where Trump was audacious posturally (easy to do), the Greens need to be audacious programatically — *not* easy to do, but *necessary* in order to go to the root of the problem. Also: such could get the attention of *all* the Others — the frustrated townfolk of Kansas, the urban minorities

who feel stuck generation after generation, the atomized debt-laden suburban nuclear families, even the disgruntled cosmopolitans who live in the shadows of the elites. Some of these people have decent jobs, some are educated and have achieved a modicum of affluence, but almost all have lost the most vital of things: right livelihood, a sense of place and meaning, a healthy relationship with nature, grounding in a stable and participatory community life.

Jill Stein got well over a million votes. That shows a glimmer of the potential of Green politics. But to break out, the Greens will need to break away. There was an idea during the summer of 2016 that they could plug into the energy of the defunct Bernie Sanders campaign. There had been excitement among progressives about Bernie's endeavor to transform the Democratic Party into a European-style social democratic party. No doubt that would have been quite an achievement, given the stolid inertia of American politics. But, really, how exciting is it, ultimately? A social democratic presence would usher in some welcome reforms relative to what this country has been all about, but it's hardly liberatory. The Europeans themselves are expressing dissatisfaction, even boredom, with social democracy.

The Green Party should be more audacious than that. It should go beyond the tepid soft leftism of the "Green New Deal." It should be talking about a whole new direction.

DON'T SHY AWAY FROM A DISCOURSE OF TRANSFORMATION

Disappointment with Obama's "hope and change" during the last eight years may represent a turning point for America's marginalized populations, most of whom now see no pathway to salvation. Their frustration has deepened qualitatively and is now manifesting in such disparate phenomena as Black Lives Matter and the Alt-Right. In the guise of Trumpismo it has the potential to breed pathological responses like xenophobia, racism, and strong-man/strong-state populism.

One reason why Hillary Clinton lost the election is because the Democrats have nothing more in the way of "hope and change" to offer. What Greens need to do is counter the noxious expression of the Trumpist "alternative" with a discourse of transformation that can show the way toward a healthy and regenerative road forward. They must find ways to weave their full vision into programs appropriate to all levels and all types of electoral and movement campaigns.

Again: there's the concern that messaging "too far outside of the box" will not be taken seriously. Wasn't that Gandhi's pitfall?

I think the context of Gandhi's predicament was that he was a lone and lonely voice speaking a truth that was ahead of its time. Several generations later it's clear that a post-neoliberal sensibility is emerging, and the limited ideological alternatives of Gandhi's time have been superseded. Green politics is notable precisely in that regard. It's the electoral expression of a new-but-growing movement that's steadily becoming a worldwide force. Its transformative perspective may not yet be fully appreciated, but the American election of 2016 shows the extent to which the alienated and marginalized are clamoring for an "outside of the box" alternative to the antipathetic status quo.

> The Greens hold a programmatic key to the conundrum that confounds all the mainstream parties and ideologies.

Those who misguidedly turned to a problematic populism last year will become disaffected when they see that Trumpismo is based on magical thinking regarding restoration of jobs, affluence, and the good life. A true alternative would involve a re-conception of what constitutes "the good life." It would question the whole "jobs" system. It would elucidate how right livelihood flows from the organic sustenance of meaningful local community life (as was Gandhi's contention).

Greens know this. It's embedded in their Ten Key Values. They must learn how to present it politically. It's the remedy for this country's drift toward embitterment and malaise.

> The Greens should explain that the fate of America's small cities and rural towns within the hegemonic world-system is bound to yield nothing but despair.

STEVE WELZER,
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BEING RIGHT IS NOT ENOUGH:

We Have *to* Get *to* Work

JAN MARTELL

"What happened?" How can it be that after running such a strong campaign and getting better media coverage than ever before and ballot lines in a new high of 45 states, the Stein-Baraka ticket pulled less than 5 percent of the vote?

Organizing means joining people where they are and working with them, simultaneously talking about the Green Party alternative and helping to start new locals.

In the wake of the disastrous election of 2016, most of America has been shocked into awareness that collective action will be necessary to deal with what comes next. Resistance to the new regime in Washington has swelled and strategies for protecting the communities threatened by its policies – immigrants, Muslims, women – are proliferating, particularly in the cities. Ordinary people are suddenly much more politically involved, and it is to be hoped that some of that awareness will be turned toward a deeper critique of how we got to this extreme, the failures of the mainstream parties and our corrupt and broken electoral system.

It would seem to be a moment for a third party, and in fact the Green Party has seen a small burst of energy and party growth as the Democrats once again sabotaged their progressive and working class voters by throwing Bernie under the bus. Yet Greens are, in some sense, in the same position as the corporate parties in having to look back to November 8 and say, "What happened?" How can it be that after running such a strong campaign and getting better media coverage than ever before and ballot lines in a new high of 45 states, the Stein-Baraka ticket pulled less than 5 percent of the vote? How is it that even when running against perhaps the most despicable candidates in history we were not considered a credible alternative, much less the imperative? It's time for some self-reflection for the Green Party, as well.

When I joined the party in 2000, I was impressed by the platform and the Ten Key Values, so glad to find a party that was grounded in principle, rather than just personalities and empty campaign promises. I thought the party was a natural umbrella for all progressive causes, and that people involved in justice struggles everywhere would find our platform irresistible and join us. But the fact is, mostly they don't. Activists involved in issues campaigns need funding and support and so they join the nonprofit world, which effectively severs activism from politics. Candidates for office who agree with our principles need to get elected rather than trapped in the enervating and unwinnable battle for recognition that the American electoral system devises for its minor parties. We are left with a membership and leadership of impractical idealists, mostly older, white and middle class, who maintain an elaborate structure for what is, rather than a working political machine, just a very good idea.

IF WE WANT TO BECOME REAL...

If we want to become real, now is the time. The implosion of the mainstream parties and the increasing political awareness of younger voters, coupled with the severity of the intersecting environmental and human rights crises we face today, offer us the opportunity to prove our relevance by getting down to the hard work of organizing a reliable and growing membership base among working class people and communities most affected by injustice. Organizing means joining people where they are and working with them, simultaneously talking about the Green Party alternative and helping to start new locals.

Historically, it has been an ongoing debate among Greens as to whether we want to be a party or a movement – the usual resolution is that we must be both. But we will never realize that potential unless we admit that in fact right now we are neither.

PRIORITIZE HIRING EXPERIENCED FIELD ORGANIZERS TO WORK WITH STATE PARTIES

Toward this end, the national party should prioritize hiring experienced field organizers to work with state parties. Organizing, activism and party building are inextricably linked, and they are all hard work. And they require reliable funding.

The visibility of our presidential campaign brought the party a surge in donations in 2016, and we now have a large enough budget to begin to hire some of the experienced staff we need. We can expect this wave to subside considerably in the near future, and we need to seriously rethink our funding model, especially in the face of inevitable economic decline or collapse in the uncertain years ahead. As an independent party that intends to mount a challenge to big money in politics, we need to be entirely self-funding, but not so much through the generosity of donors as through the sustainership of dues-paying members. We must be our own reliable base, both for votes and for funding so that candidates are responsible to our membership, as our membership is responsible to the party. Many state parties have already adopted this membership model, which was outlined in the GPUS Strategic Plan presented in 2014. This plan also suggested changing our national party structure to an individual membership model, rather than being a federation of state parties, but this is controversial, not least because the regulation of elections resides primarily with state governments, and varies considerably from state to state. Still it is worth asking, then, that if we are and wish to remain a federation, how can GPUS be reliably supported financially by its members, the state parties?

Historically, it has been an ongoing debate among Greens as to whether we want to be a party or a movement – the usual resolution is that we must be both. But we will never realize that potential unless we admit that in fact right now we are neither. This is the challenge that we face after the exhilaration of the campaign season and the disappointment of the election results – undertaking the work on the ground of turning the Green Party into a growing and self-supporting movement, building a reliable electoral base among the working class and oppressed communities, thinking strategically and not just tactically, so we can gain the strength to really be a part of the system change we all so sorely need. We have to stop waiting for everyone to wake up to how cool our key values are (although they are very cool) and just get down to the work.

JAN MARTELL,
GPUS Secretary and NCGP Co-chair, has lived and studied in Massachusetts, Illinois, Minnesota, Switzerland and Quebec, but has made her home in North Carolina for over forty years. After studying art at Smith College, MCAD and Duke, she managed to get a job reshelving the fish collection at the Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology. She has worked as a librarian, helped run a print shop, and has done a boatload of freelance graphic design projects in the music and arts community. Mostly retired now, living in Durham, she helps edit a free local newspaper, Triangle Free Press.

This is the challenge that we face after the exhilaration of the campaign season and the disappointment of the election results – undertaking the work on the ground of turning the Green Party into a growing and self-supporting movement.

Something (Almost) Happened in Late Summer

...or Was That Just a Dream?

JOHN RENSENBRINK

The United States general election of 2016 came as a stunning surprise. True, a few, a very few, predicted a Trump victory and they may be congratulated for their acumen and good luck. There are many explanations and commentaries—so many! The very number is a testament both to the surprise and to the fateful significance of Trump's victory.

My own take on the matter is fueled by this thought. I go back to the enormous and disproportionate expenditure on military hardware and war by the U.S. Government—relative, for example to the outlay for such by the other nations in the world. This was complemented for decades by a steady and heady provision of U.S.-made arms to other nations and to forces within nations.

The necessary and inevitable consequence of this prodigious outlay for arms has meant a continuous shrinking of funds for domestic needs in the United States. The relative scrimping on domestic essentials and the insistence that the military budget be given virtually absolute priority over domestic requirements, ("partisan politics stops at the shoreline!") has for decades been the dominant thinking of the Democrats, aided and abetted by Republicans who in any case always seem to push for a "stronger" and ever more expensive military.

The necessary and inevitable consequence of this prodigious outlay for arms has meant a shrinking of funds for domestic needs in the United States.

Just look at how our tax dollars are spent: 54% Military (not including the cost of war), 6% for education, 6% for housing and community, 6% for government, 5% for medicare and health, 4% for energy and the environment, 3% for social security, unemployment and labor, 3% for science, and 2% for transportation. (From *National Priorities.org* - 2015 Budget, discretionary expenditures)

So here is to be found a big underlying reason why so many people, being in economic misery and feeling left out, voted against their own interests. They voted against the party that had for decades claimed to be their succor of support but which had gradually over those decades switched more and more to imperial and attendant military adventures and militarist thinking. This was profitable to people in Congress, influential members of a sprawling bureaucracy, and the corporate war-merchants.

They voted against the party that had for decades claimed to be their succor of support.

This was a switch that left the leadership of the Democratic establishment with not nearly enough money for domestic essentials. States and local governments were starved for money but were saddled nevertheless with pressures to pay for more and more glaringly needed essentials. Property taxes zoomed. Education down to the local level was radically under-funded (had to be, local and state officials had no alternative), even eviscerated. Health costs exploded. Mounting infrastructure maintenance needs were pared back and down: including thousands of failing bridges and pot-holed roads and highways. Welfare was shrunk. Crucially needed steps to prepare for and deal with climate change were downplayed, even put off. And perversely and ironically, Wall Street flourished and became even more powerful than ever.

So it's not only that middle class white men got sick of this and felt the pinch of looming impoverishment, but the whole range of professionals, technicians, small business people, and (tremendously important) property owners paying rising property taxes, were left in the lurch by the madness for imperial power and military solutions by top Democratic

Suppose at that delicate moment in the late summer of 2016 [when history stood still for a moment] Bernie Sanders had responded to Jill Stein's persistent invitations for the two of them to join forces and run together.

echelons. Indeed, the plight of middle class white men was nurtured by and part of a gradually mounting climate of disbelief among the greater public in the old vaunted claims that the Democratic Party stood for "the common man." Many in that milieu still voted Democrat, but with a singular lack of enthusiasm.

The corporate owned media, in step with the Democratic establishment, had for decades sought, successfully, to marginalize the Green Party in the eyes and minds of great stretches of the public. Jill Stein, by dint of superhuman efforts to connect with the public in spite of the media blackout, had began to make noticeable progress with some sections of the electorate by mid-July 2016.

At that moment (July through September) history stood still for a moment—a breathless moment.

Bernie Sanders had risen up and reached millions of voters in state after state in the primaries of Iowa in December 2015 and most of the rest of the states in the first half of 2016. He had aroused them to the prospect of a new beginning for America. He was now, in the summer of 2016, in a position to change substantially in a healing progressive way the face and fortunes of American politics. But he had been, typically and inevitably one realizes, maneuvered out of his powerful bid for the Democratic Party nomination for president.

In this delicate and fateful moment, he could have, might have, teamed up with Jill Stein. But he faltered. There is no other word for it. He bowed his head, accepted a place in Democratic Party history as a popular but failed also-ran (along with Jesse Jackson, Dennis Kucinich, and Howard Dean before him). Bernie settled for progressive platform promises and campaigned for Hillary Clinton. He lost face with millions of voters who had looked to him to lead them to a new era. He kept up a façade of rhetoric about sustaining and carrying on with "our revolution", but it lost its steam. How could the voters he had so powerfully motivated believe that he really stood for what he was saying? Many still voted (for Hillary) in a kind of miasma of despair. Millions did not vote at all.

Suppose at that delicate moment in the late summer of 2016 Bernie Sanders had responded to Jill Stein's persistent invitations for the two of them to join forces and run together. If he had, the history of 2016 would have been very different. Some feel sure they could have won the election. The two together certainly would have constituted a far stronger and more morally credible force than the tainted posture and campaigning of Hillary Clinton. Trump's focus on being a populist against the establishment would have been weakened, if not washed away.

In any case, whether a Jill/Bernie (or a Bernie/Jill ticket) won or lost, the hope of decades for the emergence of a strong, credible, progressive, force for ecological sanity, democracy, social justice and a collaborative foreign policy for planetary peace would have come into unabashed and full existence.

Can this now shaky hope still be realized—in spite of all and against all odds?

JOHN RENSENBRINK

Co-editor of *Green Horizon,* John lives in Maine, is professor emeritus of government at Bowdoin College, helped found the Maine and U.S. Green Parties, is founder and member of the latter's International Committee, and the author of *Against all Odds: the Green Transformation of American Politics* (1999). His new book is *Ecological Politics: for Survival and Democracy* (2017).

Jill Stein, by dint of superhuman efforts to connect with the public in spite of the media blackout, had begun to make noticeable progress with many sections of the electorate by mid-July 2016.

A Green Progressive Response *to the* 2016 ELECTION CYCLE

DARRYL! LC MOCH

This 2016 election has brought a lot of issues that have been simmering to a hard boil. In the past few weeks we have, after months of nasty rhetoric, seen just what our nation is still made of. And no matter how we try to shape and shift it, there is no nursery rhyme or fairytale that can explain it away or capture it in symbolism.

For some of us this cycle has meant the advent of a new Arian regime. Not just about racial supremacy and domination, not just about testosterone versus estrogen, and not just about the haves and the have nots. But it's about the usurping of power to enact one's own will over others not for the good of the country but for the raising of a segment of society for the purpose of subjugating everyone else. Make no mistake this new regime's players do not really care about race and gender, or other identification. They are not concerned about poverty and uplifting, even their own; but instead about a new distorted concept of manifest destiny. A destiny that...well it is even hard to say exactly to what ends. Why? Because this nation was founded on practices even while it espoused principles that it did not even attempt to demonstrate. So this election, maybe more than others, is a real wake up call.

Now I want to believe the Greens are more conscious, more committed, more aware than others but the only way for that to be true is that Green Progressives were born, reared, and educated (formally and informally) on another planet or in an alternate universe. Green Progressives of every ilk are subject to the same oppressions and belief systems as any other. Yet I hold out that Green Progressives *know* this and therefore are active agents in their own re-education, re-acculturation, and are re-minded everyday about the need to do so. No matter what you think about two "major parties" our fight is not with them, per se. Our fight, struggle, battle, challenge is with the hearts and minds of the people at the most powerless. The voters. Not the decision makers, the voters. The only thing we have is the basic foundation that the voters are the ultimate deciders. Electoral College aside, look at the results of the actions of the people.

The real challenge lies in what is at the heart of this nation, and to find that we look into the eyes, words, and actions of the people. Of those who voted in this last election, nearly half of the total voters voted to revert back to the actions of the past versus the principles of the past. The principle says "we hold these truths to be true that all men [and for the modern progressive, "people"] are created equal". The sentiment or principle behind this has never been true in this nation because the actions have been exactly the opposite. So my Green Progressive partners, this is our work, this is our task, this is our challenge. To force, cause, create, and push for the creation of an equal, or rather "equitable", society. Where are our candidates who will speak to the ills of the society but offer solutions to the inequities that abound? I challenge Green

Progressives. It is time to rise. It is time to step into the light and be the champions for what this country meant to be. It has to be more than a philosophy, more than a rhetoric, more than a dream, more for the next generation than for the current ones.

So the next time you want to pick up the bully pulpit, the chain of email thread conversation, the support for the next candidate (on *every* level) we need to do so for the cause of equity. Can Green Progressives do the unimaginable and stand for everyone at the same time and challenge everyone at the same time? Can we agree to disagree but still work hand in hand to effect change because we need it to survive? Can we find commonalities instead of fault at every turn with the next one who has a different viewpoint or perspective? Can we "seek to understand more than to be understood"? This is a radical shift in how we engage with each other and with all people, whether they know it, vote for it, or even acknowledge it. We can debate on why we do not have it but I think that debate has been exhausted. We *know* why, the question is *how* will we go about changing it? *Who* will take up this new and proper challenge? Traditional politics will not work. Traditional politics from any existing party (major, minor, 3rd, independent or otherwise are all in the same boat). It is time for the rise of a new type of action plan, a new strategy, and a new type of politics. It is time for the rise of the new Green Progressive who will make change happen. If not, then maybe it is time for a *new progressive party.* Can the Greens become the cure or will we continue to be part of the contagion?

I joined the Green Party, partly because my mentor was on the presidential ticket in 2008 and partly because the failed policies and practices of the other parties did not serve me. I felt I needed to both work for and vote for my best interests and the interests of the communities that form my life. That being said, "some of my best friends are..." so I have not counted out those who are still entrenched or enchanted by the fairy tales, promises, and pipe dreams they have held on to for generations. What I have come to realize is that people have to learn on their own and come into this on their own. Being a Green is not a badge of honor, it is both a way of life and a challenge. Many will not understand, many will agree in principle, and many will even say they agree but precious few will take up the cause. This is true of any movement. But as Greens we cannot belittle them, we have to continue to fight for them, and show up for them; because at the end of the day it is for them and us that we are Greens.

That being said, Greens have to find a way to recognize that a mature political party may have many arms, legs, and tentacles. We will not always agree, and to be honest for the movement to have any momentum, we should not. Nor should we expect to be. It is the constant agitation, education, and resulting actions that fuel the movement, inspire candidates, and ultimately create political change. Our pillars, platform and principles give us a foundation but is in the working together that we build a house. And not all houses are the same but that is perfect because not all people need the same type of house. Do you get it? In order to be the new initiative, the imperative, the next wave of change we have to embrace differences, of opinion and of perspectives these lead to different paths but eventually if we are standing on the same foundation and looking towards the same common goals we will get to where we want to go. This is what we fight for. Instead of being against something let's fight for what we are for!!!

It is no longer enough to be a Green out of protest. It is time to be Green for progress, Green for a change, and Green for a new progressive movement and party that does not rely on old paradigms. We must forge new strategies and new alliances that may not only be Green but this is the only way we are going to build a movement and a party of the 21st century that will make change happen on every level. We have to use this strategy to elect Greens at every level of government, build on legislative victories, and use the successes and failures within our party to grow the movement for change across the country. It is time to be visionary, to lead with a sense of purpose, and to be bold and unapologetic in our determinations to live up to the pillars we hold so dear. Participatory Democracy, Social Justice, Ecological Sustainability, Economic Justice & Sustainability let those sink in...let them be our guide in working internally in the party and externally in the community and with allies. This is the response needed to answer the challenge presented by the 2016 election cycle. Progressives Unite!!

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Let's Try Something *Different*

SAM SMITH

From the start I wasn't hot on the Greens running in presidential races. As Linda Martin recalled in her book *Driving Mr. Nader,* "Most of the Third Parties '96 conferees agreed: we needed to run a candidate in more than a handful of states, and most wanted Ralph Nader at the head of our ticket. All, that is, except our resident curmudgeon, Washington journalist and political pundit, Sam Smith. Smith would say later, 'Having seen other top-down third party presidential campaigns, I couldn't see the organization in place that could pull it off.'"

Over the past twenty years. Greens have run for president in six races with results ranging from 0.1% to 2.74% for an average of 0.84%. Although Jill Stein got 1.3 million more votes in 2016 than David Cobb got in 2004, it still came to only 1.06% of the total vote count.

The emphasis on presidential races was meant to help build the party. National registration is down about 21% since 2005.

Strikingly, over half of our Greens are in two free thinking states: California and Maine. Yet in Maine, the birthplace of American Greens, only about a third of registered party members voted this year for Jill Stein, the rest presumably choosing Clinton or staying home.

Meanwhile, as Wikipedia notes; "From 1994 to 2006, the party's gubernatorial nominees received between 6% and 10% of the vote." Nothing close to that is happening these days. And in 2004 we had 224 Greens in office nationally. Now it's down to around 138.

It's not primarily the Green Party's fault that it has done so poorly in presidential races. The only third party candidates in the last century who have done much better have been icons like Teddy Roosevelt (28%), Wallace (14%), Debs (11%) or Perot (19%). All other 20th century third party candidates got 3% or less, including Debs in three additional runs and Thurmond and Henry Wallace in the hot 1948 race. And it is useful to note that all the leading third party candidates—with the exception of George Wallace and Debs—drew heavily from mainstream constituencies rather than running as radical reformers. Our election system gives little support to those not already near the top.

This, however, does not have to be a depressing conclusion. After all, the Green Party was not created just to win elections but to change America.

And positive change rarely comes from the top until it is forced to react to popular trends. I discussed this in my book, *The Great American Political Repair Manual:*

> In 1992 alone, the 100 largest localities pursued an estimated 1700 environmental crime prosecutions, more than twice the number of such cases brought by the federal government between 1983 and 1991. Another example has been the drive against smoking. While the tobacco lobby ties up Washington, 750 cities and communities have passed indoor smoking laws. And then there is the Brady Bill [to control hand guns]. By the time the federal government got around to acting on it, half the states had passed similar measures.

More recently consider how important state and local governments have been in passing laws related to abortion, gay rights and marijuana.

Thus, Greens not only do better at the lower levels, they actually have more power to change things. For example, although I can't prove it, I believe that twenty years of active Green politics in Maine helped to produce successes this year on several referenda including ranked choice voting (the first state to approve it), a tax on the wealthy for education, a public works bond, an increase in the minimum wage, and approval of an item to legalize the sale of marijuana.

There is, unfortunately, an assumption in many Green and liberal Democratic circles that the federal government is the best place to get big things done. But history—including abolition and womens' rights—tells us that it only typically happens after much hard work lower down.

Besides, the Greens get a lot of negative publicity about their presidential runs. Some of it—as in the case of Nader—is grossly unfair. But lies can hurt as much as truth if people believe them, witness our new president's rise to power.

Another problem the Greens face is an impression they sometimes give of being better than thou. This is not only their problem, both major parties act far more like a religion these days than as tools of change. But if the Greens spent less time

touting ideologies and instead pushed their support for issues about which many could agree, they might find both their efforts and their values more acceptable.

Further, in the last election, there was considerable bitterness between Greens who backed Stein and those who supported Sanders, the latter often portrayed as betrayers of the faith. In fact, third party support of major party candidates – known as fusion politics- was such a good weapon in earlier times that the mainstream pols of many states got it banned.

A better model for Greens dealing with such internal issues might be the Socialist of an earlier time. As I put it once:

From the beginning the Socialist Party was the ecumenical organization for American radicals. Its membership included Marxists of various kinds, Christian socialists, Zionist and anti-Zionist Jewish socialists, foreign-language speaking sections, single-taxers and virtually every variety of American radical. On the divisive issue of "reform vs. revolution," the Socialist Party from the beginning adopted a compromise formula, producing platforms calling for revolutionary change but also making "immediate demands" of a reformist nature.

By World War I it had elected 70 mayors, two members of Congress, and numerous state and local officials. Milwaukee alone had three Socialist mayors in the 20th century, including Frank Zeidler who held office for 12 years ending in 1960. And Karen Kubby, Socialist councilwoman, won her re-election bid in 1992 with the highest vote total in Iowa City history.

In short, the Green Party need not lose any ground by dropping its unproductive presidential campaigns. It could instead be far more clearly the political voice and tool of change in our communities as they already have been in some instances.

Living in Washington, I was first attracted to third party politics because I could see the 1960s burning itself out without a political wing. So in 1970 I became one of the founders of the DC Statehood Party (now the DC Statehood Green Party) which would hold a city council and/or school board seat for a quarter of the century.

Thinking about the difference between the DC Statehood Party and the Green Party in recent weeks, it seems clear that the former was far more issue oriented. And nobody asked me for my politically correct ideology.

It was similar in this regard to something I had found in earlier activism. Considering that I regarded myself as a Seventh Day Agnostic, it was amazing how many minister and priest friends I had in the 1960s and how rarely we discussed faith. Our closeness was built instead on our commitment to specific action.

Considering how the Greens might get new energy today, I think of the close alliances that can be built around specific issues, regardless of the theoretical views behind them. It was this indifference that allowed black and white middle class homeowners – hardly the typical prototype for change – to start an anti-freeway battle in DC that was one of the great community successes in modern American history. And over and over I would discover the power of this unity on issues. As I tell people today, if you find a gun-toting, abortion-hating nun who will help you save the forest, put her on the committee.

I imagine local Green movements becoming the political wing for people who are trying to get something done. Movements that by their energy, hospitality across conventional cultural lines, and willingness to work with others, could procure great change. I would even suggest that the Green Party urge people to join, adding that you can vote for whomever, but your Green registration alone is a clear message to those in power.

Now that Trump will be hogging the national news for a while, it's not a bad time to turn back to the local. There's a lot of it still among the Greens but the party doesn't get the word out that, for example, In 2015, Jeff Staples ran for Virginia House of Delegates and got 30% of the vote. And this year, reports the California Greens:

> Of the nine incumbents, eight have been re-elected. The highest elected Green was incumbent Marina Mayor Bruce Delgado (Monterey County), elected to his fifth consecutive two-year with 77% of the vote. In Solano County, 27 year old Vallejo School Board incumbent Ruscal Cayanyang fought off a very strong challenger to hold on to his seat with 56% of the vote. The 11 California Greens elected in November join six others from earlier in the year, giving at least 18 California Greens elected in 2016.

On the other hand, reviewing the Facebook page of the Maine Green Independent Party, I was struck by the fact that only 12% of the 50 most recent posts had to do with local or state matters. Clearly, as with the major parties, many Greens have been diverted from where the action is, yet where – even during a Trump administration – we can create the new, the positive, and the necessary.

And the nice thing about helping others in our communities and our states is that we will find new friends and higher percentages running for office. And the Green Party will be increasingly accepted as the political voice of change.

SAM SMITH

editor of the online *Progressive Review*, has been editing alternative journals since 1964. Before moving to Maine in 2009, he covered Washington during all or part of nine of America's presidencies. He Is the author of four books, two at the request of editors. His work has appeared in more than two dozen publiications. Smith has helped to start a half dozen organizations - including the DC Statehood Party and national Green Party. He has also served as an elected DC neighborhood commissioner and a school parents' association president.

What Maine's Adoption *of* RANKED CHOICE VOTING Means *for* Reformers

ROB RICHIE

American democracy today is working more poorly than it has in generations. The toxic 2016 presidential campaign featured the two most unpopular major party candidates in modern history and Congressional approval ratings plunged to historic lows in approval, yet nearly 98% of congressional incumbents won re-election. New voices are demeaned as spoilers, which suppresses debate about innovative ideas and shoehorns our diverse political views into two fiercely partisan camps. With the overwhelming majority of elections predictably going to a district or state's partisan majority, most voters lack meaningful choice even among two candidates. In conflict with the spirit of the Constitution, our electoral rules punish representatives who seek to govern outside their party boxes, blocking sensible changes that have majority support.

Absent reform, it is a near certainty that these problems will continue. No single change can unlock voters and spark a democracy where the best ideas rise to the surface and policymakers are able to implement the will of the people with respect for all. But this year we saw a true glimmer of hope for change: with 52% of the vote, Maine voters adopted ranked choice voting (RCV) for all their elections for governor, U.S. Senate, U.S. House, and state legislature in a campaign endorsed by the Libertarian Party, the Green Party, and hundreds of major party elected officials from across the spectrum. Starting in 2018, Mainers will be able to vote for the candidates they like the most without helping elect the candidates they like the least. They will earn a fair vote and a truce in the battle over whether minor party and independent candidates can have an enduring seat at the electoral table.

Starting in 2018, Mainers will be able to vote for the candidates they like the most without helping elect the candidates they like the least.

Ranked choice voting (sometimes called "instant runoff voting" and "preferential voting") has been touted for years by many Greens, including regularly by Jill Stein in 2016. It's a proven voting method designed to accommodate having more than two choices in our elections. In the United States, more than a dozen cities have passed ballot measures to implement RCV since 2000. When used to elect one candidate, it essentially simulates the math of traditional majority runoffs, but in one trip to the polls. Voters have the freedom to rank candidates in order of choice: first, second, third, and so on. Their vote is initially counted for their first choice. If a candidate wins more than half the votes, that candidate wins, just like in any other election. If no candidate has more than half the votes, then the candidate with the fewest votes is eliminated. The votes of those who selected the defeated candidate as a first choice are then added to the totals of their next choice. This process continues until the number of candidates is reduced to two or the winner earns more than half of the active votes. When used in multi-winner elections, RCV becomes a candidate-based form of proportional representation that expands the percentage of people who elect preferred candidates, increases competition, and provides a natural means to elect more diverse legislatures that include accurate representation of the left, right, and center, as well as representatives who break free from the two-party box.

Our current system simply isn't working, and all trends suggest it will keep getting worse. Maine shows that voters are ready for change, and reformers are planning city and state campaigns for RCV across the nation in 2017 and 2018.

Maine's victory was grounded in grassroots energy, effective organizing, and a well-run campaign. RCV had been debated in the legislature for years and been widely hailed as a success in mayoral elections in the state's largest city of Portland. In a November 12, 2011 editorial written about the first use of RCV in Portland, the major daily newspaper the *Press Herald* led with:

> Portland can have confidence in its new mayor and the system used to count the votes…The new system of counting ballots, which attracted a high degree of skepticism from people in and around Maine's biggest city over the last year, got its trial run, and it was the skeptics who were proven wrong...Under the ranked choice system, candidates were forced to engage with each other and talk to each other's voters. The result was an interesting conversation about Portland and its future that would not have happened in a "turn-out-your-base" election. That debate helped clarify the job description for Portland's mayor, and it will make life easier for Brennan when he shows up for work.

In the midst of yet another campaign for governor where the campaign was highly negative and the winner ultimately received less than half the votes—as has been the case in all but two gubernatorial elections since 1974—reformers seized a chance to launch an initiative campaign. With barely a week to organize, Election Day volunteers collected more than half the signatures required to put it on the 2016 ballot. The Committee for Ranked Choice Voting and its allies, like the League of Women Voters of Maine and FairVote Maine, launched a two-year campaign of education and advocacy that resulted in more than 300 published letters to the editor, more than 175,000 one-on-one conversations about RCV with Mainers, nearly 3,000 donations from Mainers, and community presentations across the state. A surge of funding allowed for television and digital media that helped push the measure over the top despite being a new idea to most voters. Where RCV was best known, in Portland, it won 71% of the vote.

RCV also won in a local campaign in Benton County, Oregon, where Oregon Green leader Blair Bobier played a central role. These wins and more than a dozen other victories for RCV in cities since 2000 demonstrate that RCV is politically viable and impactful in practice. Cities using RCV for mayor and other local offices include Minneapolis (MN), St. Paul (MN), Oakland (CA), San Francisco (CA), San Leandro (CA), Takoma Park (MD), Telluride (CO), and Portland (ME), while Cambridge (MA) has used RCV to elect its city council and school board for decades. Cities awaiting implementation after voter approval include Memphis (TN), Santa Fe (NM), and Sarasota (FL). Internationally, RCV has been used for years to elect Ireland's president, Australia's House of Representatives, and the mayors of London (UK) and Wellington (New Zealand). With recommendations by procedural guides like Robert's Rules of Order, RCV is widely used in nongovernmental organization elections, ranging from major private associations like the American Chemical Society and American Psychiatric Association to nearly every major party in Australia, Canada, Scotland, and the United Kingdom, as well as Republican and Democratic parties in Iowa, Maine, Texas, Utah, and Virginia. Young people have adopted RCV for their student elections at some 60 American colleges and universities and are the most likely to support it on the ballot.

RANKED CHOICE VOTING IN PRACTCIE

RCV's track record in those elections is impressive. Although still a winner-take-all system that isn't designed to elect those with minority views, RCV gives everyone a fair shot to run. Australia typically has more than six candidates per house race, and the strongest minor parties run in every district without any fingerpointing or talk of spoilers. Instead, they can make their case, see the best of their ideas adopted by the major parties, and grow their vote such that these parties are now winning fair shares of seats in senate elections held with the multi-winner proportional representation form of RCV.

In city elections in the United States, there has been a string of open seat elections where the best-financed favorites run traditional campaigns focused on their base and lose to enterprising challengers who engage directly with more voters in grassroots campaigns designed to earn not only first choice support, but second and third choice support from backers of other challengers. The pattern seems to be that the best-financed candidates rely on traditional techniques of identifying their stronger supporters, getting them to vote, and going more negative on other candidates – and the best challengers can win by putting more effort into direct voter contact regardless of first choice support. Mayor Betsy Hodges, who won in Minneapolis' first open seat mayoral election with RCV in 2013, told an audience in 2014:

> You know, making the phone calls and saying "Hi, I'm Betsy and here's why I'm great…I'm not the first person you think is great, well how about second? Can I be your second choice?" Now, asking to be someone's third choice...[pause, crowd laughter]...is exactly like you think it is, the first five or six times. After that you realize, we're just having a conversation and this person is still on the line. This person is still on the phone. We are still talking about the future of Minneapolis and the values of the future of Minneapolis. That is an incredibly valuable thing to be able to do when you are eager to represent the city of Minneapolis. And it's an incredibly valuable thing to do if you are a fan of small D democracy and deepening democracy. Because you get to have the conversations that you otherwise would really not be having because they wouldn't be worth your time as a candidate, and it wouldn't be worth the time of the voter to have that conversation because their mind would've been made up.

Outcomes are fair as well. Extensive data analysis from more than 125 RCV elections in the Bay Area shows that (1) every single winner has been the "Condorcet" candidate, or the one who would defeat all others in simulated head-to-head contests, even though several winners trailed in first choices and one winner initially was in third; (2) voters regularly rank more than one candidate, including close to nine in ten voters in competitive mayoral elections; (3) fewer voters now skip city

elections when at the polls for president and governor; (4) voter turnout in decisive elections has on average risen sharply from prior systems with primaries and runoffs; and (5) and more than 99% of voters cast valid ballots, which is often higher than their valid ballot rate in other races with large candidate fields.

RCV's promise and track record have helped earn notable support. American political leaders backing RCV include President Barack Obama (prime sponsor of RCV legislation as an Illinois state senator), Sen. John McCain (recorded a robo call in support of a ballot measure to implement RCV), former Vermont governor Howard Dean (author of several pro-RCV op-eds, including in the New York Times this fall), former Republican Congressman John Porter (author of a piece in a Brookings Institution report on policy proposals), Sen. Bernie Sanders (who testified on its behalf to the Vermont state legislature in 2007 on a bill that passed the legislature) and this year's presidential nominees for the Libertarian Party (Gary Johnson) and Green Party (Jill Stein).

WAYS TO EXPAND USE OF RANKED CHOICE VOTING

Ranked choice voting is viable, legal, and successfully tested as a flexible tool for addressing problems in our elections. Once it becomes easy for all jurisdictions to use, as is likely within the next four years, both legislators and populist reformers will find RCV to be valuable. With each new advance, voters' conceptions of what it means to vote will change from marking an "X" to ranking choices. The RCV ballot has drawn support in several different contexts, including the following.

• **REPLACING PLURALITY VOTING:** The great majority of American elections are held with plurality voting, where candidates with the most votes win, even if they do so with less than half the votes. As Maine showed, voters are ready to support RCV when they are frustrated by elections that mean either having to vote for the lesser of two evils, or else for unrepresentative winners. Some states may want to start in their primary elections, where open seats often draw multiple candidates and low-plurality winners.

• **REPLACING RUNOFFS:** Holding a separate runoff between the top two finishers is a means to eliminate "spoilers." But runoffs have downsides. The strongest candidates may not reach the runoff due to split votes. Runoffs exacerbate demands for campaign contributions and often have disparate voter turnout between elections. More than 96% of the nearly 200 regularly scheduled congressional primary runoffs since 1994 experienced declines in turnout, with an average turnout decline of more than 30% – a far steeper decline than the number of voters who don't rank finalists in RCV races. Finally, runoffs increase election costs and burdens on voters, making them an easy target for budget-cutting policymakers. These problems explain why more than a dozen cities have voted to replace runoffs with RCV.

• **REPLACING PROBLEMATIC MEANS OF NOMINATING CANDIDATES:** Traditionally, parties used conventions to choose nominees, which ensured nominees were accountable only to the parties' most active members. But the main alternative, the primary system, has low and unrepresentative turnout,. RCV could be built into the major party presidential candidate nominating processes, starting with party-run caucuses, and RCV could be used more generally to ensure nominees for all offices earn greater support. More dramatically, states could stop paying for primaries entirely and use RCV to accommodate voters having more general election choices.

• **OPENING UP LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS TO BETTER CHOICE AND FAIRER REPRESENTATION:** The combination of winner-take-all rules and rising partisanship has led to a sharp rise in districts in which only one party has any real prospect of winning, and more legislatures where one party has a lock likely to last for generations. It has entrenched incumbents, depressed participation, promoted unrepresentative homogeneity within parties, and created barriers for women, racial minorities, and minor parties to earn fair representation Redistricting alone has limited impact on these problems. Truly unlocking democracy depends on adopting RCV in multi-winner elections – an American form of proportional representation that was endorsed by the National Civic League for city elections for many years that is also called "single transferable vote." The first step with this form of RCV is to have larger districts with more voters and more seats; for example, one might combine five adjoining districts into a larger district with five representatives. These would be chosen by RCV, with the percentage of the vote necessary to win declining in relation to the number of seats in the district – about 17% of like-minded voters being able to elect a candidate in a five-winner district.

Multi-winner RCV is used in at least one governmental election by every voter in Australia, Ireland, Malta, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Minneapolis (MN), and Cambridge (MA). FairVote's congressional election simulations show that not a single voter in a state with more than two representatives would be represented by only one party. New opportunities would arise for independents and third parties to hold the major parties accountable, and more cross-cutting representatives would be likely to forge compromises. Expect to see the Fair Vote Act based on this form of RCV introduced in Congress this spring, and for more cities and states to consider it.

American politics is reaching a tipping point. Our current system simply isn't working, and all trends suggest it will keep getting worse. Maine shows that voters are ready for change, and reformers are planning city and state campaigns for RCV across the nation in 2017 and 2018, and dozens of states may entertain RCV legislation. Now is the time to think big – and rank the vote.

ROB RICHIE
is executive director of FairVote. This piece is adapted from one that appeared in December 2016 in Cato Unbound.

Small is Necessary! (*sine qua non*, in fact)

CHARLIE KEIL

"There seems to be only one cause
behind all forms of social misery: bigness."

"Whenever something is wrong, something is too big. And if the body of a people becomes diseased with the fever of aggression, brutality, collectivism, or massive idiocy, it is not because it has fallen victim to bad leadership or mental derangement. It is because human beings, so charming as individuals or in small aggregations have been welded onto overconcentrated social units. That is when they begin to slide into uncontrollable catastrophe."

— Leopold Kohr, *Breakdown of Nations* (1978/1957)

"A small-state world would not only solve the problems of social brutality and war; it would solve the problems of oppression and tyranny. It would solve all problems arising from power."

— Leopold Kohr,
from Tom Naylor's *Small Nation Manifesto*

Small became more than beautiful when Trump took the oath of office on January 20th. At that fascistic-climactic-trumphalist moment, small became *sine qua non:* without which nothing!

VULGAR MARXISM AND YESTERDAYS

Call me an anarch. Call me pacifist. Call me Green. Call me a Marxist as long as you include Groucho, Harpo, Chico as well as Karl. Call me Gummo, Zeppo, whatever, as long as you call me for dinner.

I call my marxism vulgar (popular/populist), primitive (as were the 1000s of classless societies ecologically balanced and niched all over the globe), simple (anyone can use most of the tools, anyone can make up a song, any child can testify in a court case, groove mightily, dance gracefully, craft an epic poem, etc.), life-affirming (animist), and, of course, decentralized, demilitarized, and living direct democracy 24/7 year round relative to the over-centralized, "over-concentrated," hyper-militarized and too-big-to-jail plutocratic societies of today.

Vulgar marxism is predictive—economic base determines cultural superstructure, rich get richer and poor get poorer, capitalism winds up controlling the state in a classick(sic) fascist formation, etc.—and predicts our point of arrival post 9/11: tiny fraction of 1% controlling the 99% and taking us on an irrational deathtrip.

BIG BOURGEOIS BOLSHOI B.S.
BADNESS UNTO DEATH: WAGNER UND HITLER

There are quite a few lists of fascism's characteristics: Naomi Wolf's in *The End of America* listing 10 requirements/conditions/steps that Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin met or took to complete the shutting down of any opposition and were picked up by Bush/Cheynie/Patriot Act post 9/11; Umberto Eco's list of 14 "Ways of looking at a Black shirt" (which opens Chris Hedge's *American Fascists* book) is a little too mystical/intellectual/fatalistic for my taste; Prof. Britt's "14 Identifying Characteristics of Fascism" are simple and clear enough to frame my point that this particular kind of bigness is always profoundly irrational and a Death Trip. Add these words "crazy deathtrip" to each of the 14 characteristics below.

14 IDENTIFYING CHARACTERISTICS OF FASCISM

by Political scientist Dr. Lawrence Britt.
("Fascism Anyone?," *Free Inquiry,* Spring 2003, pg. 20)

1-Powerful and Continuing Nationalism: patriotic slogans, symbols, flags are seen everywhere
2-Disdain for the Recognition of Human Rights: fear of enemies and the need for security
3-The people tend to look the other way or even approve of torture, summary executions, assassinations, long incarcerations of prisoners, etc.
4-Identification of Enemies/Scapegoats as a Unifying Cause: Supremacy of the Military
5-Rampant Sexism; Rampant Racism (ed)
6-Controlled Mass Media
7-Obsession with National Security
8-Religion and Government are Intertwined: Religious rhetoric and terminology is common from government leaders, even when the major tenets of the religion are diametrically opposed to the government's policies or actions.
9-Corporate Power is Protected: The industrial and business aristocracy of a fascist nation often are the ones who put the government leaders into power, creating a mutually beneficial business/government relationship and power elite.
10-Labor Power is Suppressed
11- for Intellectuals and the Arts
12-Obsession with Crime and Punishment
13-Rampant Cronyism and Corruption
14-Fraudulent Elections: smear campaigns against or even assassination of opposition candidates, use of legislation to control voting numbers or political district boundaries, and manipulation of the media. Fascist nations also typically use their judiciaries to manipulate or control elections.

We the people are avoiding or denying the word "fascism" because at some level we feel or know in our gut that it is delusional, irrational, sacrificial, breeding for the Fatherland, dying for the Fatherland *(lebensraum),* conquering the world, endless Wagnerian operatics, our #1 leaders eventually hunkering in the bunker as the cities are destroyed and corpses pile up in

the fields. We say things are getting "so scary" or "so dangerous" that we don't want to think about it at all, never mind thinking it through to where we are mindlessly headed.

ROBERT PEEBLES ON FASCISM 1956

I had a high school history and civics teacher in 1956 who took his notes from a course he had taken at Harvard and gave us what seemed like 3 weeks or a month of lecture and discussion on the rise of fascism in Italy and how intellectuals had rationalized this rise. To carve out this piece of my mosaic, polish it and fit it into the whole properly, I would have to read the books by Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca, Robert Michels or read books about them as "elitest" or "anti-democratic" thinkers. That's how they were labeled in the 1970s. But Mr. Peebles insisted that "pitchfork Ben" Tillman and a broad assortment of American paranoid populists were fascists from the bottom up. And that we young ones, about to be full citizens of the USA, should be on the alert.

HOW MARXISM WAS TAUGHT AT YALE 1959 AND REJECTED AT U. OF CHICAGO 1961

Long story short, after 3 consecutive semesters of philosophy in Directed Studies, we came in the 4th semester, spring of sophomore year, to Hegel on the spiritual dialectic, Ludwig Feuerbach on materialism, and Marx as a synthesizer of these two great German thinkers. Karl Popper's *The Poverty of Historicism* was the cure for any would be, could be, Marxists in the seminar. I experienced the harsher cure when I was bounced out of University of Chicago after just one year of Woodrow Wilson Fellowship support, because my course paper on Marx as anthropological fieldworker was judged to be superficial, mistaken, too eloquent, too passionate, not systematic and scholarly enough.

BIAFRAN INDEPENDENCE

From high school through college to graduate school in anthropology, my big aim was to discover the roots of jazz in life as lived by "people of color" or by "those racially profiled" or...

Simply discussing and changing the naming was considered controversial and ground-breaking in those days (see my M.A. thesis, *Urban Blues 1966/1992)* and yet we are even more stuck in the appearances, cliches and evil banalities of racism today. Why? Because we have forgotten that the Vietnamese won their long war of self-determination, and that the Biafrans lost theirs. Because the UN, as an Assembly and Security Council, have been a near total failure in terms of stopping wars, aiding self-determination of peoples, stopping ethnic cleansings and genocides. There has been no "progress" on these all-important issues since the US and USSR refused to "Recognize Biafra" in the late 1960s.

VERMONT 2ND REPUBLIC & MONTPELIER MANIFESTO

I made the mistake of not visiting with Tom Naylor and Kirkpatrick Sale earlier in the first era of the Vermont secessionist movement. I joined up circa 2010 and was privileged to sign and read one of the last Naylor-written manifestoes to a small crowd at the Vermont State House, fall of 2012. See also the "Small Nations Manifesto" written shortly before Naylor died on December 12, 2012. These manifestos have their tap root in Leopold Kohr and their main stem in Schumacher and Kirk Sale. Vermont's Greenhouse has given us Bernie and Jane Sanders, Bill McKibbon and .350, and less noticed but just as important: Murray Bookchin and Abdullah Ocalan promoting "Democratic Confederalism" as a political/geographic solution to the ongoing wars.

VULGAR MARXISM TODAY

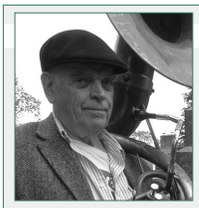
- Many Main Streets (vs. Wall St.)
- Democratic Socialism One Town or Village at a Time vs. Fascism or "National Socialism"
- Local Energy Grids vs. Big Oil and Fossil Fuel Ecocatastrophe
- Local Slow Food First vs. Agribusiness
- Different Languages, Cultures, Musical Styles in Every Playcare Center Finding Its Own Way
- Poorer the Kids the Better the Childcare and Playcare Must Be

SCHUMACHERS, CODE PINKERS AND TRANSITIONS TO "LOCAL PEACE ECONOMIES"

- It's happening as we speak.
- Scale Up the Scale-Downing so 1000s of towns, villages, neighborhoods, city blocks transitioning
- "Every Cook Can Govern" replaces Every Crook Can Govern
- C.L.R. James vs. Donald Trump

VULGAR MARXISM INTO THE NEAR AND LONG TERM FUTURES

- No Vanguard Only Rearguards
- The People United for small scale living with appropriate technology will never be defeated.
- Bernie's "democratic socialism" or "libertarian socialism" small scale
- FDR's Four Freedoms & New Deal best if fully realized on a small scale
- Green 10 Key Values and Four Principles require small scale
- Matricentric Myths and Rites differently realized in every locality.



CHARLIE KEIL

is author of *Urban Blues* (1966); *Tiv Song* (1979); *Polka Happiness* w. A.V. Keil and Dick Blau (1992); *My Music* w. S. Crafts and D. Cavicchi (1993); *Music Grooves* with S. Feld (1994); *Bright Balkan Morning* w. A.V. Keil, R. Blau and S. Feld (2002); *Born to Groove* with Pat Campbell on the web (2006). Charles retired from teaching in 1999 and has been morphing into an instrument playing poet who gardens sloppily.

More Than Ever, It's In *Our* Hands

BY JILL STEIN AND AJAMU BARAKA

With the inauguration of Donald Trump, the corporate hijack of the American political system has been laid bare. A cartel of billionaires, bankers, CEOs and war hawks has been nominated to the wealthiest cabinet in history. They are now laying groundwork for their own further enrichment, while the rest of the world pays the price - with ever greater disparities, endless war, environmental devastation, human and civil rights abuses and the growing peril to women, immigrants, workers, the LGBTQ community, students, seniors, children, communities of color, and Indigenous tribes.

A BIPARTISAN CRISIS

While the role of Republicans is clear for all to see, Democrats are also at the roots of this crisis. Bill Clinton sent jobs overseas with NAFTA, deregulated Wall Street, began militarizing the border and initiated mass incarceration of black and brown people. Likewise Barack Obama massively increased fossil fuel production, deported more immigrants than any prior president, escalated the war on whistleblowers, expanded the surveillance state, broadened the failed war on terror, and pushed to offshore more jobs through the Trans Pacific Partnership.

According to repeated polls, most Trump supporters were not voting for Trump but against Hillary Clinton and the painful Neoliberal legacy of the Democrats. That's why Trump's victory is not a triumph for Republicans so much as a failure of both corporate parties. Which all adds up to a perfect storm for a Green uprising.

Having been thrown under the bus long enough, 60% of voters are clamoring for a new major political party, and *90% have lost confidence in our political system* Now is the time to fill the void of political integrity, and infuse it with the urgent Green agenda to put people, planet and peace over profit.

In just his first week in office, Donald Trump has issued executive orders to bar refugees, defund sanctuary cities, deport immigrants, build a border wall, revive major pipelines and expand weapons production. He has also brought a new Orwellian ethic into executive communications, complete with "alternative facts".

RUNNING FOR LOCAL OFFICE TO PROTECT OUR COMMUNITIES AND CHALLENGE POWER

The accelerating crisis creates not only a political opening but a moral imperative to hit the ground running. Local communities provide an urgent opportunity and a dire necessity for Greens to engage - both to protect communities from the current Trump crisis, and to build power to challenge the bipartisan dead end.

Thanks to the engagement of thousands of volunteers, and the dedicated work of state and local chapters in the 2016 Green Party presidential campaign, we are well positioned for this fight. We tripled our vote, expanded local chapters, and achieved more ballot access than ever before. Now it's time to apply this momentum in our local communities.

The Power to the People Agenda of the 2016 presidential campaign consolidated and amplified the work of Green activists and electoral campaigns over the past decade.

This agenda reflects critical majoritarian issues whose time has come. Fortunately, these issues readily translate to action and organizing at the local level.

As the Trump regime moves swiftly to dismantle social protections at the national level, local elected officials can buffer our cities and towns by creating just and sustainable communities. Being a local elected official also gives crucial standing in order to advocate for reforms at the state level, and to help galvanize mass demonstrations that are critical to resisting the crisis of Trump and the longstanding neoliberal threat.

A POWER TO THE PEOPLE AGENDA FOR LOCAL CANDIDATES

Here is a brief introduction to a few of the many positions that derive from the 2016 presidential agenda that candidates for local office might consider:

- **CALL FOR A LIVING WAGE ORDINANCE** to benefit local workers and help revive the local economy. Kshama Sawant's 2013 Socialist Alternative campaign for Seattle City Council provides a powerful example of how the call for a living wage ordinance can propel a candidate into elected office. And it shows how a candidate once in office can galvanize a successful living wage campaign. Since then, $15-an-hour ordinances have been passed in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Washington, D.C., California and New York state, among other successes. Likewise, candidates can advocate for paid sick leave and family leave, overtime protections, and wage parity for women. We can support local workers' fighting to establish unions. And we can fight to stop the passage of state "right to work legislation" that destroys the economic base for union survival.

- **ESTABLISH "SANCTUARY CITY" STATUS** to protect immigrant residents against detention, deportation, racism and xenophobia. This restricts cooperation and information sharing with immigration enforcement. Currently, at least 39 cities, 364 counties, and four states nationwide identify as sanctuary jurisdictions. Local officials can also advocate to reverse US policies causing millions to flee their homes in the first place - including catastrophic regime change wars, predatory trade agreements, the war on drugs, and covert political destabilization.

- **ESTABLISH EMERGENCY JOBS PROGRAMS** to revive local economies while also addressing the climate crisis. Candidates can call for state or municipal investments in a wide array of projects including publicly owned solar and wind energy production; renewably powered public transportation, safe sidewalks and bike paths; sustainable food systems including community gardens, community supported agriculture, farm-to-school-hospital-or-business programs; and jobs weatherizing our homes, schools and businesses. Local experiments in the New Deal era preceded the development of FDR's New Deal on a national scale. We can - and must - do the same now. These experiments can entail a broad range of public works, worker cooperatives and local small businesses.

- **PROTECT ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH AND END ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM.** Stop all new fossil fuel and nuclear power infrastructure development, including pipelines, fossil fuel trains, fracking developments, fossil fuel and nuclear power plant. Protect air and water quality, including replacement of old and polluted water systems. Ensure a just transition - including the right to good wage jobs and benefits - for workers dependent on fossil fuel jobs.

- **SUPPORT PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND HIGH QUALITY EDUCATION FOR EVERY STUDENT.** Excellent education should be a right for all, not a choice for some. Stop school closures and conversion to charter schools. End the use of high stakes testing, and use limited testing for diagnostic purposes only. Restore arts, music and recreation into school curriculum. Replace Common Core with racially sensitive and relevant curriculum developed by educators, not corporations, with input from parents and communities. End the militarization of schools and the school to prison pipeline. Evaluate teacher performance through assessment by fellow professionals, not through high stakes tests.

- **END THE EPIDEMIC OF POLICE VIOLENCE AND MASS INCARCERATION.** Establish citizen police review boards and standing investigators to review all cases of deaths at the hands of police. End use of SWAT teams and no-knock raids for drugs and serving papers. Demilitarize the police. Previously violence-wracked Richmond, CA, under Green mayor Gayle McLaughlin, reduced police involved shootings to less than one per year, at the same time they reduced homicides by 75%. This was done by retraining to avoid use of lethal weapons, rehiring to attain 60% police of color, and prioritizing face-to-face supportive community engagement. Move community resources from bloated police budgets to youth arts and recreation, after school programs, and jobs. In cities like Los Angeles, police programs may occupy up to half of the city budget, impoverishing social and educational programs that prevent violence in the first place. Close juvenile prisons in favor of residential education and rehabilitation. End the routine use of solitary confinement for adults.

- **FIGHT FOR HEALTH CARE AS A HUMAN RIGHT AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL THROUGH AN IMPROVED MEDICARE FOR ALL SYSTEM.** Support the creation of community health centers as an interim measure to provide affordable, accessible care.

- **ESTABLISH PUBLIC BANKS** at the municipal and state levels to provide funding for these local projects. Public banks maximize public good rather than private profit. They

eliminate large banking fees and reduce the cost of borrowing for governments and businesses by up to 50%. This would facilitate crucial infrastructure projects, create community jobs and boost the local economy. While 40% of banks around the world are public, the only public bank currently in operation in the US is the Bank of North Dakota. San Francisco, Oakland, Seattle, Santa Fe and Vermont are currently studying the feasibility of creating public banks.

- **IMPLEMENT FAIR TAXES TO BENEFIT LOCAL COMMUNITIES,** such as corporate property taxes or a local graduated income tax, to secure funding for economic development. This may include ending public subsidies for large national and multinational corporations, and re-directing this funding to local small businesses and cooperatives. This keeps wealth circulating within the community, rather than allowing it to be extracted to enrich national and transnational corporate elites. Revenue from fair taxes can also be used to support critical public services - including education, youth programs and public housing.

- **END THE LOCAL WAR ON DRUGS** by legalizing marijuana through local ordinances. Advocate for the release of non-violent drug offenders from county and state prisons with pre and post release support. Advocate to remove marijuana and hemp from the DEA list of scheduled substances.

- **STOP GENTRIFICATION.** Support rent control and integrated housing development. Expand public housing in high quality, mixed income developments. Fight for housing designed to meet community needs, not to maximize developer profits.

- **ADVOCATE FOR FREE PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION.** The cost pays for itself seven times over in increased tax revenue and other public benefits, as shown with the GI Bill following World War II. Local elected officials can also advocate nationally for a bailout for student debt and the 44 million young and not-so-young people who are trapped in it. The political establishment bailed out the crooks on Wall Street that crashed the economy - it's time to bail out the students, who are victims of that crashed economy.

IT'S IN OUR HANDS

While Donald Trump lashes out against immigrants, the climate, democracy and more, it's the grassroots that's leading the fightback, not the Democrats. Party head Chuck Schumer lowered the bar by supporting the majority of Trump's predator cabinet nominees. Meanwhile the main contenders for DNC chair refused to disavow superdelegates or contributions from corporations and lobbyists that keep the party under control by the economic elite.

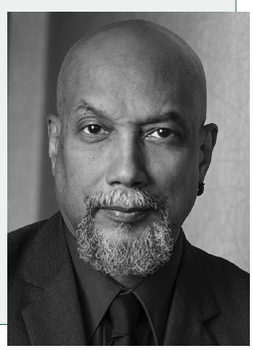
As people continue pouring into the streets by the millions, the resistance is growing like we haven't seen in generations. A new political force is emerging. The Green Party can be a political vehicle for this force - using grassroots democracy to deliver radical, progressive, sustainable solutions that are the only effective answer to the rising power of the extreme right. Now more than ever, it's in our hands to bring power back to the people, working together to build an America and a world that works for all of us.

JILL STEIN

A human rights defender whose experience spans four decades of domestic and international education and activism, Jill Stein was the Green Party nominee for President of the United States in 2016 and 2012. She is an organizer, physician, and environmental-health advocate. As a self-described mother on fire, she has helped fight for issues that are essential for health, justice, democracy and survival of the planet. After decades as a clinical doctor, she now practices "political medicine", working to heal the "mother of all illnesses", our sick political system that must be fixed so we can get to all the other ills that are literally killing us. She is currently working to build political resistance and support local Green candidates in fighting for radical progressive, sustainable solutions that are critical for the future we deserve.

Previously she served on the Massachusetts and national boards of directors for Physicians for Social Responsibility, where she worked on environmental health and nuclear disarmament. She co-founded the Global Climate Convergence for People, Planet and Peace over Profit.

Jill Stein was raised outside Chicago, Illinois. She graduated magna cum laude from Harvard College in 1973, and from Harvard Medical School in 1979.



AJAMU BARAKA

was the Vice Presidential candidate of the U.S. Green Party in 2016. He is an internationally recognized leader of the emerging human rights movement in the U.S. He has been at the forefront for over 25 years of efforts to apply the international human rights framework to social justice advocacy in the U.S. A veteran grass roots organizer, his roots are in the Black Liberation Movement and anti-apartheid and Central American solidarity struggles. He has taught political science at various universities and appeared on and been covered in print, broadcast, and digital media outlets such as CNN, BBC, the Tavis Smiley Show, Telemundo, ABC's World News Tonight, Black Commentator, Common Dreams, *Russia Today, The Washington Post, the New York Times,* and the *Black Agenda Report,* of which he is currently an editor and contributing columnist.

Trump's Big Mistake

Unfortunately, Donald Trump was inaugurated on January 20. This letter is to share our concern over the future he is promoting. He says he wants to make America great again, but when he was campaigning he said whatever came into his head at the moment to get people to vote for him. A consideration of his proposed cabinet is a more definite indication of what he wants to do.

First of all, most of his nominations are multi-millionaires and billionaires, like he is. So we can expect a government of the rich for the rich, standard behavior for politicians, perhaps, but likely to cause more hardship for the other 99% of us. Many who voted for him will be and feel betrayed.

Second, a look at some of Trump's nominations for crucial cabinet positions can provide more specificity about how the Trump administration will govern. He nominated Scott Pruitt to head the Environmental Protection Agency, a man who is suing it to stop the EPA Clean Power Plan. Pruitt is a climate change denier, like Trump, who also denies any need to curtail the rate of global warming. Another of Trump's astounding nominations is that of Rex Tillerson, who, as the head of Exxon-Mobil, has not only denied climate change but spent millions to cast doubt on it. Tillerson was nominated for Secretary of State, so an oil man would negotiate U. S. policies with other countries. As head of the Energy Department Trump has nominated Rick Perry, who wanted to abolish that department a few years ago. Like many Republicans, these men do not like regulations.

These three nominations to his cabinet indicate the way that Trump hopes to make America great again. He wants to boost a failing economy by liberating business enterprise from any constraining regulation. This is Trump's big mistake, exactly the wrong policy for this time. The economy is already failing because the energy resources that made it great in the past, mainly fossil fuels, will be increasingly expensive and hazardous to burn because they pollute the atmosphere with carbon dioxide and methane, so-called greenhouse gases, which warm the atmosphere. In a few years the costs of climate change will exceed any short-term benefits of growth: more storms and floods, more droughts and failing crops, more forest fires, rising tides and storm surges along the coasts.

The world now has a brief period to slow the rate of climate change. Soon, as warming temperatures release more methane from tundra and from the oceans, global warming will be more rapid and irreversible. Eventually, as glaciers melt, rising ocean levels will inundate many of the world's large cities and millions of refugees will seek resettlement. And while climate change will be the most destructive of our environment, it is on top of the many other insults that industrial activity has inflicted upon the earth, including loss of topsoil and desertification, pollution of fresh water supplies by fracking and other damaging energy extraction methods. Industrial civilization is not ecologically sustainable and should be scaled down. The issue is whether it will crash or come to a soft landing. Trump's policies are leading to a crash after a short-term boom.

How could our leaders promote a soft landing? First, forget the myth of progress understood as economic growth. This myth is the most powerful falsehood. Second, accept rather than deny the reality of climate change. Third, promote the appreciation of the earth as it is threatened. Fourth, gratefully accept what the earth offers but refuse to take more by force. This means raising food with organic methods instead of chemicals and harnessing power from sun and wind. Fifth, help people resettle the countryside of America, which remains a place of fragile but threatened beauty.

Barbara Geisler and Maynard Kaufman
Michigan

We've Reached a Juncture Politically

My reflections on the presidential election: talk about a lose-lose situation! (reminds me of Humphrey vs Nixon in 1968—both committed to the war effort in Vietnam)! I found myself relieved that Hillary did not win, given her ship-load of baggage, but dismayed that Trump did, given his atrocious rhetoric, ignorance of climate issues, and reluctance to learn. I was also disappointed that relatively few of the millions of Bernie supporters did not have the courage to vote for Jill Stein.

The Democratic (sic) Party operatives got what they deserved, a kick in the head! After grossly sabotaging the one candidate who almost certainly would have won, in favor of "the anointed one" because it was "her turn," they got a reality check.

It is not so much that people favored Trump (polls showed that BOTH candidates were odious to voters), but to express contempt for politics as usual with an ultimate Wall St. candidate, reeking with corruption via quarter million speeches to gain access and favorable . Enough people were so disgusted with "the Devil they know" that they voted for the Devil they didn't know"—so disgusted that she lost the electoral vote. But it appears we all may be getting the same thing anyway, given Trump's Wall St. appointments. Instead of his promise to "drain the swamp," he is importing alligators into the swamp.

I like to use the analogy of a chick evolving in a shell. The shell protects the embryo from damage and germs, but the time comes when the chick must BREAK the shell in order to live. This is the essence of dialectics, when the internal contradictions lead to a rupture, a time of birth. We are at just such a juncture politically. The current system, like the egg shell, must be broken for us to live, and the rest of life on earth as well. Like the chick in its shell, timing is of the essence. Wait too long and all is lost.

Jon D. Olsen
Maine

GREEN HORIZON

GREEN HORIZON SUSTAINERS FOR THE FULL 2016 CYCLE

Tony & Melba Affigne, Rhode Island

Steve Baker & Katy Dolan, Florida

David Bath, Florida

John Battista & Justine McCabe, Connecticut

Ted Becker, Alabama

Dee Berry, Kansas

Antonio Blasi, Maine

Peter Broeksmit, Illinois

Lisanne Budwick, New Jersey

Rick Burrill, Pennsylvania

Caron Cadle & Ray Remshardt, Florida

J. Roy Cannon, Delaware

Dana Cary, Maine

Roy Christman, Pennsylvania

Don Crawford, Illinois

Linda Cree, Michigan

Richard & Debra Csenge, Utah

Bob Dale & Jean Parker, Maine

Christine DeTroy, Maine

Paul Etxeberri, Nevada

Richard Evanoff, Japan

Olenka Folda, Maine

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Christopher Greuner, Massachusetts

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Holly Hart, Iowa

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Linda Martin & Mike Cornforth, Washington

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Brent McMillan, Indiana

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