

New Directions:
The Path to a
Green Britain Now



The Green Party

General Election Campaign Manifesto 1992

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Introduction

Every hour, one species becomes extinct, an area of rainforest the size of 7,500 football pitches is destroyed, nearly a million tonnes of irreplaceable oil and coal are burnt and 1,700 children die from poverty-related illness.

Even in Britain we see all around us the signs of environmental, economic and social stress that come from living beyond our means: recession, poverty, homelessness and pollution.

These facts present us with two options.

- 1 To allow this process to continue, until only a few tenacious rats and cockroaches inhabit the Earth; or
- 2 To stop the destruction and learn to live in balance with the rest of nature.

The bitter paradox of our times is that while no-one in their right mind would consciously choose option one, it is, in effect, what is being offered by the grey political parties in this Election.

To be Green in Britain in 1992, listening to the spiralling hysteria of the main parties on News at Ten, is like being a small mammal watching the last two dinosaurs engaged in a struggle to the death. On the one hand, there is a deep inner sense of personal fragility. On the other, there is a deep inner confidence that the future does not belong to the dinosaur.

At some point in the future, people—who are not as stupid as grey politicians seem to think—will choose to make the change from the politics of extinction to the politics of sustainability.

The question is, how many forests, how many species, how many children will have to die before politicians have the courage and wisdom to implement the change necessary for us to choose option two?

Jean Lambert (Principal Speaker)

Richard Lawson (Principal Speaker)

Sara Parkin (Chair of Party Executive)



Jean Lambert



Richard Lawson



Sara Parkin

Foreword

THERE will be a lot of talk about 'the environment' during this General Election. Both Labour and the Liberal Democrats are keen to give it a higher profile than at any previous election, and the Conservatives are defending their environmental record with vigour, if not complete accuracy. All parties will be actively seeking 'the green vote'.

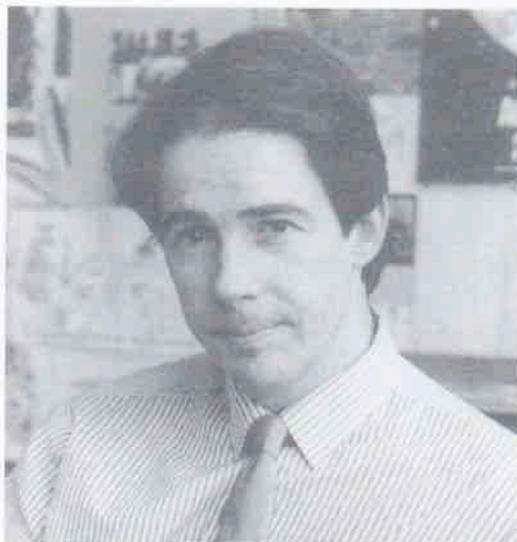
The Green Party welcomes that debate, and readily acknowledges the important policy developments that have taken place on environmental matters since the Party gained 15% of the vote in the 1989 European Election. It was primarily this result which sent other parties rushing back to their green drawing boards.

But progress has been bitterly disappointing. The 'greening' that has gone on is largely so cosmetic as to be utterly worthless. For all the other parties, 'the environment' is still seen as just one more or less important political pigeonhole. Having a bit of greenery around is both decorative and useful for them, but it's a wholly inadequate response to today's ecological crisis.

There's one simple guideline for sorting out conflicting 'green' claims at this election: judge them not by the environment sections of their manifestos, but by what they say on economics, industry and international relations. It's here that one encounters grotesque contradictions, yawning gaps, and a continuing lack of real commitment. Essentially, they still don't want to tell you the truth about the state of the Earth, let alone admit the impossibility of getting out of today's ecological crisis by the kind of environment-friendly tweaking of the economy that they espouse.

For the last eighteen years, the Green Party has been telling it how it really is. It remains the only party that seriously challenges the orthodoxy of more and more economic growth, that advocates radical reforms in our tax system, that is prepared to deal with the crucial issue of population, and that puts forward honest and practical ways of achieving genuine sustainability.

Reality is a harsh taskmaster, but the Green Party unhesitatingly prefers it to the illusions and half-truths of the other parties. We believe the time has come for a root-and-branch transformation of our economy and our entire way of life. We owe it to ourselves and to future generations to delay no longer.



A handwritten signature in dark ink that reads "Jonathon Porritt". The signature is written in a cursive style with a horizontal line underneath.

Jonathon Porritt

The Real Issues

In this Election, will the other parties be proposing to tackle the real issues? We doubt it.

For the Green Party, the real state of the world today is the bedrock of all politics. That reality is no longer challenged, our opponents simply choose to ignore it.

- Scientists forecast that global warming will affect the earth significantly within a few decades.
- Holes in the ozone layer get bigger, yet Britain is still the largest producer of ozone depleting chemicals in Europe.
- Each day 300 million gallons of sewage are dumped into British coastal waters.
- In the next ten seconds, 100 acres of tropical forest will be destroyed—annually this represents an area the size of the UK.
- Each week the world's population increases by the equivalent of another Birmingham and Liverpool combined.
- 452 different British species are in an endangered state and many more are classified as vulnerable.
- Within the life span of children aged ten, copper, nickel, zinc and lead will have been exhausted at current rates of use.

This is what is going on in the real world. Ignoring these problems will not make them go away. But while governments are slow to act, there are some signs which are a lot more encouraging.

- An ever larger number of people are aware of environmental issues.
- There is far greater scientific expertise

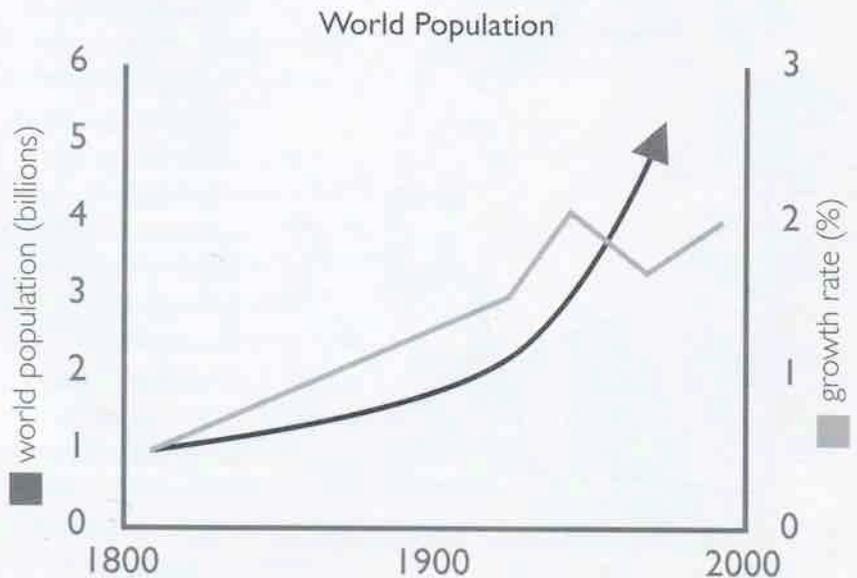
and authoritative research on which to draw.

- New energy efficient, environment-friendly technologies are being developed, promising a far more sustainable pattern of economic activity.
- The first environmentally literate generation of young people is leaving our schools and colleges.
- There is a greater readiness in people to change their own way of life and generally to accept their personal responsibility for minimizing our impact on the earth.

People are beginning to recognize that the critical state of the world is the really big issue. Some businesses are even coming to realize it. It is time British politics did so too, before it is too late.

“The US Academy of Sciences and the normally conservative Royal Society of London have issued a bleak statement: ‘The future of our planet is in the balance’”

*The Guardian,
27 February 1992*



Challenging the Old Consensus

It is time to challenge the view—a view held by all the other parties—that we must tread the path of ever increasing production and consumption to improve our lot.

We recognize the benefits economic growth has delivered. But it exacts an increasingly heavy toll. It pollutes our air, sea and land. It undermines the fabric of our communities; and it erodes the quality of our lives.

It has also failed to solve the fundamental problems of poverty and social deprivation. Has Britain truly become a better, richer nation over the last decade when—if you reinstate the twenty-four statistical 'adjustments' introduced since 1979—there are now 3.4 million people unemployed? Or when the number of people below the official poverty line has risen from 8 to 9.5 million people over the last twelve years? Or when nearly half a million people in the UK are homeless, double 1979's figure?

Right now the growth machine is not delivering. Our opponents' reactions have been predictable, each offering their own solution to 'kick start' the economy down the same old road.

The Green Party says this simply will not do. Before it's too late, we must go back to the hard reality of the world today. If we try to grow our way out of this recession, and if we go on persuading developing countries to grow their way out of poverty in a similar fashion, the life support systems on which we all

depend will simply collapse.

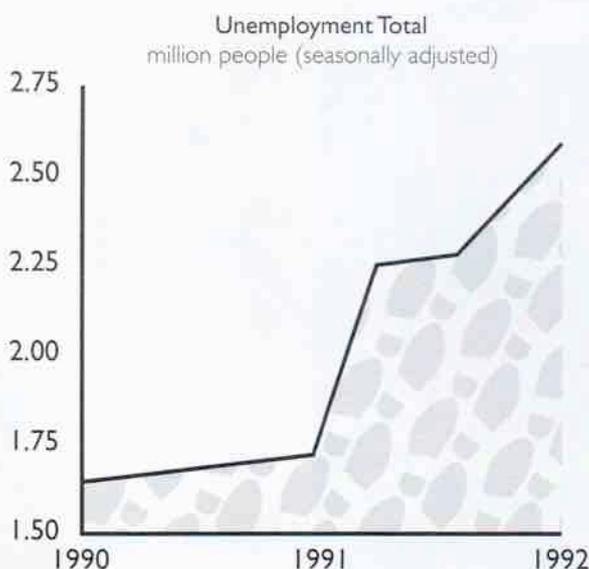
Our topsoil will cease to deliver up ever larger harvests; our forests will not regenerate; our water supplies will get scarcer or dirtier or both; our fisheries will collapse; our atmosphere will steadily get warmer and warmer; air pollution in cities will make a misery of ever more millions of lives.

These systems are the natural foundations of real human wealth. Advanced technologies and a bit more 'green consumerism' may defer any day of reckoning, but such a day will assuredly dawn. That is why, in this Election, the Green Party will be arguing passionately for everyone to look up and read the writing on the wall.

Putting the Earth first means putting it at the heart of every section of your manifesto. For at the centre of every so-called 'environmental problem' there lies a question of justice, of equity, of political power, of deeply held values and spiritual concerns.

Take population. Human numbers look set to double within 35 years. The more people there are, the harder it is to resolve every environmental problem. Of the 93 million new arrivals on earth every year, 90% will be born in developing countries. But population is not just a Third World issue. People in the rich industrialized countries consume more than 80% of the world's resources. Our wasteful consumption is as much a problem as increased numbers in the Third World.

We must do everything we can to increase provision of family planning in developing countries. But common sense and justice demand we go further. We must address the issues of reducing our own population and our own consumption levels. Only the Green Party has consistently had the courage to face up to this reality.



Dealing with the Crisis Today

THE interests of future generations feature very strongly in Green Politics. We believe we have a responsibility to live our lives in a way that does not jeopardize their right to do the same. That means thinking ahead about things like population, resources and pollution.

But Green Politics is also about meeting people's needs right now—by transforming current taxation and benefit systems, and by providing new investment programmes, new work opportunities, and new methods of wealth creation.

What follows are some practical policy measures in ten areas in which the Green Party is pressing for immediate change. They address today's problems without ignoring the real world and the needs of future generations.

Taken together they represent a new direction for politics. They take us along a path which leads to long-term economic revival by transforming our attitude to the natural world, its resources, and its limitations.

I: Taxing Resources, Not Work

THE Green Party would like to see a steady shift away from taxes on the proceeds of people's work (through income tax, national insurance, VAT and so on) to taxes on energy, pollution and raw materials.

It makes both fiscal and ecological sense to generate tax revenues from activities we need to discourage (waste, pollution and unsustainable exploitation) rather than from the things we need to encourage (human skills, experience and creativity).

- The implementation of green taxes (already proposed by the European Community) will be accelerated, including a carbon fuel tax and

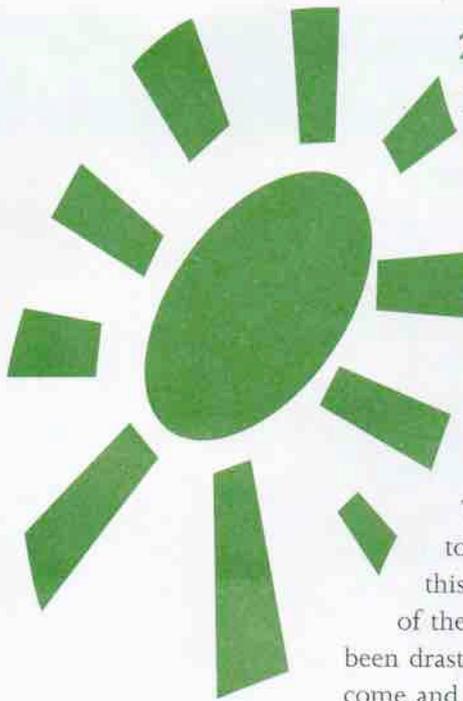
increased petrol and diesel duties.

- Income tax thresholds will be raised and the pricing structure for electricity and gas adjusted to offset any regressive impact of higher fuel prices.
- An immediate levy on all packaging materials will be imposed. A sum of roughly £250 million per annum is required to allow local authorities to establish comprehensive recycling schemes as an alternative to the current idiocy of dumping our waste in holes in the ground. Passed on by retailers to their customers, this would add a tiny fraction to the cost of each item.
- VAT should be used far more flexibly with a zero rating on all goods and services that help promote sustainable development (for instance, on all house repairs and renovation and on all energy efficiency investments), and a luxury rating on products that undermine sustainable development (such as heated swimming pools and cars that do less than the stipulated minimum miles per gallon).

Perhaps the most important tax reform of all advocated by the Green Party is the introduction of a Basic Income Scheme and the simultaneous reform of the whole benefits system.

The Basic Income is a tax free, automatic payment available to everyone, whether they be in or out of work. (For those on high incomes, it simply counts as a credit against tax.) This guarantees a minimum level of economic security without removing the incentive to work. It replaces all existing benefits, tax allowances and tax relief.





2: Saving Energy

ENERGY policies geared to achieving genuine sustainability will simultaneously create thousands of new jobs, and bring relief to the many people caught in the fuel poverty trap. Saving energy combines sound housekeeping and best environmental practice.

The Government's wilful refusal to take up that challenge has cost this country very dear. The budget of the Energy Efficiency Office has been drastically cut; different schemes have come and gone with startling rapidity, and expensive advertising campaigns and purple prose have served as substitutes for developing a properly funded strategy.

The Green Party attaches the highest priority to the following proposals.

- We will use the proceeds from shutting down the nuclear power programme to invest directly in energy conservation and home insulation schemes. District Energy Authorities should be established to manage this investment programme at a local level. The budget of the Energy Efficiency Office will be substantially increased.
- We will oblige the Regional Electricity Companies to operate on a 'least cost' planning basis: instead of building new capacity to sell more electricity, they would be selling 'increased efficiency'. For instance, energy efficient light bulbs should be distributed free, and the cost of this passed on to consumers just as they would be if a new power station had to be built.
- We will encourage independent suppliers to invest in renewable energy sources by revising the terms of the Non-Fossil Fuel Obligation to exclude nuclear energy.

- Government should establish partnerships with business to develop prototypes for both offshore wind and offshore wave power. The UK has the best renewable power resources of any country in Europe, and it's criminal not to be using them.
- The energy conservation standards within the Building Regulations should be instantly and dramatically tightened up, and applied to all conversions of existing buildings.

3: New Directions for Transport

A well maintained transport infrastructure is good for the environment and good for business. The contrast between the UK and many other European countries is deeply disturbing. Nothing has been done to discourage the daily invasion of car-borne commuters. London has bus priority lanes covering only 2% of its route miles, and most UK cities have less than 1%. In Paris the figure is 12%; in Tokyo nearly 25%.

Meanwhile, our railways remain underfunded and poorly managed. BR's freight service, though technically 'profitable', is on the point of total collapse. In desperation, privatization of the network has been proposed, though it's almost universally recognized that this would be a disaster.

Elsewhere, cyclists and pedestrians are still treated as eccentric trouble-makers by the Department of Transport and by many local authorities.

Yet the only way to reduce congestion and make life easier for those who genuinely need to use the roads is to persuade those who don't need to use them not to. But motorists won't give up the use of their cars until there are reliable, safe, comfortable and reasonably priced public transport alternatives to turn to.

- We will cancel all but the most essential road-building schemes and transfer all those billions saved into a massive programme of investment in



public transport. Priority would be given to mass transit, like rail or tram systems, such as that just completed in Manchester.

- Incentives will be offered to those able to use the canal network, encouraging new investment to restore these vital arteries. Local authorities would be required to develop integrated networks of cycle paths, and wherever possible give precedence to pedestrians and cyclists in order to reduce congestion and air pollution.
- High priority will be given to changing the planning system so that in future shops, schools, and leisure facilities are situated near to people's homes. The emphasis will be on accessibility rather than mobility at all costs.

4: Revitalizing Inner Cities

MANY of our cities have become hellish places to live: polluted, noisy, litter-strewn, inconvenient and violent. Little wonder that so many people move out as soon as they can afford to, even if it entails the daily grind of commuting.

There is no reason why cities should be like this. With the right balance of green spaces and high density housing (not the same thing as high-rise housing), and an end to the worst excesses of zoning, it is far easier to promote energy efficiency, to encourage recycling, to provide high quality, durable housing and reduced transport demands than it is in suburban or rural areas.

But 'green cities' have to be planned, not left to the mercy of mindless market forces. Communities have to be nurtured, and local economies explicitly reinforced. The Green Party is the only party proposing to address the problems of the inner city in this integrated way.

- Powers will be established to create Community Banks, specifically to

encourage local people to invest in local and environmentally-sound economic activity.

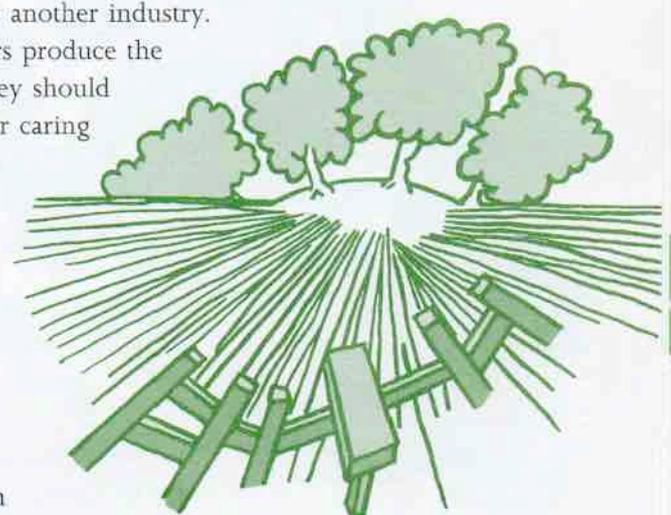
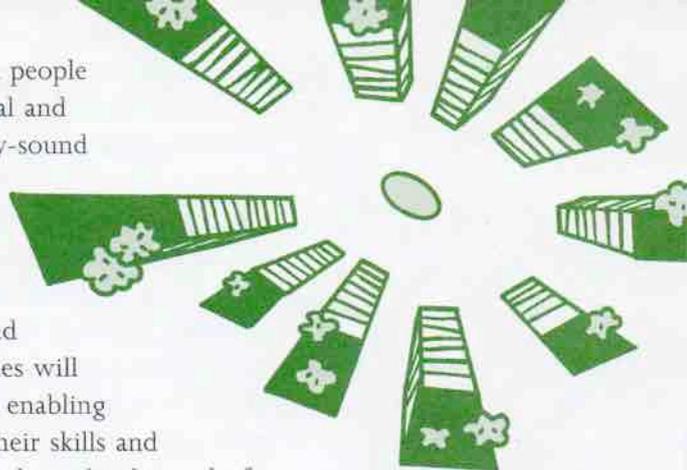
- Local Employment and Training Schemes will be encouraged, enabling people to put their skills and experience directly at the disposal of the local community, and to benefit from the skills and experience of others in return.
- Parks, allotments, urban woodlands, and all 'green spaces' will be stringently protected and fully integrated into the educational and recreational needs of the whole community.
- Community based housing associations and cooperatives will be actively encouraged, and local authorities will be able to use all the income from the sales of council houses either to renovate existing housing stock or to build new houses, tackling homelessness at its roots.

5: Reviving Rural Communities

THE countryside is under siege from agricultural intensification, waste disposal and sprawling development. Employment opportunities have shrunk along with local shops, schools and public transport.

Agriculture is not just another industry. Not only must farmers produce the food we need, but they should also be responsible for caring for the land and maintaining soil fertility so that all generations can enjoy the productive and the aesthetic wealth of our countryside.

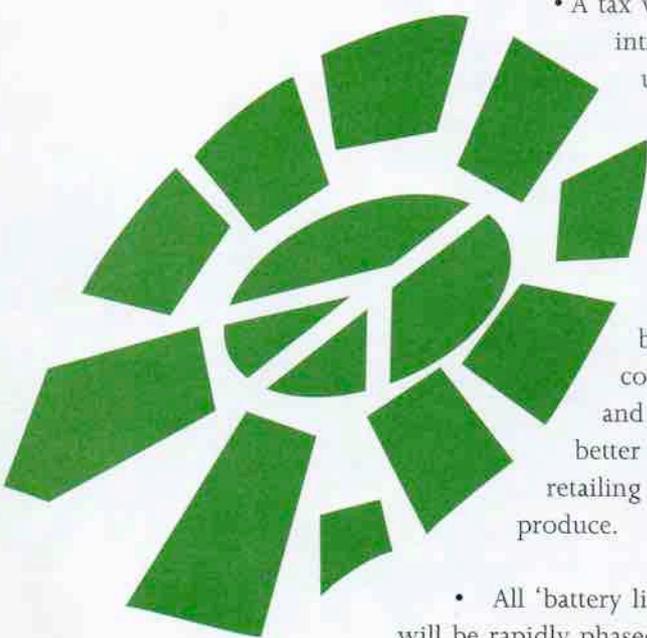
Yet farmers have been



betrayed by an irrational system that forces them either out of business or into more intensive production. In response to the problem of ever-increasing surpluses, the Ministry of Agriculture has ended up with just two policies: drive down prices (which is already forcing farmers to become even more intensive to compensate for the loss of income) and pay farmers for taking their land out of production altogether (which will destroy what credibility they have left with tax payers and consumers). A more irresponsible use of £1.3 billion a year is hard to imagine.

Because it's not just another industry, agriculture does need continuing public support. But that support must be redirected to provide the benefits the British public is demanding. It should also be combined with new legislation to prevent the loss of landscape and wildlife habitat.

- The Environmentally Sensitive Areas Scheme should be expanded to cover the whole country, not just a few special pockets. Payments would be based on detailed farm plans and geared to habitat protection, maintenance of special features, renewal of hedgerows, the reduced use of chemicals and lower stocking densities on sensitive uplands.



- A tax will be introduced on the use of synthetic nitrogen fertilizers, and the proceeds used to promote organic farming by providing conversion grants and supporting better distribution and retailing of organic produce.

- All 'battery livestock systems' will be rapidly phased out, and free-

range, extensive rearing systems encouraged.

- The existing Farm Woodlands Scheme will be extended and improved, with better incentives to landowners to invest in indigenous hardwoods, and in mixed, properly landscaped softwood plantations.

6: Peace and Security

AT last, after four decades in which people were persuaded that we had no option but to commit huge sums of money to build up our conventional and nuclear arsenals, the Cold War is over. Russia and the United States are vying with each other to see which can come up with the most radical unilateral disarmament initiative. How strange to think that unilateralism was so recently a dirty word to most politicians!

But British politicians have still not caught up with the post-Cold War real world. They remain in favour of retaining the Trident nuclear programme, even though the people on whom those warheads will presumably be targeted are now as friendly and keen to cooperate as the citizens of Germany, Denmark or the United States itself.

The Labour Party and the Liberal Democrats call themselves 'the Opposition'. But their continuing and craven adherence to the militaristic posturing of the Cold War represents a total betrayal of people's aspirations for lasting peace.

The 'peace dividend' is there for the taking. But they dare not take it.

- The Green Party will immediately and unconditionally cancel the Trident programme, and get rid of all our nuclear weapons. They have absolutely no part to play in enhancing global security in the modern world.
- Military spending will be dramatically

cut back. An Arms Conversion Agency will be set up to ensure that the skills and experience of those employed in the armed forces or the arms industry people are not wasted, but are directed wherever possible into socially-useful, environmentally friendly production.

- The UK will actively promote new international measures (including far more rigorous rights of inspection and satellite surveillance) to prevent any further proliferation of nuclear materials.
- The strategic role of NATO has outlived its usefulness. The UK will withdraw and instead develop the potential of the pan-European Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) institutions to resolve conflict and maintain security without resort to military force.

7: The Ecological Time Bomb

IT has been calculated that the human economy has destroyed or currently uses about 40% of the net product of terrestrial photosynthesis each year. According to current trends, world population could double by 2025. Taken alongside the evidence that our 'take' of the earth's biological product is already too great, these statistics starkly illuminate the dilemma we face.

Either we get our numbers and our activities into harmony with the powers of the earth to support life, or collapsing ecosystems will do the job for us.

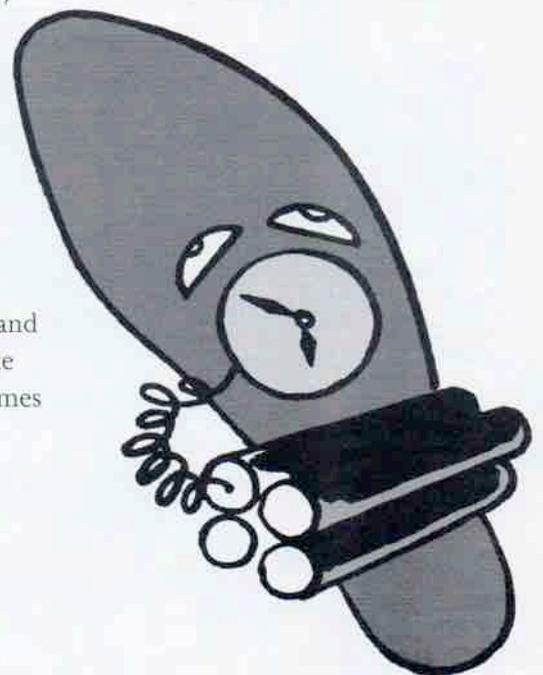
Despite the uncertainties which surround global warming there is unprecedented agreement amongst scientists that it is already under way. They advise urgent and deep cuts in the emissions of greenhouse gases from human activity. Yet governments persistently drag their feet.

In June this year, at the United Nations Conference on Environment and

Development in Brazil, conventions on carbon dioxide emissions (the main greenhouse gas), biological diversity and protection of tropical rainforests are all due to be signed. But if the preparatory meetings for the Brazil conference are anything to go by, it is unlikely governments will reach any agreements radical enough to really tackle any of these problems.

Until they do, the time bomb of collapsing ecosystems and the consequences for all life on earth will go on ticking.

- We must make a firm commitment to halt global warming. Every effort will be made to negotiate international and national agreements to minimize pollution. To be effective these treaties must be based on an equitable settlement between rich and poor nations and backed with effective means to implement them.
- Meanwhile a commitment to cut carbon dioxide emissions by 60–80% must be translated into policies for the UK which move its energy generation from fossil fuels to solar sources (sun, wind, wave), using massive investment in efficient use of energy during the transition.
- Ozone depleting gases will be banned immediately, with only those needed for specific and limited medical purposes produced under strictly controlled licence.
- Less greenhouse gas-intensive agriculture, and widespread appropriate reforestation programmes must be adopted.



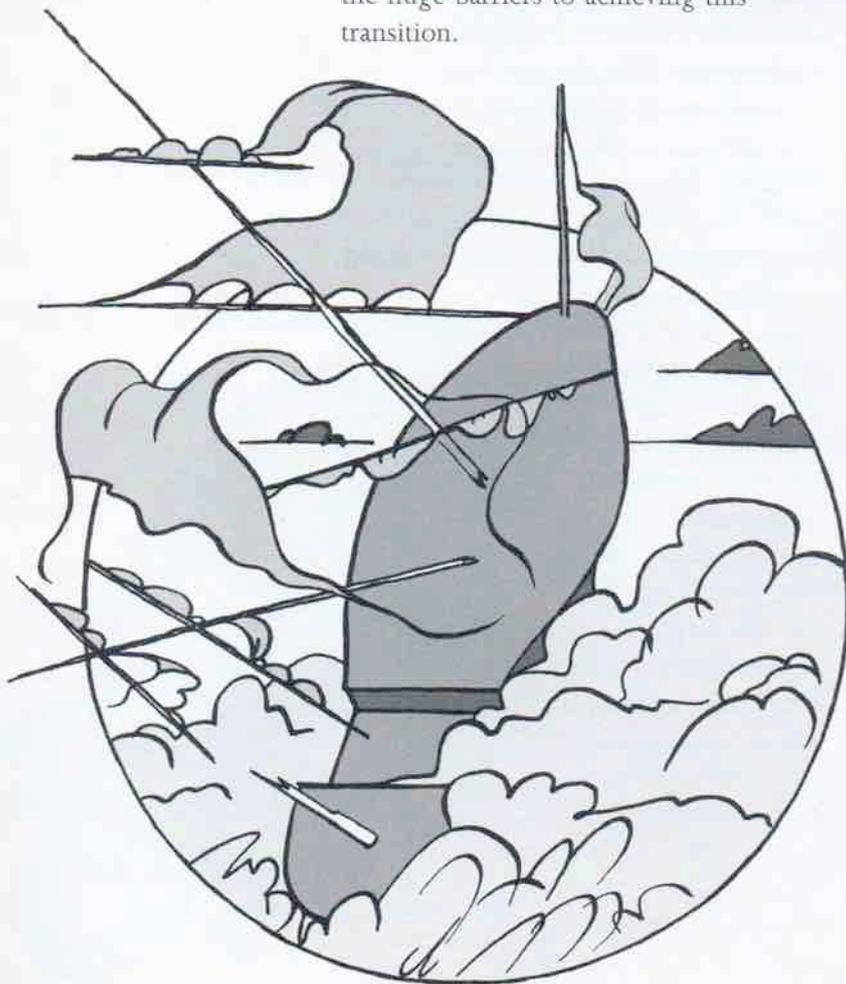
8: Controlling Trade

'FREE trade' is a sacred cow of modern economics. Yet free trade is rarely fair trade. And it is increasingly dumping on the environment.

So-called 'free markets' are manipulated by unaccountable transnational companies with few loyalties beyond the boardroom door. Capital moves without regard to its impact on local communities and skilled work-forces. And with transport costs kept unrealistically low, production is concentrated in fewer centres, imposing massive long-term damage on the environment through the unnecessary movement of goods.

Through its policies for energy taxation, the development of local markets, and the reform of the Common Agricultural Policy, the Green Party would promote self-reliance and stimulate local production rather than expand trade at all costs.

The Green Party is committed to tackling the huge barriers to achieving this transition.



- The European Community will need a radical reform of many of its policies, procedures and institutions. Selective tariff protection for those areas of the economy which are critical to achieving ecological sustainability would be introduced.
- Worse yet, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is seeking to create a powerful new body (the Multilateral Trading Organization) which would have the authority to challenge any piece of national legislation judged, in its eyes, to be 'a barrier to trade'. Higher pollution control standards; direct investment in energy efficiency or renewable energy; the ban on the ivory trade; stringent Minimum Residue Levels for pesticides in fruits and vegetables: all these things and many more could be held to be barriers to trade and therefore 'GATT-illegal'. The Green Party believes that GATT should quite simply be wound up as soon as possible. Developing countries must have increased commodity prices, but it is imperative that volumes of trade in non-essential items be reduced.

9: Liberating Citizens

FROM the early 1970s onwards, the Green Party has campaigned tirelessly for a whole array of constitutional and electoral reforms which we believe are necessary to breathe the life back into our democracy.

Strengthening our democracy, and encouraging maximum participation in it is an important step down the path to a more just, sustainable society.

Whilst warning against the dangers of a 'nanny state' under Labour, this Government has turned itself into the bossiest nanny in the European Community. Local authorities are told what to do and how much they can spend on doing it. The Green Party will try to redress the balance in favour of the individual and local communities.

- We will seek to introduce a Bill of Rights underpinned by a Freedom of Information Act.
- We are actively campaigning for the introduction of proportional representation in the UK, and condemn the self-interested obstinacy with which both the Conservatives and the Labour Party defend a manifestly unfair voting system.
- The Green Party supports self-determination for Scotland and Wales, and elected regional assemblies for England. But decentralization would not end there: we would seek to devolve powers to the district level, and parish and community councils would be established where none currently exist.
- We will introduce a system of Citizens' Initiatives, whereby groups of voters can themselves initiate new laws and policies, and a system of 'Recall', whereby elected representatives are subject to removal by voters at any time.

10: Wealth Beyond Measure

AT every election grey political parties dedicate themselves to the all-powerful gods of economic growth and GDP. They are, in essence, the only gods, for we are told that it is only by satisfying them that we can satisfy every individual or collective human need. 'You're lonely? Sick? Frustrated? Seeking security? Don't worry: we've got just the prescription—keep on taking the growth pills and you'll be fine'.

That politics should be reduced to this one flimsy prescription is bad enough; that it fails to cure the disease is tragic.

The sort of economic growth that meets people's needs, improves the quality of their lives, and delivers the goods and services they require without destroying the environment or stealing the entitlements of future generations—that's

fine. But that's not what GDP measures: it measures all economic activity, good or bad, reverential or homicidal, reinforcing the common wealth or serving only the narrow self.

As a measuring rod, it's about as useful as assessing the quality of a piece of music by counting the number of notes in it.

Though it may not sound like the kind of 'big idea' that the media demand of political parties today, perhaps the single most important thing the Green Party could achieve in the short term would be to change the way we measure economic success. It would revolutionize the system of national accounts by rigorously identifying real costs and real benefits in our industrial society. In so doing we would attribute equal value to the natural capital on which we depend (topsoil, water, clean air, fossil fuels etc) as we do to the financial capital which greases the wheels of the world economy.

From that one single change will flow different measures of wealth, human creativity and well-being.



Time for a New Direction

THE Green programme is one which can be put into action now. It tackles immediate needs and sets us on a new path to the future. It is a programme for jobs and greater social justice in the short term, and for transformation in the long term.

A few of these proposals may be trifled with by the other parties. Marked with a green asterisk, they will adorn their grey manifestos as complacent add-on embellishments. But in such opportunistic isolation, they won't be worth the paper they're printed on.

Green Party candidates will go on asking one question of their opponents in this election: why is it, in the midst of apparent plenty, after nearly fifty years of 'economic growth' that so many live on or below the poverty line, that so many suffer from every conceivable kind of spiritual or personal impoverishment? Why is it that the only way we seem to be able to enrich ourselves is by impoverishing the Earth and by denying our own children their natural inheritance?

There will be few honest answers.

That's why we're inviting every single voter concerned about justice, lasting peace and genuine sustainability to disregard claims that a vote for the Green Party is a 'wasted vote'. On the contrary, every vote cast positively and purposefully for the Green Party shows how much these issues matter.

Every single vote cast in that way tells the other parties what they need to know above all: that the time for change is today, not tomorrow.

Every single vote cast in that way reinforces the pressure for more radical environmental policies and for a broader interpretation of what 'the environment' is all about.

Every single vote cast in that way is a declaration of solidarity with the people of the Third World, who wonder how it is that whilst we talk about charity they have to send us £30 billion net every year.

And every single vote cast in that way is a ringing confirmation of the untold potential for each human being to respond with determination and vision to the cry of the Earth and to the anguish of the poor and dispossessed.

The only waste of votes in this election will be those that permit our politicians to go on laying waste to the riches of the Earth in the name of 'progress'.

This document has outlined practical measures to set us on a new path to economic and social revival the day the next Government takes office. But the challenge of Green politics goes much deeper than that. The soaring ambitions of post-War politicians have, tragically, produced a stunted, mean-minded political system. Obsessive pursuit of economic growth at any costs has blighted the human spirit and sacrificed that precious sense of community.

'Economic recovery', cries the Labour Party, predictably enough through higher economic growth. 'Economic recovery', cry the Liberal Democrats, with a few green knobs on. 'Economic recovery', cry the Conservatives, whatever their record may be.

'Revival', cries the Green Party—for the victims of uncaring industrialism, for the soul of our communities for the beauty and magnificence of Planet Earth.

And that's the difference between us.

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