

# Manifesto for a sustainable society



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The Ecology Party is a political party whose policies are based on the principle that mankind must learn to live in harmony with Nature within the limitations of the Earth's finite supply of resources.

Continued industrial expansion, requiring unlimited consumption of raw materials, is not sustainable and its termination on a universal scale is likely within the lifetime of someone alive today. The choice is stark. Do we let this happen through a succession of economic collapses, famines, wars and social and political crises, or do we start now to plan a series of changes which will lead society towards a humane, indefinitely sustainable way of life? The choice is ours.

A growing number of people, aware of this choice, are disillusioned and frustrated in their desire to begin the transition to a sustainable society by the short-sighted, inept actions of government and the traditional opposition.

The Ecology Party has been formed to show that there is a democratic political method of achieving an ecologically acceptable, sustainable and more satisfying way of life.

This document was adopted as the manifesto of the Ecology Party at the second Annual Conference held in Coventry on 28th-29th June 1975.

## Contents

### Part 1 The Philosophical Basis

Introduction

The Case Against Economic Growth

The Quest for a Sustainable Society

### Part 2 The Policies

Public Administration and Government

Decentralisation

Population

Social Welfare

Education

Land Tenure

Agriculture and Food

Natural Resources

Building and the Built Environment

Employment and Industry

Pollution

Transport

Energy and Fuel

Foreign Policy

Defence

Economy

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## Part 1. The Philosophical Basis.

### INTRODUCTION

1. When in 1814 Lord Byron wrote: "The fact is riches are power and poverty is slavery all over the earth and one sort of establishment is no better nor worse for a people than another," there was every expectation that an increase in material affluence promised by the beginnings of the industrial revolution would at least ease the poverty. It is a sad indictment of the last 160 years that little has changed. Some nations have become very rich, but within them there is still abject poverty and the poor nations, if anything, are poorer.

2. The relentless pursuit of economic growth, accompanied by rising material expectations within an ever increasing world population has brought mankind to the brink of a disaster which is unprecedented in history and yet, still, so few people realise that we cannot go on indefinitely carelessly exploiting and wasting the natural resources of a finite world. The continuation of policies requiring unlimited consumption of raw materials will lead not to more riches, even for the few, but poverty for all.

3. In Britain, as everywhere else, government has not yet recognised the danger society is in and by its actions it vindicates Byron's pessimism. Yet, if it were true that "... one sort of establishment is no better nor worse for a people than another," mankind would be doomed. There has to be some cause for optimism in man's actions. We cannot accept that the foolish muddlings of present governments is the acme of our development in the techniques of social management and it is the passionate belief that something better is possible that has led the founders of The Ecology Party and the writers of this document to devote their energy to seeking an improvement.



4. The case against economic growth is presented in the next section. Here, it is sufficient to say that this Party supports the idea of a steady state economy, that is an economy of stock rather than flow. The earth is a steady state system, as are the organisms that inhabit it: Thus the only natural and probably sustainable economic system is one that obeys the same laws. This challenges directly the traditionalist economic view that society's aggregate wants are infinite, that they can be met by making production infinite and that technology alone can solve the growth-induced problems.

5. There is a body of thought in socio-political affairs, as in science, that says there must always be a prevailing opinion of the nature of things against which the truth of all new ideas is tested. Such ideas would be considered premature if they could not be connected by a series of logical, simple steps to the generally accepted knowledge of the time. In this sense, the idea of a steady state economic system based on limited consumption of resources is premature: thus, this Manifesto is more than a statement of a new ideal and a list of steps by which it can be achieved, it is a challenge to the established view of the nature of our present social, political and economic system. It is such a radical challenge that it can only be borne by a new, independent political party, for it requires the existing political forces to change too much their basic philosophies. From henceforward the main political battles will not be between Left and Right in the traditional sense, but between the supporters of a steady state economy and growth.

#### THE CASE AGAINST ECONOMIC GROWTH

6. There is no doubt that in much of Europe, Japan and the English speaking world the level of affluence among the people is much higher now than in the early nineteenth century. In all cases it has been achieved by a dogged adherence by individual and governments to policies designed to maintain economic growth.

7. It is not disputed that this affluence has been accompanied by great benefits to the industrial nations and that economic growth would do much to alleviate hardship in Third World countries if they could achieve it. What is in dispute is the belief that the nations of the Industrialised World can expect to continue following programmes geared to economic growth indefinitely into the future, and if they attempt it that it will lead to an increase in wealth. The key factor is the relationship between economic growth and resource consumption.

8. Under the present system economic growth is supported by unlimited consumption of both renewable and non-renewable resources. However, on a finite world there is not an infinite supply of natural resources. Limits to growth are likely, therefore, to be imposed primarily by resource depletion, but public demands for pollution control also impose a threat and if yielded to by industry and governments the resultant increases in costs would work against the trend towards increasing sales and, therefore, productivity and growth. Furthermore, land also is in limited supply. An expanding world population demands expanding food supplies. Land is required for this purpose, but it is also needed for dwellings, factories, airports, to cultivate forest products, to quarry and for recreation, many of which uses are required in increasing amounts to support a growth economy.

9. Predictions about when various supplies of raw materials will be exhausted vary according to whether it is assumed that exponential growth of resource consumption is continued or consumption is stabilised at present rates. In either case consideration is usually taken only of the presently extant industrial nations. The expanding world population, however, requires extra consumer goods and many hitherto non-industrial nations are becoming industrialised to meet this demand. Under these conditions the trend inevitably must be towards continuing increase in consumption on a universal scale even if individual nations stabilise their *per capita* consumption.

10. Depletion dates themselves are useful mainly in defining the degree of urgency with which any particular threat of resource depletion has to be tackled. What is more significant is that these predictions are made at all, for it shows that there is universal acceptance that we will exploit all our resources to the point of depletion. This means that society must accept that either we, our children or our grandchildren will have to live through times of gradually increasing hardship and scarcity of resources until, ultimately some are no longer available. In other words, whatever decisions to curb the consumption of resources are not taken by us will have to be borne by our descendants. For our generation to shirk the responsibility for these decisions is the ultimate in social cowardice.

II. The development of a growth oriented industrial economy affected the whole of society. While it was happening, populations rapidly increased and there was a drift from the countryside to the industrial centres. The effect on both town and country was profound. In the country the dwindling manpower reserves plus the economic pressures brought about by the need for farmers to compete with other land users led to the development of a type of agriculture which measured its efficiency in terms of return on invest-



ment and production per man rather than production per unit of energy. The dependence on artificial fertilizers and machinery became high and the ecological balance, characteristic of early forms of agriculture, has been destroyed.

12. In the cities the most profound changes arose out of the destruction of the small, stable communities and their replacement by large urban concentrations of people held together by very little in the way of communal or social responsibility. Attempts to mitigate the worst effects of the destruction of communal feeling, like the initiation of the Welfare State, have not succeeded.

13. In Great Britain the pursuit of a growth economy has led the nation into a situation which, while not yet desperate, gives no cause for optimism in the future unless there is a dramatic change in course. Britain's problems lie in the need for her to import half the food consumed by her population, nearly all the metals used in her industry and at present all her oil.

14. Britain has not been self-sufficient in food since about 1840. The population was able to expand beyond the limit of self-sufficiency because the possession of an Empire and an industrial structure which was unique at the time enabled the country easily to export goods in exchange for food. As long as the country maintained its dominance of world trade the flow of imported foods could be expected to continue. But there are two factors which are likely to endanger the continuation of this supply within the next two decades or so. The first relates to the universal supply. With the world population showing no signs of lessening in its rate of increase the most conservative estimates show that by the end of the century all the land that is available on earth for cultivation will be needed to feed the population. It is unlikely that under these conditions Britain will then be able to obtain the food her population needs from abroad.

15. The second factor relates to Britain's power as a trading nation. From the third quarter of the nineteenth century to the present Britain has moved from self-sufficiency in metals to nearly total dependence on imports. Thus the maintenance of our industry depends now on our ability to buy metals from abroad. The effect of resource depletion could be countered if Britain were competitive as a trading nation, at least for a short time. As we are not, the country theoretically could find itself unable to purchase metals from abroad to manufacture the exports needed to pay for food. The supply of oil from the North Sea serves only to remove the threat of our industry being crippled by our inability to pay for imported oil from the near future to a point in time slightly further distant, for it is unlikely that the British continental shelf will yield oil to last for more than twenty years.

16. The conventional method of tackling the problem thus presented would be to call for more efficient industry, an increase in productivity and more exports, the intention of which would be to strengthen Britain's position as an international trading nation. As a means of increasing wealth under the conditions of a growth economy this thinking was once valid; but the nature of trade has changed from being essentially exchange of one type of commodity for another; e.g. cars for food or guns for bauxite, to free competition among the manufacturing nations, each striving to increase its overall share in the sales of its produce to whoever will buy it. Now that most countries in the world are making their own manufactured goods competition is stiffening. The advantages are now all with the nations which own the resources and in the future fewer and fewer of them are going to be willing to export raw materials when it is to their economic advantage to export the finished product. Neither can any country, let alone Britain, claim to monopolise expertise in any specific field of manufacture any longer. The Japanese have shown how aggressive encroachment into the specialisations of other nations can be effective.

17. The nations of the Third World, envious of the Industrialised World's affluence, resentful of past imperialism and exploitation cannot be expected to be magnanimous when given the choice between their own economic survival and ours. Inevitably, when the effects of resource depletion begin to bite, the industrial importing nations will suffer most and to pursue tactics now which require increases in resource consumption will only hasten this day.

#### THE QUEST FOR A SUSTAINABLE SOCIETY

18. In the search for an alternative to economic growth the relationship between no-growth, of limited consumption, and the existing social structure is being explored and, while this investigation is still in its infancy, certain basic principles have been identified.

19. One of these is the importance of long term planning. It is no longer valid to follow conventional political planning practices, which tend to consider time in packets of 5 years or less. The long term consequences of any activity must always be considered and ideally any planned action must either be in a form which can be continued indefinitely or will lead to a situation which can be indefinitely sustained.

20. A second important principle is the one of self-sufficiency. Many conservationists are motivated by the fear that industrialised society is on the brink of collapse. Lines of investigation that they have followed, therefore, have been geared to finding a recipe for survival. These have led to two distinct schools of thought: in one the main emphasis is on the formation of small, self-sufficient rural communities; in the other the belief is that initially the restructuring of society has to be done within



its present framework. In fact, both lines of approach are needed and they must not be regarded as being mutually exclusive. The main areas in which they clash are in the definition of self-sufficiency and in the attitude to the role of cities in society. In the first school, the fact that towns cannot be self-sufficient in food is used as a condemnation of them as an institution. In the second, towns are valued as cultural centres, places to carry out trade (or exchange), reservoirs of non-agricultural skills and so on. As they cannot be self-sufficient in food they have to be supported by an agricultural community outside their limits. Thus, the area in which self-sufficiency can be expected to operate has to be much enlarged. This also must be true if society is to maintain any degree of technological competence because of the wide geographical distribution of concentrations of the necessary natural resources. In addition, the size of the self-sufficient area depends on the population density, its social and political make-up and its ability to maintain its own identity. Whatever its optimum size might be it is practical in the first instance to strive for national self-sufficiency in Britain, firstly in food and then in as many other commodities as possible.

21. The third important principle is that of conservation. In a self-sufficient society conservation of resources is vital, although it does not follow that all conservationists wish to aim for self-sufficiency. Conservation of land is necessary so that most of it can be used for its prime purpose of providing food; conservation of energy derived from non-renewable resources is necessary in order to eke out the earth's supply of coal, oil, natural gas and uranium until such time as alternative non-destructive methods of generating energy are available; conservation of materials is necessary because of the threat that resource depletion imposes on man's material expectations.

22. A fourth principle is that of population stabilization. If self-sufficiency is required at whatever scale is chosen there must be a limit to the number of people which can be supported within the boundaries of the area. In addition, the standard of living that can be expected in a self-sufficient community is determined by the size of an individual's share of the total resource of the community. This applies as much to self-sufficiency on a global scale as national. It is, therefore, in the interests of the individuals to maintain a total population which is less than the maximum for the area. In the case of Great Britain, we presently have more people living on these islands than we can support with our own resources. It is necessary, therefore, first to stop our population increasing and then to begin reducing it to a supportable level.

23. Fifthly, a critical examination of the management of a growth economy and its effects on society has revealed that the trend towards centralisation of industry and government, while apparently necessary for the maintenance of the system often works against the interests of the people in

general. It follows that decentralisation in all forms plays an important part in the scenarios presented for a sustainable society. The intention is to put industrial, technological and social development and the control of the land into the hands of the people they affect by decentralising government and both the ownership and location of industry. The essence of decentralisation also contains an element of population dispersal from large towns, one of the aims being to re-establish a balance between the rural and urban communities.

24. There is however a complex, and in some respects an uneasy relationship between the ideal of decentralisation and that of overall democratic co-ordination, which must be world-wide if an ecological, sustainable way of life is to be a reality. Neither small, autonomous units nor the libertarian ideal can be allowed to imply localised or independent decision making in certain matters, in particular the two crucial areas of resource use and pollution, otherwise a minority who did not observe ecological constraints could simply abuse and squander the benefits secured by those who did.

25. The sixth principle is that society should guarantee access to basic material security for all and should provide a wide range of opportunities for personal fulfilment in both a material and non-material sense.

26. However the over-riding principle is that man should take care not to upset or do irreparable damage to the ecological equilibrium of Nature. Taken to its logical extreme it would imply man's return to a primitive hunter/gatherer existence; but applied in conjunction with ideals of conservation, self-sufficiency and an economic steady state it merely acts as a restraint on the type and scope of any development. Dramatic changes are necessary in agricultural techniques, waste disposal, town and community planning, quarrying and mining methods, transport facilities, when they are subjected to ecological constraints and it is this principle which unifies all the others and gives them a corporate identity.

27. In summary, the main requirements of a sustainable society are based on those that have been given in "A Blueprint for Survival" by the editors of the Ecologist: (i) minimum disruption of ecological processes; (ii) maximum conservation of materials and energy - or an economy of stock rather than flow; (iii) a population in which recruitment equals loss; and (iv) a social system in which the individual can enjoy rather than feel restricted by the first three conditions.

# Manifesto for a sustainable society

## Part 2 The Policies

### PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND GOVERNMENT

1. The main requirement of an ecologically sound system of government is that it should permit small, relatively self-sufficient population units to be self managing. Decision making and financial control should be kept as near the personal level as possible, and where the requirements of co-ordination and fairness require large-scale decisions, these must be made with the fullest possible democratic participation.
2. The size of such self governing units will be determined by a variety of factors most of which will vary according to local and regional conditions, but it is unlikely that any will exceed the size of a currently defined Local Government District.
3. There is ample justification for the smallness of these units: with the reintroduction of small farm and industrial units their co-ordination with community needs would demand a greater degree of local organisation than at present; the environmental impact of communities decreases with their size and is more controllable when potentially small; community feeling is best engendered in small population units; and public participation in governmental decision making is most effective when the administrative area is small.
4. If political power is to be held by the District Council it follows that the principal government must be at this level. However, there must be higher levels of government, say Provincial and Central levels. These three levels of government will be part of a unified system with areas of responsibility clearly defined at each level. While policy decisions affecting the well-being of the people will be largely in the hands of the District Councils, the higher levels of government will be responsible for the co-ordination of the activities of the lower level councils to ensure that damaging inequalities or practices unfair to other districts do not develop.

They will also exercise a quasi-judicial appeals function, for example when an individual or minority within a district complains that an ostensibly democratic decision is in fact tyrannical in its effect. Unless otherwise stated, any given area of responsibility will therefore lie at district level. However, many policy decisions arrived at by a District Council may be subjected to scrutiny and modification at a higher level, though this should wherever possible take the form of judgement by other District Councils.

5. Resource management and pollution are however important policy areas which will be among those held at national level. It is envisaged that these will eventually be handed over to a wider authority whose relationship to the British Government would be the same as the relationship of that government to its Provincial Councils.
6. To ensure that power stays within the hands of the District Councils they must control their own finances as far as possible. All taxes would be collected within Districts by the District Councils. There would be no need for rates. Funds for use by the higher levels of government would be provided by allocating a percentage of the District Council annual budget for that purpose. The percentage would be the same for all districts within a province and would be fixed by them annually. Control of the total expenditure at Central or Provincial levels would, therefore, be in the hands of the District Councils. Approval for detailed expenditure must be sought from the level of council immediately lower in the system. It is suggested that Education, the Health Service and initially, the Welfare Services are financed from Provincial funds, each District receiving an allocation calculated on an age related per capita basis. This would ensure equality of service in all areas, regardless of the level of affluence or poverty within a District.
7. The establishment of principal government at District level would meet many of the criticisms of the system we have at present. For example:
  - 7.1 The decreasing contact between Westminster and the public has led to a lessening of the understanding of social, economic and environmental problems in government circles. The potential for personal contact between the public and councillors in the reformed system would reverse this trend and lessen the frustration felt presently by people who are aware of these problems, but who are unable to influence the remote central government.
  - 7.2 The immense amount of legislation now carried out by Parliament would be reduced because laws which are nationally applicable would have to be distinguished from local government management decisions.



7.3 Mis-spending of vast sums of public money on prestige projects, defence, food subsidies, anti-conservationist redevelopment and needless industrial development would be severely curtailed if the national government were allowed to spend only the money given to it by the District Councils.

7.4 The present system by which policy is determined centrally at Westminster and imposed on the public would be reversed.

## 8. LONG TERM AIMS

To achieve, by progressive modification of the present system one in which small relatively self-sufficient, self-governing communities can co-exist harmoniously within the framework of a greater nation and the World as a whole.

## 9. SHORT TERM AIMS

The attainment of the long term aims can be brought about only by a substantial reform of the functions of government and the methods of selection of representatives. The reform needs to be concentrated into four main fields:

- 9.1 The overall structure of government.
- 9.2 Electoral
- 9.3 Civil Service and public employment.
- 9.4 In the provision of watch-dog facilities for the public over the processes of government.

Such reforms should be carried out only after exhaustive investigations of all possible paths. It is proposed here to do no more than underline some guiding principles.

## 10. Reform of governmental structure.

10.1 The power of parliament should be diminished by a process of gradual devolution. The three tiers of government envisaged are District, being the principal one, Provincial or National and Central. County Councils will be abolished in due course after the transfer of their present functions to the re-organised District and Provincial Councils. At the middle level, Wales, Scotland and nine English provinces will have equal status. Each English province will contain an industrial centre, one or more ports and urban centres and supporting agricultural land. In essence, the Province should be as nearly self-sufficient as possible. A single Central Government will function for the whole of Great Britain. It will handle exclusively such matters as resource management, pollution, national, defence, foreign policy, and international trade and monetary control.

10.2 It is important to investigate improvements in the way in which District Councils consult with the public; for example, via Community Councils which would be set up by communities according to their own needs, wishes and territorial limits.

10.3 The role of the House of Lords as a watch dog of the Commons would be replaced by Inspectorate Commissions as outlined below.

10.4 There should be free access of the public to government and its records at all levels.

10.5 In each tier of government voting will be at the free choice of the representatives. Whips will not operate within the Ecology Party.

10.6 The Ecology Party has no objection to the ultimate independence of Wales, Scotland and Ulster within a wider federation if the citizens in those areas so decide.

## II. Electoral reform.

II.1 Districts will be independently represented in the Provincial or National and Central Councils. Each District should be free to determine how its representative is selected.

II.2 The calibre of local government suffers from the desire of ambitious and able people to enter Parliament. This may be avoided if each District rules that only people who have served on the District Council for a set time period say 3 or 4 years are qualified as candidates to represent the District in the National or Provincial and Central Councils.

II.3 Elected representatives must be accountable to their electors and provision must be made for the representatives under certain, extreme circumstances to be recalled and submitted to re-election.

II.4 Councillors must be closely associated with the District which they serve.

II.5 Councillors will be paid a salary and expenses and additional allowances will be made during a councillor's term in a middle tier or Central government.

II.6 There will be a compulsory register of interests of all councillors listing all sources of income and it would be available for public inspection.

## 12. The Civil Service.

12.1 The function of a ministry will be to act as the organ of the minister in his capacity as a co-ordinator of the national affairs which fall within the scope of his ministry. Policies will be formulated by the District Councils, departments of which will hold the greater financial control.



I2.2 There will be no distinction between civil servants and local authority administrators.

I2.3 The departments of District Councils should be reflected at Provincial and National levels by departments holding the same title having a co-ordinating function.

### I3. Provision of watch-dog facilities.

I3.1 The function of the Ombudsman will be elevated and enlarged so that it will comprise a major part of governmental practice. This will be done by the appointment of Commissions. There will be two parts to each Commission: an inspectorate and a research and advisory division.

I3.2 The field of a Commission will cover either the whole of one or more, or parts of several governmental departments.

I3.3 The Inspectorate will be partly staffed by permanent employees of the Commission and partly by co-opted citizens. The co-opted citizens will form juries which will examine in detail and in collusion with the permanent employees of the Commission any activity of government, a Commission, industry or commerce. The jury will exist only for the length of time of the specific enquiry or series of enquiries after which it will be disbanded. The jury can recommend prosecution. Its findings, which must be made public immediately the enquiry is completed, can be used as evidence.

I3.4 The Research and Advisory Division will consist of permanent employees who will carry out primary research in all fields and examine inter-relationships between the activities of several different government departments.

I3.5 The Commission will receive, via the Inspectorate, complaints from the public and will act upon them.

### I4. Decentralisation of Government.

The suggested order of decentralisation would be firstly to create the middle tier of Provincial and National Councils, secondly to re-organise at District level. Each re-organisation would accompany progressive devolution of power from the Central Government. The timing and pacing of this stage needs to be carefully researched.

## DECENTRALISATION

I. Decentralisation, involving dispersal of the population is necessary whether the population stabilises or continues to increase.

2. It is submitted that farming efficiency in terms of yield per acre and yield per unit of energy consumed decreases as the size of a farm increases. The most efficient farm sizes are less than 50 acres. If all the large British farms were to be divided into units of roughly 50 acres each this increased output would go a long way towards making up the food deficiency which is now made up by imports. (See Agriculture and Food) The extra manpower necessary on the small farms could be provided by ruralising parts of the urban community, thus leading to a more equitable balance between the urban and rural populations.

3. The division between town and country has led to the formation of two societies within one, neither of which fully understands the other. By dispersing industry from the main centres to small towns and breaking down the unit size, the industrial and agricultural labour forces will become interchangeable and the present division between industrial and agricultural labour largely removed. There would be greater scope for the workforce to live close to its place of work and for the food needs of the population to be met locally: thus saving energy in transport and time in travelling.

4. The impact of the city on the countryside in the form of second homes, vandalism, pollution, tourism would be lessened if more people lived in the country. Similarly, many city derived neuroses would be less in evidence.

5. A reduction in the size of city populations is consistent with the requirements of more democratic government, and should lead to increasing self-reliance and social responsibility in each community.

6. Ruralisation of the urban population is necessarily a long term aim, but it can be started by encouraging dispersal to small towns, where children can grow up in close proximity to the countryside and, in adulthood, make the transition easier. If the population can be stabilised and then reduced the overall impact of the increased numbers of people moving out of the big cities will be less on the countryside than the corresponding benefit gained by the cities.

## POPULATION

1. Great Britain can be regarded as being overpopulated either because at present, we are unable to live without importing much of our food and all of most other resources, or because of the very high population density.

2. Currently we import half the food we consume; half of this consists of temperate foods, which we are able to cultivate in Great Britain. The Ecology Party's agricultural policies are designed to take Britain towards self-sufficiency in food, but even if it were possible to feed the whole of the present population from our own resources it is unlikely that a continually expanding population could be self-supporting because of its demands for new land for dwellings, work places, roads, leisure areas, quarries, rubbish tips, all of which must be taken from the stock of farm land, forests and wild, uncultivated areas. The effect is not only to diminish the potential for achieving self-sufficiency in food, it threatens to destroy the overall ecological balance and reduces the aesthetic value of the scenery.

3. Among the effects of overcrowding, which must come if the population continues to expand, is a loss of individual liberty expressed as the freedom to use land as one wishes, to move about on it, or to escape from other people. The liberty to procreate leads ultimately to the destruction of all other liberties.

4. Although the birth-rate in Britain has been falling for several years, (1961-66, 18.3 per thousand; 1966-71, 16.9; 1971-72, 15.4) the total population has been growing steadily because of the inherent age structure and the gap between birth-rate and death-rate. (1973, birth-rate was 13.7 and the death-rate 11.5). The baby boom of the post war period sees us now entering the echo-boom period when children born then are entering the procreative and marriage age group. This will continue for fifteen years. Such an increased parental group would be very likely to produce an increased annual total of births unless there is a conscious decision by families to have fewer children. Thus, of the increase of 10 million predicted (Ross Population Report) for 2011, 5 million would be due to the age structure of the population. The other 5 million would be the result of couples having higher-than-replacement sized families. This means that half, or more, of this predicted increase is avoidable through more education, birth-control methods or fiscal controls.

### 5. LONG TERM AIMS

Gradually to reduce the population of Great Britain over a period of about 80 years to about 40 million, the expected carrying capacity of our agricultural level, assuming modified dietary levels and agricultural techniques. Thereafter to continue as stable as possible, thus avoiding any age group imbalance, which might cause social or economic difficulties.

### 6. SHORT TERM AIMS

To halt further population growth by reducing the number of unwanted babies and unplanned pregnancies. At the same time ensure through education and publicity that the average number of children per family does not rise above the 1974 figure of 1.6 (The 1.6 family size has the effect of stabilising the total population almost immediately and then to decline theoretically reaching a total of 39 million in 2051).

### 7. THE POLICIES

No policy should disparage childbearing or create negative feelings towards children or the family. It should avoid coercion until voluntary measures have been tried and failed. The State should therefore continue to aid and support families, but changes should be made in the way this is done.

7.1 The first act would be to state clearly the right and responsibility of the government to be involved in population planning, since the future of all is at stake. Falling birth-rates should be welcomed publicly, and hopes for a decrease in population in the longer term stated openly.

7.2 Population studies and sex education will be strongly recommended in every school curriculum as part of general education about the environment, world development, resources and economics. Only an understanding of the interdependence of population size and vital resources will lead to a rational choice of family size that will not fluctuate in response to fashion or short term ups and downs in the economy

7.3 Given grass-roots change in attitude to family size (or perhaps to the number of children a woman should produce in her life-time, irrespective of number of partners) conditions will be created to encourage and support the desire to limit births per woman.

7.3.1 Increase provision of birth-control facilities both by increasing the number of sessions and increasing the number of local centres where sessions are held. Expand domiciliary services to reach those least motivated or least able to help themselves.

7.3.2 Encourage sales of non-medical contraceptives especially in self-servicestores and take steps to reduce costs of these. The present moves to allow Family Planning nurses to prescribe the Pill for established users would be implemented.

7.3.3 Ensure post-natal family planning advice in all maternity wards.

7.3.4 Arrange for more para-medical staff to be involved in fitting contraceptives and giving advice. These would be specially trained and would relieve the pressure on doctors expensively trained in other



fields of medicine.

7.3.5 Make sterilisation free for males and females on request with proper counselling.

7.3.6 Make abortion available on request (up to 12 weeks) with counselling before and after, especially in contraceptive techniques. Encourage abortion as an out patient procedure, thus relieving gynaecological wards of pressure but charge a low standard fee.

7.3.7 Step up advertising about contraceptives and family-planning services, if necessary, aimed at specific groups.

7.3.8 Sponsor more research into safer and more agreeable contraceptives and methods of birth control.

7.4 Attempts should be made to reverse the present trend towards delivering babies by production line methods in hospitals with a view to allowing the 1 or 2 births a woman might have to be happy and meaningful, a community and family event.

7.4.1 The involvement of women in the wider community in paid or unpaid, professional or unskilled roles should be encouraged in addition to underlining the importance of domestic roles. Alongside this the Ecology Party advocates the similar deployment of men - part time outside employment and greater involvement in the community and house or homestead.

7.5 Fiscal measures

7.5.1 Maternity Grants would be paid only once to a woman.

7.5.2 Family Allowances would be replaced by National Income at full rate for the first two children, reduced for the third and none for subsequent children. (See SOCIAL WELFARE)

7.6 Migration

7.6.1 Immigration controls should remain as at present but be modified to ensure that no racial discrimination, intended or otherwise, shall continue.

7.6.2 Emigration should not be relied on for balancing the population, but should be regarded as a bonus. (In 1974 the excess of birth over death rates was 30,000; emigration was 30,000)

## SOCIAL WELFARE

1. The welfare of individuals in society, that is their health, their employment, guarantees against hardship resulting from sickness, disablement, unemployment, old age, desertion, widowhood and so on is largely provided for by the State. It does so by giving either a service or a cash benefit.

2. At first sight such guarantees are logically unconnected with ecological aims, their only purpose being to ensure that the sustainable society is also compassionate. In fact Social Welfare is of central importance to the political approach: the Ecology Party believes that ecological government must, indeed can only be achieved by popular consent, not by dictatorial or paternalistic means; but the sustainable society also requires a turning away from material preoccupations. It would be cynical and unrealistic to expect this from anyone for whom material insecurity was still possible. Moreover the basic ecological policies (see EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRY, and ECONOMY) expressly displace the twin conventional priorities of full employment and rising living standards, and would cause widespread anxiety. It would therefore be futile to ask anyone to accept our proposals until we could first offer a complete answer to this natural concern.

3. There are five possible Social Welfare strategies available to any society:

3.1 No relief of poverty or hardship by the community at large.

3.2 Relief only in deserving cases.

3.3 Basic subsistence needs guaranteed, but only as a last resort.

3.4 Basic needs provided unconditionally.

3.5 Equal sharing of Wealth irrespective of personal contribution.

4. Only the fourth and fifth strategies meet the requirements outlined above, and the Ecology Party believes that the fourth strategy is the most appropriate, both during the transitional period, and in the sustainable society itself. It is necessary briefly to refer to the major drawbacks in the other strategies, since some of them have been advocated by different sections of the ecological movement.

4.1 The first strategy would allow widespread hardship at a time when less work is likely to be available, and the only means of security would be to maximise the number of one's descendants. Many parts of India are familiar with this strategy.

4.2 The second strategy, the Poor Law, was introduced in Britain in 1834. It failed in its express intention to relieve the 'deserving poor', because the humiliation drove away the intended beneficiaries, whilst encouraging malingering. It is particularly unsuitable for a society which observes ecological constraints, as it puts these in direct conflict with humanitarian considerations.

4.3 The third strategy has been official policy in Britain since 1945: the 'Welfare State'. It removes the worst evils of the first and second strategies, but the self-defeating humiliation, and a degree of insecurity remain. It introduced the 'Poverty Trap' whereby attempts to rise above the poverty line by one's own efforts are automatically frustrated by the withdrawal of Welfare benefits. Having developed piecemeal, the present welfare system is also unnecessary resentment.

4.4 The strategy of equal sharing would remove insecurity, but it would tend to discourage initiative, and would on that account be unpopular among many natural supporters of a sustainable society.

5. The recent trend for welfare services both to proliferate and to become more centralised, often because of economic pressures, has led to such administrative complexity that the adequacy of the services is being impaired. In addition, the variety and complexity of cash benefits that are now available are such that their objective is often self-defeating, while the administrative structure needed to support payment has become unwieldy and impersonal leading often to inhumane dealings with recipients of benefits.

6. Clearly, there has to be a reversal in the trend towards centralisation, services have to co-ordinate better, and the benefit schemes be simplified. However, it is inadequate simply to improve the present system, which merely provides for needs. The causes of the needs have to be identified and rooted out. In the long term, one way in which many causes might be eliminated at source would be to allow society to regroup itself into small self-managing communities, which are more able to be self-regulating and, therefore, less needful of and dependent on outside sources for benefits.

## 7. LONG TERM AIMS

To enable society to regroup itself in such a way that concern for and administration of welfare can be devolved from the state to the local community, but at all times to provide a benefit scheme which unconditionally provides for the basic needs of all individuals in society.

## 8. SHORT TERM AIMS

8.1 To continue the process of decentralisation in the Health Service, begun with its re-organisation in 1974, laying greater stress on the development of the service at community level.

8.2 To continue a rationalisation of the social services.

8.3 To replace the present multitudinous cash benefits with a simple National Income Scheme.

## 9. Health

The National Health Service will be retained, but it will be administered separately from National Income. Its function should be to provide the best medical care possible within our limited resources, to provide the facilities, expertise and publicity required to implement the population policy, and to encourage public debate into the social priorities of medical care. The Health Service should re-examine its attitude towards medical practices such as homeopathy, osteopathy, acupuncture and so on with a view to providing a total medical service. Private practice will be discouraged.

9.1 Doctors will no longer be required to spend so much time filling in forms, acting as social workers and performing other non-medical duties. In addition pressure on the G.P. can be relieved by the employment of more auxiliaries and Community Nurses, trained like the District Nurses to carry out simple diagnoses and treatments.

9.2 Hospital treatment will be provided increasingly by small community hospitals; though it is recognised that large centres for learning and for the use of specialised techniques are needed.

9.3 A policy of education of the public about the advantages of dietary changes and the hazards of smoking and excessive drinking should be embarked upon by the Health Service using all available channels of communication. All advertising for smoking and drinking will be abolished.

9.4 Emphasis must be changed from highly technical and expensive curative medicine to a more cost-effective policy of preventive medicine

9.5 An investigation must be made of the possibilities of separating patients who need intensive expert treatment from those who require long term nursing with perhaps only drug treatment.

9.6 The return of geriatric and handicapped patients to the home and the community, perhaps in sheltered houses or flats, should be encouraged where it is possible, but it is stressed that the person's relatives should be given a choice. If they accept the responsibility, full support facilities should be provided by the Health Service. Individuals with sole care of invalid parents or handicapped dependents should be acknowledged as paid employees of the Health Service.

## 10. Welfare Services

10.1 The numerous Welfare Agencies, Social Workers etc. should be rationalised so that any child coming into care by committing an offence, by being orphaned, or by being reported by a school should come under the care of a single welfare worker. This person should assume the role of guardian to that child or family of children. Their powers under the law would be limited but quite specific, and would



include the provision to refer the children to court if it was deemed necessary in the child's interest.

10.2 In general self-help organisations and schemes promoting community development and integration would be fostered, while trends towards institutionalisation would be discouraged.

10.3 Partially handicapped people should have the freedom to take up part-time employment and, no matter what the disablement, they should all be treated equally by the Welfare Services.

## II. Retirement

II.1 Pensions are considered under National Income.

II.2 The living conditions of the elderly should be thoroughly investigated and steps taken to provide the right sort of housing and support service for them.

## I2. National Income

The National Income scheme is a comprehensive tax credit scheme, which is meant to replace all existing welfare benefits and tax allowances.

12.2 The National Income would be payable without qualification to all adult and qualifying child residents of Great Britain, that due to a child under school leaving age to be payable to his or her legal guardian. It is offset only by tax, though payment would be independent of tax. The tax structure will be revised in association with the National Income scheme: there will be no tax allowances, a zero rate at low levels, and progressively rising rates on higher incomes. Under present conditions, the majority of people in full employment would not receive any cash payment.

12.3 Unlike the present system the National Income would not require a specific claim and would not be withdrawn when the recipient has income from any other source, though the remodelled tax structure would ensure that only those on low incomes receive any net benefit. This removes the disincentive to work which is associated with payment of Supplementary Benefits.

12.4 Four National Income rates are envisaged: Standard Rate C for adults and persons on courses of occupational retraining, lower rates, A and B for children and a higher rate D for persons over 60, the disabled and anyone else with special needs. In value it would be similar to the present Supplementary Benefits; i.e. calculated to cover basic food, clothing and heating requirements and including an accommodation allowance, fixed locally according to the average cost of accommodation in each housing area, but weighted slightly in favour of the less densely populated areas.

## 10. Housing

13.1 District Councils must assume the responsibility for seeing that homes are available for all people in their area. New ways of housing must be explored, such as "group housing" where families wishing to live together share a large building or adjacent houses.

13.2 Slum clearance must continue, but the destruction of communities, which it often involves, must be stopped by careful planning.

## EDUCATION

I. In keeping with the policy of developing small, self-reliant communities a modification of the present educational system is necessary. Further, the number of children leaving school illiterate and the number of bored, aggressive and anti-social children in our secondary schools, points to the failure of the present system. The Ecology Party sees the need for an educational system, which will fulfil the needs of both the child and the community. Schools will be small and they will be community oriented. In addition, the community must make its contribution to the running of the school, freeing the learning and teaching resources that exist within the community, thus enabling human talent of all kinds to be exercised.

### 2. LONG TERM AIMS

2.1 To create an egalitarian educational system, in which society recognises its responsibility to ensure that all children receive equal opportunity.

2.2 To change from a competitive exam-loaded system to one that sees children as individuals who learn at different speeds and have different aptitudes and talents, and so create an atmosphere in which children can reach their full potential and explore all avenues of opportunity without pressure.

2.3 To move the emphasis from better education equals a better job, equals a higher income, to education for developing individual talents for the good of the community.

### 3. SHORT TERM AIMS

3.1 To develop a community spirit by making educational establishments serve the community by opening their doors to parents and adult members of the community and by the school becoming a focal point for community activities.

### 4. THE POLICIES

4.1 Control of education will remain decentralised. Schools will be financed by the Provincial Government to ensure that all areas receive equal finances. Educational policy will be directed by the District

Council in close contact with Community Councils.

4.2 All new schools will be designed and present schools modified where possible with community education in mind. They will include community facilities; e.g. a public library, health centre, nursery school, old people's day centre, sports facilities, cafe and shops. All ages will be accommodated on the same campus.

4.3 No more schools will be built to accommodate more than 800 pupils.

4.4 All schools will be co-educational and comprehensive. Public, private, independent and sectarian schools will be absorbed by the local education authorities.

4.5 School governors will be elected from and by the community, to be responsible for the smooth running of community participation in the schools. Teachers and pupils will be represented in the governing body.

4.6 Each secondary school will have a schools council made up of teachers, pupils and parents.

4.7 School leaving age will be reduced to 15+. It is anticipated that if the Ecology Party's policies work as expected, pupils will voluntarily remain at school for longer than this. In the long term a statutory leaving age should be unnecessary. Older pupils will be encouraged to explore the avenues of opportunity open to them outside and inside the school environment, take part in tutoring children in lower parts of school and to participate in community service. The present right of a parent to educate his own children if he so wishes will be recognised.

4.8 Nursery education - Provision will be made for all children over the age of 3 years to receive some form of nursery education, whether it be in a nursery school or play group. Nursery education will not be compulsory and parents will be encouraged to participate in the running of the nursery school or play group.

4.9 Class sizes to be reduced to 20 in all schools.

4.10 Curricula. These will be based on community education. There will be a broad based scheme of education with a greater diversity of subjects studied and a reversal of the present trend towards specialisation. All children will be encouraged to study both arts and science subjects and there will be no difference between subjects studied by the sexes. In particular, curricula must contain the study of the environment, world development, resources, economics, religious education, population, sex education and government. Children will be prepared to lead a full, active and useful life by sharing in the practical day to day running of the school - working in school gardens, cleaning, repairing furniture, general school maintenance, tutoring and caring for younger children, helping in health centres and old people's day centres and by working in the library and shops on the school

campus. In this way it is envisaged that all children will learn respect and a sense of responsibility for the people around them and for their environment.

4.II 'O' and 'A' Levels to be abolished. All children are to be free to follow the course of training or study of their choice. Children must be guided into their niche, not selected or rejected by examination. A detailed record of the child's course of study, progress and attainments and special abilities will be kept. It is felt that with a wide area of opportunity and experience open to children, they will be able to make a choice of employment consistent with their desires and abilities. Professional and technical bodies will be able to keep their own examination system during their training programme to ensure that standards are maintained.

4.I2 Higher Education. The barriers that exist between all further education institutions and the community must be broken down. As a long term aim universities, colleges and polytechnics must be open to all. Lectures must be public lectures and be publicised. Meanwhile, higher educational establishments will be encouraged and given facilities to expand extra mural courses which will be freely open to all. Students and teachers should be encouraged to participate in community affairs. All research projects are to be made public.

4.I3 Special Schools. The present system of isolating our handicapped and backward children from the rest of society is Victorian. As far as possible they should be integrated into ordinary schools. Experiments have shown that even blind children can be educated in a normal school. With smaller classes, integration becomes a possibility. The extra facilities needed by handicapped children could be provided by the school children and parents as part of a self-help programme. Where integration is impossible special units will be provided attached to day schools or elsewhere as is thought best for the children concerned.

4.I4 Before further education is begun, especially teacher training, all students will be encouraged to take a job to gain experience of life outside the school environment.



4.15 Provision will be made for any adult to embark on a programme of retraining or re-education at any time in his life. The present system of evening classes for adults will be expanded and adequately provided for. In the long term the schools will take over the functions of the further education colleges.

## LAND TENURE

1. At present the ultimate owner of all land in Britain is the Crown, but most of it, including its minerals and resources, is controlled by private individuals under the freehold system.

2. This effective private ownership of land has led to an inequitable distribution of tenure and, because of the absence of external controls, land is often severely misused. Any system of reform must correct these misuses and take into account the fiscal anomalies created by the freehold system. Some of these are as follows:-

2.1 A rating system which leaves vacant land free of duty, but taxes heavily any improvement.

2.2 Freehold landlords collect rent but pass on none of it to the State or community.

2.3 The State receives no income from land used for roads, railways or waterways.

2.4 Land is valued in capital rather than annual terms.

3. Land is the most important asset any nation possesses and all people have a right to share equally in its utilisation.

4. All land, but not the buildings on it, should be held in trust by the State and the system of freeholding stopped.

4.1 Compensation to present freeholders should be allowed only where land has been purchased within the last 30 years.

4.2 Land should be held on lease only, but no lease should continue after the death of the title holder. In renegotiating a lease priority will be given to the late title-holder's dependents.

4.3 Present title-holders of rural property will be given the first choice of tenancy, but properties exceeding 1000 acres in hill areas and 150 acres on arable land will be divided into smaller lots and leased independently.

4.4 Forest, catchment areas and barren hill land shall not be leased to individuals.

4.5 Rent should be collected from all land, including railways, roads, waterways and idle land except where it is idle through bureaucratic delays.

4.6 Rent should vary according to the potential and actual use to which it is put; the highest rent being collected for arable land misused for building.

5. An independent Commission of Land Stewards will be created, whose responsibilities will be for all aspects of land policy. The Land Stewards will be drawn from all parts of Britain and will have agencies in all Districts and Provinces.

5.1 The first act of the Land Stewards will be to gather all information available on present land tenure and usage, including the identity of all freeholders, the extent of their holding, date and method of acquisition, capital sum paid or mortgage, their tenants, rents payable and use.

5.2 The Land Stewards on completion of this survey, will organise the state holding of land, draw up a table of rentable values and, thereafter, collect the rents due which will then be paid to the provinces, less a small deduction for operating expenses.

## AGRICULTURE AND FOOD

The survival of the human species depends largely on its capacity to feed itself: thus a nation's agricultural policies are vitally important. As long as Britain continues to import half the food she consumes the threat of food shortages imposed by the demands of a rapidly rising world population is one of the most serious that faces her.

## 2. LONG TERM AIMS

For ecological as well as humane and economic reasons new agricultural policies should preferably be based on global strategies with long term aims involving all the nations of the world. These aims are:

- 2.1 To strive to feed all the population of the world as soon as possible.
- 2.2 To develop an ecologically stable agricultural system which will continue to supply enough food to meet man's requirements indefinitely.
- 2.3 To enhance man's sense of achievement and happiness by promoting a more harmonious relationship with Nature and with the land.

## 3. SHORT TERM AIMS

The stability of Britain's present agricultural system is in jeopardy. This is due to the ecological disturbance resulting from some of our farming practices, agriculture's dependence on high inputs of energy and raw materials and on imports of animal feeding stuffs. Bearing in mind also the country's low level of self-sufficiency in the light of future world demand for food, policies must lead to the following short term aims:

- 3.1 Immediately to reduce the use of non-renewable resources in agriculture by, if necessary, increasing the labour force and by establishing organic methods of farming.
- 3.2 To become self-sufficient in food production by if necessary changing some of our eating habits and farming practices.
- 3.3 To educate people into an awareness of the important link between the health of man, the wholesomeness of his food and the stability of the environment.

## 4. THE POLICIES

### 4.1 Education and research.

4.1.1 Promote research into organic farming methods (e.g. biological pest control, recycling human waste, composting, mixed farming), and reduce the level of research into such chemical farming as is dependent upon high energy inputs or finite resources.

4.1.2 Increase the scope and function of the Agricultural Development and Advisory Service (ADAS) to promote a closer link between research and farming practice and to act as a propaganda agency for most favoured methods.

4.1.3 Set up a public education campaign and by making food and agriculture more important parts of all educational curricula.

4.1.4 Give grants for retraining in agriculture and give all the necessary support for movement of people out of industry into agriculture.

### 4.2 Farm structure

4.2.1 Abolish the present farm amalgamation scheme.

4.2.2 Farm unit size will be reduced by progressive legislation, fiscal direction and changes in the system of land tenure (see LAND TENURE and DECENTRALISATION).

### 4.3 Buildings and fixed equipment.

4.3.1 Abolish the present Capital Grant Scheme and grant aid for grubbing up orchards.

4.3.2 Introduce maintenance, repair and restoration grants for buildings and fixed equipment.

4.3.3 Introduce a house building grant scheme to provide accommodation for the increased labour force.

4.3.4 Introduce a capital grant scheme for establishing acceptable energy systems in rural areas.

4.3.5 Give grant aid in certain circumstances for the maintenance of areas of ecological and historical interest.

4.3.6 Introduce grants for hedge and tree planting schemes and for wind breaks in certain areas (Eastern counties and hill areas especially).



4.3.7 Maintain present aid schemes for preserving soil structure and fertility e.g. liming and drainage grants.

4.4 Conversion to organic farming systems.

4.4.1 Give grant incentives to farmers for introducing livestock ("extensive system") on arable farms, to convert from intensive to extensive animal production and for establishing mixed farming systems on present monocrop farms.

4.4.2 Introduce tax disincentives to reduce the use of chemical herbicides, pesticides, fungicides, growth promoters and artificial fertilisers and to reduce all fuel consumption on farms.

4.4.3 Financial disincentives will also be used to reduce consumption and production of processed foods and meat protein, especially pig, poultry barley-beef meats.

4.5 Small scale food production.

4.5.1 Permit and encourage sale of vegetables and eggs from all gardens and allotments to encourage small scale food production.

4.5.2 Prohibit use of herbicides, pesticides and fungicides by garden and allotment holders.

4.5.3 Permit on approval cropping of any land which is proven to be lying idle, whether it be privately or state owned.

4.5.4 Encourage education in horticulture by providing evening courses etc. at schools and colleges.

4.6 Food stocks.

4.6.1 Establish grain and other stockpiles for national and international emergencies with the aim of holding at least 12 months minimum supplies.

## NATURAL RESOURCES

I. The natural resources considered in this section, whether imported or home produced, are the fossil fuels, metalliferous and bulk minerals, forest products and re-usable waste products, all of which provide basic raw materials.

2. Primary raw materials are those derived more or less directly from Nature and comprise three classes:

2.1 Non-renewable materials, such as oil, coal, natural gas, uranium, salt, refractory clays, glass-making sand, which are either destroyed or irreversibly converted in use.

2.2 Re-usable materials, such as water and most metals, which maintain their primary characteristics and can be recycled.

2.3 Biologically renewable materials, such as cotton, wool, flax, wood pulp and so on.

3. Secondary raw materials are those by-products from industrial, commercial domestic and agricultural processes which can be re-used, scrap of various kinds, and the derivatives of primary sources, such as plastics, chemicals and bricks.

4. Economic growth cannot be maintained in industries based on the consumption of non-renewable raw materials because they are in finite supply. A point will be reached at which demand will be greater than supply regardless of whether there is growth or stable consumption, after which there will be contraction and ultimately collapse of industries based on them. Materials substitution is only viable when the substitute itself is not of a non-renewable kind.

5. In the case of re-usable materials, after the point at which supply matches demand, under any specific set of economic conditions, is reached a continuation of industries based on them will depend increasingly on the efficiency of recycling, until, on depletion of the primary source, dependence on the recycled material will be total. In order to maintain production of primary ores it is possible to work metal deposits of increasingly lower grade if economic conditions permit. This, and the extraction of the metal, however, is highly energy intensive and in an energy deficient situation the minimum grade of exploitable ore will most probably rise, thus bringing about shortages of metals regardless of their abundances.

6. Biologically renewable raw materials are not subject to the same limitations on growth as those in the other classes because they utilise an extra-terrestrial source of energy (sunlight) for their generation. Progressively increasing consumption of these raw materials is possible if productivity per unit of land can be increased, more land is available and there is energy for cultivation, cropping and processing. If these can be achieved in conjunction with efficient recycling either growth can be maintained or primary production can be limited to that required to make up the deficit between total demand and that met by recycling.

## 7. LONG TERM AIMS

In recognition that primary raw materials are either in finite supply or subject to sufficient external limitations to make growth in production unrealistic, the long term aims are to achieve controlled minimum consumption of primary raw materials phasing out entirely the use of non-renewable materials for routine purposes and maximum conservation of their derivatives.

## 8. SHORT TERM AIMS

8.1 To slow down the consumption of non-renewable raw materials before the onset of scarcity, if possible, and at the same time give incentives to society as a whole to investigate alternatives.

8.2 To induce industry to invest in resource saving technology;

e.g. miniaturisation in electronics, minimisation of waste during manufacturing processes, the manufacture of long life products and conservation of energy in industry.

8.3 To intensify the practice of and research into recycling of biologically renewable and both primary and secondary re-usable raw materials, and to investigate new ways of utilising hitherto sterile industrial waste products.

8.4 To encourage research into ecologically sound cultivation techniques of biologically renewable raw materials, develop less energy intensive methods of cropping and processing and ensure that land is available for cultivation.

8.5 To reduce the nation's dependence on imported raw materials.

8.6 To ensure that the transition towards controlled minimum consumption and maximum conservation is managed in such a way as to cause minimum social disruption.

8.7 To begin steps towards initiating an international agreement, especially among the industrial nations, on the control of resource consumption.

## 9. THE POLICIES

9.1 Establish a ministerial Natural Resources Department the function of which will be to control and co-ordinate the availability of natural resources.

9.2 Create an Environment Commission, part of whose function will be to ensure that abuses of the environment by quarrying and mining are minimised.

9.3 All mineral rights will be held in trust by the State on behalf of the communities which occupy the land, or, in the case of the off-shore rights, which border it.

9.4 Exploitation of minerals will be on the initiative of the communities which occupy the relevant land, subject to the consent of the Central Government.

9.5 A single national, non-ministerial government body will be set up to be responsible for mineral exploration and assessment, the maintenance of standards in mining and quarrying and to provide geological and mining engineering advice on consultation.

9.6 A Resources Tax will be imposed on all imported raw materials, the tax increasing annually for a period of years. The object of the tax will be to encourage salvage, separation and recycling industries, the saving of resources and the minimisation of waste. A similar tax will be imposed at the quarry or mine for home produced materials, selected according to scarcity or misuse.

9.7 Buffer depots will be set up throughout the country to hold stocks of re-usable materials and so cushion industry against fluctuations in demand for waste, while maintaining continuity of collection.

9.8 Investigate the feasibility of an amortisation tax; i.e. one applied to consumer goods rising inversely with the length of useful life of the article. Manufacturers would be required to increase the



guarantee period on all goods and to keep a good stock of spares for a further specified period.

9.9 Legislation will be enacted to encourage local authorities to set up recovery services for the collection of all domestic and commercial waste in such a way that it can be recycled, specifically to encourage the separation of different classes of waste at source, and to set up and/or support recycling facilities.

9.I0 Substantial grants will be dispensed via the Science Research Council to universities and research institutions for the investigation of the technology of waste recycling, purification, recovery and disposal and into resource-saving manufacturing techniques.

9.II The discharge of raw sewage into any body of standing water will be prohibited and the manufacture of methane and sludge in sewage works will be made mandatory. In addition, the discharge of industrial and polluting waste into the sewers will be made punishable by high fines.

9.I2 A Minimum Packaging Act will contain specifications for packaging to ensure that there is the minimum waste and maximum recyclability of packaging materials, the standardisation of bottle sizes and shapes.

9.I3 A Standards Commission will be established incorporating the British Standards Institution, the Design Council and the Patent Office to exercise quality control on consumer products, specifically to examine for recyclability, long life, maximised conservation of energy in manufacture and function; to determine the rate of amortisation tax; to determine guarantee periods and spares availability periods and to disperse knowledge of pertinent inventions. Inventors and designers will receive a direct royalty via the government for all ideas which are put into practical use in direct proportion to such use.

9.I4 The Forestry Commission will come under the control of the Natural Resources Department. A crash hardwood planting programme should be undertaken in order that future generations shall have sufficient long life timber for building purposes - timber which will stand up to the elements without treatment by dubious chemicals, including paint.

9. I5 Limit advertising to the informative, classified kind. The sort of advertising which is intended to urge people to consume more products should be replaced by a campaign urging the public to understand conservation and become conscious of resource saving.

## BUILDING AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

1. In the fields of housing and town planning the policies needed for an expanding population differ from those for a static or declining population. If population stabilisation were to be achieved extra housing would be required only until the age structure recovered from the effects of the so-called baby boom. With a declining population, housing in some areas would gradually be released from use, but in the long term new housing and other buildings are likely to be required during the population dispersal required by the policy of decentralisation and ultimately to replace derelict buildings even with a stable, but reduced population. However, population stabilisation is not likely to be achieved immediately and many of the present housing problems are likely to remain for some time. Policies are given, therefore, which relate to this current situation, even though they would be meaningless if the full range of the Ecology Party's policies were to be implemented.

### 2. LONG TERM AIMS

2.1 To construct new buildings only because of necessity.

2.2 For each building to have minimal dependence on external energy sources.

2.3 For each town or village to contain all the facilities for work, social and cultural activities required by the community, and to be surrounded by an agricultural hinterland that feeds it. All such settlements should fit into the ecosystem with minimum disruption of it.

### 3. SHORT TERM AIMS

3.1 Primarily, these are to reintroduce conservation practices in the design and construction and use of buildings, in particular to follow the 'long life, loose fit, low energy' concept.

3.2 To modify town planning to enable a greater degree of self-sufficiency to be achieved within the living areas than at present.

3.3 To hold back all new development on agricultural land or other land not at present within the confines of an urban (including village) area.

#### 4. Housing

4.1 As a general principle the existing housing stock must be maintained and improved in preference to new building. (There are 600,000 unoccupied houses in Great Britain.)

4.1.1 Financial incentives should be given to extend, renovate and improve existing property either on the lines of the present improvement grants or via commercial loans secured by a District Council grant certificate.

4.1.2 Existing areas of old property in public ownership, kept empty until required for clearance for general development should be returned to occupation, preferably under trusts or housing associations for conversion and renovation.

4.1.3 Existing large houses (and possibly other building types) should be broken down into smaller family size units.

4.1.4 If existing housing must be demolished then so far as possible this should be limited to small infill sites for low rise/high density dwellings.

4.1.5 Before any new house building is undertaken on a large scale Local Authorities must carry out a full analysis of the availability of dwellings in their areas.

4.1.6 All existing schemes and building projects should be investigated for their environmental impact and with a view to improving their environment and amenities.

4.2 Home ownership should be encouraged, because it is hoped that this would lead to a greater pride in possession, better maintenance and, therefore, improvement of the housing stock.

4.2.1 Whatever new house building is necessary should be encouraged on a do-it-yourself basis either by individuals or groups. Finance might be made available at advantageous rates providing the work is done under supervision.

4.2.2 Such new houses should be designed with the potential for extension either into the roof, or at ground floor, or internally by using non-structural partitions etc.

4.2.3 Housing Associations are to be encouraged, not as housing ghettos, but with their own shops, craft industries etc., and land presently under public ownership and under utilised should be made available for such schemes.

#### 5. Townscape and Landscape with Buildings

5.1 As far as possible any development within present cities should be confined to the city boundaries, the intention being not to encroach on any more agricultural land. For similar reasons development brought about by the needs of population dispersal should be sited on derelict or other poor quality land within the confines of an existing built up area.

5.2 Derelict land, particularly from extractive industries should be improved for re-use, not only for recreational purposes, but for housing and light industry.

5.3 Planning regulations should be adjusted so that zoning is discouraged. Strict segregation of residential, industrial and commercial areas kills the natural growth of a community. Provided that there is no excessive nuisance all types of building can mix as they have done in the most vigorous communities in the past.

5.3.1 Close proximity of workplaces, homes and services cuts down commuter movement and saves energy and time.

5.3.2 By allowing small part-time businesses, workshops etc., to spring up in housing areas incentives will be available for people to use their leisure time for useful part-time work at home, all of which will add to the national stock and add to the character of the community.

5.3.3 Where segregation of building types is necessary the isolated industrial unit needs humanising with pedestrian access, planted areas and recreational space.

5.4 Highway legislation which gives priority to the motorist in most aspects of planning should be re-examined in accordance with the change in emphasis in future modes of transport.

5.4.1 In addition to roads, access to industrial areas, shops and open spaces should be possible by footpaths and cycleways. Parking space for bicycles should be provided.

5.4.2 Inflexible highways standards should be removed. Excessive corner radii, visibility splays etc., result in wasted land (SLOAP - space left over after planning), destruction of char-



acter of areas and often dangerous speeds available to road users. For instance, a tight corner cannot be taken at speed, and so reduces the risk of speeding in built-up areas. Other mechanical means of discouraging traffic and speeding, e.g. sleeping policemen, will ensure that only essential motoring can take place in built up areas.

- 5.4.3 Strict pedestrianisation as in new shopping precincts leads to wasteful duplication accesses. Tight control of visiting delivery vehicles is all that is needed.

## 6. Energy and Resource Conservation in Building

6.1 In the long term, so-called autonomous houses are to be recommended, but until they are possible on a wide scale steps should be taken to encourage resource conservation.

- 6.1.1 Traditional materials are more durable and require less replacement and maintenance.
- 6.1.2 Air conditioning and mechanical ventilation systems are to be discouraged and the heat pump encouraged in place of gas, oil-fired or electric central heating systems. Proper use should be made of solar gains for space heating and the use of solar heating for domestic hot water should be encouraged.
- 6.1.3 Investigate the use of "low grade" water for industrial purposes, possibly recycling it within the industrial compound. Water saving domestic installations should be more widely used.
- 6.1.4 Thermal insulation levels should be increased in all new or existing buildings and excessively large windows should be discouraged, as this causes heat losses. On the other hand, there should preferably be no part of any building not lit by natural light.
- 6.1.5 Encouragement of traditional building techniques and materials including timber frame structures, should lead to a natural saving in energy as these techniques were developed over many generations for that very purpose.

6.2 All industrial and commercial buildings should be designed for as long a life as possible and not too closely tied to the original purpose, so that a change of ownership and use can readily be accommodated. Large industrial buildings should be possible to break down into a number of small occupancies later if this is necessary.

## 7. Advice Centres

7.1 Architecture/building clinics should be set up in every town to give free professional advice to householders and building owners. This could cover the approach to improving property, how to obtain

grants or take action against nuisance, or to objecting to development, and how to generate new work.

## 8. Historic Buildings

8.1 The present machinery for conservation areas and listed buildings should be maintained and improved to provide incentives for retention of character of areas. It must be made clear that this is yet another resource which must be conserved. Legal sanctions must be stiffened against those who demolish listed buildings.

## 9. Building Industry

9.1 Encouragement should be given to building workers to maintain craft skills, even if they only use them on a part-time basis.

9.2 The use of unnecessary plant should be discouraged as being wasteful

9.3 Building systems must be investigated thoroughly to determine their true cost in comparison with traditional methods. Many of them are uneconomic on grounds not always immediately apparent, for instance, relying on imported components, high levels of maintenance, high running costs etc. Their extensive use has also led to a lack of standardisation. Traditional building was, contrary to popular belief, highly standardised and dimensionally co-ordinated. A return to this quality of standardisation would cut down on much of the waste that is taken for granted in present building systems.

## EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRY

1. An advantage of a growth economy is that it can sustain a high level of employment when it is flourishing. Thus, the premium put on full employment by society in general has led most politicians to follow the conventional, Keynesian, economic paths which equate full employment with growth.
2. The cessation of growth, whether from economic collapse, or by deliberate intention, is likely to cause severe unemployment. The fact that beyond a certain point a growth economy is not sustainable means that the problem of high unemployment is inevitably going to have to be faced.

### 3. Unemployment

In the short term there are two ways of dealing with the problem of unemployment.

3.1 As to the provision of security, one of the most important functions of the National Income Scheme (see SOCIAL WELFARE) will be to allow both hours of work and rates of pay to become completely flexible, rendering the very word "unemployed" obsolete. The recipient can take part-time or low-paid work (which might not otherwise be feasible for the employer) or find work for himself, without loss of benefit.

3.2 Work sharing instead of partial lay-offs of the labour force should be encouraged in areas where the unemployment problem is acute, leading ultimately to all workers having a permanently much reduced working week and flexible hours.

#### 4. Industrial reorganisation

4.1 In the long term the solution to the problem of unemployment lies as much in the policies on population, agriculture, decentralisation and resource conservation as within industry itself. Industrial reorganisation can make its contribution, but it is equally necessary to meet the conservationist requirements of a stable economy. There are three types of industry when considered in terms of the type of labour utilisation.

4.1.1 Energy intensive, large scale industrial processes such as steel making, oil refining, chemical manufacture, cement making, which require a small, usually highly skilled, labour force in relation to output.

4.1.2 Manufacturing industries in which the end product is a saleable commodity, either directly to the public or to another industry. The objective is to attain high production and productivity rates.

4.1.3 Craft industries which are highly labour intensive and in which output is low and the emphasis is on quality of end product.

4.2 There is little to be gained by changing either the energy intensive processes or the craft industries except in modifying them to meet environmental requirements. Metal extraction from ores and chemical manufacture is done most economically in terms of energy, on a large scale, and, by their nature labour cannot be substituted for energy in these processes.

4.3 The greatest amount of change would be within the manufacturing industries. The principal reform should be that industrial production should be to meet the needs of society, not the desires artificially stimulated by advertising and competitive consumerism.

4.4 At present, the main criterion for efficiency in manufacturing industry is the economising of manpower and many of the devices used to achieve this are resource consuming. The move back to labour intensive methods in industry is justified under certain conditions for a variety of reasons.

4.4.1 The main conditions are that manual methods should only be reintroduced if they are justified on energy or resource saving terms; that they should not replace repetitive, dangerous or physically highly demanding operations presently done by machinery, and that they should not lead to exploitation of manpower.

4.4.2 The advantages of resorting to labour intensive methods are that they would help to maintain employment levels when output rates are falling; they would lead to the reintroduction of some craft skills; improve quality in some fields, give labour a bigger potential for work satisfaction than at present, and, marginally save energy.

4.4.3 Another disadvantage of capital intensive manufacturing industry is its inherent instability; marketing overheads are high and the break even point for profitability tends to be a high percentage of maximum output leading, therefore, to continuously high levels of consumption. Losses also can be heavy and their threat imposes considerable strain on management-worker relationships.

4.5 Small, less centralised, efficient industrial production units, which provide for the needs of relatively small areas, would save on transport of materials and produce, reduce commuter travel, fit better into a community oriented society and be more likely to provide satisfying employment. Such companies will be encouraged to form and pressure will be put on large companies to decentralise.

4.6 To maintain this type of industry new processes must be designed specifically for small scale operation, including mechanisation and automation, and generally following the tenets of the Intermediate Technology, ie. emphasising low cost and labour intensive methods. Such processes must carefully balance the requirements of energy, materials and manpower.

4.7 While certain services such as power generation, water supply, transport networks, post and telecommunications and the large scale, energy intensive industries are best controlled by the Provincial or Central Governments it is considered in the best interests of society that most commercial and industrial firms should be community based and held in co-ownership by their employees. Multinational firms, multi-company organisations and the Stock Exchange as it now exists and operates are incompatible with this aim and steps will be taken to disband them. Provincial versions of the old style Stock Exchange as a medium for raising capital for new industries would be maintained.



## 5. Redeployment of Labour.

Additional to the requirements of a more labour intensive manufacturing industry, there are a number of other ways in which the need for labour will be generated in a steady state economy.

5.1 Compulsory manufacture of long-life goods, while leading initially to a reduction in the manufacturing labour force, will bring about an increase in labour for servicing and maintenance.

5.2 The labour intensive processes in the recycling industry, such as collection and separation, will be encouraged.

5.3 There will be a return to more labour intensive farming methods, which with the ruralisation of part of the urban community during population dispersal, will absorb some of the unemployed.

5.4 Sewage works will be converted to methane / sludge producers and the transport systems will be restructured both needing extra labour.

5.5 Skilled and technical workers will be needed to research, design and build alternative energy generation systems and production systems compatible with the needs of small scale, community based industry.

5.6 Workers will be encouraged to learn more than one job and given the opportunity for retraining at any time of life.

5.7 A Reclamation Force will be set up, attached to the District Councils, with the function of cleaning up the environment. At first their main task will be to repair the damage to the environment caused by the last two centuries of industrial development, but later the emphasis would be more on urban care and embellishment.

5.8 Provision for couples to take part time jobs or even share one job will be made so that fathers in particular can spend more time with their families.

## POLLUTION

1. Pollution is caused by the discharge of poisonous, noxious, inflammable, explosive, radioactive and some apparently useless materials into the atmosphere, land or water in such a way, or in such quantities as to be obnoxious, damaging to the environment, or potentially damaging through cumulative or secondary effects. The identification and measurement of pollutants requires continuing research effort and the levels and conditions which are defined as causing pollution need constant monitoring and review.

## 2. There are a number of categories of pollution.

2.1 Industrial wastes, being those by-products from manufacturing industries which, for the time being, have no further economic value and which must be removed from the manufacturing site.

2.2 Bulk wastes which are not always immediately usable, such as iron and steelworks slag, colliery waste, power station ash and waste from china clay workings. These materials cause pollution when tipped in such a way as to cause hazard to animals or the public or to render agricultural or other land useless.

2.3 Domestic refuse, including sewage, when discharged into water or tipped.

2.4 Discharges at sea of oil, kitchen waste and so on, which ends up ultimately on the seashore.

2.5 Agricultural pollution caused by the use of pesticides, and the products of silage which drain into local water supplies endangering animal life.

2.6 Accidental discharges of pollutants.

2.7 Noise.

2.8 Heat.

3. The costs of pollution are carried by society as a whole, whether this be the social and economic costs of pollution itself or the costs of avoiding it. At present these costs are not sufficiently related to the causes. Responsibility for eliminating pollution should be squarely placed on those causing it, be they individuals, companies or public authorities. The "polluter pays" principle will be applied.

4. Pollution cannot be accepted on the grounds that it is uneconomical to prevent it. The trade value of manufactured commodities must take into account the cost of producing them by pollution free methods. If this proves to be an uneconomical cost, then the product may cease to be available.

## 5. LONG TERM AIMS

To eliminate pollution.

## 6. SHORT TERM AIMS

These are aimed at beginning the process of change designed to achieve the long-term aim and involve initiating policies of two kinds.

6.1 Pollution frequently involves the unnecessary wastage of otherwise useful materials; thus, by encouraging recycling and conservation of raw materials (see Natural Resources) important first steps would be taken towards pollution control.

6.2 There must be immediate, strong policies based on the "Polluter pays" principle to provide environmental safeguards.

## 7. THE POLICIES

(Additional to those that are relevant under Natural Resources)

7.1 Establish a Pollution Commission to incorporate, with increased staff, the Noise, Clean Air and Wastes, and Central Unit on Environmental Pollution sections of the Department of the Environment, H.M. Alkali and Clean Air Inspectorate and other inspectorates concerned with the environment.

7.2 The Commission will contain an Inspectorate Division whose function will be to supervise the administration of pollution charges. They will be designed both to encourage abatement and to pay for the waste treatment and disposal facilities; thus, the polluter will be solely responsible for the cost of the pollution control. There will be no subsidies, and the polluter will be required to be partly financially responsible for residual damage. Capital schemes designed to overcome pollution will be eligible for investment grants.

At present direct legal and administrative controls of pollution are inadequately implemented and there is too heavy a reliance on voluntary restraints. In place of these the new legislation will give the Commission powers to inspect accounts, statistics and waste disposal records.

The keeping of such records will be compulsory and their format will be agreed by the Commission. New legislation will contain provision for very heavy fines for polluters and it will ensure that industry pays the full cost of any removal and disposal facilities provided by the local authorities.

7.3 The Commission will also contain an advisory division which will co-ordinate research, advise on methods of measuring and controlling pollution, noise and any other environmental hazards, check plans of any new developments and investigate the allowable levels of pollutants.

7.4 If the sludge derived from sewage is to be usable it must be free of toxic substances. Legislation will be enacted to control the input of toxics into sewers and drains from domestic sources.

7.5 An early warning system for new chemicals, which might be released into the environment, will be initiated and rigorously imposed standards will be set on their use. New chemicals will be strictly screened to determine whether they are necessary and how they might affect the health of people.

7.6 Private contractors in the waste disposal business must be closely co-ordinated by local authorities.

7.7 Dumping in the sea and rivers of all pollutants will be banned.

7.8 International standards for pollution levels must be established and adhered to nationally. Monitoring stations would be set up locally to observe that these standards are kept.

7.9 The discharge of pollutants into the atmosphere via high chimney stacks in place of filters, etc. will be re-examined.

7.10 Radioactive waste is a special problem because there are no known ways of safely disposing of it. All forms of nuclear fission will therefore be phased out as quickly possible until the problem has been solved.

7.11 Steps would be taken to reduce pollution by motor vehicle exhausts. High lead petrol would be phased out and strict noise limits introduced for road, rail and air vehicles.

## TRANSPORT

1. The present transport systems in Britain are dependent on both the availability of abundant fossil fuels, and planning regulations, which do not limit the amount of land that can be used to extend the transport networks. The effect of resource depletion on the supply of fuel and the need to stop the sterilisation of agricultural land under roads etc. could both be disastrous to the transport system unless it is changed markedly.

2. Instead of relying on annual profit/loss balance sheets for evaluating transport systems a form of accounting must be introduced in which all social and environmental costs and benefits are considered not only in the short term but on a long term basis.

3. Transportation policies should seek to achieve three objectives in a transport system.

3.1 That it operates at the lowest practical cost in resources and with the minimum impact on the environment.

3.2 That it is sustainable indefinitely.

3.3 That it does not discriminate between different sections of society.

4. Such policies would:

4.1 Encourage rail and water transport, which are more efficient in the use of fuel than air or road transport.

4.2 Encourage public transport as opposed to private transport.



4.3 Make the best use of existing facilities rather than take more land.

4.4 Reduce the total demand for transport by appropriate planning in cities and industry and the decentralisation of services (See BUILDING & THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT)

## 5. THE POLICIES

5.1 Remove the emphasis on road building to railways by ceasing road building in all urban areas and most rural areas.

5.2 The railways electrification programme to be re-examined against alternative motive power systems due to the low efficiency of presently available electricity generating stations and transmission losses of electricity.

5.3 Rail sidings to be built into any new industrial areas and, in all areas, develop and improve railhead to customer delivery services.

5.4 Railway freight charges to be stabilised in conjunction with an expanded freightliner network and increased wagon load traffic.

5.5 Substantially increase the vehicle licence fee for heavy lorries and progressively decrease the maximum permissible size of vehicle.

5.6 Raise sharply the tax on petrol and licence fee for large cars, while reducing it on low consumption vehicles, say below 1000 c.c

5.7 Adjust freight charges to make it uneconomical to transport commodities long distances when they can be made locally.

5.8 Bus and rail services to be integrated and information about them made readily available in an integrated form.

5.9 Stabilise public transport fares; increase the range of family fares to counteract the economies of family car travel; widely introduce "travel card" facilities allowing unlimited travel for a set period of time.

5.10 Introduce extensive bus priority measures in towns and cities.

5.11 Encourage greater experimentation with and introduction of schemes such as free city centre bus services, park and ride, post buses, voluntary car pooling. In general traffic management in towns and cities should make car commuting costly and inconvenient. Parking facilities should not be increased.

5.12 Prohibit the use of company cars for private use and remove all tax concessions for their use.

5.13 Encourage the motor industry to develop alternative forms of motive power for cars based on renewable resources.

5.14 The annual budget of the British Waterways Board will be increased by government aid to fund the rehabilitation of the waterways as a means of transport.

5.15 No new airports will be built in the foreseeable future.

5.16 A Transport Commission will be established to supervise the co-ordination of all transport services and to research new sociologically and environmental transport systems.

5.17 The present driving test will be made more stringent, thus bringing it into line with the tests which drivers in public transport have to undergo.

## ENERGY AND FUEL

1. It is impossible to assume that we can continue to increase consumption of energy, or even in the long term to consume it at our present rate. There are limits imposed by the availability of resources and the tolerance of the environment to the impact of the methods employed and way of life they support. On the other hand, the prospect of life without energy, except at an absolute minimum, is very uninviting.

### 2. LONG TERM AIMS

The Ecology Party's policies will aim to provide sufficient energy by efficient methods to make life comfortable when used efficiently, while having regard to the environmental effects of such methods.

#### 2.1 Renewable sources of energy

The methods of providing power from renewable resources, such as solar energy, wind, tides and geothermal heat are not yet viable because they cannot sustain a large enough, reliable, regular centralised supply of energy for our present way of life. The Ecology Party will promote research into these methods and provide money and facilities for prototypes to be built and tested. Research will also be encouraged in methods of storing energy. Ultimately the aim will be to make each consumer as self-sufficient in all forms of energy requirements as possible.

#### 2.2 Nuclear Fission

Because of the highly dangerous wastes produced by the fission reactors and the possibility of a catastrophic accident caused by one of them, no new fission reactors should be built or commissioned and the existing ones shut down at the earliest opportunity. They should then be guarded and monitored for any leakages.

### 2.3 Nuclear Fusion

This may be a possible means of tapping vast quantities of energy and the hazards are a lot less than from fission reactors. Research should be continued until a time comes when a decision can be made about whether they are too dangerous environmentally or whether they are really necessary or economically, from the energy point of view, viable.

### 3. SHORT TERM AIMS

Existing resources of fossil fuels (coal, oil and gas) should be treated as an energy source only in the very short term and their use strictly limited to preserve them for as long as possible. This is especially important because these minerals are also the raw materials for many manufactured goods. By using them carefully they could provide an important breathing space. Thus, the Ecology Party's short term policies will be to:

3.1 Conserve what energy we have now and in the near future from non-renewable resources.

3.2 Bring about a change of emphasis from the use of fossil fuels to produce electricity economically to using the total amount of energy available from these fuels in the most efficient way.

3.3 Begin research into the production of energy from renewable sources.

4. At present more than 40% of the energy used in Britain is for servicing and heating of buildings, about 21% for transport and 28% for industrial processes.

4.1 Of the 40% used in buildings, more than 30% is used for space and water heating at peak times. Over half of this is wasted.

4.1.1 Legislation will be introduced to improve the thermal insulation of new buildings including the insulation of building fabric, cutting down draughts and losses and keeping plant efficient (See BUILDING AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT.)

4.1.2 Tariffs for fuel of all kinds will be adjusted so that unit costs increase in direct proportion to the amount used. Consideration will be given for special rates in the case of essential services.

4.2 Savings in transport can be made by moving fewer goods and people shorter distances more slowly. (See TRANSPORT)

4.3 Industry

4.3.1 Introduce a Fuel Tax to encourage firms to use the fuel they have more efficiently.

4.3.2 Introduce Added Tax which would penalise those products which use energy rather than labour consuming processes in their manufacture.

5. Our electric power is generated in large power stations which it is said is the most economic way of producing electricity from fossil fuel. However, vast quantities of energy in the form of heat are wasted by this process. The Ecology Party would encourage the total use of available energy resources by the following means:-

5.1 Ensure that the waste heat from power stations and the heat producing industrial processes is pumped to where it could be used.

5.2 Build future power stations with district heating possibilities in mind.

5.3 Encourage industries to build their own plant to generate their own power and heat where possible from renewable sources by giving grants and tax concessions.

5.4 Allow power from these plants to be used in the grid and vice versa to balance supply and demand.

### FOREIGN POLICY

1. The Ecology Party is concerned with, firstly, future generations and, secondly, existing populations. The former involves concern for survival of the species; the latter involves a concern for the safety and health of all peoples and a concern for their quality of life. The Ecology Party represents a faith which, once espoused, must be broadcast as widely as possible. The Ecology Party's principles are applicable to all countries.

2. The Ecology Party's policies are designed to promote self-sufficiency in the life of individuals and the nation, but it is not intended that they should lead Britain to being an inward-looking xenophobic state. International co-operation at all levels is an ideal that will not be ignored, particularly with respect to European countries, and it is envisaged that ultimately it will be possible for Britain to be part of a European Political Community within which conservationist principles are paramount.

3. The Ecology Party accepts the democratic decision of the British people to remain within the E.E.C. and will actively work towards achieving a self-sufficient Europe based upon the principles of the Ecology Party.

3.1 The Ecology Party's objectives must be made known within E.E.C. and European groups and parties with similar ideals must be sought out.

3.2 The growth of international co-ordination on environmental matters will be encouraged with the early establishment of international standards.



## DEFENCE

- 3.3 All planning will be evaluated for its impact on the environment on a European scale, perhaps by a European watch-dog organisation.
  - 3.4 Increase international collaboration in scientific and technical research, especially on energy generation.
  - 3.5 Establish a coherent European energy policy.
  - 3.6 Take steps towards forming an International Union of Local Authorities through which ideas on environmental issues will be exchanged. Through such a body it might be possible to co-ordinate environmental policies, and resist any move toward technocratic elitism within E.E.C.
4. Mutual co-operation among all countries in the world on a basis of self-sufficiency is essential to the maintenance of peace and stability. Policies towards Third World countries will, therefore, tend to diminish the degree to which they are exploited and influenced by British industrial and commercial organisations and, in the giving of aid, will emphasise the value of expertise rather than money. An openly humanitarian approach will be taken to all matters of foreign affairs.
- 4.1 The right of primitive peoples to be left undisturbed, either by misguided forms of aid or the exploitations of natural resources will be energetically defended.
  - 4.2 As a principle, aid to Third World Countries will be given only as a result of requests from them and will be the result of investigation of possible side effects. We must be conscious of what we can learn from them so that mutual co-operation is a reality.
  - 4.3 Where financial aid is given it will be multilateral; but where possible it should be used on research which is of benefit to Third World countries; for example, on tropical diseases, labour and unemployment methods, weather cycles, agriculture and appropriate technology.
  - 4.4 Direct aid in terms of the provision of expertise will be aimed at initiating self help schemes
  - 4.5 Aid will be used to disseminate information on conservation and ecological ideas and practices and to encourage their adoption, especially with regard to population control.
5. The so-called special relationship with the U.S.A. is of little value to Britain. Investment and defence ties with that country will be terminated.
6. In keeping with the promotion of peace and stability within the world the manufacture and sale of arms to other countries will be phased out.

1. Britain's geographical position is such that in the event of a nuclear war no nuclear weapons of hers will achieve anything other than add to the total destruction of our planet. To maintain such weapons as deterrents harms the cause of arms limitations and costs a great deal of money.

1.1 Our own nuclear bases will be closed and the nuclear weapons dismantled.

1.2 American nuclear bases will also be closed and defence agreements with U.S.A. terminated.

2. Activity and expenditure in all spheres of the armed forces will be reviewed regularly and reduced. Present day complex and very costly war machines will be phased out and a capability retained sufficient only to play our own part in policing and in international peace keeping activities. The U.N. require the support of a well-trained but lightly armed force for peace keeping purposes. We should meet this need, but ensure that such a force is trained in non-violent methods of conflict resolution and that this becomes U.N. policy.

## ECONOMY

1. The purpose of this section is to attempt to present an outline of an economic system which is compatible with the sort of society that the policies in this Manifesto aim to create and to indicate the steps which would be necessary to begin the transformation of our present economic structure.
2. The ultimate aim is the achievement of a steady-state economy based on stock rather than flow economics where wealth is assessed from what we have instead of how quickly we use it. Such an economy should encourage the conservation of natural resources, the enhancement of the environment and a way of life which gives each person the opportunity of fulfilment in work and leisure. It must function within an interlocking system of small communities each as self-sufficient as possible in the necessities of life and in its own management, the whole comprising the Nation. But, above all, the economic thinking behind the system must recognise the long term value of national assets and avoid eroding them for short term gain.
3. An important distinction between modern economic practices and those required in a steady state is that the economy should be in a state of balance. The practice of deficit budgeting can only be sustained during periods of growth. It is incompatible with the requirement of a steady state economy and is highly inflationary when carried out, as at present, during periods of enforced zero growth. In a simplified model of the corporate state, balance must be maintained between exports and imports, taxation and government spending, investment and total savings.

#### 4. Economic Growth

4.1 The key to economic activity lies in the aggregate of individual material expectations expressed as consumer demand. Whenever this is in excess of current productive capacity, either unintentionally or, as in orthodox economic policy, by design, then either economic growth or inflation must occur. If growth is prevented in any way, then inflation must continue regardless of counter-measures until expectations and hence demand, fall. This is the explanation of our current inflation, and it can only be brought down by measures which allow demand to fall without causing hardship.

4.2 If demand fell too far, a traditional slump would result, but Keynesian methods could correct this. Once demand has been stabilised just below the limits of indefinitely sustainable capacity, maintaining economic equilibrium becomes a relatively technical matter of regulating taxation or raw resource costs and money flow.

4.3 Economic growth is usually defined as 'the rate of increase in Gross National Product per head of population'. The GNP is made up from the spending by government and private consumers on goods and services produced in the U.K., capital investment by government and business, and exports.

4.4 Of the variety of items which make up the GNP some are essential to our physical and cultural needs but others are merely wasteful. The essence of the problem is to change our way of life so as to concentrate on the necessities such as food, housing and clothing, and on those things of enduring value which enhance the quality of life for everyone. Thus, although the GNP may perforce go down, we believe that true wellbeing and satisfaction in life can grow. For instance, some things, beneficial to health and satisfaction, that we do for ourselves such as growing our own vegetables or making our own bread, do not appear in GNP. Community or local group ownership of items also has compensating benefits in both social and practical terms. Voluntary social work and neighbourly community care could reduce the need for the Social Services. All these represent reductions in GNP without loss in wellbeing.

#### 5. Trade, Self-Sufficiency and the Balance of Payments

5.1 The present balance of payments deficit, which is running at around 5% of GNP, is a very serious problem requiring urgent action. Efforts are needed in the short term, both to increase exports and to decrease imports, but in the longer term the Ecology Party believes that we should concentrate on reducing imports.

5.2 In an era of apparently unlimited resources 'free trade' provided a means of accelerating economic growth - although the benefits of this process went primarily to the rich nations. The picture has changed dramatically with our realisation of the physical limits of the Earth and the Ecology Party believes that trade should be more self-sufficient. This would be done by tariff barriers and by quotas as appropriate.

5.3 A thorough review of all our imports is needed in order to formulate policies which may reduce consumption, stimulate home produced alternatives and discourage imports. Because most of these policies affect other countries we must be aware of their needs and avoid taking unilateral action without due regard as to the consequences to others.

5.4 The recent considerable growth in manufactured imports needs special attention; this trend is largely associated with the growth in trade with the E.E.C. and in many cases results in unnecessary duplication and transportation.

5.5 Ultimately whatever level of imports occurs at any time it is important that these are paid for by corresponding levels of exports, but, in the medium term our exports must substantially exceed our imports in order to reduce the enormous debt we are currently having to service.

#### 6. Consumer Spending

6.1 In order to conserve resources for future generations the pattern of production (see EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRY) and consumer spending must change so that the reduction in total consumption can be achieved without causing increased hardship.

6.2 Value judgments in deciding what to discourage and what to encourage in the supply of goods and services will be partly based on social desirability and partly on such factors as 'gross energy requirement', availability and location of raw materials and problems of disposal. The Ecology Party believes that too much of our industrial effort is squandered on goods whose market is created by clever advertising rather than real need.

6.3 The economic regulators used to control the pattern of production and, therefore, consumer spending would include: variations in the rate of V.A.T., resource taxes; enforcement of anti-pollution legislation and restriction on marketing expenses allowable against tax. The ground rules for guiding the imposition of these restrictions should be the subject of wide public debate. (see NATURAL RESOURCES AND POLLUTION)



## Taxation

7.1 Funds to finance Government spending at present arise from:

- 7.1.1 Taxes on income and wealth.
- 7.1.2 Taxes on spending (currently V.A.T.)
- 7.1.3 Customs and Excise Duties.
- 7.1.4 Special taxes e.g. road fund.
- 7.1.5 Taxes on businesses.
- 7.1.6 National Insurance Contributions.
- 7.1.7 Rates.
- 7.1.8 Borrowing.

7.2 Apart from their main function of meeting the needs for both revenue and capital spending taxes are used for a variety of other purposes. In considering the merits of a particular tax it is important to take account of its effect on:

- 7.2.1 The distribution of income and wealth.
- 7.2.2 Incentives and job satisfaction.
- 7.2.3 The level and direction of economic activity.
- 7.2.4 The consumption of scarce resources, especially energy.
- 7.2.5 Administrative efficiency, i.e. the revenue produced by comparison with the cost of collection. The total cost should be considered here rather than just the cost to, say, the Inland Revenue.
- 7.2.6 Discrimination against certain types of goods and services as regards both production and consumption.
- 7.2.7 Control of pollution.

7.3 There is a particularly difficult balance to strike between items 7.2.1 and 7.2.2. Incentives are usually seen to be related to the rewarding of merit but in a situation where growth is restricted a reduction in differentials will be needed if the least well off in our society are to be brought up to a reasonable standard. In this sense there is a conflict between liberty and equality and Ecology Party believes that in the short term the emphasis must lie with equality although in the long term we believe that other freedoms will be created and valued which are not in conflict with equality, i.e. cultural, recreational and spiritual opportunities.

7.4 Redistributive taxation is not only a threat to incentive, but it will also stimulate much sterile effort to find ways of tax avoidance. For both these reasons any proposals must be accompanied by wide public debate in order to arrive at the best systems and also to gain understanding and support for the measures taken.

7.5 Subject to 7.4 the Ecology Party believes that:

- 7.5.1 The integrated National Income/Tax system (See SOCIAL WELFARE) should be arranged to give a tax system in which the rate increases progressively with increase in income. Decisions need to be made on both the total range of net incomes and how it should be distributed over the population.
- 7.5.2 The new Capital Transfer tax would be retained substantially in its present form.
- 7.5.3 The currently proposed Wealth Tax would be retained as a means of limiting large accumulations of wealth.
- 7.5.4 The present Capital Gains would be retained as a restraint on profits made through market fluctuations.

7.6 Indirect taxations, notably V.A.T. which are essentially taxes on spending, raise about 35% of the Government's income at present. V.A.T. is a useful tax for regulating demand and for discriminating against inessential goods and services.

7.7 National Insurance contributions constitute about 19% of the Government's income; 10% paid by employers and 9% by employees. This constitutes a major regressive tax which despite recent changes to earnings related contributions is still a considerable tax on the lowest paid. The time has come to abandon the insurance concept and to absorb employees' contributions into the income tax system. Employers contributions at present constitute a tax on employment and in view of the need to shift emphasis away from labour saving and towards materials and energy saving they should be abolished.

7.8 Tax on companies provides 7% of Government income. This will be retained.

7.9 The Ecology Party supports the proposed abolition of rates. A system of Government and Administration is proposed in which taxes would be paid to the local District Government and rates would therefore be an unnecessary complication.

## 8. Government Spending.

8.1 At present there is a large deficit on the Government accounts, which is made up by borrowing. An expanding economy may reasonably be financed by borrowing since a larger income arises from growth in GNP which is able to service the National Debt. In a situation of restricted growth, or even a reduction in GNP, it becomes imperative to balance the books. Taxation and Government spending must therefore be considered together.

8.2 Government spending must be seen in relation to income available and this income is related to two factors:

8.2.1 The level of economic activity as measured by GNP: for a given set of tax rates the actual revenue depends on the level of industrial output since this in turn determines personal incomes and company profits.

8.2.2 The proportion of GNP represented by the public sector.

8.3 The Ecology Party accepts that in a situation of high population density and technological complexity the public sector is bound to represent a high proportion of GNP-currently about 40% (depending on how it is defined) - but in the longer term we aim for a reduced population and a simpler life style which will allow a substantial reduction in the proportion of GNP consumed in the Public Sector.

8.4 In the longer term, we anticipate a reduction in the income available to Government and we must start to plan now the more cost effective forms of service needed in the future, as well as face the current urgent need for economies.

8.5 The largest single item of expenditure is Social Security which the Ecology Party aims to replace by the National Income system. (see SOCIAL WELFARE) In an equilibrium economy the cost of this item must be balanced by an equivalent sum in taxation. During the transitional period tax rates will have to be monitored and revised upward as employment patterns re-adjust to the flexibility made possible by the National Income Scheme, and to the reduced employment requirements of the sustainable society.

8.6 The next largest item is education. (See EDUCATION). A principal saving could be made by the full integration of schools with their community, allowing more efficient and intensive use of buildings. Greater involvement of parents, volunteers and part-time staff should reduce the wages bill.

8.7 Health and personal social services cost only a little less than Education at present. The Ecology Party believes that self sufficient and self governing communities will be intrinsically more healthy and will be intrinsically more healthy and will encourage a more responsible and self-reliant attitude of mind greatly relieving the burden on the Health Service and enabling a major reduction in Social Services.

8.8 Defence costs are similar in size to Health and the Ecology Party proposes drastic cuts and a radically different approach to defence in future (See DEFENCE).

8.9 Housing is one of our greatest social priorities and the need for better insulation standards means that Housing will become a more expensive item in the short to medium term.

8.10 Agriculture, fisheries and food are currently a fairly modest item and the Ecology Party's policies will require a considerable increase in this area (See AGRICULTURE)

8.11 The aim should be to balance income with expenditure, but the high level of interest servicing the National Debt indicates a need to generate a surplus of income over expenditure in the medium term. The present high inflation is reducing the National Debt by eroding the value of the money borrowed and the fixed interest payments, but the high rates of interest partly discount this effect. If inflation can be overcome, then the only way of reducing the debt service payments is by generating a surplus.

## 9. Savings and Investment.

9.1 In any economic activity the aim should be the generation of a trading surplus. This is essential to provide the means of future progress, to replace plant equipment and buildings which are worn out or obsolete, and to introduce new and more efficient plant or equipment so that the same job can be done more economically, i.e. using less materials and energy.

9.2 The first essential is to create an economic environment in which it is possible for an efficient enterprise to generate a surplus adequate at least to meet its own requirements for improvement and replacement.

9.3 Inflation, interest rates and the whole monetary system are matters which require urgent and detailed investigation to ensure that whatever system is permitted and whatever reforms are proposed are not in conflict with the general aims of all other policies.

9.4 Capital investment is related to research and ideally the latter will lead to the former. Research grants policy is therefore an important means of guiding future development.

## 10. The monetary system and financial institutions.

10.1 The primary function of the financial and banking sector of the economy is to use efficiently the financial resources of the nation. In broad terms this means facilitating the conversion of cash savings into fixed assets and handling the many and varied transactions both internally and externally. The Ecology Party has doubts about the efficiency with which this task is carried out today and its relationship to social justice, and the appropriateness of our present institutions to the future structure of the economy.

10.2 An important way of controlling the economy is to control the supply and cost of money. Significant changes were made in 1971 to the method of control of interest rates and lending levels. A review of the effects of these changes is overdue.

10.3 In general the Ecology Party believes that a tighter control of credit is needed to control inflation, although this is only one of several major factors leading to inflation.



11. Prices and Incomes.

11.1 Rising prices are inflationary only if expectations remain buoyant. Only falling demand can genuinely exert downward pressure. Any arbitrary control must inevitably be counter-productive.

11.2 Incomes will tend to be stabilised by the combined effect of the progressive tax rates proposed in 7.5.1 above and the National Income (see SOCIAL WELFARE). Wage claims will be inhibited, yet individual security and bargaining power will be safeguarded.

11.3 Taxes on income and wealth enable crude limits to be set on net incomes, but do little to establish equity, or to protect those without bargaining power in the main body of the economy. Some system of guidelines is required to assist in evaluating appropriate levels of pay, particularly in the public service.

11.4 In the short term urgent steps are needed to curb wages and inflation.

11.5 The Ecology Party would introduce as an urgent measure a statutory incomes policy. This would limit pay awards to an amount less than the rise in the retail Price Index by an amount stipulated by the government and depending on the current economic situation. If awards were made in excess of these the excess would be "clawed back" through the tax system.

11.6 In order to ameliorate the ill effects of inflation, threshold agreements would be allowable provided they fell within the overall criteria. Many people, such as pensioners, would depend entirely on the National Income. This would be subject to regular reviews.

11.7 A pay Board would be re-established with a brief to review all salaries and wages with a view to building up over the years a framework to act as a guide in negotiating wages and salaries. This would amount to a national job evaluation scheme based on points allocated for various features such as economic and social significance of job, working conditions, educational requirements, etc. and would enable jobs to be slotted into broad bands with weighing factors for different areas.

11.8 The Prices Commission should remain in existence to provide a controlling influence on prices, but it must develop its system so as to cut down the delays in giving agreement to price changes. The factors allowable for price changes also need to be widened in order to improve profitability.

12. Economic Measures - Short Term.

12.1 The two major problems facing Britain today are the balance of payments deficit and inflation. Closely related to inflation is the deficit on current account. The primary purpose of short term

measures should be to stabilise this dangerous situation by bringing the balance of payments into surplus and reducing inflation progressively to less than 5%.

12.2 After careful investigation and international consultation, import restrictions would be imposed while current measures for the encouragement and support of exports would be retained.

12.3 The control of inflation is partly a matter of technical regulators such as monetary and tax policy but initially the human aspects predominate. As a Nation we all need to accept that we are living beyond our means, and a Prices and Income Policy is an essential element in a return to stability.

12.4 In an era of restricted growth Government income and expenditure must balance and as inflation is reduced there will be an increasing need to generate a surplus to finance ecologically sound projects.

13. Economic Measures - Longer Term.

13.1 A major priority in the Ecology Party's longer term investment plan would be the development of decentralised technology which would make the "network of communities" concept economically viable. (See EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRY). This will mean the support of practical projects as well as more orthodox research.

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