



**OXFORD
ECOLOGY
MOVEMENT**



a
sane
future

MANIFESTO

second draft October 1978

price 30 p

Table of Contents

<u>Section</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. <u>Nature of the OEM</u>	1
2. <u>The Need for an 'Ecological' Politics</u>	1
2.1 The Meaning of 'Ecology'	1
2.2 The Resource Imperative	1
2.3 The Social Imperative	2
2.4 The Industrial & Employment Imperative	2
2.5 The Peace Imperative	3
2.6 The Ethical Imperative	3
2.7 The Democratic Imperative	4
2.8 Summary	4
3. <u>The Basic Principles of OEM Policies</u>	4
3.1 Democracy	4
3.2 Distribution of Goods	4
3.3 Incentives	5
3.4 Science and Technology	5
4. <u>The Policies and Measures</u>	5
4.1 Introduction	5
4.2 The Role of Structural Change	6
4.3 Government	6
4.4 Taxation (Community Contribution)	7
4.5 Law	7
4.6 Welfare	8
4.7 Health	8
4.8 Population	9
4.9 Housing	9
4.10 Education	10
4.11 Work and Employment	11
4.12 Food and Agriculture	11
4.13 Forestry	12
4.14 Water Supply	12
4.15 Wildlife and Conservation	13
4.16 Energy	13
4.17 Transport	14
4.18 Communications and Information Handling	15
4.19 Industry and Materials	15
4.20 Trade	16
4.21 Advertising and Public Information	16
4.22 Banking, Finance and the Economy	17
4.23 Public Administration	17
4.24 Foreign Policy	17
4.25 Defence	18
4.26 Northern Ireland	18

Note : The OEM may be contacted via : Sue Manning
 Secretary
 6 Glebe Street
 Oxford, UK

Those ordering additional copies of this manifesto by post - please include 10 p for packing and post (in UK).

1. Nature of the OEM

The OEM was founded initially to contest Oxford constituency in the next General Election. It has no formal connection with any other environmental or political group.

We believe that none of the main political parties offer policies which are satisfactory on ecological principles. Furthermore, we think it important that local groups seek independently for a political philosophy appropriate to the ecological perspective.

Draft No 1 of the Manifesto, written by the founding committee of the OEM, aroused a great deal of interest. The present draft takes account of the many comments received from members of the OEM and from other interested people.

Draft No 2 is so titled because we do not regard our present policies as holy writ.

According to the constitution of the OEM, the members must decide, after the next General Election, what will be OEM's future. Our options will include merging with other bodies or continuing independently. The present feeling of members is that we have an important role to play on the political stage and that we must continue our efforts over the range of activity from local to European elections.

2. The Need for an 'Ecological' Politics

2.1 The Meaning of 'Ecology'

The word ecology literally means : 'the study of house or habitat'. As commonly applied in biology, it is the study of the way in which animal or plant communities live, with an emphasis on the relationships between and within species and between living organisms and their environment.

Ecology is thus a science whose philosophy is one of looking at the whole, rather than at isolated phenomena. It contrasts with most other sciences, in which fragmented views are fostered by ever more specialised education.

This fragmented approach has been notable also in politics. Parties and governments have tended to respond to problems one by one and to react to those pressure groups which can make the greatest impact.

The 'whole-life' perspective of ecology leads to different priorities on political issues. One is brought to consider the whole of present humankind, our descendants and all of our diverse and vulnerable environment.

2.2 The Resource Imperative

It is becoming increasingly recognised that the combination of rising population and economic growth is straining the resources of the planet.

Resources are of many kinds. Normally we associate this word with oil, metals or the like. However, clean air, clean water and unspoiled land for recreation are but examples of another kind of resource which is increasingly coming under pressure.

Let us consider some illustrative examples of resource problems, in the categories :

The Atmosphere - There is growing scientific concern that we may affect our climate by continued burning of fossil fuels, especially if we resume the rapid growth-rate characteristic of pre-1974 years. The possibility exists of triggering a rapid rise of sea level of 5 metres due to melting of Antarctic ice.

Energy & Minerals - We are all now well aware that oil supplies are limited and that coal reserves are very unevenly distributed. Likewise, rich metal ores are increasingly rare. It is sometimes stated that vast energy reserves are available through the creation of plutonium from uranium in fast breeder reactors. It is further suggested that this energy can be used to mine low-grade metal ores, thus deferring their depletion dates despite continuing growth. The OEM strongly doubts that the necessary rate of investment can be sustained and that the natural environment can tolerate such disruption. Furthermore, we are convinced that such an economy, even if sustainable, would be so unpleasant (because of necessary political and other restrictions) as to outweigh any of the supposed benefits of increased production.

Agriculture - Although world food production has expanded, it should not be assumed that this can continue indefinitely. The expansion to date has required a substantial increase in a range of inputs such as fertilisers and machinery. Large areas are planted with single species of highly bred and possibly vulnerable strains. The natural soil structure suffers from such a highly technical approach. Attempts to open up the last remaining unused areas (eg the Amazon basin) raise many serious problems of environmental degradation. In addition to the vulnerability of agricultural production, health problems arise from the extensive use of chemicals on crops or as feed additives. Contamination of drinking water with nitrates is but an example.

It follows from the above that Britain should strive for greater self-sufficiency in energy, materials and food. As will be explained below, we shall in any event find it more difficult to generate exports adequate to maintain imports (eg approx 50 % of our food) on the present scale.

2.3 The Social Imperative

Economic policies over the last 2 centuries have led to a massive migration of people from rural areas to towns. This, combined with population growth, has led to the huge and unwieldy cities we know today.

In these cities, many people live and work in impersonal environments. They often do not fully understand the functioning of the society within which they live and they frequently feel powerless to influence its course. This has led to alienation, an increase in the levels of psychological stress, mental illness and violence.

Furthermore, people have become progressively out of touch with many of the fundamental facts of their existence. For instance, it is difficult when buying pre-packed food in a supermarket to appreciate the realities of weather and time as they affect the farmer and the effort of cultivation and harvest which he must put in to produce the food. This lack of contact with essentials leads to apathy about the progressive degradation of the environment.

Many of the supposed benefits of this modern society are in fact illusory. For instance, on the pretext of saving time, we actually waste it. Most people now spend more time travelling to work than they did in the 1930's. In the USA (no British data exists) it has been found that, although 'convenience' foods have reduced cooking time by 30 mins/day, time spent shopping has risen by 36 mins.

It is clear that there are social limits to growth, as well as material limits. It may be that the social limits will constrain economic growth well before the material limits are reached. We submit that adjustment to such constraint must begin now, to avoid an unnecessarily painful transition.

2.4 The Industrial & Employment Imperative

At the same time as we are facing, on a broad front, the material and social limits to growth outlined above, we are entering an age in which modes of employment will change. If we proceed carelessly, substantial unemployment will occur, bringing social strife in its train.

Industry and services will be affected by improved technology (electronics, production robots etc) which allows substantial increases in productivity. If this technology is adopted to the fullest degree possible, many people's present occupations will disappear and a large fraction of those people will not find alternative occupation.

At the same time, transfer of production technology is allowing certain developing countries such as Korea (with the 'benefits' of a docile, low-paid workforce) to compete ever more successfully in the manufacture of a growing range of products. Countries such as Britain will therefore find it increasingly more difficult to generate sufficient exports to sustain their current imports.

Britain is thus faced with an apparent dilemma. Do we develop 'information-rich' technology (computer programming, microprocessors, aircraft engines, consulting engineering etc) in order to generate exports, while knowing that a society dominated by such technology will become increasingly polarised, with many people having no useful role ?

The answer is that we can have some 'information-rich' technology, full employment and a congenial society, if we are very careful when assessing proposals for industrial investment. Profit cannot be the only parameter. The overall needs of society must be paramount.

Employment will be created in ample quantity by the programme of greater self-sufficiency which we showed in para 2.2 to be necessary on other grounds. We can therefore afford to replace people with machines in hazardous or unpleasant environments (eg coal-mining, certain production processes).

2.5 The Peace Imperative

The exponential nature of population increase and economic growth means that both scarcity of resources and social disruption will become progressively more severe as this century draws to a close. This will occur at a time when the world stock of armaments is greater than ever and when nuclear weapons capacity has spread to many countries.

The survival of Britain, and indeed most of the Western world, therefore requires that international tensions be minimised. Conflict over access to raw materials or markets must be kept in check and the aspirations of the 3rd world must be respected.

Britain can play a significant world role if it provides an example of a conserving and non-exploitative society.

2.6 The Ethical Imperative

Man frequently acts as if he were the only significant species on the earth, turning all that he can find to his own advantage. However, looked at in terms of the planet's history, man's part in that history is tiny. The human species has only existed for a fraction of the 3500 million years during which life has existed, and has lived in complex societies for only the past few thousand years.

Man shares the earth with a vast range of species of plants and animals. These organisms depend for their existence on the maintenance of complex webs of interaction. All this has taken millions of years to evolve to its present state, multitudes of species having arisen, changed and in some cases become extinct during the unimaginably long process.

Now, in a matter of a few thousand years, but especially in recent decades, man has attacked and often destroyed this wealth of life due to his greed for land and lack of understanding of the careful balances of nature.

The continuation of such destruction must be avoided for several reasons. Firstly, we have seen in para 2.2 that our physical existence and that of our descendants may be threatened. We do not understand and cannot manage all the complex interrelationships which sustain the biosphere. Secondly, if we treat our natural environment with contempt we are unlikely to treat our fellow men (and, indeed, ourselves) with sensitivity to true human needs. Finally, we have a responsibility to protect and perpetuate the natural riches of the planet, not only out of care for our own future, but also out of respect for that which we did not create and still hardly understand.

2.7 The Democratic Imperative

The word democracy was defined by the Greeks as 'the power to rule by the people of the districts' - that is to say a decentralised system of government.

Today the lack of this true democracy, as seen in centralised government, giant multinational corporations, large comprehensive schools and the trade unions, is a central factor behind the ills of present society. A stable, ecologically balanced and civilised society cannot exist unless most of its members understand the basis of decisions and participate in their formulation and implementation.

Decisions must be decentralised so that they are never taken at a higher level than is necessary. Wider issues should be settled by a process of democratic federalism, whereby smaller units combine on matters of shared interest.

2.8 Summary

It is clear that attempts to maintain growth on the traditional basis will fail. If such attempts continue to be made, natural environments will be destroyed and conflict promoted both within and between nations.

There is thus a vital need for government policies which promote resource conservation, greater self-sufficiency both locally and nationally, environmental preservation, careful use of new technology, population stabilisation and the creation of fulfilling lifestyles.

3. The Basic Principles of OEM Policies

3.1 Democracy

We believe that the serious problems which mankind is collectively creating do not reflect an inherent destructiveness of the human species. Rather, they reflect an inappropriate social structure which does not allow the responsible side of individual human natures to be fully exercised.

Thus, we believe that decentralised democratic decision-making, combined with education in democratic participation and the provision of ample information, will lead to the adoption of ecologically sane policies. If people are secure in their own social environment they will be much readier than at present to accept responsibility for wider issues.

Democratic procedure should be adopted in all areas of life, in the school or work-place as much as in government.

3.2 Distribution of Goods

Unequal distribution promotes dissatisfaction and envy when the total quantity of goods is not growing. Indeed, one of the motives for growth has been that it diverts attention from inequality.

A stable, democratic society must therefore distribute its goods relatively equally. This applies particularly to 'free' or shared goods ('the

commons'), such as clean air and water or access to the countryside.

3.3 Incentives

We consider that limited but significant incentives should exist to encourage effort. Furthermore, we consider that a limited free market in goods and services can both encourage effort and optimise welfare.

The essence of a successful free market and incentive system is that it be carefully controlled and limited in its scope. 'Laissez-faire' policies rapidly lead to a loss in freedom as the strong and aggressive become dominant.

We believe that control is best exercised by setting limits and not by attempting to regulate every activity. Market forces should be allowed to operate freely, within whatever limits are found necessary for the general good.

3.4 Science and Technology

It is clear that science and technology have improved mankind's lot in many respects and that they retain the potential to improve it further.

Nevertheless, misplaced technology represents the greatest present threat to mankind, through environmental hazard, war or alienation.

Therefore, science and technology must in future be applied with greater sensitivity to mankind's needs and the ecology of the planet.

It has been often maintained that science and technology are 'value-free'. The blame for the misuse of technology is then laid at the door of politicians. The OEM does not believe that science, even in its 'pure' form is 'value-free'. The prevailing ideology of the times determines our basic research priorities as well as our priorities for investment in the development of new technology.

In future, our education must seek to synthesise the objectivity and curiosity which epitomise good science with a sensitive approach to human issues.

4. The Policies and Measures

4.1 Introduction

We do not regard the following set of policies as fixed. They should be seen as suggestions for what are, after all, substantial changes in the course of our society. In certain instances we can do little more than state our aims.

We welcome any comments or suggestions.

All of the following policies are intended to be compatible with the basic principles outlined in Section 3 above.

In most cases, the measures are categorised as Short-term or Longer-term. These categories are not intended to represent specific time periods, rather they relate to the future capacity of the broader ecology movement to influence government.

In the short term, with regard to Parliament, we envisage that a small number of MP's representing the broader ecology movement in one guise or another will be elected. Furthermore, we expect that MP's of other affiliation will to varying degrees support ecological policies. Such MP's can support the measures categorised here as short-term, these measures having in many cases an existing basis of support.

We expect that the collective voice of the broader ecology movement will be heard in forums other than Parliament. One of our principal roles, in fact, is to create a climate of opinion in which hitherto strange-sounding ideas can gradually come to be seen as 'common sense'.

In the longer term, we envisage that the broader ecology movement will lead Parliament either directly via the election of its own MP's or via the transformation of one or more of the existing parties. Introduction of the more far-reaching measures can then proceed.

As stated in Section 1, it is likely that the OEM will become involved in local and European elections after its immediate role in contesting the next election (assuming that comes first). It need hardly be said that the broader movement, of which OEM is part, must become involved at all levels of election.

4.2 The Role of Structural Change

It will be noted that our list is headed by policies and measures related to government, taxation and law. These structural areas we regard as crucial to the decentralised democratic decision-making which we have outlined in Sections 2.7 and 3.1 .

It is also clear that people must be prepared for, and seek, greater local control. Our proposed measures would foster such feeling through eg support of co-operative enterprises.

When the structural changes which we advocate have been made, our longer-term policies and measures must be seen in a different light. Their execution will be much less within the power of central government than at present. Therefore, our measures should be seen as suggestions for, and as predictions of, the paths which will be followed by decentralised decision-making bodies in an 'ecologically-oriented' climate of opinion.

4.3 Government

Policy : Bring government closer to the people, principally by structural changes whereby local bodies gain greater power and responsibility.

Short-term Measures

- (i) House of Commons to be renamed House of Representatives and elected by some form of proportional representation not involving party lists. This entails acceptance of government by shifting coalitions, which works satisfactorily elsewhere.
- (ii) Representatives to have substantial supporting staff, along the lines of USA practice.
- (iii) Members of the government to be elected by the House of Representatives.
- (iv) House of Lords to be replaced by a Senate and the power of hereditary peerages therefore removed. Senators to be partly elected and partly appointed by the House of Representatives.
- (v) Monarch to retain present position as nominal head of state but to lose present exemption from the law and from taxation. The cost of the monarchy to be substantially reduced.
- (vi) Representatives and Senators to retire after a maximum of perhaps 15 yrs service in each body.

Longer-term Measures

- (i) Government to be restructured into 3 tiers - national, regional and district.
- (ii) National government to be responsible for law, defence, foreign policy, currency and those industries and services which must operate at national level.

- (iii) Regional government to cover approx 1 million people and to be responsible for large hospitals, higher education and those industries and services of appropriate size.
- (iv) District government to cover approx 20 thousand people and to be responsible for all local matters.
- (v) Tax collection to be undertaken by district government and remitted to higher tiers of government where appropriate (see Section 4.4).
- (vi) Each tier of government to be separately elected by direct public vote.
- (vii) It is hoped that Welsh & Scottish aspirations will be satisfied by the increased local autonomy provided by this arrangement.
- (viii) Subdivision into regions and districts to pay respect to historical boundaries.

4.4 Taxation (Community Contribution)

Policy : Continue to use the tax system as an instrument of redistribution. Use tax to a degree as an instrument for encouraging resource conservation. In association with structural changes in government, build up the role of districts by giving them greatly increased financial power.

Short-term Measures

- (i) The personal tax structure to be reformed so that it is smoothly progressive (ie below an upper income limit it is always worth working harder but progressively less so at higher incomes).
- (ii) Welfare allowances to be largely replaced by a basic personal income paid to all.
- (iii) The combination of (i) and (ii) to be such that the range of disposable incomes is approx 3 to 1.
- (iv) A materials tax to be introduced on manufactured items in the form of a bond - manufacturers would recover this bond when the product was returned to them for recycling, with a sliding scale to encourage longevity (see Industry & Materials).
- (v) Open publication of personal incomes before and after tax.

Longer-term Measures

- (i) Tax collection to be transferred to the district level of government.
- (ii) Taxes to be remitted by districts to higher levels of government for recurrent expenditures (eg defence) in areas laid down by the constitution (see Law). The nation or region to determine the size of budget in each such area by recourse to a budgetary assembly in which districts have comparable power. (note - In the ideal eco-state tax remission to the centre would not require compulsion).
- (iii) The raising of finance for new capital investment (eg a tidal power station) by higher levels of government to be from districts, the subscribing districts having the use of the new facility on appropriate terms.
- (iv) A national 'personal income tax distribution board' to be created which has supervisory powers to ensure that district tax authorities distribute income evenly.
- (v) An inter-district 'district income equalisation board' to be created which is administered by the national government and which ensures that districts have roughly equal incomes. This board not to influence the allocation of funds within districts.

4.5 Law

Policy : Make the law more responsive to democratic processes.

Short-term Measures

- (i) A Freedom of Information Act to be introduced, whereby government must show cause why information should be withheld.
- (ii) Judges of higher courts to be approved by the House of Representatives.
- (iii) Judges to retire at 60.
- (iv) Liberal legal aid to be provided at all levels of justice.

Longer-term Measures

- (i) A limited written constitution to be introduced at the same time as the new tiers of government are introduced. The constitution to define the respective powers of each tier.
- (ii) The new constitution to include a Bill of Rights based on the UN Declaration of Human Rights.
- (iii) Magistrates to be elected locally and to retire at 60 or after 20 yrs service.

4.6 Welfare

Policy : The best care comes from people helping each other within a community. We seek a gradual transition from centralised welfare industries to local schemes. As real communities rebuild, the need for organised welfare operations should decline.

Short-term Measures

- (i) Replacement of most welfare allowances by basic personal income (see Taxation).
- (ii) Supplement to basic income provided in cases of special need (eg for handicapped people).
- (iii) Child allowance to differ in form with increasing family size (see Population).
- (iv) Accent to be put on community care rather than institutional care.

Longer-term Measures

- (i) District government to finance and co-ordinate most organised welfare activities. This will entail different welfare provision in different districts but inter-district income transfer (see Taxation) will ensure approximate equality.
- (ii) Voluntary insurance and pension schemes to be permitted but national schemes will be replaced by the basic income.
- (iii) Charities to be permitted (but given no tax privileges because in general their functions will be fulfilled by local communities).
- (iv) Basic welfare provision to be guaranteed by the Bill of Rights (see Law).

4.7 Health

Policy : Emphasis will be changed from curative to preventive medicine. Disease prevention will be advanced by greater attention to pollution, diet and better lifestyle.

Short-term Measures

- (i) Severe restriction of all kinds of pollution.
- (ii) Improvement of education regarding nutrition and the cultivation of a sensible attitude to bodily functions.
- (iii) Restriction of the use of anti-biotics, sedatives and stimulants.
- (iv) Publicity regarding the effects of excessive drinking, smoking, sweet-eating etc. A ban on advertising of tobacco, alcohol and sweets.
- (v) Ensure that tobacco, alcohol and sugar taxes continue to cover costs of resultant health care and of preventive education.
- (vi) Ban on smoking in enclosed public places.
- (vii) Reduction of food additives such as colouring and preservatives.

- (viii) Requirement for complete labelling of all products to show all ingredients of the product and potential health hazards.
- (ix) Exercise to be encouraged via publicity and provision of facilities.
- (x) Encouragement of a holistic approach to medicine, whereby mental and physical illnesses are treated as being inter-related.
- (xi) Encouragement of the study and practice of alternative medicine.
- (xii) Provision of greater access by patients to their medical records and introduction of a statute of limitations on the disclosure by authorities of records of all kinds of illness.
- (xiii) Discouragement of abuse of all recreational drugs.
- (xiv) Consumption by adults of recreational drugs to be legal.

Longer-term Measures

- (Note : Reduced stress and pollution should lead to improved health).
- (i) Responsibility for health care to be transferred from area health authorities to districts as regards eg cottage hospitals and to regions as regards eg large hospitals (see Government).
 - (ii) Creation of community therapy centres for a broad range of therapy.
 - (iii) Continuation of education and incentives to promote individual health maintenance via nutrition and lifestyle.
 - (iv) Careful assessment of the use of high-technology medicine.

4.8 Population

Policy : The population of Britain should be in balance with home food production. We believe this balance will be maintained by voluntary action when appropriate social structures are created. This voluntary action will be supported by education on, and assistance with, contraception.

Short-term Measures

- (i) Announcement that the national aim is a replacement birthrate in the short-term, followed by gradual reduction over the next 1 or 2 centuries to 20-30 million in Britain, achieved through education and with popular consent.
- (ii) Free issue of all contraceptives.
- (iii) Increased R & D on improved contraceptive methods for both sexes.
- (iv) Continue support of family planning clinics.
- (v) Massive increase in education on the need for population restraint and on means of contraception.
- (vi) Mother to be responsible for decisions on abortion (Note : Wider use of contraception should ensure a decline in the abortion rate).

Longer-term Measures

- (i) Child allowance (administered by districts) to be such that parental control over it declines when the family exceeds 2 children. For 1 or 2 children, the allowance is paid to the parents. For more than 2 children, the allowance is progressively administered directly on behalf of the child (free school meals etc). Thus the children do not suffer but the parents are made aware that they are not considered fully responsive to the needs of society.
- (ii) Education to be continued on the need for population restraint.

4.9 Housing

Policy : Housing to be related much more to the needs of coherent, caring communities with an increased degree of local self-sufficiency.

Short-term Measures

- (i) More effort to be made to make use of empty houses. A national census of houses to be undertaken.

- (ii) Restoration of houses to be encouraged in place of new construction and assistance to be given with mortgages for restoration of run-down property.
- (iii) Mass housing (eg tower blocks) to be phased out and replacements to draw their inspiration from terraced housing. Each dwelling to have its own open space.
- (iv) Derelict city land to be used for allotments or housing rather than for offices.
- (v) Land prices to be controlled to prevent speculation.

Longer-term Measures

- (i) Personal ownership of 1 house and garden to be permitted. This ownership to be transferrable.
- (ii) Ownership to be encouraged but some public housing to be provided.
- (iii) Co-operative housing schemes to be encouraged.
- (iv) Gradual rural resettlement to be undertaken : houses to be clustered around shops, schools etc and surrounded by allotments.
- (v) The distinction between town and country will be gradually broken down by rural resettlement and more cultivation within cities. It is not intended, however, that cities should vanish.
- (vi) Planning policy to reduce need for long-distance commuting to work.

4.10 Education

Policy : Children are people and need to be treated as such. This requires much more integration of their lives into society as a whole.

Short-term Measures

- (i) Age group 0-5 to be given access to playgroups with guided play. These groups to be run on a local basis, ideally by the community but with some professional expertise available.
- (ii) Age group 5-18 to have a good deal of formal education but this to be linked with the community via work experience. Some teachers to be professional full-timers but members of other professions (eg doctors or carpenters) to undertake some part-time teaching.
- (iii) Specialisation to be delayed longer than at present. However, rigour in thinking and working is very important and can be cultivated by intensive project work.
- (iv) Some subject streaming to be done but this to be carefully applied at the discretion of the school, possibly by ability grouping rather than age grouping.
- (v) The nominal school leaving age to be 18 but work experience outside school would increase towards this age.
- (vi) Formal school qualifications to be phased out together with specialisation. Higher education establishments to decide their own entrance criteria.
- (vii) First degrees to have a general element and not to be vocation-oriented.
- (viii) Encouragement to be given to continuous education through life : school premises to be used for this purpose for both day and evening study.
- (ix) Schools to be encouraged to produce some of their own needs (eg food) and perhaps a surplus.
- (x) School records to be accessible to parents.
- (xi) Schools to be internally democratized (eg some autonomy for children, election of head-teacher).
- (xii) Smaller schools to remain open.

Longer-term Measures

- (i) Private schools will be acceptable when income redistribution is fully established. These will not of course be elite institutions. A voucher system can also be introduced. It should thus be possible to have the benefits of private schools (experimentation, stimulation of state schools) without the class division which arises from the present system.

- (ii) As the 3 new tiers of government are set up, schools will be run by the districts and higher education (eg universities) by the regions.

4.11 Work and Employment

Policy : Work should be a part of life, not a drudge done to get money. All work should be satisfying, understandable and seen to be necessary and desirable by the person doing it, who should have the maximum of control over his work environment.

Short-term Measures

- (i) Introduction of the basic personal income and smoothly progressive income tax will make full-time employment less crucial than at present.
- (ii) People to be encouraged to take part-time employment and to engage in community food production, landscape conservation, playgroups etc as well as in more conventional occupations.
- (iii) An increasing portion of transactions will occur by exchange or gift, thereby lessening the current obsession with the state of the national economy.
- (iv) People to be encouraged to take different jobs at the same time (eg doctor/teacher, carpenter/fireman) and at different stages in their life (NB that politicians and senior managers will retire from those jobs relatively early).
- (v) Production-line work to be phased out by a combination of careful use of automation and group working. Longer-lived products will in any event permit more labour-intensive working.
- (vi) Many jobs to be shifted from manufacturing in large plants to reconditioning in smaller plants.
- (vii) Local jobs of various skill categories will be generated by energy and material conservation programmes.

Longer-term Measures

- (i) As ownership of larger industry and services passes to regions, districts and co-operatives, employment strategies will come to be determined within those groupings.
- (ii) Employment will increasingly become more flexible as rural resettlement proceeds. People will not spend all of their time cultivating land. Craft work and community service can coexist with sophisticated industrial activity and a highly developed tele-communication system.
- (iii) For nasty jobs (coal-mining, tax-collecting etc) agreed to be necessary, 'community service' to be introduced, whereby all in turn share the work.
- (iv) The need for large unions is expected to decline and the closed shop is to be phased out.

4.12 Food and Agriculture

Policy : Britain should be self-sufficient in essential foods, and such foods should be natural and wholesome. Farming and food processing should be on a human scale and not performed by agri-business. Organic practices should be used preferentially.

Short-term Measures

- (i) Elimination of battery animal-rearing and penalisation of grain-feeding of stock.
- (ii) Encouragement of the use of upland areas for grazing and forestry and a phasing out of the use of such areas for 'sport', eg as grouse moors.
- (iii) Phasing out of food additives including those added via animal feed and phasing out of unnecessary food processing and refinement (eg white flour).

- (iv) Introduction of high taxes on sugar and alcohol and a ban on their advertising (see Health).
- (v) Encouragement of organic farming and discouragement of chemical fertilisers, herbicides and pesticides.
- (vi) Encouragement of small-holdings both individually and co-operatively held.
- (vii) Encouragement of local breweries, bakeries etc.
- (viii) Encouragement of non-chemical food preservation eg via drying, bottling or freezing (perhaps in association with a heat-pump).
- (ix) Education on nutrition including non-meat or low-meat cuisine.
- (x) Investigation of small-scale freshwater fish-farming (eg carp).
- (xi) Demands made for rights over fish-breeding areas off coasts to ensure optimal fish population. Maintenance of a 200 mile limit for that purpose. Support for international restrictions on overfishing.
- (xii) Investigation of suitable legumes (beans etc - for vegetable protein).

Longer-term Measures

- (i) Limitation of the size of farms.
- (ii) Farm-land to be held by individuals on a lifetime lease. A district tribunal to be responsible for administering these leases. Children to be given preference in taking over a lease but not an absolute right. Lease not transferrable but can be surrendered.
- (iii) Co-operatives to be allowed to hold farms on a similar lease to that of individuals.
- (iv) Sewage system to be rebuilt so that domestic sewage can be separated from industrial effluent and used on land after processing.
- (v) Encouragement of district or regional production for local needs where possible.
- (vi) Farm produce to be sold on a free market (note the income limits described under Taxation, which would apply to farmers).
- (vii) Foreign trading in food will continue but at a much lower level than today.
- (viii) Encouragement of tree and hedgerow growth along field boundaries : this used for fuel (coppicing) and food (berries).
- (ix) Encouragement of planting of fruit and nut trees as food source.

4.13 Forestry

Policy : To manage existing forests to promote community benefit by way of products, wildlife and environmental protection, and recreation. At the same time, to greatly increase forest area, consistent with these aims, in order to reduce the national dependence on imports.

Short-term Measures

- (i) Substantial planting of hardwoods (preferably mixed) to be encouraged.
- (ii) A more sensitive approach to be taken to landscaping of softwood plantations.

Longer-term Measures

- (i) Encouragement of coppicing for fuel and light timber : this to be done near the point of use to permit nutrient recycle.
- (ii) Softwood and hardwood plantations to be encouraged but to be of limited size and intermingled with other agricultural uses.

4.14 Water Supply

Policy : To promote greater efficiency in the use of water and to reduce its pollution.

Short-term Measures

- (ii) Encouragement of increased collection and treatment of rainwater for household use.
- (iii) Elimination of charges for small hydropower plants.
- (iv) Requirement of complete testing and disclosure of effluents from agriculture, towns and industries.
- (v) Increased water charges to industry.
- (vi) Discouragement of run-off of agricultural chemicals (see Food and Agriculture).

Longer-term Measures

- (i) No further reservoirs to be built.

4.15 Wildlife and Conservation

Policy : To promote and maintain more extensive and diverse habitats for wildlife.

Measures

- (i) Establishment of wilderness areas.
- (ii) Strengthening of National Park legislation with controls on mining, agriculture, tourist development and roads.
- (iii) Ban on all forms of hunting for pleasure.
- (iv) Increased hedgerow and wetland protection.
- (v) Ban on import of whale products and on import of other endangered species or their products.

4.16 Energy

Policy : To promote maximum conservation of energy. To extract energy from sources which do not yield long-lived waste and which are consistent with a safe, democratic future. To use all energy sources in a manner consistent with environmental preservation.

Short-term Measures

- (i) All further construction of nuclear power facilities to be stopped and existing facilities to be shut down, with the exception of those facilities necessary for the handling of existing waste.
- (ii) All further construction of large fossil-fired power stations (eg Drax B) to be stopped.
- (iii) R & D to be greatly increased in the area of alternative energy sources and energy conservation.
- (iv) Incentives to be increased for the introduction of energy conserving techniques.
- (v) R & D to be increased in the area of improved coal utilisation techniques.
- (vi) Safer and more congenial coal-mining methods to be developed (eg robot miners).
- (vii) Small combined heat and power stations to be encouraged.
- (viii) Insulation standards for new buildings to be further increased.
- (ix) Building regulations to be re-written to allow greater innovation in energy conservation and the use of alternative sources.
- (x) Schemes for orbiting solar power stations to be opposed.

Longer-term Measures

(Note : In the longer-term, Britain will use progressively less energy than at present, without a drop in living standard, as a consequence of greater efficiency in energy use .)

- (i) Coal to have a significant initial role, but to be gradually replaced by solar energy used directly or indirectly (eg wind).
- (ii) CEBG to be broken up into regional power generation boards linked by a national electricity distribution board.

- (iii) The AEA to be run down gradually by transferring its personnel to other areas. These skilled people can make an important contribution to alternative energy sources and conservation.
- (iv) Fusion R & D to be abandoned.
- (v) Investigation to occur of long-term trading links with desert countries (eg in N Africa) for import from them of solar-derived fuels in exchange for manufactures etc.
- (vi) Assistance to be given to international efforts to understand and manage the level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere.
- (vii) Safe methods to be established for the ultimate disposal of the nuclear waste remaining after all nuclear installations have been shut down and dismantled.

4.17 Transport

Policy : The energy and materials waste and environmental degradation associated with present transport to be greatly reduced. This to be achieved through reduction of unnecessary travel and freight movement, through use of public rather than private transport and through improved technology.

Short-term Measures

- (i) All motorway building to be stopped.
- (ii) Private car fuel consumption to be progressively restricted, regardless of engine or body size.
- (iii) Concorde to be abandoned.
- (iv) Public transport to be encouraged (eg by subsidy, bus-lanes etc).
- (v) Encouragement to be given to progressive transfer of freight from road to rail.
- (vi) Redundant movement of freight to be discouraged.
- (vii) Vehicle hire at rail stations to be encouraged.
- (viii) Existing canals to be preserved from collapse.
- (ix) Progressive tightening of emission standards for new vehicles, particularly for lead.

Longer-term Measures

- (i) Design of most vehicles to be restricted to a maximum speed of 40 mph. This will make the improved rail system more popular for longer journeys.
- (ii) Continuation of transfer of long-distance freight from heavy lorries to an expanded rail and canal system.
- (iii) Buses to be allowed to travel between towns at speeds up to 50 mph. Storage space to be provided for bicycles, luggage etc.
- (iv) Internal flights to be phased out.
- (v) Little further attempt to be made to increase rail speeds but attempts to be made instead to improve safety, efficiency and comfort.
- (vi) Continuation of development of more economical aircraft for international flights.
- (vii) Light lorries to be used for local distribution of goods.
- (viii) Cycle and pedestrian routes to be separated from motor-roads.
- (ix) New train technologies to be investigated (eg magnetic levitation, fluid-bed coal locos etc).
- (x) Investigation of re-opening of old branch railways or of new, more relevant local lines.
- (xi) Investigation of road/rail vehicles.
- (xii) Investigation of advanced sail-assisted ships for international freight.
- (xiii) Planning policies to be altered to reduce need for freight movement and for the movement of people for business purposes, without restriction on movement of people for personal reasons.
- (xiv) Encouragement of improved telecommunication as a means of reducing business travel and paper usage.
- (xv) Build a Channel tunnel for rail use.

4.18 Communications and Information Handling

Policy : To facilitate democratic control of these activities.

Short-term Measures

- (i) Post Office to be broken up into 3 units :
 - letters and parcels
 - telephone and telex
 - broadcasting regulation
- (ii) Electronic data banks to be carefully controlled and individuals to be given access to their own files. Data banks to be registered.
- (iii) Regions to generate more local broadcasting, with open access for citizen groups.

Longer-term Measures

- (i) Regions to take greater control of their internal communications but a national network to be maintained.
- (ii) BBC to retain its present nominal independence but to be internally democratised.

4.19 Industry and Materials

Policy : To promote the conservation and re-use of materials in relation to all manufactured items. To ensure that enterprises are consistent with a decentralised, sharing democracy.

Short-term Measures

- (i) Introduction of a standard system of marking components of finished goods to show the constituent materials : this to permit easier recycling.
- (ii) Introduction of standard recipes for plastics and materials to facilitate recycling.
- (iii) Encouragement of long-life products.
- (iv) Encouragement of reconditioning of components.
- (v) Encouragement of recycling of scrap.
- (vi) Introduction of a materials tax on a recoverable bond system (see Taxation). This would strongly encourage manufacturers to recondition or recycle their own products. Importers would be subject to this bond in the same way as local manufacturers.
- (vii) Adoption of standard sizes for packaging (eg glass containers) and encouragement of their re-use.

Longer-term Measures

- (i) Restriction of private ownership of industry to firms not employing more than perhaps 25 people. Such small and diverse enterprises to be encouraged.
- (ii) Larger firms to be owned by one of the 3 tiers of government, depending on size but not more centrally than necessary. Thus, many district-owned enterprises would be competing with each other.
- (iii) Employees to have certain guaranteed rights regarding selection of management in the case of larger firms.
- (iv) Encouragement of R & D on products which are safer, more convenient or more efficient in materials use.
- (v) Co-operative ownership to be allowed up to perhaps 100-200 employees and this form to be encouraged.

The Likely Future for Specific Materials

Steel - The amount of fresh steel (from ore) to gradually fall to a small fraction of present output. Products to be longer-lived and more steel to be recycled. Steel industry to consist of 1 or 2 large plants and many smaller regional plants.

Aluminium - Use for drink cans, bottle tops etc to be discouraged. Maximum re-use to be encouraged and production from ore kept very low due to its high energy requirement.

Copper - Maximum recycling to be encouraged. Technologies such as fibre optics may reduce need for wiring.

Plastics - Standard recipes to be adopted and marked on products. Disposable plastic items discouraged ; renewable substitutes (eg cellophane) used where possible. Plastics which cause pollution during manufacture or use to be phased out.

Natural Rubber - As a renewable material, this will be encouraged where it can substitute for non-renewable materials. Its use for vehicle tyres will decline as both vehicle-miles and speeds fall.

Leather - Smaller quantities will be available due to the decline in grain-fed stock (see Food and Agriculture) but the quantity should be sufficient, particularly if long-lived goods are encouraged.

Wood - Local production (especially hardwoods) to rise (see Forestry). Recycling banks to be encouraged, likewise paper recycling. Improved telecommunications should reduce the need for paper.

China - Use to gradually decline (non-recyclable).

Glass - To be investigated as a substitute for china (eg in WC's ?). Quantity used in container production to decline due to container standardisation and re-use. Substantial quantities required for solar panels and double-glazing.

Asbestos - Use to be discouraged. Role in vehicle brakes to decline due to lower vehicle-miles and speeds and adoption of regenerative braking etc.

Building Materials - Reinforced concrete to be discouraged. Flyash from coal to be used for building blocks while available. The accent to be on restoration of old buildings rather than on replacement. All further road construction to use recycled material. Wood to be used where possible (renewable). Stone and brick to be in a form suitable to re-use.

4.20 Trade

Policy : To gradually reduce the need for national food and material imports and therefore for corresponding exports.

Measures

- (i) Greater concentration on trade in high-value items (eg electronics).
- (ii) A bias in transport costs towards person movement and against goods movement (see Transport).
- (iii) Investigation of protectionism in moderate amounts, both inter-regionally and inter-nationally.

4.21 Advertising and Public Information

Policy : Advertising at present is directed mostly to wasteful consumerism. In a conserving society, its role should be mainly informative.

Measures

- (i) Billboards to be banned.
- (ii) Advertising aimed at children to be banned.
- (iii) Phasing out of sponsorship of sport etc.
- (iv) Provision of more facilities for information exchange (eg by display areas).

4.22 Banking, Finance and the Economy

Policy : To find ways of making the economy less sensitive to external events and of making individuals and communities less vulnerable to internal fluctuations. To provide finance on a community basis where possible and on terms appropriate to a conserving society.

Short-term Measures

- (i) Investigation of the introduction of a Currency Commission as a means of controlling inflation. This would require incomes policy to be tackled directly but would permit longer-term investments. (Note : such a commission has been suggested by Mr Peter Jay). Membership of the EMS might require other parties to adopt the same idea.
- (ii) Introduction of the basic personal income and upper income limit (see Taxation) should relieve pay pressure.
- (iii) Nationalisation of large-scale private banks.

Longer-term Measures

- (i) National enterprises to run foreign banking and insurance, also the clearing service and lending to regions and districts.
 - (ii) Small local banks to be permitted, up to perhaps 25 employees. These banks to use the national clearing service.
 - (iii) Credit unions and mutual benefit societies to be encouraged.
 - (iv) Direct debiting from terminals in shops to be discouraged - note that other measures will encourage small shops in any event.
 - (v) National government not to attempt to manage the economy in the way it does now. Its role to concentrate on providing a stable currency and low interest rates. Regions and districts to plan their own investment and employment strategies, although with national co-ordination.
 - (vi) The stock exchange will be redundant.
- (Note : It is expected that other measures will lead to greater self-reliance at all levels and to a rise in transactions by exchange. Thus the economy should become more robust in the face of fluctuations.)

4.23 Public Administration

Policy : To reduce the dominance of bureaucrats and to make public administrators accountable.

Short-term Measures

- (i) The accountability of civil servants to be increased via a Freedom of Information Act and the designation of individuals as responsible for particular actions.
- (ii) Decisions to be taken locally where possible.

Longer-term Measures

- (i) Decentralisation of government to lead to a substantial reduction in central bureaucracy.
- (ii) Under the decentralised government, administrators to become less specialised and in some instances to be part-time.

4.24 Foreign Policy

Policy : To work at all levels towards a conserving, peaceful and sharing world.

Measures

Global

- (i) Efforts to be made towards world government but without surrender of national and regional identity.

- (ii) Powers appropriate to world government to include those covering global ecological problems, eg fisheries and the buildup of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere.
- (iii) Efforts to be made towards disarmament, with UN supervisory forces if required.
- (iv) Efforts to be made towards a fair distribution of wealth.

EEC

- (i) Britain to remain in the EEC but to work for many fundamental changes.
- (ii) These changes to include the scrapping of the Euratom treaty, the Common Agriculture Policy and the blind support of uniformity.
- (iii) Efforts to be made to shift emphasis towards regional autonomy and away from centralisation.
- (iv) Efforts to be made to promote greater EEC self-reliance.
- (v) Integration of defence forces to be supported provided EEC policies are in line with those of the UK.
- (vi) National sovereignty to be retained for use in exceptional circumstances.

Developing Countries

- (i) Other measures will benefit developing countries by creating social and economic systems appropriate to self-reliance. Such systems will be copied much more readily if developed countries adopt them first.
- (ii) Aid to be mostly in the form of education (preferably conducted in the recipient country) and information transfer.
- (iii) Full recognition to be given to the failure of certain past practises.
- (iv) Help to be given when phasing-out UK-owned enterprises (eg sugar plantations - which could be used for food or energy production).
- (v) Support for fair trade practises.

4.25 Defence

Policy : To concentrate on defence of home territory, which will be aided by other measures leading to greater national self-reliance. To pursue disarmament. To curb the internal dynamic of the military-industrial sector.

Measures

- (i) Efforts to be made towards an integrated European defence force although ultimate national sovereignty to be retained (see EEC).
- (ii) The accent to be firmly on defence (surface-to-air missiles, anti-tank missiles etc). Offensive capacity will not be needed to secure markets and sources of supply (eg in Africa) as these will become less important with increasing self-reliance.
- (iii) Britain to disarm its nuclear forces unilaterally and to demand the removal of USA nuclear weapons from Britain.
- (iv) Britain to withdraw from NATO unless other European countries take up a similar political and economic stance to that of Britain - in that event a unified European defence force can be created.

4.26 Northern Ireland

Policy : To seek peace in a manner consistent with regional self-determination and in recognition of the imperialist past.

Measures

- (i) Britain to make a public apology for helping to create the problem.
- (ii) The problem to be treated as international rather than internal to the UK. An international commission to be created under the UN or the EEC, including Britain and Eire as members.
- (iii) British troops to be withdrawn and replaced by a security force from an uninvolved country.
- (iv) The primary aim to be the attainment of a unified Ireland with guarantees of security and some autonomy for Protestants.