

# GREEN

MAGAZINE OF THE AUSTRALIAN GREENS



## Balancing Act



The people of Melbourne have spoken, and they seem to like Green

Looking forward at future planning for the party



What the new dynamic in Canberra means for Australia

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the australian greens wish to acknowledge that we are on indigenous ground – this land is the spiritual and sacred place of the traditional owners and their ancestors and continues to be a place of significance. further, we thank them for sharing this land with us and agree to respect their laws and lores.

**editorial:** greenmag@greens.org.au

**advertising, subscription & mailing inquiries:** greensoffice@greens.org.au

**postal address:** gpo box 1108 canberra act 2601

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**Moments from the 2010 Federal campaign**  
Clockwise from top left: The new Party Room meets, one of many Greens billboards around the country, Bob Brown and PM Julia Gillard sign the ALP-Greens agreement, Kathleen Maltzahn and NZ Green MP Keith Locke, the Queensland Greens election team, Bob Brown & Larissa Waters on the campaign, launching the Greens light rail plan in the ACT, the Greens WA campaign launch.



PHOTO CREDIT: CC LICENSED FLOOR USER TIMOTHY K HAMILTON

What an inspiring time for the Australian Greens. As the following pages illustrate, there is much exhilaration and hope all over the country given the strong results from the national election. This buoyancy is not just about the statistics, although they are thoroughly broken down and analysed here, but also about the precipice upon which we now stand.

Clearly our increased representation federally is exciting, and offers the potential for important progress. The invigorating campaign taking place in Victoria as it heads towards a state election is also a source of positive anticipation. However, elections and elected representatives are only part of the picture. The Australian Greens party is currently planning for the next three years. And what an exciting few years they are set to be.

This time of planning offers the potential to select the focus of the work the Greens will do.

The campaigns waged, where resources will be spent, how change will be affected - it is up to members to get involved and have their say on what the future holds for their party. The process is a challenging one, but the balance of power that the Australian Greens now hold in elected positions is no more important than the balance that must be struck for the party as a whole. For elected representation to remain relevant, there must be clear goals and aims in place to guide the future of the party. This edition is about balance in both of these forms.

Lastly, on behalf of the Australian Greens Communications Working Group, I offer congratulations and thanks to all of the candidates, staff, members and volunteers for their hard work on the Federal election.

**Lefa Singleton Norton - Editor**  
[greenmag@greens.org.au](mailto:greenmag@greens.org.au) ▲



CARTOON COURTESY: JUDY HORACEK



Our letters this edition feature messages of congratulations from our sister Greens parties around the world.



Got something to say? Drop us a line at [greenmag@greens.org.au](mailto:greenmag@greens.org.au)

You Greens in Australia have made a fantastic election! Congratulations!  
 EVA GO'S  
*Green Forum, Stockholm, Sweden*



Congratulations to all Australian Greens for their mobilization.  
 GARBA ADAMOU  
*Green Party of Niger*



The Australian Greens have beaten all expectations across the Tasman. The Greens won their highest vote ever securing 11% of the national vote making them the undisputed third major political party in Australia.

Whether the issue is climate change, mining, or the massive gap between the rich and poor — only the Greens are connecting the dots with practical solutions to the problems we face. Australian voters have gone

and put Green solutions at the heart of politics.  
 METIRIA TUREI  
*Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand*



The Green Party of the United States congratulates Australian Greens on their 'greenslide' in Australia's parliamentary elections on Saturday, August 21.

It's only a matter of time before the first Green is elected to the US Congress. We need a shock to the two-party status quo in America, the kind of shock we're seeing now in Australia.  
 JULIA WILLEBRAND  
*Green Party of America*



The Green Party of Canada extends its congratulations to the Green Party of Australia on their success in the recent Australian general election. History

has been made and we look forward to joining you in the corridors of democratic power.  
 DEBRA EINDIGUER  
*Green Party of Canada*



Congratulations!!  
 JEAN ROSSIAUD  
*Swiss Greens*



On behalf of the African Greens Federation and on behalf of the Rwandan Greens, we send you warm congratulations for this big election victory. Congratulations, your Victory is our Victory.  
 FRANK HABINEZA  
*African Greens Federation*



The Mongolian Greens and myself personally would like to congratulate all of you with this great result! I was crossing my fingers for you and very happy to hear the SMS news wire yesterday.

Three cheers and a tiger! - I don't know if you say it in Australia, but this is what my text book English tells me to use in case of great appreciation and commendation. :)

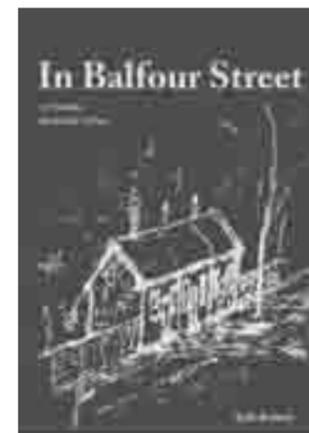
We assume that you are celebrating the well-deserved victory right now. Enjoy it!  
 CHULUUNBAATAR ENKHZAYA  
*Mongolian Green Party*



[The Australian election result] is excellent news for Australia, because the Greens are the party nowadays offering the socially progressive policies as well as the best environmental policies.

And it's excellent news for the world, because with a stronger Green influence we can expect Australia to be pushing harder for a proper global agreement on climate change.

CAROLINE LUCAS  
*Green Party of England & Wales*



**In Balfour Street 14 Poems from the 70s**  
 By Bob Brown

Thoughts on nature and humanity by a young man on the cusp of changing Australia's political landscape. These are the poems Bob wouldn't publish back then.

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# the election that was

Ebony Bennett looks back on what we achieved at the Federal polling booth this year.

The 2010 Federal election campaign was a long, hard battle and thousands of people contributed their time, their skills or their money to make it the Greens' most successful campaign ever. Here's a snapshot of what we achieved:

Nationwide the Greens received a swing of 4%, far larger than the 1.5% swing to the Coalition.

More than 1.6 million Australians voted 1 for the Greens in the Senate (or 13.11%), electing a Greens Senator in every State. From July 2011, 9 Greens Senators – including our first representatives from Queensland and Victoria – will hold the balance of power.

Adam Bandt MP also shares the balance of power in the House of Representatives, where he recently gave his inaugural speech as the newly minted Member for Melbourne. Adam won the seat with a massive 13% swing to the Greens – the first time the Greens have won a lower house seat at a general election.

Nationwide, more than 1.45 million people (or 11.76%) voted 1 for the Greens in the House of Representatives.

The seats of Melbourne (36%), Grayndler (26%) and Batman (23%) are now contests between the Greens and Labor, where the Greens outpoll the Liberals. In fact, the Greens polled more than 20% primary vote in 8 seats around the country, as well as an average of 10% in rural and regional seats.

The ACT Senate vote for the Greens (22.92%) was the highest in the country, and the highest ever Australian Greens Senate vote in the history of the party. And there was close to a 5% swing to the Greens in the Northern Territory Senate vote.



Journalists await the launch of the Victorian Greens Federal election campaign

But behind all those results and statistics are the campaign staff and the volunteers who made it happen. Here's a few statistics about the campaign itself:

Using our new website, more than 4,500 Greens supporters and members signed up online to volunteer over the course of the campaign - knocking on doors, handing out how to vote cards on polling day, putting Greens posters in their yards and windows, as well as holding Greens stalls and events.

Thousands of people donated \$10, \$50, \$100 – or whatever they could spare – and together we raised more than \$300,000 from online donations to run our fantastic, positive campaign advertising. The Greens' advertising ran on pay and free-to-air TV, on billboards in capital cities, in major newspapers, as well as the biggest online advertising campaign the Greens have ever run.

More than 25,000 people became Facebook fans of the Greens. The community there helped spread the Greens' messages throughout their social networks and recruited family and friends to vote Greens; they also alerted the campaign to attacks on the Greens and posted comments or wrote letters to help us respond and fight back against smears and misinformation.

And more than 12,000 supporters shared links to the "If you think, vote Green" TV ad produced for ABC's *Gruen Nation*, helping the ad go viral – at last count more than 125,000 people had viewed the ad on YouTube.

I sincerely hope that everyone who was involved in the campaign found it to be a rewarding and exciting experience.

There is no doubt that a vote for the Greens is very powerful. The Greens have already had a profound impact

on the new Parliament. That impact will only strengthen when the new Senators are sworn in next year. This Parliament will be exciting and innovative. No single party has the power to push through legislation on its own, but the Greens have never been in a better position to effect change, to implement Greens policies or to improve the legislation that comes through the Parliament. It's a great opportunity and a great responsibility. And it's a responsibility more Australians are choosing to give the Greens at local, state and federal levels of politics.

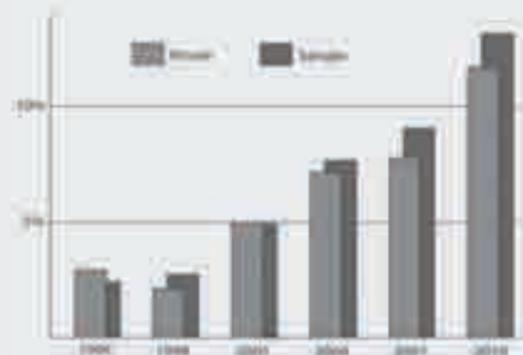
I'd like to finish by acknowledging the hard work of the many staff and volunteers who worked on the national campaign (apologies if I have inadvertently missed anyone). Thank you to: all the Greens candidates, the State campaign teams – especially the wonderful Campaign Managers with whom I worked, all the campaign volunteers, the Senators and their magnificent staff, the National Election Campaign Committee, the National Preferences team – especially Luke Edmonds, the Australian Greens and ACT Greens office staff and volunteers, Make Believe, Fuzion and Benedictus Media.

And a huge personal thank you to: Brett Constable (National Manager), James Higgins (Campaign Assistant), Chris Dubrow (Web Editor), Derek Schild (Convenor), Ben Oquist (Chief of Staff), Dave Paris (Senators' Web and New Media Coordinator), Erin Farley (Media Advisor to Bob Brown), Max Phillips (Community Liaison Officer) and to Leanne Minshull (former Director of Strategy and Liaison). ▲

Ebony Bennett was National Campaign Coordinator for the 2010 Federal election

THE GREENS VOTE IN 2010  
We achieved a lot this election.  
Here's some quick stats

GROWTH  
The Greens' vote has grown substantially over the past 14 years



SWING  
The Greens received the biggest swing of all the major parties



VOTES RECEIVED  
The Greens received over 20% of the vote in eight seats, over 15% in 30 seats and over 10% in 92 seats



STATISTICS BY MAX PHILLIPS

# balance of power comes to canberra

Christine Milne explains the new dynamic of power that exists in Canberra

**T**he Greens are Australia's experts in balance of power politics, having achieved major social, environmental and economic reforms from that position in parliaments around the country. We are now rising to our most exciting challenge yet – bringing our expertise to bear in both houses of the Commonwealth Parliament.

While Labor and the Coalition like to attack balance of power as 'unstable', we see it as a tremendous opportunity to encourage them to abandon timid politics, achieve breakthroughs on major fault-line issues, bring power back to the parliament instead of the executive and replace the theatre and stunts of the old parties with a new maturity in politics.

In the lead up to this year's election, it was widely expected that the Greens would hold balance of power in the Senate in our own right. After our principled and responsible performance over the last two years, this was for the first time not successfully portrayed by our opponents at the election as a threat.

What was not expected was that, with Adam Bandt's historic achievement in winning the lower house seat of Melbourne and the extraordinarily close national vote resulting in a hung parliament, we would also be playing a key role in choosing and supporting a minority government.

As readers will be well aware, the Greens negotiated an agreement to support the Gillard government on crucial votes of supply and confidence.



Senator Christine Milne signs an agreement to support a minority Government with Treasurer Wayne Swan

This support was based on a signed agreement to deliver improved transparency and integrity to Parliament and pursue policies from dental health to climate change, from a debate on Australia's involvement in the war in Afghanistan to referenda to recognise indigenous Australians and local government in the Constitution. We have also established clear lines of communication between the Greens and the government, increasing the chances of successful negotiations on these and all other issues.

You can read the full detail of the agreement on our website at [www.greensmps.org.au](http://www.greensmps.org.au).

Central to the agreement was a commitment to establish a cross-parliamentary committee tasked with delivering a mechanism for a carbon price – a vital part of the climate solution, helping to drive transformation of the economy from a resource base to a flourishing, clean, renewable base.

The idea for the MP/expert committee, a first in Australian political practice, came from my experience

leading the Greens in balance of power in Tasmania in the 1990s and further informed by the practice in multi-party democracies in Scandinavia.

In Tasmania, we had reached the 1990s with homosexuality still a crime and the old parties refusing to take on their conservative bases and bring the state into the modern era by supporting the Greens' bill legalising homosexuality. My approach was to bring the Liberal Premier and Attorney General together with experts such as the Dean of the Law School of

the University of Tasmania and the head of the Justice Department, in a safe and confidential environment where they could feel comfortable about talking through the issues and changing their minds. Through that process we finally achieved gay law reform in Tasmania – the passage of my

Private members bill remains one of the proudest moments of my political career so far.

You can understand, I hope, why it is necessary for this kind of process to be confidential. This is not like a regular Senate Committee, where too often the

public hearings process is either used as political theatre or only serves to entrench positions taken by the parties in advance. This is a working committee whose role is to negotiate an outcome – an agreed mechanism to put a price on carbon. The committee will ideally be a venue

for interesting and innovative ideas to be proposed and discussed in complete confidence that they will not be leaked and thrashed out in the public arena, an event that could only suppress creativity, honesty and trust.

In Scandinavia, where multi-party government is the norm not the exception, this kind of process has become standard practice. Seemingly intractable issues of political disagreement between parties are dealt with through setting up committees involving representatives of all relevant parties and experts who can

inform and guide discussion towards a solution.

This is only one example of the opportunity we see for truly ambitious reform in this term of minority government. Watch this space for plenty more in the years ahead. ▲

**“We see balance of power as a tremendous opportunity to replace theatre and stunts with a new maturity in politics.”**

# victoria 2010

With the Federal election result still ringing in our ears, what implication does this have for the Victorian state election?

Melbourne made history in August by electing its first Greens MP to Federal parliament, and while the ramifications of having a Greens member in the House of Representatives bodes well for the people of inner Melbourne, the upcoming Victorian state election also holds huge promise for further expansion of the Greens’ existing three seats in the State upper house.

There are several inner-Melbourne electorates in which the Liberals have decided to not run candidates. As a result the two-party preferred swing from Labor to the Greens is expected to be as high as 8-9% in these seats. There is a strong chance of the Greens winning in the electorates of Melbourne, Brunswick, Richmond and Northcote with possibilities in many other seats.

These seats are largely comprised of traditional Greens supporters, but the win will not come without a fight. Still of huge importance to the voting intentions of Victorians is the need for immediate action on climate change. Polling data released by Crikey in October showed a large number of inner city residents considered climate change to be of high importance to the well-being of Victoria in general.

The Victorian Government were quick to push through a Bill tackling the climate issue before the official start of the campaign, avoiding the uncomfortable association with their Federal counterparts. The Bill, passed in the Legislative Council with the support of both Liberal and Greens members, sets a 20 percent emissions reduction based upon 2000 levels by 2020 and includes a generous feed in tariff for large scale solar thermal power plants.

However, the ALP are not likely to dodge the other key issues for voters in this election: public transport and education. With the ongoing problems associated with Melbourne’s Myki ticketing system and the recent re-tendering of public transport systems, Labor has failed to quell the public’s rising distrust and anger surrounding all things train, tram and bus.

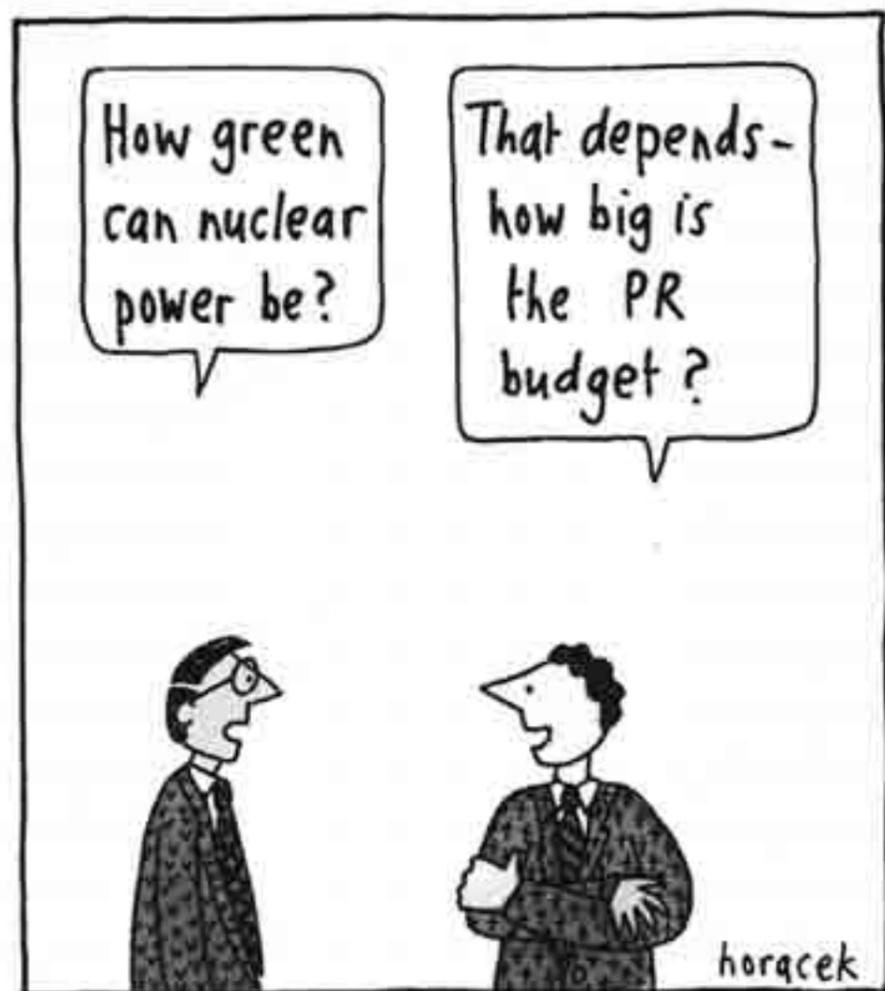
The fury of building work being undertaken at every school across the country with the Federal Government’s ‘Building the Education Revolution’ has surely resulted in many parents impressed that their

children will have a new gym, music class or basketball court. This may bode well for any ALP state government – it’s always easier to connect to tangible bricks and mortar spending in key areas like education, and this was on a monumental scale. However, the ever spiraling failure of the MySchool website may take the shine off this bubble of success for the ALP.

With the possibility of a hung parliament here in Victoria, the role of the Greens in any future state parliament is certain to have more importance than ever. The experiences of other Greens coalition state governments around Australia (and the world) have broken the ground for Greens in government and proved that the right-wing rallying cry of the ‘reckless Greens’ is unfounded.

Whatever the outcome, it is clear that Labor is set to lose a significant number of seats at this election. In the short amount of time between Federal and state elections, it is unlikely that any actions by the Greens federally will drastically change the intentions of Victorians at the ballot box, but certainly all eyes in Melbourne will be on our newly elected MP Adam Bandt to set the tone. ▲

Tim Norton lives in Melbourne and is a former media adviser to Senator Rachel Siewert.





# the rise of the greens... so far

Former Senator and Greens candidate for Brisbane in the 2010 election Andrew Bartlett looks at the success of the Greens and what challenges lie ahead.

Back in June this year, I wrote a piece for *The Drum* on the ABC's website, reflecting on the growing support for the Greens in the pre-election opinion polls. At that time, voter support for the Greens in the House of Representatives was measured at 16% by Newspoll – a record high for the party. The big question then was whether the party would maintain that level of support come the election campaign and polling day itself, or whether it would dwindle as the media and money advantages of the two larger parties kicked in, not to mention the risks from public attacks on the Greens from our competitors and our philosophical opponents.

As we all now know, the ensuing couple of months saw Kevin Rudd deposed as Prime Minister and a tumultuous election campaign. Despite this upheaval, the Greens managed to maintain strong public support, gaining a primary vote in the House of Representatives of 11.76%. Whilst this was a significant drop on the outlier polling result of 16%, it was still a record high for any non-aligned third party since the crystallisation of Australia's two party system over 100 years ago. As I wrote in *The Drum* article, "with greater support come greater scrutiny and more direct attacks". The attacks and increased scrutiny occurred, but in my view greater policy depth plus improved preparedness and maturity of the Greens – which means greater scrutiny can be a good thing – meant this did not cause any major electoral damage.

Of course, having gained record votes in the Senate and the House of Representatives – which also saw a breakthrough with the first ever victory in a House of

Representatives seat at a general election and the first time a third party has won a Senate seat in every state at a half-Senate election – the Greens now face even bigger challenges in consolidating that level of voter support and building further on it.

As I noted at the end of my *Drum* article, "it has been a long haul for the Greens to get this far, but in many ways their work is just beginning." This is not in any way to denigrate the many years of arduous and often thankless work by many people in helping to build the Greens up to this level. Indeed, the fact that the growth in the Greens electoral support has been gradual rather than come in sudden surges is one of the reasons why

the Greens are better placed to avoid the fate of the 'third' parties that have come before them.

My intent is to emphasise that the work gets even more difficult from here. As we are seeing, the stronger the Greens support and the more direct

**“One of the strengths of the Greens is that we have a willingness not to just speak like politicians.”**

power the party accumulates in Parliaments and the community, the stronger the resistance and opposition will be from those vested interests who are directly threatened by the Greens agendas of greater equality, justice and environmental sustainability.

Most notoriously, we have seen News Limited's flagship national daily, *The Australian*, not only admit to Bob Brown's accusation that it has been trying to wreck collaboration between the federal Labor government and the Greens, it admitted it "with pride", before going on to say the Greens "should be destroyed at the ballot box". It is neither a surprise nor a coincidence that this same News Limited has openly donated millions of dollars to the US Republican Party

in advance of their mid-term elections at a time when the Republicans are promoting perhaps the most anti-social agenda in that party's history.

Of course, it is not new to have a news organisation pursuing its own agendas, but it is new – at least in Australia – to have one being so blatant about it, particularly at a time when that media company's market domination of the traditional media is at its peak.

In their day, the Democrats were also on the receiving end of establishment media rants warning that doomsday would follow should the party achieve balance of power in the Senate. Similar nonsense about the sky falling in should the Greens be voted into this role has been spouted both before and since the recent election, both from some in the media and from some of the more unhinged parts of the Coalition. It is easy, but dangerous, to dismiss this all as irrelevant nonsense. Even the most nonsensical attacks should serve as a reminder that behind them there are far more serious, concerted and well resourced efforts being made to attack and damage the Greens.

Tony Abbott's role in the behind the scenes plotting to use corporate money to fund court action aimed at destroying Pauline Hanson is well known. Perhaps less well known is that well funded efforts were also made through the courts over a number of years to try to derail the Democrats, especially in Western Australia, in the mid-1990s. I don't mention these in an effort to fuel conspiracy theories or encourage a siege mentality, but rather to emphasise that the Greens will need to attend not just to our policies and public statements, but to the competency of our administration and governance.

The Greens have rightly sought to raise the bar on accountability and standards when it comes to use of public funds and appropriate standards within

political organisations. This work needs to continue, but an automatic consequence of it is that we will suffer more damage than others would if we fall short of the higher standards we rightly promote.

People had wide-ranging views about what they felt the Democrats did or didn't stand for, but there was an almost universal view that "keeping the bastards honest" was a core role of the party. This meant that when the Democrats were widely perceived to have broken a major promise, or at the least to have acted dishonestly, in suddenly supporting the Howard government's GST which they had spent many preceding months fiercely criticising, they copped far more damage than Labor or Liberal do when they break promises.

Whilst the public don't like dishonesty in the larger parties, they expect it. They do not expect it from the Greens, and we need to be very sure that our public statements, messages and actions are sufficiently clear that we are not able to be fairly accused of it – not least because there are many out there who are more than willing to grossly misrepresent the Greens views and actions in an effort to tarnish one of our major strengths. Countering or having a clear defence to any and all such attacks is important.

Just as important is to not give unnecessary ammunition to those who seek to destroy us – and one favour *The Australian* has provided is being completely open that they literally do believe we should be "destroyed". As I note below, differences of opinion is an inevitable and welcome component of a genuinely democratic, grassroots organisation. We should not fear or try to deny legitimate variances of views in particular issues. It should not be forgotten that there were often different policy views within the Democrats, including split votes on the floor of the Senate. These did not harm the party electorally. The serious problems occur

when differing views turn into public attacks against each other – with the saga post-GST decision once again serving as the unfortunate example.

A political party can't avoid having a position on at least some of the multitude of media teacup storms and "issues of the day", and should always have eyes open to opportunities that these may present. But the Greens are different from Labor and Liberal in having a more long-term vision, and I believe one of the reasons for our growing popularity is that unlike Labor and Liberal we have not got too caught up in the narrow, shallow emptiness of the 24 hour (or less) news cycle and the focus group driven policies that the others are rightly criticised for.

This goes hand in hand with the fact that the Greens do have a grassroots nature that the other parties now completely lack. This has many valuable aspects, including greater diversity and dynamism. With this comes a need to accept and respect diversity of opinion, and acknowledge that while it can be messier and slower than the centrally controlled models of the other parties, this difference is one of the Greens strengths – a strength which I suspect will become all the more important, as I think it is one area where the other major parties will find it impossible to adapt. They may be able to change some of their policies to meet the political threat from the Greens, but I don't think they can change their nature – which is both excessively centrally controlled and short-term.

The political environment the Greens now face is more competitive than ever, and it is much easier said than done not to get distracted or derailed by the occasionally very ferocious and immediate nature of this competition. But I believe one of the major strengths of the Greens is that we do have a willingness not to just speak like politicians repeating their side's talking points and attack points. We are more willing to tell it like it is, even when that means recognising that there is merit in other views or that we don't have all the answers or that there are differing views amongst our members/supporters on a particular issue.

There is always a balance to be struck in such things, and there is no doubt that it is important to have clear, consistent policies and messages. But that does not and must not mean reducing complex reality to simplistic, shallow talking points. The other major parties have lost all balance on these matters, and it is no coincidence that an obsession on shallow one-dimensional talking points is matched by shallow, short-term policy thinking with little long-term commitment to core values. Without turning this article into a treatise on where the Democrats went wrong, getting too caught in competing on turf such as this and losing track of the wider picture is one of the reasons.

In short, if the Greens can maintain a good balance in this regard, keep our core values front and centre in every aspect of how we operate (across all levels of the party, not just the parliamentarians), and continue to keep what the party stands for in clear view of ourselves and the public, we will go a long way towards being able to further build the party's support – and most crucially, increase our ability to bring about the change that is needed. ▲

**“The public don't expect dishonesty from the Greens”**



Senator Bob Brown announces the formation of a cross-party Climate Change Committee





# melbourne the newest green electorate

The Australian Greens' first MP elected at a general election, Adam Bandt, reflects on how the people of Melbourne made their voice heard and what the win meant to him.

**T**he results came in early on Saturday night. Before I knew it, I had been elected as the new Member for Melbourne and was on ABC's *7:30 Report* explaining our big win to Kerry O'Brien.

The recent Federal election was a breakthrough moment for the Greens, with big swings around the country and our party achieving the balance of power in the Senate.

Winning in Melbourne was essential in staking our important role in the current Parliament. Even before the first sitting day, we had secured an agreement with the government for democratic reform and important policy shifts, such as putting a price on carbon pollution.

In my electorate of Melbourne, I was elected on the back of a giant 13.4% swing and we now hold the seat with 56% of the vote, Labor 44%.

This history making effort by the Greens came after many years of patient organising by the party in the inner-city of Melbourne and built on the back of the work of the national and state parliamentary and party teams.

The result reflected an unprecedented effort to bring together many important strategies and tactics which laid the foundation for an effective campaign.

It became very clear early in the campaign that many voters in Melbourne agreed with Greens values and policies. We knew this not only because of the positive response from voters during the campaign but also because Labor sought to mirror our positions on many areas, such as climate change, refugees and childcare.

We formed the view that the real barriers to people voting Green were not what we stood for but perhaps misconceptions or misapprehensions around other issues, with these doubts being relentlessly fuelled by our opponents. Examples included a concern that Greens could not win or were not a mainstream party, fears that a Greens win would help Tony Abbott and uncertainties about how preferences worked.

We set out to address some of these issues in our campaign.

Central to our success was the placing of the Melbourne voters and supporters at the centre of our campaign. Our research and experience from previous campaigns in Australia and the United States showed us that empowering voters as active participants

in a campaign is a great strength. More importantly, however, we were practicing a fundamental Greens principle: grassroots democracy and empowerment.

Importantly, the power of peer-to-peer communication means often the best person to deliver a message about the Greens is not necessarily the candidate but a supporter or voter who has decided to get on board.

By focusing on the voters and supporters we were able to engage people in the electorate in a number of really exciting ways.

Our campaign materials – street posters, billboards, leaflets – all included the perspectives and images of voters from Melbourne. The popular rock music style posters carried a photo of a Melbourne voter and words – “I’m from Melbourne, my vote is powerful, this time I’m voting Green.”

Community organising also decentralised our campaign, with the electorate divided into precincts organised by a precinct captain who had the autonomy and responsibility to organise in their area. Activities included BBQs, dinners and tea parties as well as local meetings, door-knocking and organising streets stalls.

The central organising team also held regular supporters meetings open to anyone to drop in and find out how to get involved. Some meetings had up to a hundred people attending.

A strength of this style of organising was that the pool of Greens members or typical campaign volunteers grew to encompass a much larger and wider group of

supporters that did not necessarily want to ‘join’ the Greens but wanted to support the campaign.

By the end of the campaign our supporters were doorknocking a part of the electorate every day, often being trained “on the spot” before going out to communicate the Greens message.

Social media underpinned our online strategy with Facebook and Twitter not only a tool to communicate our message, but also an important avenue for people to participate in the campaign by expressing their views and sharing ideas and events. Video campaign updates and action-orientated emails also let people share in the campaign.

It is important to understand why many people were willing to shift to the Greens for the first time. Melbourne has been a Labor electorate for its 106 year history, and is a broad mix of progressive professionals, young students, public housing residents and working class and linguistically diverse communities.

All these groups in various ways have felt abandoned by the major parties’ neoliberal policies and failure of leadership on key environmental and social questions.

However, shifting parties is always a difficult choice. An important part of our strategy was communicating how

and why the Greens better reflected those groups’ values.

The backing of unions like the Electrical Trades Union reflected this shift away from Labor because of its failure to represent labour values. Their financial and moral support was also an important factor.

I am now the

Greens spokesperson on workplace relations and hope to continue the Greens’ work on restoring important workplace protections and progressive industrial reform. And importantly, as we move to a clean energy future, there will be many jobs in new industries.

It is often said that all politics is local. A crucial part of the campaign was our focus on Melbourne. Running for a lower house seat is different to a broader Senate campaign, because people rightly expect you to represent their electorate.

I love Melbourne and all the wonderful things about the city, so being able to engage with the concerns and hope of the electorate was an easy task, but it requires patience and time. My previous experience in running for the seat in 2007 and for Mayor of Melbourne in 2008 was a big advantage.

With my election we have broken through into the lower house, but I am sure that at the next election more seats can follow. Grayndler, Batman, Sydney and many other seats are now possible. If we focus our efforts there, at the next election we will make significant gains.

For my part I will continue to work with my fantastic team on representing the people of Melbourne, pushing hard to make government better and putting forward Green policies that are so central to the future of Melbourne and Australia. ▲

**“The real barriers to people voting Green were not what we stood for but misconceptions around other issues.”**

# digitising the election



The 2010 election was touted to be the first true digital Australian election. David Paris explains how the Greens utilised the web to build upon years of collaborative support.



Twitter was an important tool for engagement during the election

In the lead up to the 2010 campaign, much was said about this being “the Twitter election”, suggesting whichever party most effectively operated in that space would be massively advantaged.

The reality was very different. Nowhere was the small target campaign-in-beige strategy of the two old parties more evident than it was online. The social media environment is where gaffes mutate into scandals, and minimising risk became their primary goal. Engagement was a distant second priority for Labor, and was virtually non-existent for the coalition (the notable exception being Malcolm Turnbull). In a contest as tight as the one we all just lived through, there was every chance that a mistake would swing the balance far more than a success would, or so the Labor and coalition campaigns would have you think.

Conversely, the Greens took an experimental, proactive approach to our online activities. A few things we tried didn’t work. Many of them did. Some were a success simply because we were present. For example, less than 50 people chose to engage with the Greens’ Formspring (a Q&A forum that allows questioners to remain anonymous if they wish) but our use of the service became a story in itself, serving to demonstrate the openness and accountability of the Greens claims.

Web and social media is a natural fit for the Greens. The online environment allows us to increase participation in our democracy like never before. It gives us the opportunity to bypass traditional media outlets and communicate with members, supporters and critics in an entirely unfettered manner. It provides us with an avenue to hear input from our supporters and gives those supporters an outlet to share their views, spreading information and perspectives in a genuine and personal way.

The party built on the continual online engagement from the senators in the previous few years. The expansion included a new interactive and

dynamic website, tirelessly administered by Chris Dubrow, which served as the hub of our online activity during the election.

With all of the hype surrounding new media like Facebook and Twitter, it’s easy to overlook the ubiquitous communications tool online; the humble email. Thousands of Greens supporters and members are subscribed to our mailouts, and the campaign team led by Ebony Bennett in the campaign office used this to great effect to activate those supporters – to staff booths, to share their views, and to offer unprecedented financial support.

However mass email is a broadcast medium and does not easily accommodate an open exchange. Social media opened the campaign up, turning thousands of Greens supporters into campaigners, and giving us a direct and public dialogue with vociferous critics and those voters still undecided.

The “share everything” culture of Facebook managed to disprove the notion that who you vote for is deeply personal and private. The last week of the campaign saw tens of thousands of people change their photos to variations of “this Saturday I’m voting Green”.

Facebook pages of the Australian Greens and Senator Bob Brown in particular nurtured communities of passionate Greens advocates, taking pride and ownership of those forums. Attacks were quickly rebutted by our supporters, with less and less moderation required as election day drew closer.

Overwhelmingly, the goal was to convert potential Greens votes into action on polling day. The most likely new Greens voter is someone that knows a Greens voter themselves. By encouraging others to share their reasons for voting Green – a natural extension of one of our key campaign strategies – our message was spread with next to no direct input from the campaign.

The *Gruen Nation* Greens ad in the second-last week of the campaign was the most watched video

of the election, due in no small part to the thousands of Greens supporters eagerly sharing it with as many people as they could. A big part of our success online was due to our willingness to adapt our campaign to whatever else was happening online, and engage with other people and organisations informally.

As momentum built, Facebook supporters responded to calls to take additional action, such as correcting the record on news sites and blogs and having their voices heard on talkback radio or in letters to the editor.

Whilst our Facebook pages overwhelmingly attract supporters, Twitter puts us in contact with a much more diverse audience. This was where we were more likely to have a dialogue with undecided voters directly.

Arguably the most successful use of Twitter during the election came when Senator Bob Brown infiltrated the first leaders’ debate. After weeks of campaigning to encourage the major parties to include Bob had proven futile, he took to the Twittersphere to inject his voice into the debate.

TV stations displayed tweets on screen during the broadcast of the debate, and the most “re-tweeted” post of the night was this one from Bob:

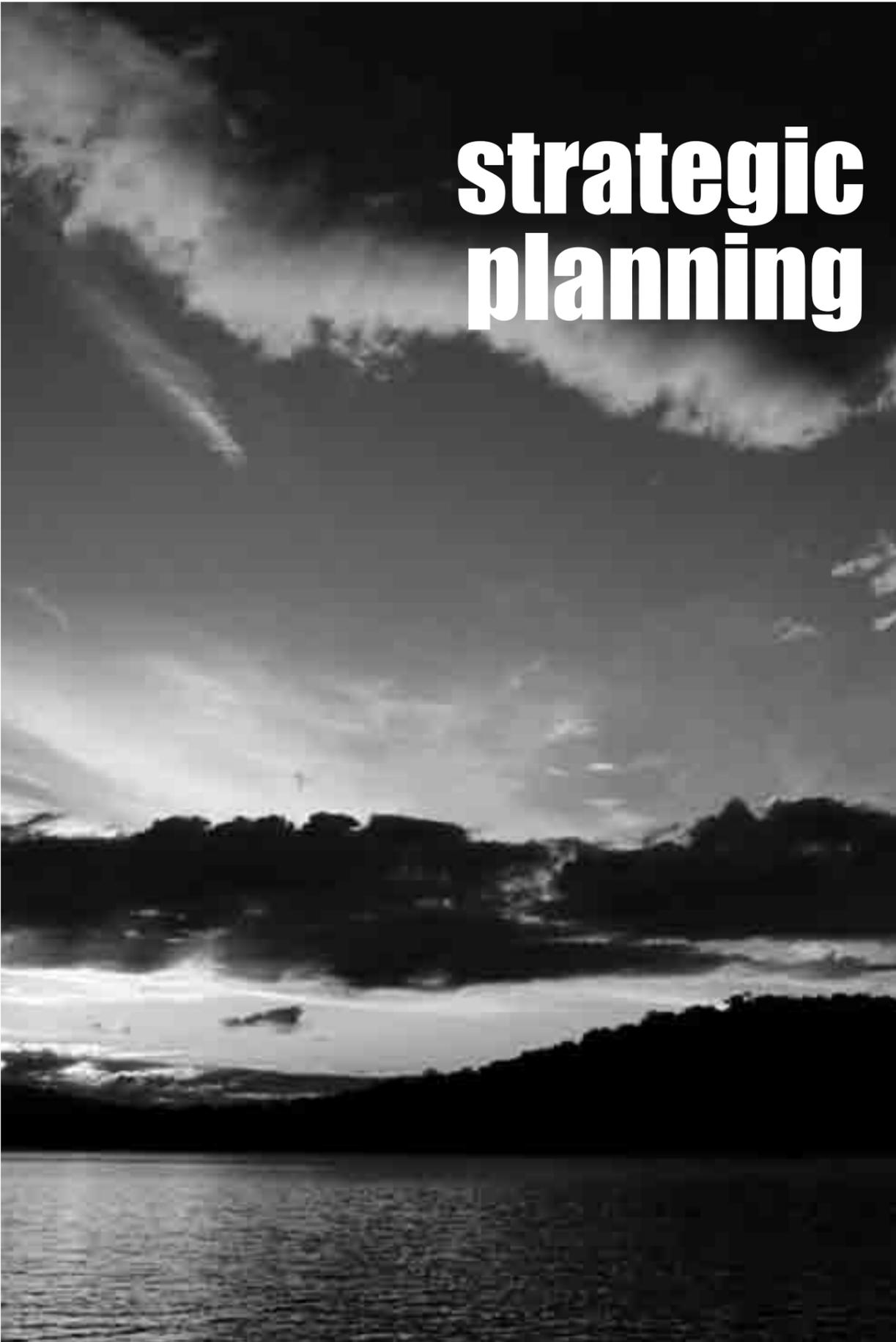
“The word “boats” is getting much more prominence than “schools”, “hospitals”, “pensions”, “farms” or “trains””

The Greens reputation as the party with real substance grew significantly as Bob’s tweets were discussed in the days that followed.

We had a lot of fun. We shamelessly exploited the Greens irreverent underdog reputation. We personalised the space. We LOLd. We ROFLd. We RickRoll’d *Gruen Nation*. We mocked, memed and mashed up.

Did we win the election online? No. But did we win the online election? Absolutely. ▲

David Paris is the Web and New Media Coordinator for the Senate team.



# strategic planning

The Greens have no intention of resting on our laurels after this election. Here we feature two key perspectives on planning the future of the party.

## A Federal perspective

Over 1.6 million people voted Green in the Senate on August 21 this year, and around 15,000 people volunteered their time to help the Greens during the campaign and on polling day. You were undoubtedly one of them - so for you, what comes next?

The Australian Greens is not a monolithic national organisation, it is an almost entirely voluntary organisation and a largely decentralised confederation of six state and two territory Green parties. In the national office in Canberra, at the peak of election activity, half a dozen people are employed, with similar numbers in the larger State offices. How can this organisation achieve such amazing results? Five continuing Senators, four Senators elect, one Member of the House of Representatives, 22 MPs in State governments and over 100 local government councillors. It is approaching 20 years that this confederation has formally been operating and organising to achieve these successes.

In many voluntary organisations people come and go all the time, it's natural and a normal part of organisational renewal. However voluntary organisations have particular challenges - it is volunteers who underpin their governance and therefore maintaining continuity in the vision and direction of the organisation, and the organisational memory about how it is where it is at, is often difficult.

The way that we rise to these challenges is by having a Strategic Plan which articulates our mission and vision and can stand up to the changing faces in the Party. To complement the Strategic Plan we also have an Operational Plan that aims to see the vision put into action with specific initiatives identified for implementation.

Our current Strategic and Operational Plans were developed in 2005 under the guidance of Mark Jeanes, and revised and updated in 2008 with the facilitation of Richard Di Natale. With a new three year federal cycle in front of us, we will be making some key decisions on the goals for this next period at our National Conference in Launceston on 5-7 November 2010.

Our Strategic and Operational Plans articulate a vision for ourselves as a grassroots political organisation. They say we aim to increase our role in politics at all levels. They also include our vision of a Global Greens polity, which can participate in Global political debates, and engage with many more millions of people worldwide.

We have certainly come a long way as an organisation since forming the confederation in 1992. We have now started experiencing real success in Australia, holding a cabinet position in the Tasmanian State Parliament following their State election earlier this year, and now winning a Senator in each State at a federal election - the first 'third' party to do so. Success of the Greens is not only local as we are seeing increasing support in other countries, even if somewhat hidden through normal media channels. Successes in terms of more MPs elected, but also just the ongoing increase in our vote - UK, Sweden, Germany, US, Brazil and more.

With these electoral successes and growing number of elected representatives there are also increases in employed support staff for our MPs, and a more modestly increasing number of office and campaign staff. The challenge for us in the face of this growth is managing two tiers of activity - a group of people with somewhat secure funded positions within the Party for long-term intensive activity and a volunteer base which also continues to grow but in many ways are transient in the activities they engage in from week to week and campaign to campaign.

There are some positive examples of organisations which have faced similar challenges - Amnesty, Oxfam, Greenpeace, to name only a few. There are not so many examples of political parties where you can see a strong volunteer and membership base supported by a strong and inclusive body of MPs and staffers. We in the Greens continue to want to do politics differently, and better, from the old Parties.

“Striking the right balance between autonomy, equity and strategy is the goal”

With the prospect of even greater success we need to continue to improve our effectiveness in Australia of operating as a grassroots organisation, otherwise we are destined to go the way of so many other Parties in losing the connection between our members and elected representatives. Our mantra of grass roots activism is the reality that has enabled us to achieve what we have so far. To lose this puts so much more responsibility on our MPs to stay the course and maintain the momentum alone.

One of the biggest challenges the organisation has been dealing with in the face of a growing resource base is finding and maintaining the balance between the autonomy of State and local groups to organise as they see fit, and improving the effectiveness and strategic allocation of resources towards priority activities across the country. As we gain the opportunity for further success in lower house federal seats, for example, we must successfully address the issue of being able to channel resources towards seats which are more winnable than others.

“With the prospect of even greater success we need to continue to improve our effectiveness in Australia of operating as a grassroots organisation”

Decentralised activities can provide opportunities for many people to engage in the Party in all sorts of ways. Engagement by many in similar activities creates opportunities for diversity to flourish which can produce innovation. However, fostering diversity for the sake of it can waste the scarce resources we have available for campaigning. Striking the right balance

between autonomy, equity and strategy is the goal we hope to make solid progress on in our conversations at conference this year. The conversation will be all the more pointed when we start to talk budgets and where our available funds can and should be spent.

While this has been a somewhat abstract look at the issues facing the future strategic and operational plans of

the Party, there is a lot more to it in terms of specific initiatives - from online facilities, campaign materials, staffing arrangements, etc. which can always benefit from broader input.

Brett Constable is the Greens' National Manager  
Andrea Millsom is Deputy National Convenor

### A State perspective

The Federal election is done and dusted and hopefully put to bed for another three years. So what happens now. Do we put the banners into mothballs and let people get back to real lives? There has been a palatable excitement and energy following the election, rather than the normal exhaustion and burn out. Lots of talk on continuous campaigning and capacity building.

The obvious challenges include:

- are our policies meeting our expectations?
- what staffing and management models will provide the best use of our resources and provide for a growing party?
- how do we make best use of our volunteer capacity?
- what is the best way to utilise our funding reserves and operational budgets?
- what campaigns should the party focus on if we are to continuously campaign?
- how do our increasing number of elected members work with each other and with the party built on grassroots consensus decision making? Will we find that the MP's increasingly have to make decisions without referring to the party?

In the west we have already started an education program to build the capacity and knowledge of members, especially new members. Recent Greens 101 and consensus decision making workshops were well attended and highly valued by all.

We are also undertaking an administration review to really look at what support we need as we plan for

the future. New models of staffing and management structures may be implemented in the new year, building on our current strengths and addressing our weaknesses.

Adding to this is a review of many of our processes that have been developed over the years. Some have been lost along the way and need to be rediscovered, others need to be reworked to meet our growing needs, but all need to be accessible to those who volunteer into roles as convenors of working groups, regional group membership officers, secretaries, staff or just our valued members.

Improving our website, our membership database and building on the Election Management System used during the election is a high priority to ensure we are campaign ready. We see some great potential here and acknowledge that the Greens use of social media was superior to other parties.

We hope to retain and utilise the federal election energy to build a stronger party that meets the needs of our members and ensures we make real Green progress in the parliaments of Australia. ▲

Kim Dravnieks is co-Convenor of the Greens (WA)

### Get involved and have your say

- ONLINE - plans are on the members website - your comments are welcome (contact your state office for login details)
- STATE - through discussions in local & state forums
- NATIONAL - contact the National office on 1800 017 011 or by email to nationalmanager@greens.org.au

# public opinion

Sometimes the most interesting comments about the Greens come from unlikely sources. In this section, we feature both praise and criticism of the Greens, to spark and fan the flame of healthy debate and encourage readers to get involved in the public debate through the mainstream media.

Whatever you do, don't let the bloody Greens mess it up. I can assure you that in a very few years it will be possible to have all the energy we want from economic and cheap and small nuclear plants -- which is anathema to a lot of people. But it would be safe. There would not be an energy waste problem. We don't have to rush into a lot of mad schemes, fouling up the country with windmills and other crackpot ideas which are very, very expensive.

**Rupert Murdoch, CEO News Corporation**  
*The Australian's Smart Business Talks, 28 October 2010*

Despite attempts by some shock jocks to spook voters about the Greens' policies... it is more likely (they) will provide an important check on executive power.

**Natasha Stott Despoja, Former Democrats Senator**  
*The Age, 23 August 2010*

Greens leader Bob Brown has accused *The Australian* of trying to wreck the alliance between the Greens and Labor. We wear Senator Brown's criticism with pride. We believe he and his Green colleagues are hypocrites; that they are bad for the nation; and that they should be destroyed at the ballot box. The Greens voted against Mr Rudd's emissions trading scheme because they wanted a tougher regime, then used the lack of action on climate change to damage Labor at the election. Their flakey economics should have no place in the national debate.

**Editorial, *The Australian*, 9 September 2010**

My side of politics has to be very careful about giving preferences to the Greens. The Greens are fundamentally anti-free enterprise, they have terrible foreign policy attitudes and they have a lot of social

policy attitudes that a lot of Labor people would find abhorrent. I think this is quite a serious issue.

**John Howard, Former Prime Minister**  
*National Press Club, 27 October 2010*

I never thought I would write this, but logically I must: the future lies with the green movement not with the Labor movement.

**Mark Latham, *The Monthly*, November 2010**

## And now it's your turn...

What are your thoughts after reading these comments? Do you think the criticism aimed at the Greens is valid? Are you surprised by some of the positive thoughts coming from these sources?

As always, we welcome your feedback on any of these topics in our letters to the editor section.

We'd encourage all readers of Green to follow the mainstream media reporting of the Greens and encourage you to write letters to the editor. You can find more info on how to make your voice heard in the media at

[www.greens.org.au/letters](http://www.greens.org.au/letters)

Each edition we will be featuring a range of views on the issues most central to the Greens.

What are your thoughts on these comments? Drop us a line and let us know: [greenmag@greens.org.au](mailto:greenmag@greens.org.au)

"The debate on Afghanistan was long overdue and the Greens are to be congratulated for forcing it upon a reluctant Government. But it must be said that we have learned very little from it to date."

- Mungo MacCallum,  
Crikey, 25 Oct 2010



## REVIEW



### If You Can't Stand the Heat by Judy Horacek

Political cartoons are a particular artform, requiring just the right touch of wit, insight and levity. In Judy Horacek's latest book *If You Can't Stand the Heat* there is a beautiful mix of these three elements. A good cartoon can sum up an entire hot-button topic in a single frame, and as this collection attests to, Horacek is able to do just that.

This collection serves as a time-capsule of the issues so many of us are concerned about: climate change, nuclear industries, big business, feminism, the developing world and disparity in many forms. Avoiding the pitfall of finger-pointing at parties or personalities, these cartoons provoke the reader to see the issues laid bare. The result is powerful.

Mixed in with these insightful political cartoons are plenty that display her lighthearted quirk. Been ruminating on the whereabouts of Elvis? So has Horacek. If we all find life a little bewildering at times, Horacek has a perfect way of illustrating the odd moments we find ourselves in.

In her introduction she quips "so many enemies, so little time to draw all the cartoons", and in this collection we find a well balanced assortment which manages to hit just the right targets in just the right ways.

Throughout this edition of *Green* magazine you will find some of the cartoons from *If You Can't Stand the Heat* (pg 2, pg 8) for your enjoyment.

Lefa Singleton Norton

## tweetin' green

**@VicGreens**  
Australian Greens  
Victoria

No logging in Tas.  
Children free from detention.  
MPs debate Afghanistan.  
What a day.

**@AdamBandt**  
Greens MP  
for Melbourne

Because Melb went Green on Aug 21, we could negotiate a committee to put a price on pollution. Today the c'ee was set up.

**@MarkParnellMLC**  
SA Greens  
Member of Parliament

Sprinklers are back in Adelaide, but still no plan to reduce our reliance or take from the Murray. Get ready for the upstream reaction!

**@MvilleGreens**  
Marrickville & Petersham  
Newtown Greens

Marrickville now has a Green Mayor. Cllr Fiona Byrne became only the 2nd Green Mayor of Marrickville & 1st female Mayor!

**@greencate**  
Greens NSW  
Member of Parliament

Voluntary euthanasia forum at Parl House was excellent today. Standing room only. Great speakers.

Find these green tweeps and more at [www.greens.org.au](http://www.greens.org.au)



# Bob Brown



**BOB'S BACK PAGE 11TH OCTOBER 2010**

## War and Peace

While having a magnificent two night stay with Paul at Klaas and Julie's Piccaninnie Point on Tasmanian's East Coast, this thought cropped up: "We have more people who know how to advocate peace but fewer who know what to do about the war". Peace, of course, refers to human affairs while war refers to our impact on the Earth's biosphere.



Black cockatoos at Piccaninnie Point

## Rupert's Rot

Speaking of which, our press conference announcing the Greens' early agreement to support Gillard's Labor rather than Abbot's Coalition saw three journo's from *The Australian* in a fusillade of hostile questions. Front page, this destructive, low-circulation rag had already called for a new election. So I fired (please excuse the war-like inference) back. Ean Higgins has since written to me - is he the Editor who called for the Greens to be 'destroyed'? - asking, rather plaintively, if I am running a campaign against *The Australian*! No, just standing up to you Ean, I replied. Now there is a much wider public debate about *The Australian's* censorious, biased, unethical, pro-plutocracy, anti-democracy, self serving impact on the nation's affairs. That's a good thing. And former Murdoch editor Bruce Guthrie's new book, *Man Bites Murdoch*, will throw some much needed light into News Ltd's darker crevices.

## Bicameral Bonanza

Well, we did it! As this edition of *Green* so amply covers, there are now ten elected federal Greens MPs. We've had two Canberra get-togethers so far (our four Senators-elect don't move in until July) and it is a great team. Adam Bandt (Melbourne) consolidates Michael Organ's (Cunningham) earlier breakthrough into the House, and now we are there for good.

Adam has taken on the Industrial Relations portfolio which Rachel Siewert has handled so well, and we will reshuffle portfolios all round come July 2011.

We will have a combined staff of more than 50, a stronger presence on committees and (you read this first here in *Green*), in the Senate, we will challenge for either President or Deputy President of the Senate after July. We aim to break the long stranglehold of the old parties on this constitutionally important post.

## Taytitikitheeker

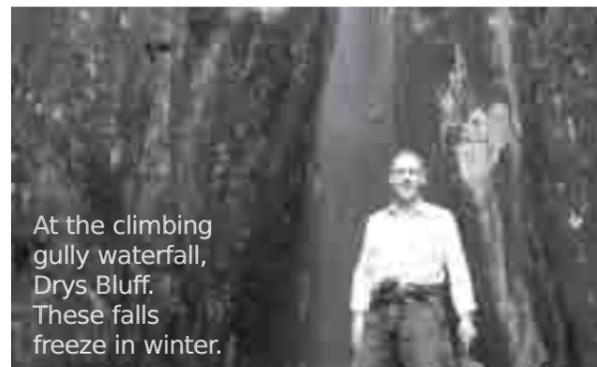
"I don't think I can get there," I complained to Paul, by the evening fire, as a shower rattled the iron roof of Liffey. But, with a glorious sun-up, we set off to climb Drys Bluff behind the Liffey house. Three hours later we were one thousand metres higher, watching aerial warfare between a falcon and a hawk. It's been -11°C up there over winter. I'd love to go back for the Christmas flower show - oh those scoparias! But, for now, my legs are still recovering. And ideas of how to ensure Liffey remains a public resort when I'm gone are taking good shape. First, we'll have to fix the bridge.

## Poesy

I've self-published (well, Steph Cahalan's done the organisational work and John Samson the design) a little book of 14 poems from the 1970s, called *In Balfour Street*. I hope there'll be an ad in this issue of *Green*. Tim Thorne is launching it in Launceston this month. The poems were written just before and after I arrived here at Liffey. If you can't afford it but would like a copy, just send me a note.

Enjoy the summer. ▲

**Bob**



At the climbing gully waterfall, Drys Bluff. These falls freeze in winter.

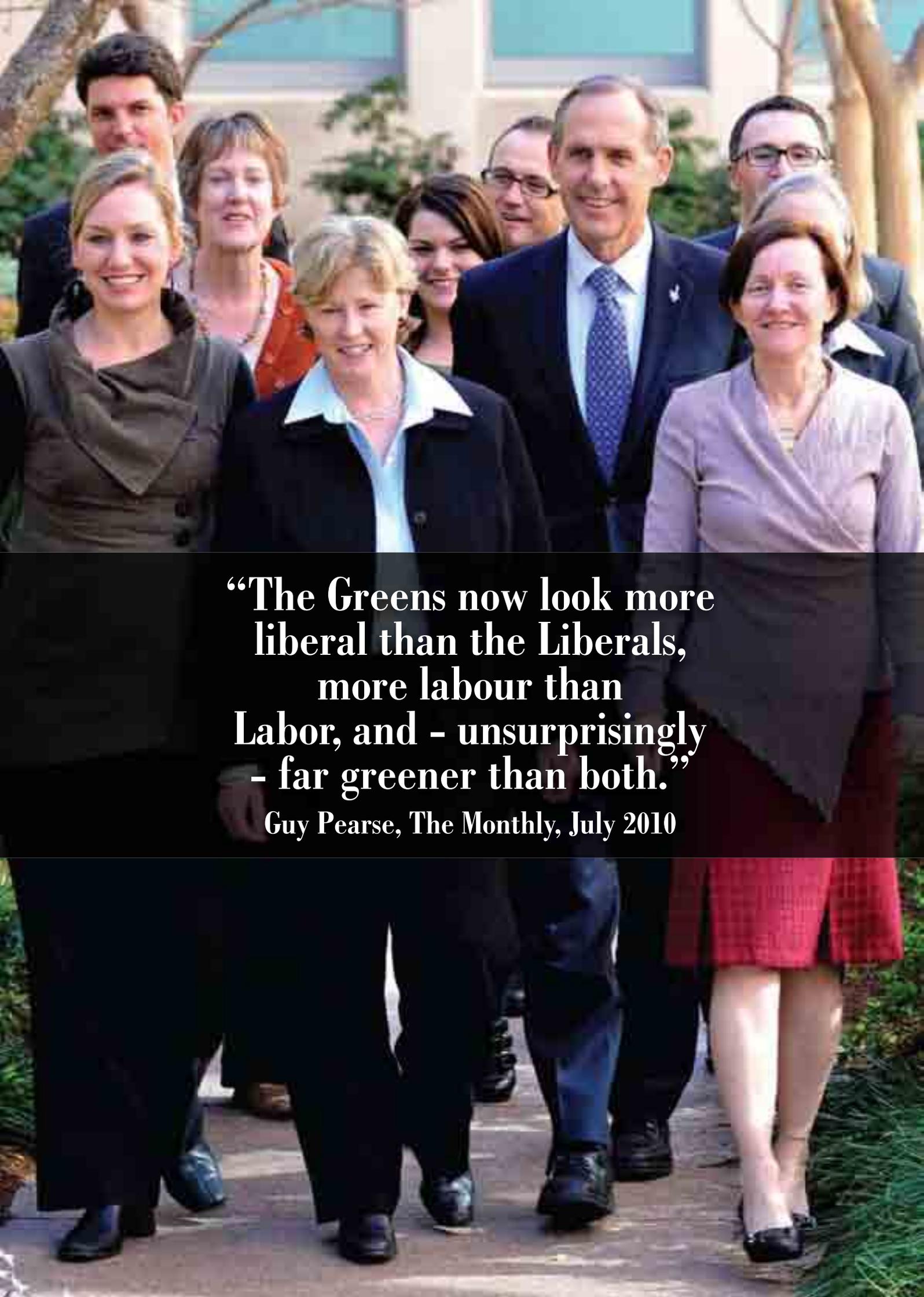
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**“The Greens now look more liberal than the Liberals, more labour than Labor, and - unsurprisingly - far greener than both.”**

**Guy Pearse, The Monthly, July 2010**