An Interpretive, Paradigmatic, and Comparative Analysis of Canadian and Australian Green Parties

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Abstract

Green parties have acquired political influence in Australia, and more recently, Canada. Specifically, Australia has federal and state Green parliamentarians, while polling data demonstrates that since 1991, Canadian Greens have, taken together, increased their share of the popular vote. Notwithstanding their electoral successes, the two countries' Green parties have also had a notable effect on the public's conception of environmental issues. To date, however, there has been barely any examination of the paradigm, or more specifically, the beliefs of the federal and state/provincial Canadian and Australian Greens, let alone a comparative analysis of the two countries' set of Green parties. Hence, I provide a paradigmatic, comparative analysis of the Green parties of Canada and Australia, most substantially, via the interpretive approach which identifies the ethnographic writer/researcher as, on balance, a part of and not entirely removed from the research study (hence, the use of the word 'I' throughout the dissertation). I argue that the recent scholarly publications detailing the nature of the Australian and Canadian Greens do not offer a paradigmatic examination or comparative analysis of the two countries' Green parties, and accordingly, I attempt to fill this gap in the literature. Moreover, I ask if the Greens of Australia and Canada share similar or different paradigmatic positions. My findings reveal that the two countries' Green parties share a common belief system, and to varying degrees all value, for instance, environmental protection, social justice, interdependence, diversity, and nonviolence. This said, I offer three notable differences. Several of the Australian Green parties advocate plantation forestry, which is in direct contrast to the philosophy of ecoforestry – an ecosystem-based interpretation of forestry advocated by most if not all of Canada's Greens. Together, the Green parties of Australia recognise the relationship between physical activity, health, and societal well-being more often than their Canadian counterparts. Generally speaking, Canada's Greens lean towards principle-based politics (though, the Newfoundland Green Party is somewhat of an exception), while Australia's Greens tend to embrace constituency-based politics.

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1. Introduction

Background, and the Research Value of the Study

The very first Green Party was established in Tasmania, Australia less than 30 years ago – a short time in political history.[1] Since 1972, Green parties have gained seats at the federal, provincial or state, and municipal levels worldwide.[2] More recently, Germany, the world's third largest industrial power, elected its first Labor-Green coalition government.[3] Greens have also gained federal seats in France and Sweden.[4] Australia has federal and state Greens,[5] while polling data reveals that since 1991, Canadian Greens have shown gains in the popular vote.[6] So far, however, there has been very little examination of the paradigm of the Greens.[7] There is a need for a careful and clear consideration of their paradigmatic nature. Irrespective of their electoral successes, all the parties have had a significant effect on the world's understanding and interpretation of environmental affairs. Furthermore, there are a number of benefits to a paradigmatic analysis of Green parties. It provides policymakers, activists, academics and many others with an understanding of the beliefs that shape Green Party action. It also offers the general public an overview of recent Green thought.

A Purpose of the Study

There are scholarly publications that survey individual Green parties such as the Spanish Greens or the Green Party in Germany.[8] However, little

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[1] In March 1972, the world's very first Green Party (the United Tasmania Group) was formed at a public meeting in Hobart. See "Greens in Time and Space: The History of The Green Party" located at <http://www.greens.org.nz/permanent/history.htm>; and Connors, L. and Hutton, D. (1999). *A History of the Australian Environment Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[2] See, for example, "The Greens – Index" located at <http://start.at/the.greens.index>.

[3] See, for example, "Home Page of the Greens in the European Parliament" located at <http://www.axl.be/green/>.

[4] See, for example, "Archive of Events in the Development of Green politics" located at <http://start.at/the.greens.index>.

[5] See "Information about the Australian Greens" located at <http://www.peg.apc.org/~ausgreen/>.

[6] See "Welcome to Green Party of Canada" located at <http://www.green.ca/index-e.htm>.

[7] In using the term 'paradigm,' I am refering to the larger and all encompassing sense of the word as it is defined later in the chapter. In short, I do not use the expression 'paradigms' in the dissertation (in similar fashion, many academics choose to use the word 'society' in a general sense, rather than the term 'societies').

[8] Investigate, for example, Holliday, I. (1997). "Spanish Greens in the Mid-1990s,"

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rigorous work of a paradigmatic, comparative nature has been conducted on the Greens.[9] For example, few authors have studied whether the various Greens embrace similar or different belief systems.[10] My research offers a step towards helping address this substantial gap in the literature.

The Scope and Research Questions

In order to retain a manageable scope, I have limited my study to Canadian and Australian Greens.[11] Specifically, building on my previous research efforts, and the work of green political scholars, I have undertaken a paradigmatic and comparative analysis of federal and provincial/state Greens in Australia and Canada. I also offer answers to the following key questions which are, in part, designed to support the formation of a clear, paradigmatic and comparative examination of the Greens: 1) Do the recent works that examine the Greens in Canada and Australia provide a paradigmatic examination of Canadian and Australian Greens?; 2) Do the works offer a comparative analysis of Australian and Canadian Greens?; 3) What are the demonstrated paradigmatic positions of the federal and provincial/state Greens?; and 4) Do the Greens share similar or different paradigmatic positions?

A Rationale for Selecting Australia and Canada

Why did I choose Canada and Australia as a basis for comparison, and not, say, Uganda and Chile? While Canada and Australia have their differences they also share significant similarities. Canada and Australia are

Environmental Politics, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 168-75; and Frankland, E.G. (1992). *Between Protest and Power: the Green Party in Germany*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

[9] For example, I only found five publications after searching the libraries of the University of Waterloo, University of Guelph, Wilfrid Laurier University, University of Victoria, McGill University, Simon Fraser University, and Harvard University in June 1999. They are: Parkin, S. (1989). *Green Parties: An International Guide*. London, UK: Heretic; Muller-Romel, F. (1989). *New Politics in Western Europe: The Rise and Success of Green Parties and Alternative Lists*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press; Kitschelt, H. (1989). *The Logics of Party Formation: Ecological Politics in Belgium and West Germany*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; Rudig, W. (1990). *Explaining Green Party Development: Reflections on a Theoretical Framework*. Glasgow, Scotland, UK: Dept. of Government, University of Strathclyde; and Grunen – Green Party. (1994). *The Green Party European Election Manifesto*. London, UK: Green Party.

[10] *Ibid*.

[11] When writing in the first person and using 'I,' 'me' or 'my' and related words in the dissertation, I do not wish to convey conceit or self-importance, but to consciously observe the philosophy of situated knowledge and the interpretive approach that the ethnographic investigator is ultimately a part of and not completely external to the research

both former British colonies, part of the Commonwealth, and possess a large English-speaking population. They have corresponding resource-based economies, share matching population distributions, and embrace similar sociocultural norms, perspectives and icons. They have sizeable aboriginal and multicultural populations. They have related political systems (based on the Westminster system), rely on federal and not unitary structures, utilise common law, and to lesser or greater degrees, value representative democracy. But, more importantly, they are two great landmasses that are home to a variety of wild and diverse ecosystems, magnificent forests, vast mountain ranges, glorious wetlands, wide-stretching plains, and seemingly endless coastal areas. They both have rather large environmental constituencies, and a comparable spread of Green parties.[12]

The Research Goal and Objectives

The primary goal of this dissertation is to reveal, using an interpretive approach, the overall paradigmatic nature of Canadian and Australian Green parties, and subsequently, to uncover their similarities and differences.[13] In particular, I have pursued the following objectives: 1) to present and consider the recent works which examine Green parties in Canada and Australia in order to identify whether the works comprehensively cover the paradigm of the Greens; 2) to discover whether the works offer any comparison of Australian and Canadian Greens; 3) to formulate a new, paradigmatic understanding of Canadian and Australian Green parties that builds on the strengths of the works and addresses their deficiencies; and finally 4) to reveal whether there are similarities and

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investigation.
[12] I am also a Canadian and a Green who wanted to travel to, live in, and study about a comparable country that, unlike Canada, has elected Green Party members to parliament.
[13] In utilising the term 'interpretive,' I am making reference to 'interpretive theory' which is "a general category of theory including symbolic interactionism, labelling, ethnomethodology, phenomenology, and social constructionism. The term is typically contrasted with structural theories that claim to remove the subjectivity of the actor and the researcher and assume that human behaviour can best be understood as determined by the pushes and pulls of structural forces. Interpretive theory is more accepting of free will and sees human behaviour as the outcome of the subjective interpretation of the [world]." See "Sociology Glossary" located at <http://openet.ola.bc.ca/sociglossary/index.html> (the terms in this glossary are from a larger *Social Sciences Dictionary* soon to be published by British Columbia's Open University).

differences emerging within the paradigm of Australian and Canadian Green parties.

Methodology

I began the investigation with a broad examination of documentary sources that detail the nature of Canadian and Australian Green parties. In addition to gathering material from local, national and international universities, I obtained documentary sources by contacting representatives of Canadian and Australian Greens, and requesting general information on the nature of their organisations. Moreover, I acquired related material from environmental scholars, and those who are/were indirectly connected with these Greens. Following the broad examination, I reviewed the recent scholarly works concerning Greens in Canada and Australia. Any book, report or refereed publication that was published between 1995 and mid-2000,[14] and that explores Australian and/or Canadian Greens was a part of this review.[15] I found these works by searching a variety of educational databases including "webCATS: Library Catalogues on the World Wide Web" at <wysiwyg://206/http://www.lights.com/webcats/>.[16]

During the broad examination of documentary sources, I also gathered key publications detailing the nature of a paradigm. These works were obtained from the University of Tasmania central library and international web-sites. The analysis of these publications served in the discovery of a paradigmatic framework that was used to assess the recent works. Finally, I examined each of the Green parties representing their respective country or substantial polity using the paradigmatic framework.

[14] Mid-2000 is the approximate date that: 1) I completed the literature review; and 2) I largely ended the overall, general documentary and data collection process.
[15] I have limited my study to works between 1995 and mid-2000 for practical reasons. Simply put, I cannot review every single publication on the Greens. This is an enormous task best left to future research. Aside from its intrinsic value, the primary objective of the literature review is to find whether someone has offered a recent, scholarly, paradigmatic and comparative analysis of Canadian and Australian Greens.
[16] Despite my extensive research efforts, it is possible that I have overlooked a few key publications on the Greens. This is an issue that faces any researcher. However, unlike some determinists, I do not claim to (nor can I say in all accuracy that I) have an absolute, perfect and complete list of works. Indeed, no social scientist can claim absolute certainty on such matters. Rather, I can confidently say that I have made every attempt to ensure that this study includes the main works by searching the major libraries of the world via webCATS.

A series of steps was taken to obtain, process and study the information from and about each of the parties. I obtained documentary sources by emailing several different representatives from each of the active federal and provincial/state Green parties, and asking them to send, via regular mail, general background information on the nature of their organisations. Their email addresses were obtained from two primary web-sites: <http://www.green.ca/> and <http://www.greens.org.au/>.[17] Some representatives sent printed material via regular mail and offered personal commentary, but the majority asked me to refer to their party web-site for detailed information – they indicated that I would find the relevant documentation on-line. Thus, I obtained a substantial body of information from the Internet, particularly party URL addresses (which the representatives strongly encouraged me to explore).

Internet Sources

The Internet is increasingly a source of information for researchers.[18] Some scholars have asked whether the Internet offers credible documentary material. This is a legitimate question which any researcher should face if relying heavily on Internet sources. In my case, I can support my work on the grounds that I acquired information from the official web-sites of the Australian and Canadian Green parties. The authenticity of the sites was corroborated by contacting representatives, scholars and leaders of the Australian and Canadian Green parties, and referring to the printed material from and about these Greens.

System of Referencing

Given the diversity of reference systems, and the adaptations and constant evolution of conventional referencing systems, I think it is important that I clarify some general points about the reference system used in this dissertation – a system which follows a version of American

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[17] The two web-sites offer contact information about Canadian and Australian Greens that can also be found in the printed material from and about these political parties.
[18] Indeed, huge volumes of information including academic works are being placed online. For example, investigate "Political Science and Sociology Online Publications" located at <http://sobek.colorado.edu/SOC/RES/pubs.html>. Given the current rate of Internet expansion, it is conceivable that within a matter of decades the majority of humanity's knowledge will be available via the Internet.

Psychological Association (APA) style guidelines. The material in the dissertation was obtained from Green parties and researchers in the field. If a sentence has not been referenced, I have made a statement based on my own objective and subjective interpretations of the Greens.[19] If I footnote a sentence in the body of the dissertation *without* utilising double quotation marks, I am informing the reader that the statement is an indirect reference, only minimally paraphrased, and therefore warrants a footnote. When I use double quotation marks in the body of the essay or when I indent a paragraph (with single spacing), or use consecutive bullets, it means that I have quoted the statement directly from a source.[20]

There are a few other matters pertaining to the system of referencing. Where I use square brackets, I have replaced a word or two without changing the meaning of the sentence, for purposes of clarification. When I use the expression, "see..." in a footnote, I am suggesting that the reader a) refer to the source of the quotation, as well as b) generally examine the reference for further information.[21] When I use the term "investigate..." in a footnote, I am suggesting that the reader explore the reference for further information on the subject matter. Moreover, the presence of single quotation marks indicates either straight emphasis or emphasis which points to ostensible or questionable information, or a reference to previously cited information (specifically, I use single quotation marks in the concluding sections to highlight previously referenced material). An italicised word denotes intense emphasis.

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[19] Some chapters are referenced more than others. This reflects the amount of documentary material I was able to obtain (and that is available) from the Green parties.

[20] Unfortunately, internet sources do not (cannot) have page numbers (this is the nature of the technology), and therefore, I was unable to provide the reader with the precise location of the referenced statement (page numbers have been traditionally used for this purpose). This said, some websites contain multiple URL addresses with each representing a particular webpage.

[21] Some of the references in chapters three through nine and eleven through seventeen, while having different titles, contain virtually the same content. Even though two references may have similar content, I nevertheless used the second of the two references to corroborate the data. Multiple related references verify the Green parties' statements beyond a reasonable doubt. Moreover, they ensure the accessibility of a reference – a matter which is particularly important when relying on internet sources. Some web-sites are temporarily inaccessible, or are taken off-line. In such cases, a researcher can simply refer to the other source(s) for information.

Limitations of the Study

Following an initial review of the documentary material, it was determined that the focus of the dissertation would be confined to an analysis of the Green Party of Canada, the Green Party of British Columbia, the Green Party of Alberta, the New Green Alliance of Saskatchewan, the Green Party of Manitoba, the Green Party of Ontario, and the Newfoundland Greens, as well as Australia's federal Green Party, the Australian Capital Territory Greens, the Green Party of New South Wales, the Victorian Greens, the Green Party of Queensland, Tasmanian Greens, and the Green Party of Western Australia.[22] It is possible to gather an adequate amount of relevant information on these parties. This study has not examined Greens residing in the Yukon, Northwest Territories, Nunavut, Quebec, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, South Australia, and the Northern Territory. To the best of my knowledge (and as of this point in time – 1999/2000), there are no active Green parties in the Northwest Territories, Nunavut, and New Brunswick. While there is Green Party activity in the Yukon, Quebec, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia, there is currently a lack of available and appropriate material on these political parties. Moreover, while I discovered a large body of information on the South Australian and Northern Territory Greens, it was mostly specific, issues-oriented data rather than general belief or principle-based material. This said, at present, the South Australian and Northern Territory Greens' utilise the platform, policies, beliefs, and ideas of the federal, Australian Greens. Therefore, for information on the South Australian and Northern Territory Greens, refer to chapter 11 (on the Australian Greens).

The Organisation of the Study

This dissertation is divided into what I see as three separate but primary sections. Aside from this introduction, the first section of the dissertation includes a brief review of the recent works that investigate

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[22] For the purposes of this study, a Green Party is identified by whether or not it functions as a separate or semi-separate group. Thus, while a given provincial or state Green Party may serve as a chapter of a federal Green Party, it is nevertheless identified as a separate entity *if* it has a reasonable degree of autonomy and self control over its internal affairs, organisation, and policy.

Canadian and Australian Greens.[23] It also supplies the grounds for the subsequent chapters of the dissertation, and for the eventual paradigmatic interpretation of the Green parties. The section examines the recent works in an effort to determine whether or not the authors consider the Green Party paradigm in their own works, and to investigate whether or not the works offer any comparative analysis of Australian and Canadian Greens.

The second and by far the largest section of the dissertation seeks to provide a clear interpretation of the paradigmatic underpinnings of the Canadian and Australian Greens. Using the paradigmatic framework identified in this first section (see below), it offers a general depiction and concluding analysis of each country's Green parties. In each case, this is accomplished by first investigating the federal party, and then examining the series of state/provincial parties.

After the two primary sections, there is a concluding section that offers a comparative analysis between the federal and provincial Canadian Green parties, on the one hand, and the federal and state Green parties in Australia on the other. Specifically, it identifies the similarities and differences common to all the federal and provincial/state Greens. This is followed by the final chapter which offers a series of recommendations in response to the overall findings of the dissertation.

I should emphasise that the analytic sections (the chapter conclusions and comparative portion of the dissertation) are not meant to be 'complete.' The main objective of this material is to identify (both individually and as a collective group) the Green parties' salient points (or rather, what I see as the noteworthy points) for reflective discussion. Moreover, the material contains interpretive remarks; that is, it includes unchained, subjective and free-flowing observations. For further information on this line of inquiry, see 'The Variable Shape of the Study' (on the next page).

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[23] The literature review is brief since there are very few recent scholarly publications detailing the nature of the Australian and Canadian Greens. Moreover, it is an annotated literature review, since the main aim is to simply confirm whether or not someone has offered a recent, scholarly, paradigmatic and comparative analysis of Canadian and Australian Greens.

A Definition of Paradigm

Before discussing the recent works about the Greens, I should clearly specify which paradigmatic framework or definition was applied to (and developed for the purposes of) this dissertation. There are a number of paradigmatic constructions. Thomas Kuhn, the person most responsible for bringing the term paradigm into our collective awareness, has himself used the word in no fewer than 21 different ways.[24] Some people believe that a multifarious matrix of definitions is problematic. However, I share the view of Guba (1990) who argues that it is important to leave the term in such a limbo, because it is then possible to reshape the word as our understanding of its many implications improves.[25] Moreover, rigorous scholarship in the area of post-modernism and social constructionism questions the notion of a social scientific knowledge which is pure, exact and consistent in nature, or whether there is one correct definition of paradigm and numerous erroneous formulations of the term.[26] For the purposes of this dissertation, I define paradigm as: "a basic set of beliefs that guides action."[27] Each person progressing through the dissertation can refine the definition if s/he wishes to do so. I am not suggesting, of course, that this is the one and only definition of paradigm. It is simply the definition that I believe is useful for the purposes of studying information about the Greens. It is *my* definition and not *the* definition of paradigm. Thus, I also do not pretend to make the bold and arrogant claim that this dissertation is *the* one, correct and only study of Australian and Canadian Greens. It is my interpretation of the paradigmatic nature of the Greens that I have developed as both a distant observer of, and a long-time participant in the Green movement.[28]

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[24] See Guba, E.G. (ed.). (1990). *The Paradigm Dialog.* London, UK: Sage Publications. Also investigate Kuhn, T. S. (1977). *The Essential Tension: Selected Studies in Scientific Tradition and Change.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press., p. 294.

[25] See Guba, E.G. (ed.). *The Paradigm Dialog.*

[26] Investigate Haraway, D. (1988). "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies,* Vol. 14, pp. 575-599. Also investigate Harding, S. (1987). *Feminism and Methodology.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

[27] See Guba, E.G. (ed.). *The Paradigm Dialog.,* p. 17.

[28] This said, I am not suggesting that it is possible to construct false claims, positions or realities about paradigm or the Greens, or to say that all ways of looking at the world are valid – an argument that falls into the realm of extreme relativism. The point that I wish to emphasise is that there are multiple interpretations of the word paradigm (within the boundaries of scholarly reason), and that it is possible for different people with different views and backgrounds to derive alternate conceptualisations of the Greens (again, within the broad boundaries of reason).

There are social scientists who believe in a linear deductionism which places social behaviours and responses into austerely constructed boxes. To these individuals, the social world can be divided, compartmentalised and mapped-out, underscoring the belief that human nature is wholly predictable and logical; that it can be understood in the same fashion as a technological device.[29] In contrast, intuitive inquiry openly invites the researcher to arrange the research method, procedures, setting, and context to maximize (rather than minimize) the very gateway through which the researcher understands or is inspired by the studied experience.[30] As Drew Hutton and Libby Connors point out in their study of the Australian environment movement, "the horizontal, loose, informal nature of a social movement [has] to be managed by selecting issues and campaigns."[31] In other words, the Greens are not frozen or static bodies, but radiate and set in motion a kaleidoscope of colours, shapes and patterns relative to what is occurring in society and the larger political sphere, and so a scholar's own construction of such a transformative, movable and vibrant Green political force is, by definition, a more subjective exercise. It is not possible to manufacture one, fully objective and correct way of structuring an examination of the Greens. There is no complete, linear path to enlightenment. Social research is not entirely 'value-free' and objective, nor is it based on an unchanging world, where inquiry can always be replicated in a perfectly logical fashion.[32] Change is a constant, and the social world we live in is under continual reconstruction.[33] The Greens are a multifarious, complex, and ever-changing social movement which alters relative to time, place, membership and circumstance. As a researcher, I too

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[29] For information on researchers who take the more linear approach, investigate Black, T.R. (1999). *Doing Quantitative Research in the Social Sciences: An Integrated Approach to Research Design, Measurement and Statistics.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press; Ferson, S. & Burgman, M. (eds.). (2002). *Quantitative Methods for Conservation Biology.* New York, NY: Springer Verlag; and Reaves, C.C. (1992). *Quantitative Research for the Behavioral Sciences.* New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

[30] See Anderson, R. (2000). "Intuitive Inquiry: Interpreting Objective and Subjective Data," *ReVision,* Vol. 22, No. 4, p. 31.

[31] See Hutton, D. & Connors, L. *A History of the Australian Environment Movement.,* p. 14.

[32] See Davis, K. (1998). "Could Qualitative Research Become the 'Rule' Instead of the 'Exception'? (Editorial)," *The Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance,* Vol. 69, No. 2, p. 5. Also investigate Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (1995). *Designing Qualitative Research (2nd ed.).* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

[33] *Ibid.*

am shaped by the shifting world of experiences and life's unpredictabilities. While it is possible to personally experience a *general* sense of a political group or an individual for that matter (based on empirical readings), it is *not* possible to fix or correctly structure that experience and frame it as the truth. Recognising that we live in an organic world of human complexity, I have made a point of *not* transforming the dissertation into a 'valid' mechanical, jigsaw puzzle. I have not employed the reductionist approach of 'A' equals 'B,' and so forth, for 'A' may very well equal 'Z.' Thus, in discussing the paradigmatic nature of Canadian and Australian Greens, the reader will find that: 1) the chapter headings and sub-headings are not uniform, but reflect my own interpretation (based on empirical readings) of the Greens; 2) the content and organisation of the paragraphs in the dissertation may significantly differ from one chapter to the next, reflecting the particular nuances, situated experiences and my interpretation of the particular party under investigation; and 3) the length of each chapter may differ in relation to the amount of documentary material available for study, and ultimately, relative to the evolution and distinctiveness of a particular Green Party.[34]

Critical Analysis

Before concluding this introductory chapter, I think it is important to clarify my current position on the topic of critical thought and analysis. There is an academic culture that I have found particularly prevalent in urban North America which adopts an approach that is loutish, abrasive and characterised by hard-hearted criticism.[35] This 'scholarly' and critical culture which arguably helps perpetuate the verbal and non-verbal violence of modern, technocratic societies, regularly employs put-downs, attacks, and disparagements in order to frame, assess or manage an issue,

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[34] This said, to some degree, the subheadings and the paragraphs contained within have been organised according to their relative importance in the chapter – for instance, the first subheading and paragraphs of a chapter reflect what I believe to be the most characteristic elements of the Party under study. Also, there was some conscious attempt to avoid major fluctuations in length between chapters.

[35] Investigate Mitchell, D. E., & Spady, W. G. (1998). "Authority, Power, and the Legitimation of Social Control," *Educational Administration Quarterly*, Issue 19; O'Hair, M. & Blase, J. (1992). "Power and Politics in the Classroom: Implications for Teacher Education," *Action in Teacher Education*, Issue 14; Tedeschi, J. T. & Felson, R. B. (1994). *Violence, Aggression, and Coercive Actions*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association;

subject, person or group under investigation. The emphasis here is to have *power over* something or someone. Indeed, this masculinist academic culture insists, perhaps at times unconsciously so, that validity can best be achieved via callous and aggressive inquiry and through 'objective,' detached and unfeeling research and assessment.[36] It is a faction that undergirds a preference for bureaucratic modes of organization, an insistence that control is the primary means for achieving goals, and the notion that teaching, learning and research are separate but linked technical endeavors.[37]

'Hard' discourse and analysis is rooted in an authoritarian process of socialisation generally associated with large, traditional entities.[38] A militant approach is gaining ground at the 'higher' ends of university administrations in North America. Joyce Lorimer, co-author of a report commissioned by Trent University emphasises that "over the past five or six years, a group of hawks has landed in certain administrations."[39] Pointing to protracted confrontations at several Canadian universities including Trent, Manitoba, Memorial, and Mount Allison, Lorimer raises questions concerning the character of university life and places blame on "managers determined to override collegial governance with unilateral decision-making more appropriate to huge corporations."[40] The command-and-control approach is interwoven with behaviours of professional indifference and scientific detachment. But as Jodi Halpem, a professor of bioethics at the University of California, Berkeley argues, by narrowing the focus to the belief nub of more 'intellectual' emotions, strict cognitivism ignores how characteristic patterns of emotions reflect the rationality of the person having them.[41] Thus, she calls for a more empathic understanding of social phenomena through 'emotional reasoning' and acts of holistic

and Goodwin, L. D. & Stevens, E. A. (1993). "The Influence of Gender on University Faculty Members' Perceptions of 'Good' Teaching," *Journal of Higher Education*, Issue 64.
[36] Investigate Toma, J.D. (1997). "Alternative Inquiry Paradigms, Faculty Cultures, and the Definition of Academic Lives," *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 68, No. 6.
[37] See Noblit, G.W., Rogers, D.L. & McCadden, B.M. (1995). "In the Meantime: the Possibilities of Caring," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 76, No. 9.
[38] See Das, M. & Das, H. (2001). "Business Students' Perceptions of Best University Professors: Does Gender Role Matter?" *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, Issue 12.
[39] See Dwyer, V. (1997). "The Battle for York: A Power Struggle Grips Canada's Third-Largest University," *Maclean's*, Vol. 110, No. 17, p. 55.
[40] *Ibid*, p.55.
[41] See Halpem, J. (2001). *From Detached Concern to Empathy: Humanizing Medical Practice.* New York, NY, Oxford University Press.

mindfulness and concern.[42]

For the purposes of this dissertation, I will not use or include what I can only call a caustic and inhumane form of 'analysis.' A more caring analysis demands a rejection of the technical and instrumental ways of interpreting cultures of research.[43] This dissertation advocates the principle of non-violence in word and deed. Critical analysis will be understood solely as reflective analysis, not as cold critique.

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[42] *Ibid.*
[43] See Noblit, G.W., Rogers, D.L. & McCadden, B.M. (1995). "In the Meantime: the Possibilities of Caring," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 76, No. 9.

2. *Literature Review: Recent Works on Canadian and Australian Greens*

Introduction

In addition to providing an overview of the recent works which examine Green parties in Canada and Australia, this chapter presents and considers these works in order to identify whether they comprehensively cover the paradigm of the Australian and Canadian Greens. It also investigates whether or not they offer any comparative analysis of Greens in Canada and Australia. Essentially, it aims to answer the first two research questions posed in chapter one. After a broad examination of documentary sources, I discovered several recent works that attempt to explain Green Party activity in Australia and Canada. These works were gathered by searching a variety of educational databases, and are cited below.

"The Greens" by Bob Brown and Peter Singer[44]

This work offers an overview of Australia's Greens with particular attention to their ideas, concepts and aspirations. Written by two prominent Australian environmental leaders, it is the only single complete work published within the study period that details the general nature of Green parties in Australia. The book begins with an overview of environmental problems such as climate change, ozone layer depletion, air and water pollution, desertification, forest destruction, and the loss of biodiversity, and follows with a philosophical exploration of the differences between the dominant ideology and the green ethic. The book also examines the perspectives, actions, and politics of Australia and Tasmania's first Green Parliamentarians. The authors point out that these 'politicians' were driven by a passion for environmental, social and economic justice. The balance of the book focuses on general Green policies and visions. For example, the authors explore proportional representation, the call for an Australian Republic, feminism, people power, limits to growth, fair trade, universal healthcare and education, non-violence, green business, and the need to respect human, cultural and biological diversity. The book ends with an

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[44] Full reference: Brown, B. & Singer, P. (1996). *The Greens*. Melbourne, VIC: Text Publishing, pp. 1-199.

abbreviated "Charter of the Greens," and a list of addresses for Australia's federal and state Green parties.

"Green Fire" by Ian Cohen[45]

This work is an account of Australia's Green movement as seen through the eyes of Ian Cohen – the first Green Party member of the New South Wales Parliament. Cohen found himself in the international spotlight in 1986 when he was photographed using a surfboard to hang on to the bow of a cruising U.S. nuclear-armed warship in Sydney Harbour. He was protesting against the nuclear arms race. But, this certainly was not his first protest. Looking back over 16 years of radical environmentalism, Cohen delves into the past, referring to his involvement and the spirited efforts of activists at the 1982 Nightcap forest campaign, the Franklin River blockade, Roxby Downs uranium mine protests, Daintree and the Chaelundi old growth forest campaign in northern New South Wales. Cohen also offers valuable reflection on the strategy of grassroots, green protests, workable green schemes, and the obstacles and errors of misguided progressive political actions. The work could easily be considered to be Cohen's biography, though Cohen himself refuses to refer to the work in these terms, noting that his personal history cannot be separated from the collective historical labours to advance environmental and social change. The book reads like a series of short personal stories – each details a campaign or protest in Cohen's own words.

"Greenies and Numbers Men" by Drew Hutton and Libby Connors[46]

"Greenies and Numbers Men" examines the evolution of the Green Party movement in Australia from approximately 1983 to 1990. Much of the chapter identifies the often unstructured relationships between the Australian Labor Party (ALP), the Greens (and their organisations and constituency), and social, peace and anti-nuclear activists (including the Nuclear Disarmament Party), and points to the politics and 'subtle' variations between 'left-leaning groups,' activists and political parties. This

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[45] Full reference: Cohen, I. (1997). *Green Fire*. Sydney, NSW: Angus and Robertson.
[46] Full reference: Connors, L. & Hutton, D. (1999). "Greenies and Numbers Men," [chp. 8] In *A History of the Australian Environment Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

said, the chapter also shows that despite ideological differences there has been a concerted and sometimes politically successful attempt by a variety of 'leftists' to work together. Putting aside (or at least bearing with) personal and professional differences (for instance, some 'leftists' have chosen to embrace traditional structures, while others advocate consensus), social and environmental activists, politicians, and groups have had success in building coalitions against the madness of neoliberalism, militarism, and ecological decay. However, the Greens led by Bob Brown evidently lost some political momentum following the breakdown of Tasmania's Labor-Green Accord in 1990. Indeed, the authors indicate that while the early and mid 1980's saw a rise in environmental awareness and action, the early 1990s was the beginning of a more restrained and difficult period for the Green movement in general. Resource industries regrouped to assert their economic power and governments, moderate social activists, and so-called 'leftists' such as Labor began to *perceive* ecological sustainability as a socioeconomic liability, especially in light of the looming economic recession.

"An Australian Green Party or Green Politics" by Graham Purchase[47]

As an anarchist, Graham Purchase argues that the Australian Green parties, despite their well-meaning intentions, are contributing to the demise of a truly socialist, green future. The author contends that all Party politics are inherently destructive, since they are an extension of the state apparatus, rely on bureaucratic structures, and ultimately govern via hierarchies, top-down legislation, and authoritative means. Purchase states that Green parties are reformist in nature. They attempt to incorporate Green perspectives into state bureaucracies and state-capitalist monopolies, yet for the most part, conform to the day-to-day nature of such dominant political structures. The author maintains that the goal of Green politics (as distinct from Green parties) should be to overturn centralised national governments in the pursuit of a local and international association of autonomous and free bioregions. In short, the author argues against a dominant and centralised Green Party politics in favour of flourishing

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[47] Full reference: Purchase, G. (1997). "An Australian Green Party or Green Politics," [chp. 5] In *Anarchism and Ecology*. Montreal, PQ: Black Rose Books.

ecological communities and cooperative societies which value decentralised, egalitarian and nature-based approaches to living.

"A Green Challenge to Neo-Liberalism" by Colin Long[48]

For the most part, this chapter article identifies and discusses the problematic nature of neo-liberalism – an ideology that espouses limited government, free-markets, and a right-wing agenda. It also calls for a renewed challenge against neo-liberal praxis. With the fall of communism and the moribund state of socialist thought, the author points out that many social democrats and left-leaning thinkers have been either floundering and spouting irrelevant slogans, seduced, in whole or in part, by the neo-liberal policy agenda, or trying to befriend their former foes such as big business. Colin Long maintains that in order to reverse the tide, and breathe new life into the left, there will have to be a reconceptualisation of social progressive praxis. Long states that there has been a lack of foundational concepts with which to challenge the dominance of free market capitalism. And, he asserts that scholars can best view these concepts by exploring the radical insights of the Green Party movement. In short, the answer to a challenge against neo-liberalism can be found embedded within Green Party perspectives including non-violence, a strong state, human and environmental rights, participatory democracy, and freedom.

"From Green to Brown: The Australian Federal Election of March 1996" by C. A. Rootes[49]

This brief article examines the electoral successes and failures of Australia's political parties in the 1996 federal election. The author indicates that the Liberal-National coalition scored a landslide victory in the election, the Labor Party lost seats and its control of government, and the Australian Democrats gained a marked increase in seats and share of the vote. The Senate results for the Greens were uneven, and as expected, Bob Brown was the only Green elected to the federal parliament. Aside from providing

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[48] Full reference: Long, C. (1999). "Green Challenge to Neo-Liberalism" In Glover, D., Patmore, G. & Jungwirth, G. (eds.). *New Voices for Social Democracy: Labor Essays 1999-2000*. Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press Australia.

[49] Full reference: Rootes, C.A. (1996). "From Green to Brown: The Australian Federal

a broad overview of the election, the article also offers an analysis of the Australian Democrats' and Greens' electoral prospects and political manoeuvres.

"Green Politics 'in the System': Assessing the Obstacles to Labor/Green Power Sharing" by Peter Hay[50]

Hay's scholarly piece is concerned with "questions of institutional adaptability to [Green] mobilisations; with the formal political system's effectiveness in dealing with long-term environmental decline; and with the capacity of formal institutions to rise to ... uniquely intractable challenges... [vis-à-vis the fundamental differences between Green and Labor Party politics]." These issues are explored in the context of Tasmania's political situation from 1989-1991 – a time when Tasmania was governed by a minority Labor Government which was kept in office by the support of five elected Greens through an official agreement known as the Labor-Green Accord. Specifically, Hay analyses the government of the day (and more specifically, the outcome of the Accord), having served as the Senior Private Secretary to the Tasmanian Minister for Environment and Planning during this "turbulent experiment in Lilliputian government." His ultimate conclusion (based on his experience as Senior Private Secretary): a modernist, expansionist political party such as the Labor Party, by nature, will have significant difficulties collaborating, on a long-term basis, with a Party such as the Greens that seeks radical socioenvironmental change (and vice versa). This said, Hay offers optimism, indicating that Labor-Green collaboration, while extremely difficult, is not a hopelessly unattainable task (citing the ability of two seemingly resolute opponents in South Africa, F.W. De Klerk and Nelson Mandela, who found common ground for shared government).

"The Tasmanian State Election 1996: Green Power and Hung Parliaments" by Kate Crowley[51]

This short article or rather news brief offers statistical details and a general run-down of the Tasmanian state election that took place back in 1996. Kate Crowley indicates the incumbent Liberals retained government control, Labor languished in opposition, and while the Greens lost some support amongst voters, they nevertheless gained the balance of power. Crowley points out that the electoral success of Green politics in 1996 had everything to do with the Hare-Clark system of proportional representation (which encourages minor party representation). Aside from the election, the author also offers a brief historical account of Tasmanian Green politics going as far back as 1972, when the United Tasmania Group (U.T.G.) ran for office on a platform of environmental stewardship (particularly in opposition to hydroindustrialisation).

"A Failed Greening? The Electoral Routing of the Tasmanian Greens" by Kate Crowley[52]

This brief essay details the Tasmanian Liberal and Labor parties' success in acting against Green minority government in Tasmania. Crowley argues that the major parties were frustrated with the Tasmanian Greens' ability to hold the balance of parliamentary power in the state, and consequently, colluded to thwart the "green political intrusion." She also indicates that the major parties' frustration was rooted in the history of the state's development and hydro-political bias. Simply put, the Labor and Liberal parties' held to their long-standing anti-environmental ideology. Tasmania's political establishment could not accept the ecological democratisation of Tasmanian politics, and especially the Greens' opposition to neoclassical economic growth and industrialisation. Thus, in 1998, the major parties voted to reduce the number of seats in parliament (from 35 to 25), thereby denying Greens their representative place in the Tasmanian House of Assembly. This was an implicit attempt to steer the Tasmanian Greens toward parliamentary annihilation. When the state

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[51] Full reference: Crowley, K. (1996). "The Tasmanian State Election 1996: Green Power and Hung Parliaments," *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 530-535.
[52] Full reference: Crowley, K. (1999). " A Failed Greening? The Electoral Routing of the Tasmanian Greens," *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 186-193.

election was held in August 1998, under the new parliamentary structure, the Greens lost three of their four seats and the balance of power – seats and influence they could have retained under the former 35 member structure.

"Politics of Meaning: The Impact of the Tasmanian Greens on the Environmental Debate" by Michelle Bridget Gabriel[53]

The central argument of this work is that political parties such as the Tasmanian Greens play a vital role, particularly in generating new interpretations and new frames of meaning. The author draws a distinction between social movement groups and political parties, and how the two play different roles in the generation of political meaning. She asks the following questions: What message is being articulated by the Tasmanian Greens? Where are the Greens positioned within the larger environmental debate? How have the Tasmanian Greens influenced and reframed the debate? What are the distinctions between activist groups and party officials? What environmental concerns are being raised, and who is discussing these issues? How are environmental arguments being shaped? The coverage of the Tasmanian Greens and environmental movement organisations is examined over two periods: before 1984 – the build-up to the Franklin Dam protests – and after 1994 – the formation of the Tasmanian Greens. The author discusses the level and mode that parties and groups use to attract media attention, their range and scope of agendas, and how their activities are framed and reframed in the sociopolitical sphere.

"The Open Mythology of Green Party Politics" by Jeff Culbert[54]

Jeff Culbert discusses the differences between open and closed mythologies in relation to Green Party politics. Open mythologies (in contrast to closed ones) are democratic, less determinist, post-technocratic,

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[53] Full reference: Gabriel, M. B. (1996). "Politics of Meaning: The Impact of the Tasmanian Greens on the Environmental Debate," Masters thesis, School of Sociology and Social Work, University of Tasmania, pp. 1-112. Also, for a synopsis of the thesis' ideas, investigate Gabriel, M. B. (1998). "The Green Party and the Politics of Meaning," In Pakulski, J. & Crook, S. (eds.). *Ebbing of the Green Tide? Environmentalism, Public Opinion and the Media in Australia.* Hobart, Tas: School of Sociology and Social Work., pp. 90-102.
[54] Full reference: Culbert, J. (1996). *The Open Mythology of Green Party Politics.* North York, ON: Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, pp. 1-26.

and ultimately seek a politics of imagination, agency and responsibility. The author also examines the three competing groups that have historically emerged from Canada's Greens, and particularly the Ontario Greens: those who want to decentralise state decision-making and advance participatory democracy; those who wish to completely devolve state power, and transfer 'power' to communities and bioregions through the creation of small-scale, locally-run economies; and those who seek a government agenda, and prefer to focus their attention on affecting change through participation in the legislative process and via other state apparatus. Culbert indicates that since 1993 and a new constitution, the 'state group' has become the dominant force in Canadian and Ontario Green Party politics. The author expresses concern over this new electoral emphasis, noting that statist parties can embrace closed mythologies, and are, at their worst, extensions of public and private power. The author ends his paper arguing in favour of an open, Green mythology which, he maintains can be achieved by carefully balancing the concerns of the three Green Party factions.

"Information Bikepath: A Field Study of the Media and Political Ecology of the Green Party of Ontario" by Kevin Ells[55]

Kevin Ells ran for the Green Party of Ontario in the 1990 provincial election. This article details his experience and understanding of the politics of language as a Green. He distinguishes between the terms friendship and relationship (the latter of which is largely a rigid, formal and impersonal concept), and examines them in connection to the power and influence embodied in Green politics and life in general. He concludes his essay by arguing for the use of inclusive language in Green Party politics, noting that the electorate responds to vivid analogy and stories over abstract reasoning. According to Ells, terms such as hegemony, anthropocentrism, and even sustainability do not reach the greater public, and therefore need to be discarded in favour of more readable prose.

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[55] Full reference: Ells, K. (1997). *Information Bikepath: A Field Study of the Media and Political Ecology of the Green Party of Ontario.* North York, ON: Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, pp. 1-34.

Conclusion

The Greens by Bob Brown and Peter Singer offer some degree of detail on the paradigm of the Australian Green parties, though the book tends to generalise Australia's Greens as a homogeneous group. Specifically, the work does not offer a detailed and comprehensive analysis of each state Green Party and the federal Party. *Green Politics 'in the System'* by Peter Hay offers some highly valuable insights on the historical tensions between conventional and Green political thought, but its primarily aim is to explore Tasmanian Labor-Green power sharing arrangements and political organisation (not to discuss paradigmatic matters). The *Politics of Meaning* by Michelle Gabriel offers several paragraphs on the paradigmatic nature of the Tasmanian Green Party, while the remaining works provide a mere scattering of information on the paradigm of the Greens – for instance, a sentence or two identifying the beliefs of an individual state/provincial or federal Green Party. Thus, even taken as a whole, the works most definitely do not provide a paradigmatic examination or comparative analysis of Australian and Canadian Greens.

Even if I have overlooked any recent academic publications on the Canadian and Australian Green parties, based on the above reviews, and noting the reference lists cited in each of the reviewed books, the chances are that any other possible Green academic publications: a) do not offer a paradigmatic analysis of all the noted provincial and federal Canadian Green parties, b) do not offer a paradigmatic analysis of all the noted state and federal Australian Green parties, and c) almost certainly do not offer a paradigmatic, comparative analysis of Canadian and Australian Green parties. Thus, it is in this context that I offer the following study.

The dismal lack of recent academic literature on Canadian and Australian Green parties should lay to rest any questions about the need for this study. While Australia has produced some recent research on its Green parties, no doubt due to the fact that Australian Greens play a relatively significant role in electoral politics (which in turn partly owes to the presence of proportional representation in the country), Canada's research community has barely acknowledged the presence of its Green parties despite the fact that Canada has a large environmental constituency, and Canadian Greens have, on average, polled between five and eight percent

of the vote in a number of ridings (enough to be elected into parliament under proportional representation – a system which has yet to be implemented in Canada).[56] The following data and analysis is intended to help fill this gap in the literature. But, I cannot emphasise enough the need for environmental scholars, particularly in Canada, to continue this research and venture into the field of Green Party politics.

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[56] For polling data, investigate "Welcome to Green Party of Canada" located at <http://www.green.ca/index-e.htm>.

3. A Global Emphasis: Exploring the Green Party of Canada

Introduction

   This chapter explores the federal Canadian Green Party, and offers some reflective analysis on the nature of its paradigm. Specifically, along with the other chapters detailing Green Party paradigmatic positions, it helps answer the third research question posed in chapter one, namely: What are the demonstrated paradigmatic positions of the federal and provincial/state Greens? Formed in 1983,[57] the Green Party of Canada maintains that there are fundamental differences between grey and green politics; between those who perceive nature as a stockpile of resources to be exploited for short-term vested interests, and those who recognise the Earth as an interconnected, manifold and complex web of life. In a neoclassical economy, the worth of vanishing species and natural resources is disregarded because these cannot be easily quantified (instead economic indicators rise with every automobile accident, with every oil spill, and with every newly diagnosed cancer patient), while in a green economy, progress is redefined to stop counting the liquidation of nature as income; corporations are held responsible for their products from cradle to grave; new economic indicators are applied to account for the social and ecological costs of products and services; and to create jobs, income and consumption taxes are replaced with environmental taxes.[58]

   Canada's Green Party emphasises "a multifaceted approach to social justice and ecology."[59] It states that the decision-making process should function within a structure of interrelated environment, social justice and human rights principles. Dr. Joan Russow, the former Leader of Canada's Greens, argues for the "protection of human rights, including labour rights;

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[57] On the weekend of November 4th-6th 1983, the founding conference of the Canadian Greens was held at Carleton University, Ottawa. However, "about a month before Canada's 1980 federal election, eleven candidates, mostly in Atlantic province ridings, issued a joint press release declaring that they were running on a common platform which called for a transition to a non-nuclear conserver society. Although they ran as independents, they unofficially used the name *Small Party* as part of their declaration of unity, presumably a reference to the *small is beautiful* theme in Green politics. This appears to be the most substantial early attempt to answer the call for an ecologically-oriented Canadian political party." See "History of the Canadian Greens" located at <http://www.islandnet.com/~bcgreens/history/can_hist.htm>.
[58] See "The Green Vision" located at <http://www.green.ca/vision-e.htm>.
[59] See "Welcome to the Green Party" located at <http://ncf.carleton.ca/ip/government/fedelect/nat/green/about.txt>.

the preservation of the environment; the prevention of war and conflict; social justice; equitable employment that does not harm the environment; [and] respect for the rule of law."[60] Overall, the Party advocates the following values:

- *Ecological Wisdom* – The Earth sustains all life forms.
- *Social Justice* – The worldwide growth of poverty and injustice is unacceptable. All must be able to fulfil their potential regardless of background.
- *Grassroots Democracy* – The powerless suffer the most from resource exhaustion and toxic pollution. All citizens must be able to directly participate in the environmental, economic and political decisions which affect their lives.
- *Nonviolence* – Violence is morally wrong. We must work to end war forever.
- *Decentralisation* – Power must be returned to local communities within an overall context of ecologically sound and socially just values and lifestyles.
- *Community-Based Economics* – The economy must provide for people within the natural limits of the Earth rather than people providing for the economy. Local self-reliance is the greatest practical way to achieve this goal.
- *Feminism* – The ethic of cooperation must replace the values of control.
- *Respect for Diversity* – Honour the diversity of the Earth.
- *Personal and Global Responsibility* – Global sustainability and international justice is based on political solidarity and personal ecological change.
- *Future Focus/Sustainability* – Like the Iroquois People, we must look after the needs of the seventh generation as much as our own.[61]

International Cooperation

Canada's Greens call upon the member states of the United Nations (U.N.) to immediately sign and ratify international environmental agreements that have not yet been signed and ratified, and to enact the necessary legislation to ensure compliance and enforcement.[62] This includes enforcing the Convention on Biological Diversity, Agenda 21, the World Charter of Nature, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer, and the Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The Party believes that states should implement General Assembly resolutions and declarations, and realise obligations arising from

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[60] See "Canada's Green Party – Battle of Ideals" located at
<http://www.flora.org/flora.action-forum/678>.
[61] See "Green Party of Canada – Key Values" located at
<http://www.green.ca/english/resource/key10.htm>.
[62] See "Election Campaign Highlights" located at

conference action plans (resolutions). It maintains that it is crucial to establish mandatory international normative standards/regulations (M.I.N.S.) drawn from international principles and from the highest and strongest regulations from member states.[63] It also insists that corporations, including transnationals, should be held responsible for their actions, and observe international and national socioenvironmental codes, regulations and laws. The Party supports the cancellation of charters for businesses that violate human rights, cause environmental destruction, or contribute to violence and war.

The Greens of Canada believe in strengthening the United Nations, and Canada's international legal obligations, to prevent additional environmental and human rights violations. The Party says that "this would involve fully acting upon the commitment made under Principle 14 of the Rio Declaration which advocates the prevention of the transfer to other states of substances or activities that cause environmental degradation or that are harmful to human health."[64] It especially opposes all transfers of hazardous substances to and within lands of indigenous peoples, or communities of marginalised citizens.

Moreover, the Canadian Greens indicate that the federal government should carry out its commitments (as recorded at recent U.N. Conferences) to move away from consumption and materialism, reduce the ecological footprint, and end neoclassical economic growth and development. Similarly, the Party believes it is necessary to invoke the Precautionary Principle (found in the Rio Declaration, the Convention on Biological Diversity, and the Climate Change Convention[65]), and not wait to obtain absolute, scientific certainty that environmental problems resulting from current expansionist practices cause harm. Canada's Greens also call for an International Court of Compliance where citizens could acquire evidence of international, national and corporate non-compliance vis-à-vis anti-environmental practices.

<http://www.green.ca/english/election/elect97/hghlts-e.htm>.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] *Ibid.*
[65] Also investigate press release "Statement on climate change" (10 November 1998).

Foreign Affairs

The Greens of Canada believe that security should be achieved through fair trade and not free trade. The Party recommends utilising environmental and social charters as the essence of trade deals, and supports strong trade sanctions against countries that abuse human rights. It also wishes to help "reduce the need for large-scale human migration by requiring rich countries to pay a fair price for Third World commodities, and through eliminating the arms trade."[66] It calls for the immediate halt of all export and import of hazardous wastes, and opposes the sale of nuclear technology from Canada.

Moreover, the Party insists on the demilitarisation of Canada's north including the elimination of low-level flights which adversely affect northern communities. Essentially, it calls upon the Canadian government to stop treating the distinct ecosystem of the north and its communities as resources for the use of southern urban regions. It also believes that the federal government should immediately pull out of NATO and NORAD, in an effort to improve the nation's role in conflict prevention and resolution, as well as overall peacebuilding.

On matters of global equity, the Party calls for adherence to strong regulatory mechanisms to: 1) cease product imports made with child and slave labour; 2) ensure debt forgiveness for poor countries; 3) restrict wealth transfer from poor to rich countries in the form of corporate profits; and 4) encourage bioregional self-reliance in basic goods and services.[67]

Human Rights

In its call for stronger human rights protection measures, the Green Party of Canada seeks an end to discrimination along lines of "race, sex, gender, tribe, culture, colour, ethnicity, national ethnic or social origin, nationality of birth, refugee or immigrant status, marital status, different forms of the family, disabilities, age, language, religion or conviction, political or other opinion, nature of residency or other status."[68] It states that these grounds should be integrated into all international and national

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[66] See "Green Party of Canada Draft Policy Document" (circa 2000) available from Joan Russow, former Leader of the Green Party of Canada.
[67] *Ibid.*

human rights documents. The Party is particularly concerned about the welfare of the country's aboriginal peoples. It "favours a just and fair settlement of native land claims as guaranteed under the constitution."[69] Similarly, it supports the multiculturalism of Canada, noting that each culture has qualities to offer a sustainable world and should be encouraged to preserve those offerings. With respect to the welfare of the country as a whole, the Party believes in the right to shelter, food, social security, affordable quality education, as well as socially equitable and ecologically sound employment. It also advocates the establishment of a Social Security Act to provide national directives for social welfare.

International Peace

Canada's Green Party indicates that international cooperation is essential in nurturing peace and environmental sustainability.[70] It also maintains that "by eliminating insecurity and discrediting greed, much that causes war would cease."[71] It is an advocate of non-violent conflict resolution, and Immediate Global Disarmament. Noting that the cost of Canada's peacekeeping operations is less than $700 million annually (only 6 percent of the defence budget), it believes in taking dramatic steps to reduce Canada's military budget, and remove the country from any role in the global arms race.[72]

The World Court has affirmed that the use or threat of nuclear weapons is contrary to international humanitarian law, while the Malaysian sponsored General Assembly resolution of 1997 declared that the continuing existence of nuclear weapons poses a threat to all humanity.[73] Accordingly, the Party feels that it is crucial to ban nuclear weapons, and phase-out uranium mining. It also argues that the federal government should begin the peace process by immediately closing Canadian waters and ports to nuclear armed and/or powered warships. In

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[68] *Ibid.*
[69] See "The Green Party of Canada: Vote Green" located at <http://www.green.ca/english/election/vote.htm>.
[70] *Ibid.*
[71] *Ibid.*
[72] See "The Green Vision" located at <http://www.green.ca/vision-e.htm>.
[73] See "Election Campaign Highlights" located at <http://www.green.ca/english/election/elect97/hghlts-e.htm>. Also investigate press release "Greens call for elimination of weapons of mass destruction" (11 March 1998).

addition to its concern over nuclear weapons and power, it also calls for a ban on chemical and biological weapons and the elimination of land mines.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's (N.A.T.O.) forces currently use Canada as a testing ground for military activities. The Party is strongly against any international training exercises which are utilised for offensive intentions. It is particularly concerned about low-level flying manoeuvres in Goose Bay, Labrador, cruise missile testing in Cold Lake, Alberta, and submarine training in Nanoose Bay, British Columbia. It also expresses concern over Canada's needless production of military hardware, noting that there should be a transition from the manufacturing of weaponry to sustainable, peaceful and humane activities. All in all, it suggests reducing the military budget by half (the savings would be transferred to socioenvironmental security), and establishing a civilian-based Canadian defence program that would educate citizens in unarmed international and national defence initiatives.

Environment

The Party contends that Canada is disregarding its legal environmental obligations. Thus, in an effort to uphold the rule of law, it calls for the immediate implementation, compliance and enforcement of all international environmental agreements, and the enforcement of all federal and provincial environmental acts and statutes. It supports incorporating an Environmental Bill of Rights into the current Canadian Environmental Protection Act, and urges the federal government to place an amendment into the Charter of Rights and Freedoms assuring Canadians the right to a healthy and safe environment. Moreover, it questions the validity of the Canada's current environmental assessment review process, arguing that it should support *proper* environmental assessments and not simply project reviews.

On matters of environmental health and social safety, the Party proposes significant research funding into the prevention of environmentally induced diseases. It also advocates the study of the interrelationships between ecological, health and psychosocial systems by independent research bodies. In noting the importance of independent research, it supports the establishment of a Canadian-wide policy to

prevent questionable pharmaceutical companies, along with other related corporations with environmentally unsound practices from sponsoring and influencing the direction of research.

Canada's Green Party is wholly against the continued manufacture and consumption of substances or activities that are detrimental to human health and the natural environment. It states that there is strong scientific evidence pointing to the adverse environmental and health effects of manufacturing and utilising toxic, hazardous and nuclear substances. Consequently, it advocates:

• introducing legislation to promote the reuse or replacement of toxic minerals in industrial production;
• banning the use of cyanide leaching process for mineral extraction;
• banning genetically engineered foods and agriculture;
• phasing out the production and consumption of ozone-depleting substances;
• reducing greenhouse gas emissions with time-bound and enforced reduction targets; and
• phasing-out of all substances and processes that have been clearly shown to be hazardous or deleterious to human health or to the [natural] environment.[74]

The Party seeks preventive solutions to environmental problems in an effort to shift Canada away from its current 'clean up after-the-fact' praxis. It also insists upon the application of a 'reverse onus principle' where the proponent of an intervention (which could be harmful to human health or the natural environment) shall have to demonstrate the safety of the intervention rather than the opponent of the intervention having to demonstrate harm.[75]

Biodiversity, Wilderness and Forestry

The Green Party of Canada supports the application of the precautionary principle to any practices that could contribute to the loss or reduction of species, ecosystem and genetic diversity.[76] It argues that Canada should not wait until there is 'scientific certainty' that clearcut

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[74] See "Election Campaign Highlights" located at
<http://www.green.ca/english/election/elect97/hghlts-e.htm>.
[75] *Ibid.*
[76] See "Draft Policy – 1996 Arrow Lakes Conference" located at
<http://www.green.ca/english/members/policy96.htm#D>.

logging and other ecologically unsound practices contribute to the reduction and loss of biodiversity.[77] It states that the nation should avoid the threat to biodiversity by first and foremost banning ecologically destructive practices. It also notes that all biosphere reserves should have an extended core area with conservation corridors where no commercial intrusion can take place, and all practices in buffer and transition zones should be implemented in accordance with the Convention on Biological Diversity.[78] Canada's Green Party is particularly concerned about the nation's industrial forestry operations and their effects on biodiversity. Pointing to hemp and kenaf as alternative sources of paper,[79] it states that the provinces and the federal government should immediately ban all clearcut logging, and preserve the country's remaining old growth forest. As a means of improving forestry practices, it also says that "higher stumpage fees would encourage selective cutting, and [that] value-added production creates more jobs than exporting raw logs."[80] In addition, it supports the use of educational forestry manuals (such as a green forest field guide) which can be offered to the public as a critique of pulp and lumber companies' questionable public relations statements.[81]

Canada's Greens maintain that a preservation strategy is needed to protect the country's biodiversity. As a means of responding to the principles outlined in the Convention on Biological Diversity, the Party recommends the establishment of a comprehensive system of protected areas or regions where special measures can be taken to preserve biological diversity, protect ecosystems, promote the protection of natural habitats, and ensure the continuation of viable populations. It says that "Canada needs a system of core reserves, corridors, and buffer zones free from development to accommodate viable, self-reproducing, genetically diverse native plant and animal species, including large predators."[82] It also calls for a code granting rights to Canadian species that would include the right

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[77] *Ibid.*

[78] See "Green Party of Canada Draft Policy Document" (circa 2000) available from Joan Russow, former Leader of the Green Party of Canada.

[79] See "Draft Policy – 1996 Arrow Lakes Conference" located at <http://www.green.ca/english/members/policy96.htm#D>.

[80] See "The Green Vision" located at <http://www.green.ca/vision-e.htm>.

[81] See "Green Party of Canada Draft Policy Document" (circa 2000) available from Joan Russow, former Leader of the Green Party of Canada.

[82] See "Welcome to the Green Party of Canada" located at

to habitat, and specify areas large enough to support species in their ecological niche. The code would ultimately be incorporated into an Act, and would apply to Canada's lands, waters and air space. The federal government would co-operate with provincial jurisdictions to satisfy both the letter and the spirit of the federal Act.[83] A serious and conscious effort would be made to work closely with aboriginal peoples in the development of (and implementation of) this Act.

Agriculture

The Greens of Canada advocate preserving crop diversity, reconnecting the farmer with the consumer, and ensuring a supply of locally produced, pesticide-free food.[84] The Party recognises the importance of developing and communicating the practice of sustainable, organic and community-centred agriculture.[85] It argues for an ecoagriculture that emphasises natural breeding, field trials, propagation and the protection of alternative ecologically adaptable crops such as native perennials, 'heritage' vegetables, grains, legumes and fruits, hemp and quinoa.[86] It also supports the efforts of organic and ecoagriculture associations in establishing, monitoring and enforcing organic/ecological farm practice codes, standards, certification and labelling.[87]

The Party calls for the cancellation and complete renegotiation of those aspects of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (G.A.T.T.) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (N.A.F.T.A.) which distort and limit the nation's ability to restore a self sufficient, community-centred and sustainable ecoagriculture and food provision system. It also expresses serious concern about the extent to which corporate agricultural powers have displaced local farmers. In response, it advocates phasing-out federal research support for large-scale agribusiness (including chemical, pesticide and bioengineering subsidiaries), as well as federal support for college and

<http://www.green.ca/english/index.htm>.
[83] *Ibid.*
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] See "Draft Policy – 1996 Arrow Lakes Conference" located at
<http://www.green.ca/english/members/policy96.htm#D>.
[86] See "Green Party of Canada Draft Policy Document" (circa 2000) available from Joan Russow, former Leader of the Green Party of Canada.
[87] See "Draft Policy – 1996 Arrow Lakes Conference" located at
<http://www.green.ca/english/members/policy96.htm#D>.

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agency agribusiness educational programs. It argues that funding should be focused to support family farm and community scale ecoagriculture workshops, distance education, and post-secondary study. Similarly, the Party supports the establishment of a diversity of public and farm-based model demonstration and experimental stations for extension and education in each of Canada's bioregions.

Fisheries

On an international level, the Green Party of Canada supports the ratification of the Law of the Sea (an international treaty regulating shipping, the movement of transnational goods, and the protection of the world's ocean waters). On a national level, it recommends establishing a network of marine parks in order to preserve ecologically sensitive areas vis-à-vis Canada's rivers, lakes, and oceans.

The Party expresses concern over the use of draggers in both the east and west coast fisheries. It points out that the technology is destructive to ocean ecosystems, and insists on the application of ecologically appropriate fishing techniques. Some "green" activists suggest aquaculture as an alternative to dwindling fishing stocks (the reduction of stocks resulting from the use of draggers), but the Greens of Canada discourage aquaculture, primarily on the grounds that it spreads disease among native fish.[88]

Energy and Conservation

In view of global climate change and the dangers of radioactive waste, Canada's Green Party suggests phasing-out fossil fuels and nuclear energy in favour of renewable energy sources such as solar, wind, biomass, and micro-hydro power generation. It also advocates the elimination of subsidies for nuclear and fossil fuels, and heavily taxing all emitted wastes to reflect true social and environmental costs. The Party calls for changing the focus of international energy assistance away from mega-projects towards appropriately sized community planned and driven projects. It also believes in accelerating investment in sustainable energy infrastructure, and redirecting research spending to concentrate on

environmentally sound energy technologies. Moreover, in the spirit of reducing energy consumption, it states that "the transition to sustainable energy can be achieved through improved energy efficiency, conservation and cogeneration."[89] All in all, it challenges the current federal government:

• to immediately revise tax treatment of renewable energy and energy efficiency investments to make them at least as attractive to investors as investments in conventional energy sources (such as oil and gas) including changes to flow-through share eligibility to include development costs and elimination of the Specified Energy Property rules;
• to provide incentives to renewable energy producers and investors with a production credit of $0.05 per kilowatt hour;
• to implement an Energy Research and Development Act to divert in excess of $1 billion in annual federal research and development spending to fund sustainable energy research and development; and

• to allocate a significant portion of energy research and development spending to support field trials and commercialisation of renewable energy technologies to improve their reliability, efficiency and competitiveness in Canadian and international markets and thereby accelerate their adoption by clients.[90]

Government Reform

The Green Party of Canada suggests changing the nation's current electoral system to proportional representation so that when a party receives 12 percent of the popular vote it would also receive 12 percent of the seats in Parliament.[91] It is particularly supportive of the mixed-member-proportional system where Canadians would vote twice: once for their local representative (as they do now) and once for the party of their choice (which would determine how many seats a party can have).[92] Such a system would ensure Canadians have both personal and political representation.[93] The Party notes that the world-wide history of Green Party politics demonstrates that such a form of representation helps elect more women and minorities to parliaments.

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[88] See "The Green Vision" located at <http://www.green.ca/vision-e.htm>.
[89] See "Welcome to the Green Party of Canada" located at <http://www.green.ca/english/index.htm>.
[90] See "Green Party of Canada Draft Policy Document" (circa 2000) available from Joan Russow, former Leader of the Green Party of Canada.
[91] See "Draft Policy – 1996 Arrow Lakes Conference" located at <http://www.green.ca/english/members/policy96.htm#D>. Also investigate press release "Section 313 of Bill C2 – The proposed Elections Act should accommodate M.P. Lorne Nystrom's Proportional Representation Motion 155" (16 May 2000).
[92] See "Green Party of Canada Draft Policy Document" (circa 2000) available from Joan Russow, former Leader of the Green Party of Canada.

Canada's Greens support local, provincial and especially federal campaign finance reform. In the interest of democratic freedoms, the Party believes that Elections Canada should phase-out the $1000 deposits required for federal candidates. It also calls upon this independent body to impose strict limits on election campaign spending, and particularly to limit amounts that parties can collect from vested financial interests. Moreover, it expresses concern over the use of paid political advertising and donations, noting that all parties should receive equal access to the media and funding.[94]

Aboriginal Affairs

Canada's Green Party apologises and calls upon the current Canadian government to formally and publicly apologise to First Nations for the Indian Act.[95] It also supports and calls upon the present government to recognise the Royal Proclamation of 1763 in confirmation of the original nations as sovereign peoples with inherent rights.[96] In support of these rights, the Party advocates honourable settlements that will lead to the creation of socioculturally and economically self-governing aboriginal nations throughout Canada. It also supports nation-to-nation partnerships, noting that governments should not impose any form of self-government or a structure of nationhood on the aboriginal nations. The original peoples can best choose the forms of governance appropriate for themselves.[97]

The Party believes it is critical to act on the commitment made at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED, 1992) to cease all activities that are eco-culturally destructive to indigenous peoples and their lands. As mentioned earlier, it is especially against the

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[93] *Ibid.*
[94] See "Welcome to the Green Party of Canada" located at
<http://www.green.ca/english/index.htm>.
[95] The Indian Act is the primary "instrument through which federal jurisdiction over Indians and Native people has been exercised during the last one hundred years. It dictates the manner in which Indian reserves and treaties are administered by the Department of Indian Affairs and the limited control exercised by bands and band councils." See "The Indian Act of Canada" located at
<http://www.usask.ca/nativelaw/pub_indian.html >. Also, see "Green Party of Canada Draft Policy Document" (circa 2000) available from Joan Russow, former Leader of the Green Party of Canada.
[96] *Ibid.*
[97] See "Election Campaign Highlights" located at
<http://www.green.ca/english/election/elect97/hghlts-e.htm>.

deposit of toxic, hazardous and atomic wastes on indigenous lands. It also wishes to ensure that no form of natural resource extraction, economic activity, or settlement occurs on land that is in dispute, unless the successors of the presiding original nations consent to such activity; but writing that:

> In the absence of consent, interim measures shall be in place. The fiduciary obligations of the Federal Government to the successors of the original nations, wherever they live in Canada, must be increased during this healing and transition process. Programs flowing from these obligations need to be planned, operated, and controlled by original peoples in their local communities in order to be culturally appropriate and responsive to their needs.[98]

Health

The Green Party of Canada recommends strengthening the Canada Health Act by supporting proven techniques from *both* Western medicine and traditional practices, and by providing funds for healing techniques that complement drugs and surgery. It recognises those herbalists who use time-tested, demonstrable and natural techniques in healthcare.

The Party expresses concern that Canadians are increasingly being exposed to carcinogenic substances as a result of ecologically unsound production processes. It argues for an efficient public education program detailing the health benefits of uncontaminated food, water and air. It also states that the Canadian government's Health Protection Branch should provide a more rigorous and holistic review process for new and existing industrial chemicals, technologies, electromagnetic radiation, and genetic engineering projects.[99] It contends that research should factor in all the determinants of health (the medical equivalent of full cost accounting).[100] Moreover, it believes an admonitory labelling strategy is necessary for all non-nutritive substances and processes affecting food.[101]

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[98] *Ibid.*
[99] Investigate press release "Green Party announces Genetically-Engineered-Free Food Fund" (23 February 1999).
[100] See "Green Party of Canada Draft Policy Document" (circa 2000) available from Joan Russow, former Leader of the Green Party of Canada.
[101] See "Election Campaign Highlights" located at <http://www.green.ca/english/election/elect97/hghlts-e.htm>.

The Party believes that the health of Canadians is under threat from the commercialisation and privatisation of medicine. Governments have cut healthcare spending and have contemplated a two-tier system. It insists that the medical system should be based on a philosophy of care, and not on the ideology of private enterprise. It believes that nurses, doctors, staff and hospitals should continue to serve their valuable *public* role in the nation's communities.

The Party recognises the health issues confronting particular segments of society. It respects patients (who are of sound mind) who wish to choose the manner and duration of their treatments, noting that there is a diversity of medical praxis relative to culture, race, class, gender, background, and age. In recognition of this diversity, it calls upon Canada to immediately address First Nations' health concerns, noting that aboriginal peoples face a serious health crisis with average life expectancy considerably lower than the Canadian average. It also calls upon Canada to include health research and health services that are responsive to women's needs and their life stages. Indeed, it maintains that research and practice have historically treated the variety of genders as a homogeneous group. Finally, recognising that the unborn are a voiceless though significant segment of society, the Party believes that policies should strongly consider the health and well-being of future generations.

Intergovernmental Affairs

The Greens of Canada advocate amending the Constitution to directly address the needs of those Quebecers who call for a partnership with Ottawa that allows for the protection of their French history, language and culture.[102] The Party supports constitutionally entrenched 'opt-out' powers in terms of federal spending in Quebec (that is to say that Quebec would enjoy the same opt-out powers that it has now, but that they would be irrevocably entrenched in the Constitution).[103] It also believes that Quebec should be given the opportunity to submit, to a federal government, a list of nine Supreme Court judge candidates, from which the

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[102] Investigate press release "Canadian unity depends on ensuring that real change occurs in Canada" (14 December 1999).
[103] See "Green Party of Canada Draft Policy Document" (circa 2000) available from Joan Russow, former Leader of the Green Party of Canada.

federal government would select three to sit on the Supreme Court of Canada, recognising Quebec's need to be involved in the process with respect to the province's particular judicial character.[104] Moreover, it supports constitutional entrenchment of power over immigration for Quebec. It recognises that Quebec's demographics are such that it has (since the mid-1970's) been unable to sustain its population due to both lower birth rates and mass sovereignty-induced emigration to other provinces.[105] The Party recognises that the protection of the French population in Quebec is essential to its identity. Constitutional protection is unequivocally necessary in so far as Quebec is situated on a primarily Anglocentric continent. All in all, it supports constitutional protection of Quebec's French history, language and culture relative to the needs of Quebecers and their government, and with the aim of avoiding any alienation of Quebec's English and non-French speaking population.

Green Economic Initiatives

Canada's Greens argue that a green economy has a significantly higher amount of employment than the neoclassical economy. The Party maintains that "a green economy is labour-intensive, sustainable, based on the skills of people, and produces quality products from local resources incorporating local culture."[106] It also asserts that a green economy is based on equity and fairness, noting that a Green government would legislate five weeks of vacation per year, disincentives for overtime, job sharing, paid leave for child rearing and educational leave.[107] It advocates instituting an average four day/32 hour workweek which would mean that existing jobs could be shared with those now unemployed.[108]

The Party calls for an improved taxation system through the reduction of income and payroll taxes.[109] As mentioned earlier, it suggests shifting taxes away from personal income onto non-renewable resources,

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[104] *Ibid.*
[105] *Ibid.*
[106] See "The Green Vision" located at <http://www.green.ca/vision-e.htm>.
[107] *Ibid.*
[108] *Ibid.*
[109] See "A Guide to Green Economic Concerns" located at <http://www.green.ca/english/members/economy.htm#anchor986060>.

and eliminating taxes on ecologically benign products and processes.[110] It contends that taxes should reward sustainable businesses and penalise ecologically destructive industries and processes.[111] It favours locally-owned green businesses that rely on local goods and services, as well as sustainable value-added production, thereby keeping income and policy decisions in the community.

The Greens of Canada express concern over the exorbitant interest payments on the country's debt. According to the Party, "25 cents of every federal tax dollar goes directly to commercial banks to pay the interest on Canada's $600 billion debt."[112] Consequently, it proposes that the Bank of Canada manage the bulk of the nation's debt as an interest-free loan and contemplate the value of a currency transaction tax.

Canada's Green Party also argues that the Canadian Welfare and Employment Insurance Plan should be replaced with a Guaranteed Income Supplement (G.I.S.) program that would encourage recipients to seek employment.[113] It points out that "a G.I.S. would provide financial compensation for traditionally unpaid and undervalued contributions to society, such as child-rearing and homemaking, and would contribute to the support of artists, students, volunteers and small-business start-ups."[114] A G.I.S. would also provide a subsistence income to those who are unable to work, and top-up the incomes of the underemployed and unemployed by 50 percent of the gap toward a target income at, or slightly above the, poverty line.[115]

In addition, the Green Party of Canada recommends instituting a Community Economic Development program that promotes local sourcing, revolving community loans, development of bioregional social and material needs inventories, and matching such needs with local suppliers.[116] It calls for research to explore the feasibility of local alternative currencies,

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[110] See "Welcome to the Green Party of Canada" located at <http://www.green.ca/english/index.htm>.
[111] See "Making Markets Work for Sustainability" located at <http://www.green.ca/english/members/markets.html>.
[112] Ibid.
[113] See "The Green Vision" located at <http://www.green.ca/vision-e.htm>.
[114] Ibid.
[115] See "Green Party of Canada Draft Policy Document" (circa 2000) available from Joan Russow, former Leader of the Green Party of Canada.
[116] Ibid.

and Local Economic Trading Systems or similar community economic programs.

The Party asserts that unreliable economic devices are often used to assess the short and long-term viability of communities. In particular, it reveals that the Gross National Product excludes social and environmental costs in its accounting, thus facilitating the illusion that community breakdown, crime, the loss of farmland and biodiversity, and unemployment have no economic significance.[117] As a response, it suggests replacing the Gross National Product with the Genuine Progress Indicator – a more situated, complex and accurate indicator of socioeconomic and environmental progress.

Canada's Green Party advocates product stewardship programs that would require producers to increase the life span of their goods, reuse, reduce and recycle their products, and ultimately pay for disposal costs.[118] It indicates that, on the whole, transnational corporations are not responsible stewards of their production and manufacturing processes. With this in mind, it supports the 'polluter pay principle,' and believes in raising corporate taxes to O.E.C.D. levels (taxes which would be applied to socioenvironmental programs).[119] This said, there are some business sectors which are inherently destructive to Canada and its natural environment, and cannot benefit from product stewardship and other green economic initiatives. In such instances, the Party supports a ban, phasing-out or elimination of the problematic sector. For instance, it calls for the elimination of subsidies to (and a time-bound eventual phasing-out of) nuclear power, fossil fuels and hazardous waste-producing sectors. It advocates withdrawing all foreign assistance offered for energy mega-projects including nuclear and fossil fuel initiatives. It also expresses concern with respect to the current Canadian government's involvement in the 'CANDU'[120] owners group, calling for an end to: 1) all subsidies

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[117] *Ibid.*
[118] See "Draft Policy – 1996 Arrow Lakes Conference" located at <http://www.green.ca/english/members/policy96.htm#D>.
[119] O.E.C.D. stands for Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.
[120] CANDU (a registered trademark) stands for "Canada Deuterium Uranium." CANDU reactors are pressurized-heavy-water, natural-uranium power reactors designed first in the 1960's by a consortium of Canadian government and private industry. All power reactors in Canada are of the CANDU type (of varying vintage). See "The Canadian Nuclear FAQ by Dr. Jeremy Whitlock" located at

available to Atomic Energy of Canada Limited (A.E.C.L.); 2) the sale of 'CANDU' reactors internationally; and 3) all spending on nuclear energy research, including the subsidy to A.E.C.L.[121] Ultimately, it strongly supports energy efficiency and a renewable energy supply from small-scale municipal based projects.[122]

Crime

The Green Party of Canada believes that justice should be restorative and not retributive.[123] It believes that Canadians whose environmental rights have been violated should be able to litigate against governments, corporations and individuals for violation of their rights.

On an individual level, it argues that non-violent offenders should be sent directly to halfway houses, and that sentencing circles, more often than not, should be used instead of trial by judge and jury.[124] It also suggests initiating community service and civil suits to keep non-violent first offenders out of prison facilities.

On matters pertaining to drug use, the Party advocates placing alcohol, tobacco and currently prohibited opiates, hallucinogens, stimulants and depressants under the same legislation as one another.[125] On matters pertaining to gun use, Canada's Green Party urges a ban on all assault weapons, clearer regulation of gun storage, and a program to phase-out all handguns by tightening eligibility requirements over time.[126]

Transportation

Canada's Green Party recommends the reformation of cities to an aggregate of neighbourhoods to minimise the need for travel, while also supporting environmentally-sound transportation systems that contribute to the development of ecocities.[127] It envisions gradually rebuilding all

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<http://www.ncf.carleton.ca./~cz725/>.
[121] See "Green Party of Canada Draft Policy Document" (circa 2000) available from Joan Russow, former Leader of the Green Party of Canada.
[122] *Ibid.*
[123] See "The Green Vision" located at <http://www.green.ca/vision-e.htm>.
[124] See "Draft Policy – 1996 Arrow Lakes Conference" located at
<http://www.green.ca/english/members/policy96.htm#D>.
[125] See "Green Party of Canada Draft Policy Document" (circa 2000) available from Joan Russow, former Leader of the Green Party of Canada.
[126] *Ibid.*
[127] See "Election Campaign Highlights" located at

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urban areas into pedestrian communities, interconnected by surface light rail, making the private automobile redundant.[128] It is particularly interested in seeing the extension of light rail transport for both city and inter-city travel. It also advocates revitalising the rail system for long-distance commutes and haulage, noting that rail is a very reliable carrier for heavy loads.[129] It points out that the heaviest loads should be, where possible, carried by water.[130]

Conclusion[131]

While the Green Party of Canada advocates a solid body of national socioenvironmental regulatory measures, Joan Russow, the former Leader of Canada's Greens, has noted a number of obvious gaps in the Party's social agenda. Having identified these gaps, Russow, in an informal email, asked me if I might offer some introspection and commentary.[132] In response (and as recommendations), I drafted the following principles as a means of helping Canada's Green Party further develop its paradigm (these principles include both regulatory *and* incentive-based initiatives). It is quite plausible that many of the other Party delegates tacitly advocate these principles. Indeed, even if a political party overlooks a principle, it would be wrong to assume that everyone in the party has not quietly thought about that principle. It may be just a case that they have not documented their thoughts. In any event, the following set of principles (regarding youth unemployment, women's issues, poverty, street people, education, and housing) is by no means a complete list, and is only a taste of a much larger body of national principles that can be developed (and will likely develop as the Green Party of Canada evolves). I should add that these

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<http://www.green.ca/english/election/elect97/hghlts-e.htm>.
[128] See "Welcome to the Green Party of Canada" located at
<http://www.green.ca/english/index.htm>.
[129] *Ibid.*
[130] *Ibid.* Also, for more information on transportation, investigate "Green Primer" (by Bill Darfler, edited by Ken Toews) located at
<http://www.green.ca/english/resource/primer.htm>.
[131] Reminder (from the introduction): The following concluding remarks are not meant to be 'complete.' The main objective of this material is to identify the Party's salient points for reflective discussion or, rather, what I interpret as the noteworthy points (recognising that what is significant is relative to an observer's interpretation of significance). Moreover, the material contains interpretive remarks; that is, it includes unchained, subjective and free-flowing observations.
[132] I served as a Policy Advisor to Joan Russow, the former Leader of the Green Party of Canada.

principles were informally accepted by Russow when she was Leader, and therefore can be considered, at least as semi-official components of the Canadian Greens' paradigm, and ultimately as an extension of the material provided in this chapter:

Youth unemployment – Providing youth with tax-breaks and start-up grants for setting-up green businesses such as organic farming projects, legitimate restoration efforts – for example, the sale of native plants to property owners in urban areas – culturally appropriate and legitimate ecotourism ventures, and open, local community markets selling value-added products. Offering 'Federal Youth Work Grants' as a means of ensuring youth employment and community service in hospitals, 'prisons' or what a Green government might call 'Help Centres' (with the exception of violent offenders), community centres, homes for the elderly, national parks, and for people who are in need. The purpose of such grants would be, in part, to encourage a nationalised care ethic.

Women's issues – Ensuring the right of women to reproductive choice, equal pay, and equal say. The Canadian government ought to grant all organisations and institutions tax-breaks if they implement a comprehensive policy of equity and demonstrate that it works. The government's goal should be to guarantee women equal social, economic and political influence in any decision-making process at the local, regional or state level, and in groups, businesses and government.

Poverty – Change the work week from 5 to 3.5 days, and 9 hours to 7 (as a means of increasing employment and ensuring a better quality of life), together with the devolution of extreme free market borders between high and low salaries. Under Green governance, the rich would be provided with options to spend their additional assets on addressing human rights and peace issues, the environmental crisis, the needs of the poor, and other matters of local, national and international urgency. Greens, generally speaking, acknowledge reasonable competition but not unfair, unfettered and extreme competitive disparities.

Street people – People living without food or shelter can be granted a basic income, as well as an opportunity to seek other forms of social assistance including being part of, for example, a 'People helping People' community program and/or other similar programs of their choosing. As a gesture of understanding, street people should also be issued a formal apology by governments for past government abuses and neglect (this can be applied to other cases of systemic abuse – for example, aboriginal peoples). In addition to its present context, Memorial Day could be declared a day of mourning for all those who fought bravely in a personal and social fight against poverty, destitution and hardship. The day could also include a memorial for those who fought in the name of peace, social justice, and environmental values.[133] Finally, under Green governance, Canadians should be encouraged to assist a street person or any person who is in a position of destitution. For instance, individuals can be offered government incentives such as municipal tax breaks or local citizen awards to actively care for their fellow citizens.

Education – University education has become public education (at least up until the completion of a first degree), and a prerequisite to many jobs in Canada, and therefore should be seen as a universal right not a privilege. University education should ultimately be defined in the same context as secondary education: it should be offered to the public without cost or economic obstruction. Primary and Secondary Education should be funded relative to the expressed needs and concerns of students, teachers, families and communities. Under Green governance, no school or university should be underfunded.

Housing – Adequate and free housing should be provided for all those in destitution. Economic incentives should be offered to those with large 'empty homes' to offer rental accommodation for low-income families under legislation which states 'that no space in a home shall be unnecessarily wasted,' with the understanding that greed is unacceptable in a civil society, particularly when there are Canadians and world citizens who face dire poverty/experience homelessness, and when natural

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[133] I define the terms 'fight' and 'fought' in a non-violent sense: as a harsh and unpleasant

'resources' – used to build homes – are being depleted at unsustainable rates.

Now that I have examined the array of beliefs vis-à-vis the Green Party of Canada, I will turn my attention to exploring its significant points.[134] Embracing a progressive social paradigm, the Green Party of Canada is critical of corporate control, government apathy, and establishment priorities in general. It also has a strong top-down, regulatory orientation. Specifically, it emphasises global and federal principles, obligations and regulations pertaining to social, environmental, peace and human rights matters. Moreover, rather than advocating the use of motivational techniques, it largely relies on the politics of enforcement as a means of establishing social and environmental change.

The Party's emphasis on top-down, command and control governance may prove to be quite effective in preventing anti-environmental actions, but it may also have the indirect and direct effect of suppressing widely accepted democratic freedoms in the process (and cause its own, for instance, environmental libertarian constituency to dissent). The danger with any strong, authoritative regulatory system lies with its potential to *force* individuals and institutions to change their ways. Of course, there are individual 'freedoms' and actions that come at a cost to society and the natural environment (for instance, 'free' enterprise may come at a cost to nature and its communities), and therefore need to be discouraged and, in cases of non-compliance, individuals and institutions certainly need to be compelled into correcting these problematic 'freedoms.' This said, I would argue that directives, enforcement and the rule of the law are one part of a larger path to socioenvironmental change, and should be used sparingly. Change can be fostered through individual and community empowerment, attitudinal shifts (which lead to changes in practice), reconceptualisations of the meaning of life, as well as a variety of

struggle.
[134] Reminder (from the introduction): The following concluding remarks are not meant to be 'complete.' The main objective of this material is to identify the Party's salient points for reflective discussion or rather, what I interpret as the noteworthy points (recognising that what is significant is relative to an observer's interpretation of significance). Moreover, the material contains interpretive remarks; that is, it includes unchained, subjective and free-flowing observations.

grassroots incentives such as tax breaks for new local, green businesses.[135] This is also arguably a more free and open method of nurturing change. Moreover, individuals and communities are less apt to respond to enforced change and more likely to revolutionise their behaviour if they are spiritually, socially, economically and personally moved to do so.[136] Indeed, we have all heard the effectiveness of using "a carrot instead of a stick." Thus, it may be strategically and politically wise for the Green Party of Canada to *equally* utilise both grassroots incentives and the rule of law as a means of achieving (and convincing its constituency about the need for) socioenvironmental change.

By and large, the Party also has a predisposition towards international law, obligations and principles. While it is crucial that states comply with globally agreed standards and regulations, it is also critical to equally consider the principles and practices of bioregionalism, and the situated needs of the local community.[137] Broad global concepts do not necessarily apply in highly specific, local contexts. This said, the Green Party of Canada could encourage local constituencies to develop their own bioregional praxis derived from globally adopted principles. In any event, the Party may wish to consider its role in relation to multiple levels of governance: global, national, provincial, regional and local. Governance should not be excessively restricted to a particular level by any Green Party. At the moment, Canada's Greens place great emphasis on addressing matters from an international, and, to a slightly lesser degree, national perspective. There is no need to create dichotomies between the different levels of governance. All are important, and all require the attention of the Canadian Greens, though with perhaps a tad greater investigation of socioenvironmental concerns from a national standpoint – after all, the Green Party of Canada is registered as a national party.

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[135] For example, investigate Shields, K. (1994). *In the Tiger's Mouth: An Empowerment Guide for Social Action.* Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers; Roszak, T., Gomes, M.E. & Kanner, A.D. (eds.). (1995). *Ecopsychology: Restoring the Earth, Healing the Mind.* San Francisco, CA: Sierra Club Books; and Button, J. (1989). *How to be Green.* London, UK: Hutchinson, Ltd.

[136] For example, investigate Burch, M. (1995). *Simplicity: Notes, Stories and Exercises for Developing Unimaginable Wealth.* Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers; and Meeker-Lowry, S. (1995). *Invested in the Common Good.* Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers.

[137] For example, investigate Andruss, V., Plant, C., Plant, J., Wright, E. & Mills, S. (eds.). (1990). *Home! A Bioregional Reader.* Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers.

4. North America's First Green Party: The Green Party of British Columbia

Introduction

This chapter explores British Columbia's Green Party, and offers some reflective analysis on the nature of its paradigm. Specifically, along with the other chapters detailing Green Party paradigmatic positions, it helps answer the third research question posed in chapter one, namely: What are the demonstrated paradigmatic positions of the federal and provincial/state Greens? The Green Party of British Columbia (B.C.) was the first Green Party formed in North America. Established in 1983, it is an ecologically based political party, one which believes in community-based democracy, the preservation of cultural and biological diversity, and living within our means both fiscally and ecologically.[138] It is a strong proponent of proportional representation and electoral reform, and promotes "grass roots, participatory democracy, and full involvement of individuals in the governmental process."[139]

The Party embraces a vision of reality based on "love of life, respect for nature, and an awareness of the interdependent essence of the world."[140] It says that:

> All things are connected in the web of life. We recognise that
> we are part of nature – not above it – and that our lifestyles
> and the continuation of life itself depend on our wise
> interaction with the biosphere. Our political and economic
> decisions must be made [with this in] mind.[141]

Ecological Wisdom and Practices

The Green Party of B.C. recognises that the Earth sustains all living beings, and that ecological concepts should form the key basis of socioeconomic and political decisions. It says that "in order to ensure a high quality of life and preserve nature in all its diversity, we must live within the physical limits of our planet, and practice conservation and

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[138] See "History of the B.C. Greens" located at
<http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./history/index.htm>.
[139] See "Governance" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy1.htm>.
Investigate press release "B.C. Greens announce platform to modernise province's
electoral system" (10 May, 1996).
[140] See "Vision" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca/issues/vision.htm>.
[141] *Ibid.*

sustainability."[142] Moreover, it advocates inter-species rights, arguing that all species have the inherent right to exist, and access their natural habitat in an unpolluted state.[143] Consequently, the Party calls for a strong protected area strategy whereby "a class of protected areas be instituted in which there shall be little or no human impact."[144] This would involve immediately preserving all remaining old growth forest, and subdividing ecoregions into ecological reserves and parks. The ecological reserves would be administered with the goal of providing zones for plant and animal species to exist without unnecessary human intervention, while a variety of park categories would be maintained tolerating a variety of levels of impact – from ecologically sensitive hiking to more intensive forms of recreation in selected areas.[145] The B.C. Greens also believe in establishing a system of marine protected areas of adequate size, including estuaries, wetlands and salt marshes, as well as increasing the cost of sport fishing licenses for non-British Columbians, and re-investing the funds in the establishment of marine protected areas.[146]

Fishers and government officials have proposed a West Coast seal hunt in order to boost fish stocks. The Party is against seal hunts, pointing to empirical studies which confirm that strong marine mammal populations are necessary for the maintenance of healthy fish stocks. Thus, it advocates a province-wide ban on seal hunts.

The B.C. Green Party has a firm position on animal rights. It argues that animals experience pleasure and pain, have needs and wants, seek companionship and, in many cases, family life, and that therefore, individual animals have the right to fair and ethical treatment by human beings.[147] Thus, as a means of furthering animal rights, it feels that it is critical to offer greater financial support for the animal protection functions of humane societies.

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[142] *Ibid.*
[143] See "Governance" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy1.htm>.
[144] See "Physical Environment" located at
<http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy8.htm>.
[145] *Ibid.*
[146] *Ibid.*
[147] See "Governance" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy1.htm>.

The Green Party of British Columbia seeks to ensure "a society that recognises and respects the dignity and worth of each person, and upholds human rights and responsibilities, and the inalienable rights of other living forms and natural processes..."[148] It asserts that the public should have access to basic freedoms and necessities such as food, clothing, shelter, and healthcare. It also believes that people should have the right to an unpolluted environment as well as access to everyday necessities, and that posterity should also be accorded these rights, recognising that such civil liberties should not be placed below the material interests of the present generation. Moreover, "every human being should have equitable access to opportunities regardless of race, creed, colour, sex, mental or physical condition, nationality, language normally spoken, ancestry, place of origin, age, sexual orientation, religion, marital status, family composition, source of income, or political belief."[149]

The B.C. Green Party also "believes in direct, participatory democracy by all citizens in formulating and implementing policies and practices on all levels."[150] It maintains that citizens have the right to influence and participate in any decision-making process that affects their lives – the citizenry should be given the opportunity to make inclusive local, regional, national, and international decisions. The Party expresses particular concern regarding the economic barriers that dissuade low-income British Columbians from becoming involved in decision-making processes and politics in general. As a response, it proposes repealing candidate deposits and other electoral laws which discriminate against candidates on the basis of wealth or income, and ensuring that Elections B.C. produces and circulates voters booklets to all B.C. voters so that individuals can review the main platform of each party and candidate.[151]

Community

The Green Party of B.C. believes that the local community should be the fundamental organisational arm of society, politics and the economy:

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[148] *Ibid.*
[149] *Ibid.*
[150] See "Vision" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca/issues/vision.htm>.

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> [Communities] can foster values that are directed towards
> caring, personal enrichment, cultural development, and the
> appreciation of the natural world. [We] believe [society] must
> foster the building of communities, [and] recognise that the
> word community applies not only to people who live in one
> locality, but can also mean those people who share common
> interests.[152]

The Party believes that there is a "need to create communities that integrate agricultural, commercial and residential areas, instead of throwing up suburban sprawl punctuated with occasional industrial parks and shopping malls."[153] It proposes restoring British Columbia's communities, particularly urban and suburban regions, by establishing pedestrian urban villages, traffic calming, more bicycle routes, and greater public transport. It states that "while governments pay lip service to these goals, their actions are quite the opposite [-] time and time again, property developers, asphalt pavers and car dealers win out over community values and our environment."[154]

Social Values

The B.C. Greens believe that individuals have the human right to lead a life of resolve, self-determination and dignity. At the same time, the Party argues that individuals need to consider the rights of (and their responsibilities) toward human and non-human beings. It insists that human and human-environment relationships must reflect compassion, sensitivity, equality, equity, mutual respect, justice, freedom, non-coercion, and cooperation:

> Traditional values of power and control over people and
> nature must yield to a new way of relating that is healthy and
> balanced, made up of qualities that both men and women
> share. Every person must be valued as a full, equal,
> participating member of society. [The Party believes] in
> empowerment of all, and in equality of rights, opportunities
> and responsibilities.[155]

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[151] See "Governance" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy1.htm>.
[152] See "Vision" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca/issues/vision.htm>.
[153] See "Communities" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca/issues/communit.htm>.
[154] *Ibid.*
[155] See "Vision" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca/issues/vision.htm>.

Labour and Employment

The Greens of British Columbia maintain that labour reform should place a greater emphasis on protecting the rights of the truly destitute, rather than just improving the rights of workers in already-unionised and relatively high income jobs. In its quest for equitable labour reform, the Party contends that the minimum wage should be indexed relative to price rises, subject to regular review, and a large-scale public process should be implemented whereby the general public can learn and obtain information from managers and industry employees on how to increase wages, improve working conditions, and keep regular hours in the workforce. It also supports the establishment of a labour ministry office which would provide support to workers attempting to form bargaining units, and seeks a more precise definition of the self-employed as well as stronger minimum wage legislation, so that managers and owners do not pay their workers less than minimum wage via commission and piecework arrangements.

British Columbia's Green Party expresses concern over gender imbalances and inequities in the workforce. For instance, much 'fair' wage legislation has been in the form of government contracts that are largely awarded to male-dominated sectors such as construction, but not to health and social service providers (who are often women). It believes that fair wage legislation should pertain to all government contracted services, including health and social services, and that a fair wage scale should apply on the principle of equal pay for work of equal value. While governments are making some attempts to narrow the gender gap, it calls for affirmative action and employment equity legislation that applies to all sectors of employment including large private sector employers.

In addition to equity employment legislation, it argues for proper provincial childcare services, including more on-site childcare, so that parents can have contact with their young ones at or near their workplace. It also believes in a guaranteed, adequate and regular income for homemakers – the unpaid (and should be paid) workers of society.

Finally, the Party asserts that a fixed workweek forces economic growth by turning periods of slow or no growth into a hideous game of musical chairs, with the unemployed held as hostages to economic

expansion.[156] In response, it suggests the implementation of an overtime limit and a 32 hour workweek.

Poverty

The Green Party of British Columbia notes that poverty negatively affects a child's ability to do well in school, and worse, that it reduces the life expectancy of individuals living in need. Citing the inhumane, poor-bashing perspectives of certain right-wing politicians, the Party insists that all people (regardless of their employment situation) have the right to be treated with compassion, dignity and value. Consequently, it calls for the enhancement of British Columbia's income assistance programs, such as:

• indexing of social assistance payments to the rate of inflation for British Columbia with periodic review by a non-partisan body which includes welfare recipients;
• establishing a discount card for government sponsored transportation, education and cultural events for social assistance recipients;
• recognising the care of children as a legitimate full-time occupation for custodial parents receiving social assistance;
• allowing social services workers to give as many hardship and crisis grants as they deem appropriate, rather than the arbitrary limits set by the B.C. Benefits program; and
• [ultimately] guaranteeing access to social assistance to all British Columbians in need.[157]

Health

The B.C. Green Party is an advocate of health prevention. It argues that an awareness of better lifestyle choices can lead to illness reduction in the long-term, and a reduced risk of cancer and other diseases.[158] Thus, as a means of ensuring long-term public health and wellness, it suggests that the province initiate an environmental health education program that would inform British Columbians on a broad range of nutritional, recreational, employment and lifestyle options.

The Party supports a strong federal and provincial public healthcare system, and expresses concern that the system, as it stands, does not receive complete and inclusive funding for ambulance services, dental care and other vital elements of healthcare such as prescription drugs. In essence,

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[156] See "Economics" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy2.htm>.
[157] *Ibid.*

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governments should not deny any healthcare services by reason of a person's inability to pay.

With respect to the issue of mental health, the Party is against the current government tendency of separating mental health programs from ministries of health, a move which, it claims, has resulted in the de-institutionalisation of individuals who cannot cope with the demands of non-institutional life. It is critical of governments' abandonment of health and social services in general, and notes, for instance, that group home settings often have underpaid, underqualified and fatigued contract workers earning a minimum wage. What is even more shocking is the mounting welfare roll of people with severe mental disorders. As a practical response to the funding crisis, it believes that all mental health bureaucracies, currently run by different government ministries, should be consolidated into a single agency administered by the Health Ministry.[159] Contending that governments have, in effect, abandoned people with mental disorders, it also argues for frequent review and contact with de-institutionalised patients, noting that those who wish to be re-institutionalised or who need medical assistance should be given the option upon request. Furthermore, it supports the implementation of a fair wage policy for firms sub-contracted to care for mentally disadvantaged people, and calls for the provision of ongoing upgrading and education programs for caregivers in mental health facilities.[160]

In recognition of women's healthcare rights, the Green Party of B.C. indicates that a woman's right to choose abortion is a human right – a right rooted in the green principles of feminism and self-determination. It insists that choice on abortion completely rests with the woman seeking the abortion. However, due to increased cancer risks and other concerns, it recognises that abortion may not be a choice for some pregnant women. Supporting the general notion of 'choice,' the Party also maintains that governments should work with women's groups to improve the inadequate support system currently offered to pregnant women and young mothers with no or little income. It demands that abortion services receive ample government funding, and be free at source in every region of

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[158] See "Health" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy5.htm>.
[159] *Ibid.*

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the province. Finally, recognising that not all pregnancies are by choice and noting the lack of support services for victimised women, it believes in fully funding emergency care centres for rape or assault victims.

Education

The B.C. Green Party seeks a more just and grassroots public education system. For instance, it argues that the right to vote in school and university board elections should be granted to all students. It also states that the provincial government should direct greater control over schools and programs to local boards, and encourage a more cost-effective and flexible local education system that is responsive to local demands.[161] Moreover, it believes that educational practices ought to foster on-going open communication, lateral inquiry, community cohesion and a care ethic, instead of promoting competition and authority.

The Party is strongly against the practice of using private donations and advertising to influence curriculum conditions – tools of big business which corrupt the public school system and persuade students to embrace monopolistic consumerism. Local boards and educational bodies should promptly reject vested interest based assistance, and industry-related curriculum materials. It is also against private education and the privatisation of public education, noting that the public funding of private institutions weakens the public education system, and that the charging of fees for public services is a form of socioeconomic discrimination.

Furthermore, the Party believes that a greater degree of diversity is required within the public education system. This can be achieved by phasing private independent and alternative schools and programs into the provincially funded system.[162] It also recommends the cancellation of all financial support if they demonstrate a reluctance to become part of a more developed and diverse public system.

Aboriginal First Nations

The Green Party of British Columbia is critical of the band structure (the artificially constructed tribal/group system) which was instituted by

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[160] *Ibid.*
[161] See "Education" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy6.htm>.

the Canadian government through the Indian Act, intended to replace traditional First Nations, and ultimately, an effort to assimilate aboriginal peoples into Canadian society.[163] In order to begin the healing process (and as a response to this injustice), it calls upon the Government of Canada to immediately grant each First Nation the legal right to self-determination, and to recognise their *self-chosen* governments in any negotiations or intergovernmental relations. It fully supports the right of each First Nation to self-government, as well as their entitlement to negotiate land claim settlements.[164] The Party is strongly against any settlement on First Nations' land without authorisation by the First Nation in question. Moreover, treaties to which a First Nation is signatory should be read as internationally binding agreements.

International Issues

The B.C. Green Party calls upon British Columbia to immediately enact into law international conventions, treaties, and undertakings signed by the Canadian government, including repealing and amending legislation in contravention of these treaties, conventions and undertakings except in instances where they are in conflict.[165]

With this in mind, it rejects violent and aggressive military action as a means of resolving international and national disputes – such action is an infringement of international law, national sovereignty, local freedoms, and individual rights. It is also shortsighted, morally unacceptable, and a crazed human reaction with negative, unanticipated outcomes. Instead, the qualities that will ensure a sustainable world are flexibility, cooperation, respect, fairness and non-violence. The Party is adamant that "we must fully support all non-violent efforts to resolve conflicts around the world and work to put an end to war forever."[166]

Crime

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[162] *Ibid.*
[163] See "Governance" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy1.htm>.
[164] *Ibid.*
[165] *Ibid.*
[166] See "Vision" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca/issues/vision.htm>.

According to the Green Party of B.C., essential tax dollars are being used to cover the costs of a continuously expanding prison system when they could be spent on the rehabilitation of non-violent first offenders. In response, it argues that there should be an expansion of the house arrest program, and that crown prosecutors should be directed to include more requests for community service in their submissions to sentencing.[167] It also believes in employing more house arrest and parole officers, using the savings from a downsized prison system.

The Party maintains that drug abuse is primarily a health issue which the provincial government treats as a 'law and order' problem. It states that the government unjustifiably incarcerates addicts in high-security institutions, and censures the non-addicted portion of the population who use illicit drugs. Accordingly, it calls for a feasibility study to examine the legalisation of street drugs and the development of treatment plans through drug taxation. It also supports dramatic cutbacks in the investigation and prosecution of illicit drug manufacture, cultivation and trafficking, except where particularly dangerous drugs are being manufactured or bought, or where any cultivation or sale involves youth.

British Columbia's Green Party points out that the criminalisation of sex trade workers has not blocked the sale of sex, and that the socioeconomic costs of criminalising prostitution are greater than the benefits. Banning the sex trade intensifies the threat of physical injury and the spread of damaging and often incurable illnesses. Criminalisation also bars people from altering their behaviour; and in any event, a person should ultimately have the right to control her or his own body without fear or systemic disparagement. Consequently, it believes that:

• trading sex for money [should] be regulated and treated as a health problem;
• a co-operative model such as a licensing system or the unionisation of sex trade workers [should] be developed in consultation with sex trade workers; and

• models of sex trade regulation used elsewhere in the world [should] be fully examined.[168]

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[167] See "Governance" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy1.htm>.
[168] *Ibid.*

The Party expresses concern with respect to the sociopolitical persecution of the disenfranchised. Noting the importance of community police facilities, liaison efforts and neighbourhood 'watchdogs,' it argues that greater community policing and citizen initiatives can better ensure that minorities and those in need have the full defence of the law. In order to increase safety and accountability, it also recommends widening the scope of the commission that receives grievances about the police. Moreover, some police duties do not entail policing whatsoever, and therefore the Party suggests shifting, for example, "more secretarial responsibilities from police officers to secretarial staff to get more police on the streets."[169] Furthermore, as a measure to encourage community solidarity and self-determination, it encourages the development of aboriginal police forces and other grassroots community-representative services throughout the province.

Addictive Substances and Habits

The British Columbia Greens indicate that science has overwhelmingly confirmed the addictive properties and health risks of tobacco products. In addition, tobacco related illnesses place high demands on an already strained healthcare system. Accordingly, the Party advocates a comprehensive ban on tobacco advertising, adequate funding for preventive education and withdrawal programs related to nicotine addiction, and the establishment of a permit process for tobacco distributors similar to that for beer and wine stores.[170]

There are other harmful substances which are of concern. For instance, alcohol is a common factor in a large number of criminal and violent crimes in the province, and is, in many respects, a significant health hazard. Consequently, the Party calls for an immediate ban on the advertising and promotion of all alcohol products (excluding medical supplies). It also supports a provincial alcohol surtax, set higher for non-domestic products, which would be directed to prevention and addiction treatment programs.[171] Moreover, gambling dependency and addiction is a serious sickness with a record of suicides, bankruptcies and hospitalisation

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[169] *Ibid.*
[170] See "Health" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy5.htm>.

across the country. Hence, it is against the expansion of gambling opportunities through the B.C. Gaming Commission and B.C. Lottery Corporation, and supports the discontinuation of those B.C. Lottery Corporation games which are found to be linked to commercial sport.[172]

Economics

The Green Party of British Columbia attaches great importance to alternative economic indicators which assess the value of air, water, land, crime rates and other factors that are excluded from the Gross Provincial Product (G.P.P.). It wants to see *all* of British Columbia's debt and borrowing published annually as a detailed provincial figure, and as a part of a more comprehensive G.P.P. It also pushes for the implementation of 'full cost accounting,' and the widespread circulation of a yearly report specifying the province's topsoil, forest, fisheries, and biodiversity deficits. Moreover, it advocates:

- legislation to ensure that the ministries of forests and mines deliver a profit to British Columbia's taxpayers every year to pay for education, healthcare and social services;
- cutting the annual forest deficit to zero, and instituting proper accounting by the forest minister – for instance, cubic metres grown = cubic metres logged, NOT acres logged = acres replanted;
- a moratorium on the development of valley bottom arable land;
- inclusion of crown corporations in figures on annual government borrowing; and
- truly balanced budget legislation.[173]

The Party maintains that small-scale businesses are the basis of a sustainable economy, and encourage local community responsibility, employment, production and ownership. Despite their significant contribution to society, such businesses pay an unequal proportion of the total commercial taxes collected by governments. Thus, it argues for a simplified tax system that allows small firms to better compete in an increasingly globalised world, and that prohibits the use of government subsidies (taxpayer's money) to fund multinational corporate projects.

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[171] *Ibid.*
[172] *Ibid.*
[173] See "Deficit" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca/issues/deficits.htm>.

Stating that the tax system profoundly shapes consumption and production patterns, the Party indicates that general income tax, while unavoidable, should be reconsidered since it hinders innovation. It also advocates eliminating the provincial sales tax and corporate taxation in favour of explicit resource, pollution and consumption based taxes.

Food and Agriculture

The B.C. Green Party maintains that local production of food for local consumption is essential to strong local economies and self-sustaining communities, whereas reliance on the global market economy for food perpetuates exploitation of the Third World, minority peoples, and the environment.[174] Accordingly, it calls for the establishment of a homesteading program in British Columbia that would develop small-scale sustainable agriculture on public lands.[175] It indicates that people (including urbanites) need to satisfy their own food requirements, and ultimately gain independence from global industrial agriculture.

The Party believes that soil is a vital resource, and that agricultural practices should enrich and restore the earth. It recommends the enactment of laws to make aquifer pollution from agricultural chemical run-off a serious crime. It also supports granting tax exemptions to organic growers and personnel-intensive farming operations, and offering public land and other forms of support for farmers' markets and community gardens.[176]

The Party argues that local, domestic producers of organic food should receive greater encouragement and co-operation from governments. In order to facilitate progressive ecoagricultural change, it insists that all synthetic chemical pesticides, fungicides and herbicides should be gradually phased-out in favour of organic pest removal methods including more labour intensive measures. Noting that consumers have the right to adequate health and safety measures as well as the right to know the full contents of the food they purchase, the Party also supports the establishment of a program to assess all currently accepted and pending

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[174] See "Physical Environment" located at
<http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy8.htm>.
[175] See "Local Government and Housing" located at
<http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy4.htm>.
[176] See "Physical Environment" located at
<http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy8.htm>.

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synthetic food substances, and to identify and ban toxic substances in domestic and imported food (including pesticides, fungicides and herbicides). With respect to the latter, it believes that food imported into British Columbia, at the very least, should be required to comply with the same safety standards for production and toxicity that are currently in force within the province.[177] It also asserts that grocery stores should be legally responsible for placing decipherable labels on all foods as a means of identifying the place of manufacture. British Columbians need to know that their food is safe to eat.[178] Ultimately, it advocates *full* labelling and disclosure requirements to notify the public about the contents and origins of their food.

Fisheries

The Green Party of B.C. believes in preserving the province's wild fish stocks, and sustaining provincial and aboriginal fisheries. It calls for a fisheries program that maintains all stocks at stable levels in their natural habitat. While such a program would oppose culling of 'predator' species, it would allow regulated hunting and trapping where traditionally practised in aboriginal communities. It also supports:

• preserving biological diversity including fish habitat and individual stocks;
• the economic benefits from sports fishing tourism;
• community control of fisheries [based on a set] of ecological principles; and
• local ownership of fishing enterprises.[179]

The Party argues that current federal and provincial fishing strategy perpetuates over-fishing, fish farming, aquaculture, and 'enhancement' schemes. Thus, before the development of any new fishery, the two levels of government should implement and legislate an ecologically-centred fisheries program, carry out a series of fisheries impact assessments, and phase-out indiscriminate industrial harvesting methods (such as seiners) which lead to unemployment and lower fish stocks.

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[177] See "Health" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy5.htm>.
[178] See "Economics" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy2.htm>.
[179] See "Physical Environment" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy8.htm>.

Forestry

The Green Party of British Columbia believes that citizens and their communities, not companies or governments, are best entrusted with the intra and intergenerational care of the province's forest lands, and that decisions regarding the use of public forests should be set by locally-run forest boards. It also supports local control of any future forest tenures on public land, and insists on the elimination of the existing system of corporate forest tenures (Tree Farm Licenses and Forest Licenses).[180] Moreover, it advocates locally-controlled, moderate, selective logging practices that:

- preserve the jobs of hunters, trappers, guides, fishers and loggers;
- protect the thousands of animal, bird, amphibian and insect species who call [British Columbia's] forests home; and
- protect the forests' ability to maintain its structural integrity with natural reseeding and intact biological systems in forest soils.[181]

The Party calls for a ban on the application of chemical pesticides, herbicides and fungicides in the province's forests. It supports reforestation initiatives which endeavour to maintain ecosystems, not tree farms. In essence, it advocates a sustainable forestry that includes:

- a ban on clearcut logging;
- a moratorium on cutting in endangered ecosystems;
- [preserving] 12 percent of each ecosystem type (rather than 12 percent of the land base) followed by a scientific audit of what percentage of additional land must be set aside to maintain biodiversity;
- local forest tenure legislation – where 50 percent of shares in a forest company must be owned within 80km of the T.F.L. in which the company operates;
- an immediate 400 percent increase in the size of riparian management areas to protect streams to bring [the province] in line with U.S. legislation;
- prosecution of all violations to which forest companies have admitted;
- a ban on export of raw logs, raw log cants and other minimally processed timber; and
- the development of alternative fibre crops for paper, including hemp, flax, barley and straw.[182]

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[180] See "Forests" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca/issues/forests.htm>.
[181] *Ibid.*
[182] See "Physical Environment" located at
<http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy8.htm>.

Mining

British Columbia's Green Party opposes all mining operations that pollute local and regional environments, and supports a ban on all mining processes that generate toxic waste (for instance, cyanide leachate from tailings). At the very minimum, it believes that gravel pit operators should be made more accountable to area residents, by requiring their approval for activities which cause, for example, sound, dust and aquifer damage.[183] As an alternative to mining, it supports the extensive development of industry and consumer recycling projects which offer a ready source of materials for the province's smelters and refining plants.

Energy

Recognising that the province is highly dependent on fossil fuels and other short-term energy sources, the Green Party of B.C. calls upon the provincial government to enact a comprehensive and sustainable energy program which respects environmental limits and future needs. As a starting point, it suggests decentralising the province's energy supply, and developing renewable energy sources such as solar, wind, water, and small-scale geothermal power.[184]

The Party opposes the large-scale use and export of hydroelectric power.[185] It is critical of co-generation (the so-called energy alternative) since it contributes to global climate change. Moreover, the burning of wood and charcoal not only accelerates climate change, but negatively affects local air quality and causes respiratory illnesses. Accordingly, it calls for phasing-out thermal power generating plants and mega-hydro schemes, banning coal-fired generating plants, and prohibiting new energy generation projects that are based on burning wood waste (and other processes that contribute to climatic change).[186]

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[183] *Ibid.*
[184] Also investigate press release "The promise of hydrogen fuel cells" (4 March, 1999).
[185] See "Economics" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy2.htm>.
[186] See "Physical Environment" located at
<http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy8.htm>.

Stating that it is all but impossible, in many regions of the province, to live without an automobile, the B.C. Greens argue that car dependency negatively impacts on the province's communities, economy, and the natural environment. For instance, air, water, soil and sound pollution generated by cars has a detrimental effect on individual and societal health. Moreover, the province has far too many roads and impervious surfaces. As a response, the Party recommends setting goals to reduce the degree to which land is allocated to the automobile. It supports a paving moratorium in the province, with no overall increase in highway surface. It also believes that the primary mandate of the Ministry of Transportation (not the Ministry of Highways) should be to provide various means of accessing destinations, with transportation planning closely integrated with and complementary to land use planning and economic policy.[187]

The Party points out that self-generated sustainable transportation such as walking, running and cycling provides numerous benefits to both the individual user and society, including greater community contact, low (if any) environmental impacts, and reduced healthcare costs (due to improved physical health). Governments have a history of under-funding sustainable transportation projects. Thus, it calls upon the Ministry of Transportation to provide financial support to cycling and walking programs at least commensurate with their modal share. It also supports a marked increase in funding to B.C. Transit to pay for improvements in the degree, rate, and ease of service in cities, suburban neighbourhoods, and particularly rural communities – towns that lack even the most basic public transportation infrastructure. B.C. Transit, which operates bus and trolley networks, has the potential to be a relatively efficient, low impact, economically beneficial and socially equitable public transportation system. In addition, transit expenditures provide some three times as many jobs for a given expenditure as spending on the private automobile.[188]

The Party believes that public rail transit is also an environmentally, socioeconomically and energy efficient means of transportation, helping to avoid the substantial impacts and costs of highways. Hence, it calls upon

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[187] See "Transportation" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy3.htm>.

British Columbia's Transportation Ministry to improve rail service, particularly in rural areas, and restore passenger rail on all former B.C. rail lines. It also believes that the government should fully re-establish the once vibrant system of heritage-style seasonal passenger trains, noting that the province used to have one of the most picturesque rail tourism opportunities in the world.

Toxins

The Green Party of British Columbia states that about 100,000 chemical substances are in commercial use world wide, and the number is growing annually[189] – a huge concern for present and future generations. Scientific research corroborates the links between certain forms of chemical exposure and cancer. Scientists have also confirmed that particular chemicals cause respiratory, cardiovascular, neurological and behavioural disorders, in addition to adversely affecting immune and reproduction systems. In light of these chemical risks the Party supports taxing waste products and offering tax breaks to companies that phase-out the use of toxins. It also believes that the provincial government should help pay for the conversion costs incurred by chemical companies that are trying to change their practices. Furthermore, it suggests implementing a provincial waste and toxins audit program to assess damages, noting that corporations that insist on utilising toxins should be made more vulnerable to tort actions.[190]

Conclusion[191]

Despite its claim of political pluralism (in promoting the common Green slogan of 'neither left nor right'[192]), the B.C. Green Party is relatively

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[188] *Ibid.*
[189] See "Physical Environment" located at
<http://www.greenparty.bc.ca./policy/policy8.htm>.
[190] *Ibid.*
[191] Reminder (from the introduction): The following concluding remarks are not meant to be 'complete.' The main objective of this material is to identify the Party's salient points for reflective discussion or, rather, what I interpret as the noteworthy points (recognising that what is significant is relative to an observer's interpretation of significance). Moreover, the material contains interpretive remarks; that is, it includes unchained, subjective and free-flowing observations.
[192] See "B.C. Greens" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca>. Also, for information on other Green Party positions, investigate "The Greens – Index" located at
<http://start.at/the.greens.index>.

left-wing (as far as a party can be in a largely capitalist 'democracy').[193] It advocates socioenvironmental regulatory initiatives, government measures to steer the direction of the economy (and associated spheres), and relies on the legal system to effect progressive social change. It champions the concerns of the working-class and the disenfranchised. It seeks to weaken the multinational corporate grip on society, and liberate small, sustainable and worker-friendly businesses from monopolistic industrial obstacles.

Moreover, as a provincial party, it has a very broad agenda, ranging from international to provincial concerns. The former is somewhat unusual given that most mainstream provincial parties in B.C. tend to stick to their own 'backyards,' and address populist regional issues.[194] For instance, what is happening in a given Third World country is of passing interest to most of the provincial parties (unless of course, it directly impacts on the provincial economy or is of popular interest). On the other hand, in addition to tackling pressing local and bioregional provincial concerns (as it should), the B.C. Green Party calls upon British Columbia to enact into law United Nations conventions, treaties, and undertakings signed by the Canadian government – it pushes for socioenvironmental change that transcends political borders. I suspect that there is an underlying rationale for its broad focus – interweaving and dismantling the boundaries between global, national, provincial and local interests. Namely, the Party states that 'society must foster the building of communities, and recognise that the word community applies not only to people who live in one locality, but can also mean those people who share common interests.' This statement raises a fundamental question about the notion of 'place.' Is place restricted by residency, or can it also be a social and cultural phenomenon that transcends even space and time? The implication of the statement is that community is not only a geographical concept, but is also a sociocultural experience that transcends physical borders. For instance, my relationship with my neighbour may be strong (as I generally try to reach out to my immediate bioregional community when possible), but as an activist, I may also have strong relations with Greens who live in villages, towns and cities

[193] For example, investigate press release "Green Leader opens public discussion of provincial Red-Green alliance" (26 November 1999).
[194] For access to the web-sites of British Columbia's official political parties, investigate "Political Parties in Canada" located at < http://polisci.nelson.com/parties.html>.

I have never seen, nor will likely ever visit. Moreover, certain heart-felt concerns may transcend time, and may, in fact, be part of an intergenerational activism that is tied to historical movements for social change. As some aboriginal peoples conclude, the individual is embedded within a community of concern that stretches far beyond present physical boundaries.[195] Indeed, there are spiritual, moral, temporal and other realms to consider. In essence, the Green Party of British Columbia suggests that there is value in cherishing all places (with the exception of technocratic 'places' or hollows of placelessness), and that our care ethic should extend into our local community and beyond (in all socioecological contexts).

The Party has a general comprehension of the philosophy of interrelatedness. It recognises that what befalls on Earth happens to one and all. Indeed, as there is no complete separation of places (as suggested above), there is no ultimate dichotomy between humanity's and nature's interests.[196] It is from here that the party advocates 'inter-species rights, arguing that all species have the inherent right to exist, and access their natural habitat in an unpolluted state.' It not only seeks to equalise human relationships with other species, but generally puts forth the argument that all species are created equal, and that we (or rather those individuals and groups in the position to do so) should attempt to bridge the massive gap between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' in nature.

While the Party has a deep concern for nature and human welfare, there is one issue that is somewhat inconsistent with its general line of thinking. It advocates the legalisation of street drugs – a move which, taken to an extreme, would liberalise substances that cause bodily harm or what I call 'personal pollution.' There are numerous scientific studies confirming that the regular use of drugs damages the human body.[197] The fact is that taking drugs, even 'soft' drugs, is unhealthy. Moreover, to pollute one's body is akin to polluting the natural environment – human beings are an extension of nature.[198]

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[195] For example, investigate Suzuki, D.T. & Knudtson, P. (1992). *Wisdom of the Elders.* Toronto, ON: Stoddart Publishing.
[196] For example, investigate Drengson, A.R. (1989). *Beyond Environmental Crisis: From Technocrat to Planetary Person.* New York, NY: Peter Lang.
[197] Investigate "The National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug Information" located at <http://www.health.org/newsroom/>.
[198] For example, investigate Boston, T. (1997). "Situating a Subjective Project: A Radical

The Party's position on drugs is hardly different from right-wing libertarians arguing for the liberalisation of environmental controls. I would argue that society needs strong environmental regulations to help prohibit companies from polluting and exploiting nature, as well as solid drug regulations to prevent individuals (including youth) from utilising self-polluting drugs. Of course, there will always be those who pollute themselves and/or nature, but under a fair, sound and clearly laid-out regulatory system, they are the exceptions and not the rule.[199] In short, prohibition of problematic behaviours and practices does work to a degree.[200]

This said, I have informally conversed with two groups of B.C. Greens who are proponents of drug legalisation: 1) those who use drugs, but who largely cite social justifications for the legalisation of drugs (rather than fully admitting their personal desire for drugs); and 2) those who believe that decriminalisation will lead to tighter government control of what is currently an underground industry, with perceived associated health and social benefits. The first group is largely self-serving, and despite the scientific evidence, believes that regular 'recreational' drug use is acceptable. My comments are directed to this group. The second group is supporting the general Party position, though with the genuine belief that social good will come about from the legalisation of drugs. In some cases, these Greens have witnessed, first-hand, the problematic effects of severe drug use. They would like the government to gain control of the underground drug industry in order to negate its harmful consequences. This is a reasonable position, that is, if the drugs are to be administered by a physician as part of some health or life-saving practice. In any event, the

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Ecologist's Interpretation of Wellness," *The Trumpeter: Journal of Ecosophy*, Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 23-29. Now online:
<http://trumpeter.athabascau.ca/archives/content/v14.1/boston.html>.
[199] For information on the rationale of prohibition, investigate South, N. (1999). "Debating Drugs and Everyday Life: Normalisation, Prohibition and 'Otherness'," In South, N. (ed.). *Drugs: Culture, Controls & Everyday Life*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, pp. 1-16; and Ruggiero, V. (1999). "Drugs as a Password and the Law as a Drug: Discussing the Legalisation of Illicit Substances," In South, N. (ed.). *Drugs: Culture, Controls & Everyday Life*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, pp. 123-138. Also investigate "The National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug Information" located at
<http://www.health.org/newsroom/>.
[200] I do not wish to suggest that the only answer lies in regulation. As discussed in the previous chapter, it is possible to rely on education, incentives *and* regulatory mechanisms to effect change. In essence, both rules *and* rewards can be used to ensure a reduction of drug use, increase environmental protection, and further social welfare.

Party needs to clarify its position on the issue of drug use, noting the inherent dangers of controlled substances.[201] It also needs to consider that the public may interpret a widespread process of legalisation and decriminalisation of hard and soft drugs as government approval or social endorsement of these substances – and this, in turn, could have wide-ranging unanticipated negative consequences.

Lastly, the Party's position on drug use is inconsistent with its position on smoking and alcohol use. I will reiterate the following two paragraphs which appear in the preceding text:

> 'The British Columbia Greens indicate that science has overwhelmingly confirmed the addictive properties and health risks of tobacco products. In addition, tobacco related illnesses place high demands on an already strained healthcare system. Accordingly, the Party advocates a comprehensive ban on tobacco advertising, adequate funding for preventive education and withdrawal programs related to nicotine addiction, and the establishment of a permit process for tobacco distributors similar to that for beer and wine stores.'

> 'There are other harmful substances which are of concern to the Greens of British Columbia. For instance, alcohol is a common factor in a large number of criminal and violent crimes in the province, and is, in many respects, a significant health hazard. Consequently, the Party calls for an immediate ban on the advertising and promotion of all alcohol products (excluding medical supplies). It also supports a provincial alcohol surtax, set higher for non-domestic products, which would be directed to prevention and addiction treatment programs.'

If the B.C. Green Party has difficulty with tobacco (nicotine) and alcohol, which are socially-sanctioned and widely available drugs, then one would think that the Party would also fully cite the social and health dangers of illegal drugs. But, this is not the case. While many governments and individuals worldwide are suing tobacco corporations for health damages, and similar suits are being considered against alcohol companies,[202] there

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[201] See "Straight Facts About Drugs and Alcohol" by The National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug Information, located at
<http://www.health.org/pubs/strafact/straight.htm>.
[202] For example, investigate "In the News" by The National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug Information, located at <http://www.health.org/pressrel/itn/index.htm>.

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are Party members who are set to legalise an array of illicit drugs – a number of which are equally harmful if not more detrimental than tobacco and alcohol.[203] They point out the risks of tobacco and alcohol use, but hardly mention the severe health effects of illegal drugs. This is a matter that the B.C. Greens would be wise to consider, especially in light of advancing health education.

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[203] For example, investigate "Drugs of Abuse" located at
<http://www.health.org/pubs/catalog/RP0s.htm>.

5. Greens in Canada's 'Wild West': The Green Party of Alberta

Introduction

This chapter explores Alberta's Green Party, and offers some reflective analysis on the nature of its paradigm. Specifically, along with the other chapters detailing Green Party paradigmatic positions, it helps answer the third research question posed in chapter one, namely: What are the demonstrated paradigmatic positions of the federal and provincial/state Greens? Formed in 1986, the Green Party of Alberta seeks to provide a "rational alternative to the policies of consumption, unlimited economic growth and environmental degradation advocated by other political parties."[204] It supports a vision of reality based on the love of life, respect for nature, its beings and natural processes, and an awareness of the interdependent structure of the world.[205] It states that humanity is ultimately a part of nature, not superior to it.

Environmental Protection

The Alberta Green Party argues that "sound ecological principles must be the basis of all... activities."[206] In order to ensure socioenvironmental well-being, it believes that social, economic and political systems must function within the physical limits of the planet. This said, Alberta has a dismal record of conservation and sustainability.

> [Environmental decision-making lies] almost completely within the jurisdiction of the provinces, and the state of Alberta's environment is critical. The last of our wilderness is being consumed by developments. Biodiversity is diminishing, chemicals threaten human health, and carbon dioxide from fossil fuel energy is damaging the atmosphere. The Green Party [of Alberta] is committed to turning back this tide of destruction, not by technological tinkering but by giving nature the time and space with which to heal itself.[207]

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[204] See "Welcome to The Alberta Greens" located at
<http://calcna.ab.ca/politics/province/abgreens/abgreens.html>
[205] See "Alberta Greens Philosophy" located at
<http://calcna.ab.ca/politics/province/abgreens/philosop.html>.
[206] *Ibid.*
[207] See "Welcome to The Alberta Greens" located at
<http://calcna.ab.ca/politics/province/abgreens/abgreens.html>.

The Party supports initiatives that seek to protect the province's wild plants and animals, recognising that they have a right to exist for their own sake and not for their perceived value to humanity.[208] With this in mind, it urges for the establishment of a series of wilderness preserves in which there will be little or no human impact.[209] It also calls upon the provincial government to implement the proposed plan on Alberta's ecological reserves, adhere to the intent of the federal Parks Act to protect wild areas from invasive activities, and ultimately recognise the significance of wilderness.

The Party believes that the municipal, provincial and federal governments should work together to improve Alberta's air and water quality. In order to help reduce urban air pollution, the Party recommends the use of public transportation, car-pooling, bicycling, and walking. It is especially concerned about stabilising the province's carbon emissions, including atmospheric carbon dioxide – a major cause of global climate change. In relation to water quality, it advocates:

• policies which recognise that water is the connecting medium between all ecosystems;
• the decommission of the Oldman Dam as recommended by the federal government's Environmental Impact Assessment;
• water conservation by placing an appropriate value on water taken from lakes or rivers for agricultural, industrial or domestic purposes;
• imposing strict regulations on all effluent producing industries, [ensuring] that the costs of water treatment or purification are borne by the polluter; and
• opposing any plan to divert water to the United States.[210]

In addition, the Party argues for a comprehensive waste management strategy, and the implementation of a variable socioenvironmental impact rate on goods and services to finance waste elimination and public awareness programs.[211] It also supports legislation that will make manufacturers and suppliers of products responsible for the

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[208] See Munz, A. (1994). *The Vision of the Green Party [of Alberta].* Calgary, AB: Kwanza Publishing.
[209] See "Alberta Greens Policy" located at
<http://calcna.ab.ca/politics/province/abgreens/policy.html>.
[210] *Ibid.*
[211] See Munz, A. *The Vision of the Green Party [of Alberta].*

cost of the items' disposal or return and reuse.[212] Ultimately, it believes in utilising economic tools that encourage the recycling of existing materials rather than the manufacture and consumption of new resources.

The Alberta government has been notably defiant in following through with comprehensive Environmental Impact Assessments (E.I.A.s), and holding industry accountable for environmental damage. Hence, the Party advocates the use of rigorous E.I.A.s for all large projects in the province, projects in especially sensitive regions, projects that involve hazardous technologies, and any projects which cause considerable community concern. E.I.A.s are part of the price of conducting business and therefore should be fully financed by the project proponents. The Party also indicates that E.I.A.s should examine the broad socioeconomic and environmental impacts of projects, and include the cumulative effects of related initiatives. It notes that E.I.A. review panels should be elected by the citizens of Alberta, have local representation, and have the power to approve, change, or halt any project they review.[213]

Energy

The Green Party of Alberta believes that sustainable energy production and energy conservation are essential to the long-term socioenvironmental health of the province. With this in mind, it supports efforts to produce energy from efficient, renewable and non-polluting sources such as wind, sun, and biomass, and calls upon all energy producers to recognise the intergenerational benefits of conserving energy and setting ecologically-derived prices.[214] It also calls for:

• an independent audit of Alberta's remaining low cost petroleum resources, so that Albertans can make informed decisions regarding exports of oil and gas and the long-term energy security of the province;
• education and research into energy-efficient homes, businesses and government offices;
• [the formulation of] building and land use planning codes [that] have high standards of energy conservation, including the energy used in making components and transporting them to a building site;

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[212] See "Alberta Greens Policy" located at
<http://calcna.ab.ca/politics/province/abgreens/policy.html>.
[213] *Ibid.*
[214] See Munz, A. *The Vision of the Green Party [of Alberta].*

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• small power producers to install power generation units which use renewable energy, and ensure that the electrical grid system buys surpluses at reasonable rates; and

• recovery of waste energy through co-generation, such as providing heat for buildings from cooling water at power plants.[215]

Agriculture and Food Production

The Green Party of Alberta encourages agricultural practices which are environmentally sound, economically viable, and humane. It supports mixed farming for local consumption, regional food self-sufficiency, and lessening the province's economic dependence on specialised crop production for export.[216] It also advocates the domestic use of native plants as a food source. This said, it notes that the provincial government should take legislative measures to guarantee the preservation of native plant life, paying particular attention to ecosystem, species and genetic diversity.

The Party pushes for the protection of agricultural lands. It believes that public land which is leased for agricultural purposes needs to be managed in view of its ecological and recreational value. Leaseholders should be responsible for preventing damage resulting from their activities.[217] It also calls for initiatives that assist farmers in sustaining the topsoil of their land. In instances where farmers are tilling poor or unsuitable agricultural land, the province should support them in returning it to natural prairie, forest or wetlands. It also believes that the provincial government should help farmers protect high-quality agricultural lands from urban encroachment.

Furthermore, the Party advocates an Agriculture and Food Information Act that would require all fresh and packaged food to have labels specifying the exact nature, content and proportion of ingredients, and the precise method of processing, including whether or not manufacturers used irradiation. It also supports the labelling of bio-engineered or genetically altered food products, and seeks a ban on pesticides and herbicides in foodstuffs.

Forestry

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[215] See "Alberta Greens Policy" located at
<http://calcna.ab.ca/politics/province/abgreens/policy.html>.
[216] *Ibid.*
[217] *Ibid.*

The Alberta Green Party argues that the province's forest ecosystems require immediate government protection. Forested areas contain some of the most significant flora and fauna in the province. Yet, multinational corporations are currently exploiting these areas for the export of raw resources. Accordingly, the Party is pushing for ecologically and economically sustainable forestry methods, and the elimination of industrial forestry – with an emphasis on regulating and integrating sustainable forestry into local, rural economies.

Economics

The Green Party of Alberta rejects the ideological vision of neoclassical economics, unlimited growth and hard-hearted competition. In this vision, resources are liquidated at the fastest rate possible for maximum profit, and the power of government is subordinate to the power of transnational corporations.[218] Wealth is concentrated in the hands of a small group of individuals which is "a recipe for social disaster."[219] Conversely, the Party maintains that a sustainable economy is guided by egalitarian relations and the limits of nature. Communities strive for socioeconomic stability, environmental stewardship, and an equitable distribution of wealth, rather than the singularity of growth. They measure progress in terms of improving the quality of life rather than raising the standard of living.[220]

The Party believes that a sound economic system can only be built upon sound socioenvironmental practices. In the recent past, Alberta's financial prosperity has been based on the sale of its resources (which are now in short supply).[221] But, the province should not buy today's 'success' by exploiting its natural resources at a rate that leaves little for posterity. Only a sustainable and regenerative economy will provide for the long-term needs of society while preserving the integrity of Alberta's natural ecosystems.[222] Ultimately, the Party calls for:

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[218] See "Welcome to The Alberta Greens" located at
<http://calcna.ab.ca/politics/province/abgreens/abgreens.html>.
[219] *Ibid.*
[220] See Munz, A. *The Vision of the Green Party [of Alberta].*
[221] *Ibid.*
[222] See "Alberta Greens Policy" located at

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- cooperation and accountability in economic enterprises;
- establishing a self-sufficient regional economy, centred upon local ownership [...];
- a balanced annual budget by efficient use of resources in the [health and social services];
- wealthy individuals and corporations [to] accept their fair share of responsibility [...];
- a system of full cost accounting for project evaluation and [the elimination of] long-term subsidies, both explicit and hidden (the price of a product should clearly represent its cost in terms of resource consumption, environmental impact, waste disposal, and social services);
- a complete and simplified accounting procedure so that Albertans are always informed of the true financial state of the province;
- the production of value-added goods [...]; and
- full openness in the awarding of government contracts.[223]

Taxation

According to the Green Party of Alberta, the first step, and one that the Canadian government should be commended for, is the acceptance of the parliamentary motion to enact a tax on financial transactions – a small tax on international transactions penalises short-term capital investment and speculation while having hardly any effect on long-term investments.[224] The Party questions short-term, boundless investments on the grounds that they encourage governments, where there is an absence of liberal democracy, to build, for instance, superfluous infrastructure, acquire military equipment or embezzle funds. It also says that:

> For most of these investments, the population receives no net benefit and is almost universally adversely affected, since the debt remains. Western corporations (not western peoples) benefit by selling weapons, nuclear reactors, dams, sweat shop factories, industrial agriculture and toxic waste to these countries and subsequently pulling out at the slightest whiff of a depreciation in earnings.[225]

Egalitarian Values and Nonviolence

<http://calcna.ab.ca/politics/province/abgreens/policy.html>.
[223] *Ibid.*
[224] *Ibid.*
[225] See "Alberta Greens Newsletter" located at <http://calcna.ab.ca/politics/province/abgreens/newslet.html>; and a manuscript circa 1999 by David Parker, Leader of the Alberta Greens (a paper submitted on behalf of the "Friends of the North Environmental Society" to the Free Trade of the Americas Association).

The Alberta Green Party insists that the pathology of power, domination and control over people and nature must give way to healthier, loving and more balanced human interactions. It believes in human kindness, the empowerment of all, and the equality of rights, opportunities and responsibilities, noting that "every person must be [respectfully] valued as a full, equal, participating member of society."[226]

Moreover, it is against any use of violence as a means of resolving disputes – violence is morally deplorable, and ultimately self-destructive. The attributes that will lead to a sustainable future are openness, mutual respect, tolerance and equity. Overall, the Party calls upon the citizenry to fully support all non-violent efforts to settle conflicts, and to work toward ending war for eternity.

Social and Ecological Responsibilities

The Green Party of Alberta believes that every person has the right to lead an independent life of direction and dignity. However, it also says that "each of us must accept responsibility for the Earth and for the rights of everything living on it."[227] It notes that relationships between citizens should reflect compassion, equality, mutual respect, justice, cooperation, and non-coercion, and that these attitudes must also guide our relations with the other living beings with whom we share the planet.[228] Ultimately, the Party argues that Albertans should:

• accept [the] responsibilities which accompany their rights;
• expend the time and effort required for participating in community decision-making processes;
• take reasonable measures to protect their own health;
• be actively involved in the education of their children; and
• diligently work to protect the environment and thus provide for their children's future.[229]

Social Equity

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[226] See "Alberta Greens Philosophy" located at
<http://calcna.ab.ca/politics/province/abgreens/philosop.html>.
[227] *Ibid.*
[228] *Ibid.*
[229] See "Alberta Greens Policy" located at
<http://calcna.ab.ca/politics/province/abgreens/policy.html>.

The Alberta Green Party believes that the general public has a moral responsibility to help foster communities which guarantee individual welfare and discourage social oppression. It also feels that the individual has an obligation to treat others with respect, tolerance and compassion irrespective of status or background. In the spirit of social equity and justice, it urges:

- the creation of a financial support program which recognises the right of all people to an acceptable quality of life, which gives only to those in need, and which concentrates all available resources into one efficient system;
- pay equity, [noting that] women, minorities and the disabled have the right to equal pay for equal work;
- consolidation of the delivery of all social programs into a single agency focusing on regional community centres;
- communities to develop and provide low-cost housing alternatives;
- [equal] tax treatment for families regardless of whether one or both parents are working;
- expanding the definition of family for the purpose of provincial benefits and tax treatment to include same-sex relationships.[230]

Democracy and Government Reform

The Green Party of Alberta states that the present 'winner takes all' electoral system in Alberta and Canada creates governments that are not representative of the population.[231] In response, it advocates a system of proportional representation, noting that "some seats would be contested according to [the] present system, and some seats would be allocated in proportion to the total votes cast for each party."[232] It maintains that this will encourage citizen involvement and reduce discord caused by regional difference.

The Party encourages direct participatory democracy. It insists that everyone should have the right to shape and partake in the decision-making process. With this in mind, it suggests an 'Independent Assembly of Albertans' which could examine and make recommendations on all processes involved in provincial and municipal governments.[233] This assembly would advocate:

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[230] *Ibid.*
[231] See "Welcome to The Alberta Greens" located at <http://calcna.ab.ca/politics/province/abgreens/abgreens.html>.
[232] *Ibid.*
[233] *Ibid.*

- alternative methods of electing... representatives in government;
- alternative methods of government which would encourage cooperation between political parties instead of the present adversarial relationships; and
- the right of recalling Members of the Legislative Assembly (M.L.A.s).[234]

The Party supports the establishment of an independent process for determining M.L.A.'s salaries, benefits and eligible expenses, and for making recommendations for the fair renumeration of previous M.L.A.s.[235] It also advocates reforming the regulations for financial contributions to political parties and electoral campaigns so that only individuals who are qualified to vote may donate.[236] It believes that the political party itself should fund all elements of a political campaign.

Furthermore, the Party supports an independent review process for identifying new electoral areas. It believes that thought should be given to bioregional differences, and that only a small variation in population between the electorates should be permissible. In an attempt to empower local communities, it also recommends expanding the capacity of municipalities to make decisions which affect their jurisdictions.

Community

The Alberta Green Party argues that community is the primary organisational unit of an empowered social democracy. It points out that communities create values that support personal empowerment, social enrichment, cultural development, and the appreciation of the natural world.[237] This said, it also indicates that global markets are challenging community structures, egotism and greed are driving 'democracy,' while "materialism and consumption rule."[238] Consequently, it maintains that the province must re-build communities, restore and strengthen local bioregions, and empower individuals to create equitable and supportive local social environments.

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[234] See "Alberta Greens Policy" located at
<http://calcna.ab.ca/politics/province/abgreens/policy.html>.
[235] *Ibid.*
[236] *Ibid.*
[237] See "Alberta Greens Philosophy" located at
<http://calcna.ab.ca/politics/province/abgreens/philosop.html>.
[238] See "Welcome to The Alberta Greens" located at
<http://calcna.ab.ca/politics/province/abgreens/abgreens.html>.

Health

The Green Party of Alberta believes that every Albertan should have equal access to healthcare services, regardless of background, status, or position. Such services should include both healing and preventive practices. The Party notes that "a healthcare program that advocates the prevention of illness and individual responsibility for well-being will be more efficient and cost effective than a system which emphasises illness and technological intervention."[239] Thus, it believes in converting some hospitals to wellness centres, and strongly urges all healthcare workers to incorporate wellness, self-reliance and 'precautionary' medicine into their everyday practices. In addition, it recommends a review of healthcare service delivery with local community involvement, including a proactive forum amongst healthcare consumers and providers to discuss the allocation of future healthcare resources.[240]

Education

The Alberta Green Party calls for an educational curriculum that recognises the importance of basic skills, while at the same time developing ecological awareness and fostering an appreciation of diversity, equity, social justice, non-violence and democratic decision-making. Moreover, it says that:

> The long-term goals of humankind must lead to global survival, and to the emergence of peaceful, just, socially and ecologically responsible societies. Citizens should feel empowered to use their creative and critical abilities to make social, economic, and political decisions. Learning will, therefore, be a life-long process and opportunities must be created for all residents of the province to participate in this process.[241]

Essentially, the Party supports life-long participation in both academic and non-academic educational activities, noting that it is critical to involve a diversity of learning groups (without the obvious cant of vested interests).

[239] See "Alberta Greens Policy" located at
<http://calcna.ab.ca/politics/province/abgreens/policy.html>.
[240] *Ibid.*
[241] *Ibid.*

Culture and Language Issues

Alberta's Green Party argues that Albertans have the right to maintain and practice their customs and traditions providing that they do not unfairly infringe upon others' rights. It understands that there may be cases when collective and individual rights conflict with one another, and in such instances, it believes in finding equitable and socioculturally just resolutions to a dispute.

The Party believes in working with aboriginal groups to achieve a beneficial alliance and understanding. It supports the preservation of areas with special cultural significance, such as archaeological sites and sacred aboriginal lands.[242] It also advocates aboriginal self-determination and the rapid and equitable settlement of land claims.[243] Aboriginal peoples have an inherent right to preserve their traditional ecological values and cultural heritage, and must be supported in developing their own economic, social, educational and bioregional systems.[244] Finally, the Party recognises the uniqueness of the French language and culture in Canada, and supports the distribution of French services where there is an obvious need.

Conclusion[245]

While the Alberta Green Party (like other Greens) embraces socially progressive politics, it also has a relatively strong ecocentric ethic. Specifically, it advocates 'a vision of reality based on the love of life, respect for nature, its beings and natural processes, and an awareness of the interdependent structure of the world,' and states that 'humanity is a part of nature, not superior to it.' It also recognises the ecocentric notion of intrinsic value, and calls for 'initiatives that seek to protect the province's wild plants and animals, recognising that they have a right to exist for their own sake and not for their perceived value to humanity.'

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[242] See Munz, A. *The Vision of the Green Party [of Alberta]*.
[243] See "Alberta Greens Policy" located at <http://calcna.ab.ca/politics/province/abgreens/policy.html>.
[244] *Ibid.*
[245] Reminder (from the introduction): The following concluding remarks are not meant to be 'complete.' The main objective of this material is to identify the Party's salient points for reflective discussion or, rather, what I interpret as the noteworthy points (recognising that what is significant is relative to an observer's interpretation of significance). Moreover, the material contains interpretive remarks; that is, it includes unchained, subjective and free-

The Party's radical ecological emphasis is somewhat surprising. Alberta is well-known for having an electorate that largely leans toward (or at the very least mostly votes for) political parties that espouse right-wing libertarianism (and with it anti-environmental beliefs) – at least this has been the case for the past ten years.[246] Thus, it seems peculiar that the province has room for a Green Party that advocates the revolutionary notion of ecocentrism, or rather that such a party could survive in a constituency saturated with conformist free-market praxis and the ideology of modernism. Indeed, the forceful modern expansionist system seeks to subvert socioenvironmental ideas, particularly ecocentric environmentalism (a vision that not only calls upon society to care for the human species, but *all* living beings).[247] How could the Alberta Greens form as a party (let alone have the boldness to express an ecocentric ethic) in a province that is dominated by a political culture of individualism, social disparity, and industrial values?[248] Even the politically 'moderate' liberal party (the Liberal Party of Canada) has been heavily chastised by the province's dominant political culture for espousing 'extremist socialist' policies.[249] I think the ultimate answer to the aforementioned question lies in the landscape and, in particular, the rocky mountain bioregion of Alberta. The province is home to some of the most scenic, diverse, and complex natural systems in the world (for instance, Banff and Jasper National Parks). Indeed, there is reason for the Alberta Greens to have a deep affection and empathy for wild spaces. At the same time, the province is plagued by extensive and unsustainable logging operations, oil and gas

flowing observations.
[246] For example, investigate "An Historical Sketch of the Progressive Conservative Party of Alberta" located at <http://www.albertapc.ab.ca/history.html>.
[247] For example, investigate Devall, B. & Sessions, G. (1985). *Deep Ecology: Living as if Nature Mattered.* Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith; Shiva, V. (1993). "Monocultures of the Mind," *The Trumpeter: Journal of Ecosophy,* Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 132; Sachs, W. (1999). *Planet Dialectics: Explorations in Environment and Development.* London, UK: Zed Books; and Seager, J. (1993). *Earth Follies: Coming to Feminist terms with the Global Environmental Crisis.* New York, NY: Routledge.
[248] For example, investigate "New Releases" by the Alberta Labour Federation, located at <http://www.afl.org/newsreleases/index.html>; and "Government Refuses to Measure Homelessness" located at <http://www.newdemocrats.org/press/press.htm>.
[249] For example, investigate "The Progressive Conservative Party of Alberta" located at <http://www.albertapc.ab.ca/>; and Stockwell Day's speech entitled "Canadian Values" located at <http://www.stockwellday.com/issues/values.htm>. Day is well-known for carrying the conservative/libertarian cause in Alberta. In July 2000, he was elected as the Leader of the Canadian Reform Conservative Alliance. Originally entitled the Reform Party of Canada, the Canadian Alliance is Canada's official opposition.

development, and industrial agriculture – brought on by the free-market, liberalist, and resourcist policies of the present Conservative provincial government and its supporters.[250] In essence, the province is an uneven paradox – a place where nature is free, but so open to exploitation; a locality where wilderness preservation is being overwhelmed by 'neofrontier' praxis; and an expanse where Greens habitually clash with dominant industrial ideologues in overly ambitious yet surreal 'David and Goliath' struggles. In short, the Alberta Greens are visionaries and idealists with a passion for the natural world – seeking change in a political environment brutally resistant to Green values. I believe the Party's role is crucial – it may not see an election victory in the near future, but it is serving to help normalise ecological politics and destabilise a political mind-set largely captivated by boundless competition, socioenvironmental dominion and unlimited growth.

Before gathering data on the Alberta Greens, I assumed that the Party would depend on economic arguments to convince its constituency of the need for socioenvironmental reform, and while the Party does rely on the language of ecological economics and green business to inform the public of pressing environmental issues, problems and solutions, it does not utilise the language to nearly the degree one might expect from a Party located in Canada's largely wild, libertarian and fiscally-conscious West. This said, it indicates that 'a sustainable economy is guided by egalitarian relations and the limits of nature,' and that it is possible to 'measure progress in terms of improving the quality of life rather than raising the standard of living' – both of which are essential starting points for any progressive and ecologically-informed economic discussion. The Party also points to an intergenerational economics by insisting that 'the province should not buy today's success by exploiting its natural resources, and by leaving little for posterity.'

In a province predominantly steeped in rugged individualism, it would not be terribly difficult to learn to place individual rights and freedoms above communal responsibilities. But again, the Party deviates

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[250] Investigate "The Progressive Conservative Party of Alberta" located at <http://www.albertapc.ab.ca/>. Also investigate, for example, Pratt, L. & Urquhart, I. (1994). *The Last Great Forest: Japanese Multinationals and Alberta's Northern Forests.* Edmonton, AB: NeWest Press.

from the political norm. It argues that there is no ultimate partition between the individual and society, and therefore, while individuals have rights, such civil liberties are invariably interwoven with collective obligations. Specifically, it 'believes that every person has the right to lead an independent life of direction and dignity,' though 'each of us must accept responsibility for the Earth and for the rights of everything living on it.' As stated earlier, the Party also argues that Albertans should:

- accept [their] responsibilities which accompany their rights;
- expend the time and effort required for participating in community decision-making processes;
- take reasonable measures to protect their own health;
- be actively involved in the education of their children; and
- diligently work to protect the environment and thus provide for their children's future.

These are rather unique points. I find the third point particularly interesting (as it is placed in relation to the other points and the general discussion on responsibilities). Its underlying message is that individual wellness has bearing on family, community and perhaps even ecological well-being.[251] In essence, the individual has a social responsibility to care for her/himself. For instance, environmental activists who do not eat healthy (preferably organic) foods, rest, and involve themselves in physical exercise can place strains on themselves and the people around them.[252] They are at a greater risk of heart disease, cancer and other ailments, which in turn put significant pressures on the public healthcare system, create emotional distress for family and friends, and reduce personal and social contentment in general. Thus, an environmental activist is not only going to be more productive in the long-term with their environmental stewardship efforts if they embrace healthy living, such an individual is also likely to radiate vitality in the presence of family, friends and the public. Arguably, people who take responsibility for their health have a positive impact on those around them, and are in a better position to respond to the fourth and fifth points noted above. Moreover, the ecological benefits of a healthy and

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[251] For information on the interconnected nature of wellness, investigate Boston, T. "Situating a Subjective Project." *The Trumpeter.*
[252] For example, investigate Shields, K. *In the Tiger's Mouth*; and Gomes, M.E. (1994). "Preventing Burnout Among Environmental Activists," *The Ecopsychology Newsletter*, Vol. 1, No. 1., p. 5.

informed individual are numerous: a healthy person walks, runs or cycles, rejects technological 'conveniences,' eats organic and natural food products, takes part in outdoor activities, lives with nature, and ultimately embraces some of the primal living patterns of a wild human.[253] In short, the Alberta Greens are cognisant of the broad socioeconomic, psychological, ecological and physical dimensions of health and wellness, as well as the interdependence of individual rights and social responsibilities as a means of ensuring a healthy, productive and sustainable society.

However, the Party's general discussion on rights and responsibilities has one noteworthy limitation. It states that 'the general public has a moral responsibility to help foster communities which guarantee individual welfare and discourage social oppression.' It also believes that 'life is fragile, and therefore, citizens have an obligation to treat all living beings, whether human or non-human, with respect, tolerance and compassion.' Such statements require people to take action. But, what if a person is sick or in need. In essence, there are members of the general public who are not in the position to carry out any obligations. Thus, the Party would be wise to add a caveat to their general discussion on 'rights and responsibilities' stating that, for example, people with disabilities or those in destitution should not be held as responsible as able-bodied people who are in the physical and financial position to fulfil their socioenvironmental obligations. Indeed, there needs to be recognition of situational, class, gender, and cultural differences in any discussion of rights and responsibilities.

Lastly, the Alberta Greens call for 'alternative methods of government which would encourage cooperation between political parties instead of the present adversarial relationships.' This is yet another novel point. Most political parties assume adversary in politics. But, in keeping with the spirit of nonviolence, the Alberta Greens wish to move away from oppositional politics and competitive discourse to more supportive political systems whereby individuals from different political parties address social, economic, political, and environmental issues based on mutual respect, care, tolerance and humility. This said, the Party might have difficulty

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[253] For information on the notion of a wild human, investigate Drengson, A. (1983). *Shifting Paradigms: From Technocrat to Planetary Person.* Victoria, BC: LightStar Press.

bringing together contradictory and differing interests. For instance, there are right-wing politicians who believe that the exploitation of nature is a normal human activity and a key prerequisite for economic prosperity.[254] Conversely, there are Greens who believe that the perpetrators of socioenvironmental abuse should be held liable for harm. Clearly, the two groups are in direct opposition to one another. There may be a possibility of one group convincing the other to change their ways. But, it is possible to interpret persuasion as evidence of political manoeuvring and conflict. In sum, while the Alberta Greens dream of political cohesion and solidarity, their wish for egalitarian political associations may be a significant challenge to implement. However, I share their hope for reform.

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[254] For example, investigate Rowell, A. (1996). *Green Backlash: Global Subversion of the Environment Movement.* New York, NY: Routledge.

6. The New Green Alliance: Saskatchewan's Green Party

Introduction

This chapter explores Saskatchewan's Green Party, and offers some reflective analysis on the nature of its paradigm. Specifically, along with the other chapters detailing Green Party paradigmatic positions, it helps answer the third research question posed in chapter one, namely: What are the demonstrated paradigmatic positions of the federal and provincial/state Greens? The New Green Alliance (N.G.A.) formed in late 1998 and was registered as a legal political party in early 1999.[255] It is a social justice and environmental party to the left of all the major political parties in the province including the New Democratic Party (N.D.P.).[256] Victor Lau, Deputy Leader, states that the N.G.A. tends to be an Alliance between Greens (environmentalists) and Reds (democratic socialists).[257] It has a strong progressive, green orientation, and covers such matters as labour issues, environmental concerns, women's rights, the growth of poverty, and the status of aboriginal peoples.[258]

The Party believes that the citizenry must learn to operate with the understanding that humanity is a part of nature, not separate from it.[259] Citizens need to maintain an ecological balance, and live within the ecological and resource limits of their communities and the planet.[260] They should ensure that posterity will benefit and not suffer from current practices. It says that "to this end, we must move to an energy efficient economy,[[261]] practice agriculture which replenishes the soil, and live in ways that respect the integrity of natural systems."[262]

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[255] See Warnock, J. W. (1999). "The Saskatchewan Election," *Canadian Dimension*, Dec. Issue, p. 11.
[256] *Ibid.*
[257] Information gathered during correspondence with Victor Lau, Deputy Leader, New Green Alliance, Thu, 13 Jan 2000.
[258] See Warnock, J. W. "The Saskatchewan Election," p. 11.
[259] See "Principles of the New Green Alliance," cited on the back of *New Green Alliance: Membership Application Form* (circa 2000).
[260] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Constitution of the New Green Alliance Party" located at <http://members.home.net/msailor/const.txt>.
[261] The New Green Alliance believes in placing primary emphasis on energy conservation and the development of wind, solar and other renewable energy sources.
[262] See "Principles of the New Green Alliance," cited on the back of *New Green Alliance: Membership Application Form* (circa 2000).

Agriculture

The N.G.A. demonstrates a particular sensitivity to socio-ecoagricultural praxis. It pushes for legislation to ban industrial farming, and believes that government support should be shifted from corporate, industrial farming to ecological, sustainable and organic agriculture.[263] It also supports family farms, co-operative farms, community-shared agriculture, producer cooperatives, and producer-controlled marketing boards.[264] It recommends the formation of an alternative food processing and distribution system in Saskatchewan. Moreover, the Provincial Deputy Leader calls for greater recognition of the interrelationship between global food production, ecological values and agricultural practices by emphasising that:

> ...we probably could feed every person in the world, but if we scorch our Earth and soils by using inappropriate methods (such as Capitalistic Agriculture/Monsanto Methods) we will all lose in the end. So, the solution then becomes... 'how to feed everyone in the world, but in an environmentally safe, sound, and sustainable manner.'[265]

Justice and Equity

The New Green Alliance suggests a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. It believes that the benefits of moving towards a shorter workweek of 35-30 hours are astounding.[266] Not only would the stress levels of workers decrease, families would have more time together; and by sharing productivity gains and redistributing work hours with the unemployed, citizens would help lower unemployment.[267] It also advocates passing anti-scab legislation, undertaking a major overhaul of the Workers Compensation Board and improving the Trade Union and Labour Standards Acts.[268]

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[263] *Ibid.* Also investigate "New Green Alliance Platform" located at <http://members.home.net/msailor/platform.txt>.

[264] *Ibid.*

[265] Information gathered during correspondence with Victor Lau, Deputy Leader, New Green Alliance, Thu, 13 Jan 2000.

[266] See pamphlet "Workers Rights: Promises Made – Promises Broken" (circa 2000).

[267] *Ibid.*

[268] See Gonick, C. (1998). "It's Party Time in Regina: New Green Alliance gives Local Politics a New Currency," *Canadian Dimension*, July-Aug. Issue, p. 9; and a letter entitled "Dear Friend..." by Victor Lau and authorised by Blaine Gilbertson, Campaign Manager of Mr. Lau (June 1999).

The Party believes in the right of every person of working age to have access to socially useful and environmentally sustainable work.[269] This said, it understands that guaranteeing this right is and will be a challenge. The Provincial Deputy Leader notes:

> Unions usually tend to fight environmentalists. They differ over jobs and job creation. [This said, as a solution], the N.G.A. adopted (at its first founding convention) the idea of phasing-out old, dirty, and eco-destructive jobs (like uranium mining), creating new, beneficial jobs (like energy conservation/retrofitting work) AND then use 'just transition' to relocate these displaced workers into these new jobs with adequate training and support (like a Guaranteed income, [with] no loss in wages or benefits).[270]

Noting that there are many labour challenges to overcome, the Party calls for pay equity legislation, most available hours legislation and insists that all part-time workers receive pro-rated benefits.[271] It demands a rise in the minimum wage to CA $8 per hour (as well as indexing it to the cost of living), and an immediate 33 per cent increase in social assistance rates.[272] It also supports affordable quality housing through rent controls and inspection systems, social housing, home ownership, and cooperative housing – recognising the particular challenges facing, for example, single mothers.

Furthermore, the Party recommends providing free publicly funded childcare and increasing the number of spaces in day care centres to at least the Canadian average.[273] It has a "profound respect for people raising children"[274] and wishes to ensure that "they will not be discriminated or disadvantaged."[275] It also recommends a one year paid parental leave program, and proposes bringing midwifery under medicare.[276]

[269] *Ibid.*

[270] Information gathered during correspondence with Victor Lau, Deputy Leader, New Green Alliance, Thu, 13 Jan 2000.

[271] See pamphlet "New Green Alliance: A Message from Victor Lau: M.L.A. Candidate for Regina Dewdney!" (circa 2000).

[272] See pamphlet "Green is the Colour of Hope" by Jim Elliot, N.G.A./M.L.A. Candidate for Regina Victoria (circa 2000).

[273] See "New Green Alliance Platform" located at <http://members.home.net/msailor/platform.txt>.

[274] See pamphlet "Green is the Colour of Hope" by Jim Elliot, N.G.A./M.L.A. Candidate for Regina Victoria (circa 2000).

[275] *Ibid.*

[276] See "New Green Alliance Platform" located at

Progressive Economics

The N.G.A. states that it is essential to create a vibrant and
sustainable economic system – one that can create jobs and provide a
decent standard of living for all people while maintaining a healthy
ecological balance.[277] A successful economic system will offer meaningful
work with dignity, while paying a 'living wage' which reflects the real
value of a person's work.[278] It also contends that local communities must
develop an economy that assures protection of the environment and
workers' rights, broad citizen participation in planning, and enhancement
of peoples' quality of life.[279] Ultimately, it supports:

• *Public Economic Systems* – supporting co-operatives, local barter systems
and public enterprises that distribute resources and control to more people
through democratic participation.
• *Fair Trade* – supporting the democratic principles of fair trade adopted at
the People's Summit of the Americas in Santiago, Chile, in April 1998.
• *Crown Corporations* – supporting the role of Crown Corporations, where
appropriate, in the development of Saskatchewan, strongly opposing the
private control of natural resources, and calling for legislation to make
Crown Corporations democratic and responsive to public policy.[280]

Progressive Taxation

The New Green Alliance opposes government-sponsored gambling
which it asserts is a socially destructive and regressive form of taxation.[281]
This said, it also advocates a province-wide plebiscite to allow people to
decide if they wish to abolish gambling. Should the public choose to
eliminate VLTs and casinos, an N.G.A. government would immediately
compensate First Nations who have a stake in these businesses through
other revenues.[282]

The Party calls for a more progressive and equitable tax system
which charges the wealthy and brings relief to the destitute. It also calls for:

<http://members.home.net/msailor/platform.txt>.
[277] *Ibid.*
[278] *Ibid.*
[279] See pamphlet "New Green Alliance Platform" (circa 2000).
[280] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Constitution of the New Green Alliance Party" located at
<http://members.home.net/msailor/const.txt>.
[281] See "New Green Alliance Platform" located at
<http://members.home.net/msailor/platform.txt>.
[282] *Ibid.*

• royalties on the extraction of natural resources [which] should be raised
to the levels they were in 1988 (it is impossible to restore adequate funding
to social programs without a return to a policy of taxing the extraction of
Saskatchewan's non-renewable resources by large corporations);
• a minimum tax imposed on all profitable corporations (there are many
profitable corporations in Saskatchewan that pay no income taxes);
• the provincial goods and services tax [to] be replaced by a luxury value
added tax (Western Europeans have a 'V.A.T.' [...] – a sales tax that
excludes basic goods and services needed for living);
• expanding the Corporation Capital Tax, eliminating many of the
provincial tax expenditures for corporations, introducing a wealth tax on
those earning $250,000 or more, restoring the inheritance and gift tax on
large estates, and replacing flat taxes on income with a provincial income
tax using progressive tax brackets; and

• [restoring] provincial grants to municipalities and local school boards.
The Tory and N.D.P. governments have cut these grants from 60 percent of
local budgets to 40 percent. This has required local governments to increase
property taxes and cut services. The property tax is one of the most
regressive, falling heaviest on those with low incomes. The [N.G.A.]
supports the re-introduction of the business tax noting that it should be
progressive (tax on revenue, geared to taxing large corporations and
exempting small business).[283]

Health

The N.G.A. recommends a democratic and participatory process for

community review of health policies. It states that before any government

can begin to heal an ailing healthcare system, it must first initiate a

dialogue with its constituents. A public forum to allow healthcare users

and providers to discuss the problems and to suggest positive solutions is

an essential first step.[284] Indeed, the citizens of Saskatchewan should "help

design the healthcare system they want for the future."[285]

The Party urges the province and the federal government to

introduce more community health centres, pharmacare, alternative

medicine, dental care and home care.[286] It believes in further developing

public medicare, and says that:

> As we grow older and as new children are born, the
> healthcare system must provide the needed services for us all.

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[283] See pamphlet "New Green Alliance Tax Policy" (circa 2000). Also investigate the news
release "New Green Alliance Disagrees with N.D.P. on Tax Policy" (circa 2000); and Brock,
G. (1999). "Royalty Rate Attacked: New Green Alliance Wants it Higher," *The Leader-Post*,
25 Sept. Issue, p. C10.
[284] See pamphlet "Health Policy: Promises Made: Promises Broken" (circa 2000).
[285] *Ibid.*
[286] See pamphlet "Hope and Honesty: Victor Lau" (circa 2000).

We must never go back to the days of two-tier medical treatment: one for the rich and one for the poor. Our healthcare system can be universal and provide decent service for [everyone]. That is what T. C. Douglas [the Saskatchewan born founder of Canadian medicare] fought for and that is what the New Green Alliance will [fight to] preserve and enhance.[287]

The Party also believes in strengthening (and ensuring adequate funding of) the Canada Health Act, the foundation of Canada's medicare plan. It says that:

Without adequate funding medicare will wither away. [The current Saskatchewan N.D.P. government] has always blamed the federal government for cuts in health spending. But the federal cuts could easily have been covered in Saskatchewan if the N.D.P. government had kept their 1991 pledge to raise the royalties on natural resource extraction industries back up to the level that they were under the Blakeney [previous] government. In 1999, this would have brought in an additional $888 million in revenues for the provincial government.[288]

Furthermore, the Party strongly advocates preventive healthcare, recognising interrelated and complex social, economic and ecological factors. It argues that in order to achieve preventive health, the province must begin by eradicating poverty, generating decent jobs, and ultimately ensuring access to fresh air, clean water and adequate food.[289] It believes that a sound environment is essential to ensuring public health.

Education

In addition to ensuring that Saskatchewan's primary and secondary public schools continue to receive generous support, the New Green Alliance believes in restoring adequate public funding to Saskatchewan's universities, noting that the funding solution does not lie with the corporate control of universities (exemplified by the biotechnology and mining industries). It also states that for all academically qualified residents, student tuition fees should be rapidly reduced and eventually eliminated

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[287] See pamphlet "Health Policy: Promises Made: Promises Boken" (circa 2000).
[288] See press release "New Green Alliance proposes alternative health policy" (6 June 1999).
[289] *Ibid.*

for four years of education.[290] It believes that "all qualified citizens of Saskatchewan are entitled to public and free higher education as they are to healthcare and secondary education."[291] Moreover, it emphasises that "if properly conceived, a university education can reinforce social justice, preventive health and environmental quality."[292]

Supporting Northern Saskatchewan and an Anti-Nuclear Policy

The N.G.A. indicates that, if elected, it would create a special task force to establish a democratic and participatory process for developing a policy of sustainability for Northern Saskatchewan. It also states that it would not allow the unique ecosystem of the North and its communities to be exploited as a source of commodities for non-residents.[293] Accordingly, it opposes the nuclear industry and its waste sites in Northern Saskatchewan. It also advocates the immediate phase-out of uranium mining, and an inquiry into where Saskatchewan uranium has gone since 1952.[294] Moreover, it calls for studies to determine the health impacts of uranium mining in Northern Saskatchewan,[295] noting that compensation should be offered to the victims of Saskatchewan's uranium (including those in foreign countries).[296]

Non-Violence, Co-operation and Social Responsibility

The New Green Alliance states that it recognises the inherent value of human and non-human life, and therefore is committed to the establishment of a demilitarised[297] society, based on mutual co-operation and non-violent resolution amongst all peoples, cultures and nations. While both cooperation and competition exist in nature (including human nature),

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[290] See Mandryk, M. (1999). "A reminder what elections are about," *The Leader-Post Regina*, Weds. Sept. 8 Issue.
[291] See Marsden, G. (1998). "The New Green Alliance: A New Choice for the Saskatchewan Left," *Briarpatch*, July/Aug. Issue, p. 11.
[292] See "New Green Alliance Platform" located at <http://members.home.net/msailor/platform.txt>. Also, for more on education and healthcare, investigate <http://members.home.net/msailor/gherman.txt>.
[293] See "Vote New Green Alliance" at <http://members.home.net/msailor/servin.txt>.
[294] See "New Green Alliance Platform" located at <http://members.home.net/msailor/platform.txt>.
[295] See "Vote New Green Alliance" at <http://members.home.net/msailor/servin.txt>.
[296] See "New Green Alliance Platform" located at <http://members.home.net/msailor/platform.txt>.
[297] In all senses of the word.

industrial society has placed far too much emphasis on competition.[298] Thus, the N.G.A. seeks a shift away from competitive attitudes and actions towards collaboration, mutual aid and solidarity in all human endeavours.

In relation to the philosophy of cooperation and symbiosis, the Party also recognises and advocates the interrelationship between individual wellness and community well-being. It believes individuals should act to improve the well-being of themselves, their communities and the natural world, and seeks to join with people and organisations around the world to foster peace, economic justice and the health of the planet.[299]

Respect for Diversity

The N.G.A. strongly honours the cultural, spiritual, racial and sexual diversity that exists in human societies.[300] It also appreciates the diversity that is found in nature, by striving to protect, restore and preserve biodiversity – a genetic, species and ecosystem diversity that is necessary for human and non-human health and welfare. Moreover, it respects indigenous knowledge, and aboriginal peoples as first peoples.

Accordingly, it believes that it is critical to "immediately begin a dialogue with existing aboriginal and Metis organisations[301] in order to explore and address the issues associated with inherent First Nations and Metis rights including rights to land and resources."[302] It also recommends an increase in funding for aboriginal-based programs. Finally, it argues that where environmental concerns conflict with inherent rights, nature and traditional ecological knowledge should be given top consideration.

Federalism, Decentralisation and Democracy

The New Green Alliance says that it is critical to empower and return responsibility to individuals, communities and bioregions. However, it believes in both strong communities *and* a strong federal government presence. It says that "we must reconcile the need for community and

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[298] See "Principles of the New Green Alliance," cited on the back of *New Green Alliance: Membership Application Form* (circa 2000).
[299] *Ibid.*
[300] *Ibid.*
[301] Metis are aboriginal peoples of indigenous and French Canadian decent.
[302] See pamphlet "Green is the Colour of Hope" by Jim Elliot, N.G.A./M.L.A. Candidate for Regina Victoria (circa 2000).

regional self-determination with the need for appropriate centralised regulation in certain matters."[303] This said, it supports the flourishing of regionally based culture, rather than a dominant monoculture, and calls for a decentralised democratic society that fosters political, economic and social institutions which reduce political power to the smallest scale possible.

In the spirit of inclusive democracy, the Party says that "all citizens must be able to directly participate as equals in the environmental, economic and political decisions that affect their lives."[304] It indicates that the current system is inequitable and largely ignores genuine public representation. Consequently, it advocates introducing a system of proportional representation, accepting only individual/public contributions to political parties (as opposed to corporate/private support), and insists on limiting contributions to the average biweekly provincial wage.[305]

Conclusion[306]

The New Green Alliance is a party of political moderation. It does not promote revolutionary action or demonstrations to bring down the existing order, nor does it portray itself as a rebel group. Its pamphlets, brochures and leaflets most certainly deploy a reserved and prudent imagery.[307] This said, the N.G.A. is very much a left-leaning party, and therefore, quite distinct from the mainstream parties in Saskatchewan. It advocates union action, public property rights, and a strong social service sector. It also strongly opposes industrial agriculture, nuclear interests, and in general, the corporate establishment. At the same time, there is a prominent green ethic. The N.G.A. argues for intergenerational equity, and believes it is important to *respect* the integrity of natural systems – which suggests that the Party is open to ecocentric praxis.

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[303] See "Constitution of the New Green Alliance Party" located at <http://members.home.net/msailor/const.txt>.
[304] *Ibid.*
[305] See pamphlet "New Green Alliance Platform" (circa 2000).
[306] Reminder (from the introduction): The following concluding remarks are not meant to be 'complete.' The main objective of this material is to identify the Party's salient points for reflective discussion or rather, what I interpret as the noteworthy points (recognising that what is significant is relative to an observer's interpretation of significance). Moreover, the material contains interpretive remarks; that is, it includes unchained, subjective and free-flowing observations.
[307] See pamphlet "Hope and Honesty: Victor Lau" (circa 2000); and pamphlet "Brief

The New Green Alliance is a new political party, and its paradigm, while outwardingly 'balanced,' is internally evolving. The Alliance may have to respond to internal dissent at some stage of its development – all political organisations, despite their outward appearance, embody a diversity of opinion. The question is whether or not this diversity will translate into conflict. The N.G.A. does have the potential for party discord – the following two matters come to immediate mind (though, these are relatively minor concerns in what is otherwise a largely coherent and stable political alliance).

First, the Party advocates both top-down (federal) social interventions *and* bottom-up (grassroots) initiatives. This is a matter that affects many political groups. For example, there has been a historical tension between traditional socialists (for example, world federalists) who believe in a strong government presence, regulatory processes, and the administration of social services by the state (largely in a top-down fashion), and libertarian socialists (who may also possess elements of an anarchist ideology) who call for a devolution of hierarchies, power structures, and elite establishment systems in general, and who often support bottom-up grassroots initiatives.[308] At the moment, the N.G.A. is successfully advocating both approaches, thereby attracting interest from a variety of left-leaning activists. However, its support base could change if it elects members to government, or even more so, if it forms the government.[309] If its members achieve electoral success in the conventional political sphere, sections of the Party could possibly, by consequence, begin to unwillingly, and perhaps, if repeatedly socialised in this political sphere, willingly respond to institutional conventions including a greater emphasis on top-down praxis at the expense of grassroots initiatives and participation. This is a matter that the Party would be wise to keep in check.

Secondly, the New Green Alliance contends that where environmental concerns conflict with indigenous rights, the natural

Summary of the Alternative Budget as Adopted by the N.G.A." (circa 2000).
[308] For example, investigate Bookchin, M. (1982). *The Ecology of Freedom: The Emergence and Dissolution of Hierarchy*. Palo Alto, CA: Cheshire Books; and the general arguments presented in Sarkar, S. (1999). *Eco-socialism or Eco-capitalism: A Critical Analysis of Humanity's Fundamental Choices*. London, UK: Zed Books.
[309] Admittingly, this will be a challenge; for example, the N.G.A. is new, Canada lacks a system of proportional representation, and the Party faces powerful establishment-linked

environment and traditional ecological knowledge should be given priority. While indigenous peoples are likely to be the first to argue for nature's rights and particularly traditional ecological knowledge, in all likelihood, they would question the position taken by the N.G.A. Most indigenous peoples have difficulty with non-indigenous peoples[310] commenting on what or whose rights should take precedence. First peoples argue, as they have for hundreds of years, that since they have a birthright *with* the land, they should be the ones who are presenting any arguments for its protection or use.[311]

Moreover, by placing nature's interests above indigenous interests, the N.G.A. subtly suggests (and probably unintentionally so) that aboriginal communities may not always care for the Earth. Even a hint of this perspective troubles first peoples, especially given that much of North American history shows non-indigenous powers exploiting the natural environment, while indigenous peoples struggled to defend it.[312] While aboriginal peoples have historically lived off the land to cover basic necessities, Western societies have manipulated nature for short-term wants.[313] If the N.G.A. is concerned about the exploitation of nature, aboriginal communities are far less of a worry than the powers that be. This said, there are aboriginal peoples who have been acculturated or coopted into the Western expansionist system and who consequently advocate resource exploitation.[314] In such instances, the New Green Alliance would be within its rights to intercede. Nevertheless, as far as I have seen, such 'aboriginal peoples' are few and far between (and are normally shunned by aboriginal communities).

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oppositions.

[310] As far as I can discern, the N.G.A. does not have strong aboriginal representation.

[311] For example, investigate Asch, M. (ed.). (1997). *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada: Essays on Law, Equality, and Respect for Difference*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press; Boldt, M. & Long, J.A. (1985). *The Quest for Justice: Aboriginal Peoples and Aboriginal Rights*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press; and Wilmsen, E. (ed.). (1989). *We Are Here: Politics of Aboriginal Land Tenure*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

[312] For example, investigate Gedicks, A. (1994). *The New Resource Wars: Native Environmental Struggles Against Multinational Corporations*. Montreal, PQ: Black Rose Books; Dyck, N. & Waldram, J.B. (eds.). (1993). *Anthropology, Public Policy and Native Peoples in Canada*. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press; and Niezen, R. (1998). *Defending the Land: Sovereignty and Forest Life in James Bay Cree Society*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon Press.

[313] Investigate Suzuki, D.T. & Knudtson, P. *Wisdom of the Elders*.

[314] For example, investigate "Aboriginal Businesses" located at <http://www.abc.gc.ca/trade/abc_company_list.html>; and "Aboriginal Business

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Ultimately, the Party would be wise to ask local aboriginal peoples to a discussion on Green policy and directives, and to draft an aboriginal issues platform for the Party. Indigenous peoples should be given the opportunity to participate in *all* political processes (though of course, it is their right to choose or refuse to participate). In fact, given that first peoples are calling for self-government, the N.G.A. would, in effect, be fostering socioenvironmental justice by seeking direct aboriginal in-put. Indeed, socioenvironmental justice affirms the fundamental right to political, economic, cultural and environmental self-determination of indigenous peoples.[315] All in all, the Party should have little difficulty attracting aboriginal interest.[316] It has a multicultural membership, and is highly sensitive to social progressive concerns including systemic racism and discrimination. It demonstrates a great respect for aboriginal cultures in general, and values diversity, complexity and variation.

Canada" located at <http://www.abc.gc.ca/trade/>.
[315] See, for example, "Principles of Environmental Justice" located at <http://www.hds.harvard.edu/ee/ecojustice/document/principles.htm>.
[316] In requesting direct in-put (and in all cases of cross-cultural communication), Western peoples, groups and communities need to pay thorough attention to the social, cultural and political circumstances, concepts, mores and practices of aboriginal participants and their communities.

7. A Party in the Making: Discovering the Green Party of Manitoba

Introduction

This chapter explores Manitoba's Green Party, and offers some reflective analysis on the nature of its paradigm. Specifically, along with the other chapters detailing Green Party paradigmatic positions, it helps answer the third research question posed in chapter one, namely: What are the demonstrated paradigmatic positions of the federal and provincial/state Greens? The Green Party of Manitoba is a relatively new political party having been founded in November 1998.[317] It questions Canada's political establishment on the ground that the latter is obsessively faithful to boundless economic expansion. Indeed, conventional political parties utterly disregard the essential question "how can you have infinite growth on a planet with finite resources?"[318] It also says that:

> The major parties all squabble over who gets what piece of the economic pie. During their heated debates they ignore the fact that the pie is poisoned. They forget that the economy is consuming our ecological capital instead of living within sustainable boundaries. They ignore the fact [that] we are quickly destroying our soil, lakes, forests and air which we depend on for survival. They ignore the fact that despite economic 'growth' there are thousands of Manitobans who are without jobs and adequate income.[319]

The Green Party of Manitoba argues that it is the only political party in the province that is dedicated to ecological protection and a sustainable economy.[320] It says that "unlike the other mainstream parties, the party is based upon a complete worldview that sees Manitobans as a part of the ecological system and not beyond it."[321] Moreover, as Nelson P. Morrison, External Liaison for the Manitoba Green Party, says:

> As humans, we make the decisions that affect our planet for ourselves and for our children's children. We are globally

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[317] See "What's New?" located at <http://www.greenparty.mb.ca/news.html>.
[318] See "The Purpose of Green Politics" located at <http://www.greenparty.mb.ca/politics.html>.
[319] *Ibid.*
[320] For more information on the Manitoba Greens' notion of a sustainable economy, investigate "Common Values of the Manitoba Greens" located at < http://www.greenparty.mb.ca/values.html>.
[321] See "The Purpose of Green Politics" located at <http://www.greenparty.mb.ca/politics.html>.

connected and must choose our economic policies wisely for long-term sustainability. It is possible to realise a society that prospers and carefully incorporates environmental stewardship to protect our earth and our future.[322]

Aside from the Party's ecological and economic platform, there is evidence that it also has a strong equity component to its political vision. It indicates that it "will speak for the disenfranchised people across our province, [and] the animals, the land, and the unborn generations who will live with the error of our ways."[323]

Agriculture

The Green Party of Manitoba believes that large-scale, export-oriented and monocultured agriculture is a wholly inefficient, socioenvironmentally destructive and inherently unsound approach to farming. Such mining-oriented agriculture is akin to extractive forestry — both create broken nutrient cycles, and both are part of a larger, linear industrial mind-set. As a response, the Party champions the revival of the family farm, and recommends small-scale, biodiverse, local, regional agricultural systems based on polycultures of perennial crops. Manitoba's farmers can design holistic fibre-producing ecoagricultural systems. It also encourages over-winter storage, local production, and the regional processing of foodstuffs and other crops.

Furthermore, the Party is concerned about the economic security of Manitoba's farming communities. It maintains that regional processing will not only increase the number of locally-owned farmsteads, but ensure their financial stability. It also supports the use of low THC hemp as a replacement for tree farms which, in turn, can provide a reliable source of income for Manitoba's farmers. Moreover, it says that:

> Re-establishing financial viability also involves freeing our farmers from the expense of chemical methods. We promote ecological practices that increase the organic matter content of soil to, or temporarily above, that of the pre-tillage level and that therefore reduce soil erosion. We deplore the broken

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[322] Email correspondence with Nelson P. Morrison, External Liaison, Manitoba Green Party, Tue, 8 Feb 2000.
[323] See "The Purpose of Green Politics" located at <http://www.greenparty.mb.ca/politics.html>.

nutrient cycles exemplified by the waste of human manure nutrients inherent in water-based sewage collection, and the consequent necessity for chemical fertilisers on Manitoba farms. Nutrients leave the farm in the form of food crops and end up in Winnipeg's sewage system where they mix with industrial and non-point source wastes and contaminate clean drinking water. The resulting mixture then moves around through a costly infrastructure, treated at great energy and financial expense. Poisonous sewage sludge, the problematic end product of this unsustainable process, is not only unusable by agriculture, but also pollutes water, air and soil when we try to dispose of it. These nutrients should be sent back to the farms (urban and rural) in the form of finished, uncontaminated compost, to replace expensive and soil-damaging chemical fertilisers.[324]

The Party objects to the use of chemical fertilisers, pesticides and fungicides in general, noting that chemical farming is socially, economically and ecologically destructive. It encourages integrated pest management as a strategy for ensuring sustainable and high-quality agricultural production. It also calls for a re-direction of tax and subsidy programs to support organic techniques, and urges the removal of all subsidies to chemical agriculture such as the Provincial Sales Tax (P.S.T.) free status of pesticides.[325]

The Party endorses community shared agriculture programs, market gardening, community gardens, flour milling, bran plants, and other small-scale processing and distribution methods.[326] It also believes that a greater amount and diversity of produce should be grown in and around city centres. Such actions help counter the technocratic system's artificial separation of food consumption and agricultural production.

Healthy Communities

The Green Party of Manitoba is convinced that healthy communities are small communities where a balance is struck between knowing neighbours and having individual privacy.[327] Specifically, small communities are generally more alert to local needs. The Party also

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[324] See document "Green Party of Manitoba Draft Policies 1999," submitted by the 'Society and Environment' and 'Economy and Environment' Policy Committees.
[325] *Ibid.*
[326] *Ibid.*
[327] See untitled pamphlet citing the perspectives, policies and beliefs of the Manitoba Green Party (circa 2000).

identifies healthy communities as family-oriented communities. It supports all families (in the broad conception of the term) to maintain their care ethic, and help members with hardships. Indeed, a strong family is a great reflection of society's capacity to love and care for one another. Furthermore, in order to strengthen family and community life, the Party would like to see governments offer financial support to parents who care for their own children, as well as funding for expanded daycare facilities for parents who choose to work outside the home. Governments should also require employers to offer flexible working hours, leaves of absence, and job-sharing opportunities specifically designed for parents.

Crime, Gambling, and Controlled Substances

The Manitoba Green Party supports the right of victims (in all crimes) to seek damages from an offender(s). It sees most violent crime as a consequence of the offender's separation from larger social systems – these individuals feel they have little to lose, and consequently grow to be cruel and inhuman. Moreover, the Party believes that if society were to live simply without material desires, the crime rate against wealth would substantially drop.

People would also have less of a desire to gamble for money. While small-scale gambling can be entertaining (for instance poker for pennies), the Party concludes that large-scale gambling involving significant sums of money is highly destructive to communities. In addition to creating destitution and attracting underworld activities, large-scale gambling reinforces the perception that money leads to prosperity (instead of urging simple living and holistic conceptions of well-being). In order to reduce the impact of gambling, the Party encourages the implementation of smaller pots and the availability of professional help for those with gambling addictions. It indicates that electronically based gambling machines such as Video Lottery Terminals (V.L.T.'s) are especially harmful since they systemise, mechanise and dehumanise gambling.

The Party is also aware of the dangers of socially-sanctioned and illegal drug use. It believes that all controlled substances ranging from tobacco and alcohol to soft and hard drugs should be managed in the same

way.[328] It does not promote the use of controlled substances, but believes that it should be up to the individual to decide whether or not to use drugs. This said, it recognises that some individuals may form a harmful addiction or dependency, and therefore need professional help. Lastly, it states that these substances should, whenever possible and according to the demand they place on public funds, incur taxes to offset their financial strain on society.[329]

Democracy, Self-Determination, and Government Reform

The Green Party of Manitoba supports the democratic self-rule of a people.[330] However, it does not believe any group should threaten another in an effort to reach independence. Consequently, it supports Quebec's right to separate from the Confederation of Provinces through appropriate non-violent means. It feels that special measures should be taken by the Canadian Government to guarantee the orderly division of Quebec and to allow the James Bay Cree and Anglophones in Western Quebec to shape their own destiny unhindered by the tension resulting from ethnic nationalism.[331]

The Party believes that government reform is a precondition for self-determination, and notes that the current plurality electoral system is undemocratic and unable to accommodate diverse public needs. In response, it advocates the implementation of proportional representation, where a party gains its proportion of seats relative to its percentage of total votes. It states that citizens have the right to decide on new laws or major government issues via referenda.

Education

The Manitoba Greens are certain that education should be based on global, social, economic and ecological well-being. Education should also empower the public to rely on creative, investigative and critical thinking skills to make informed decisions. Moreover, the Party argues that learning

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[328] *Ibid.*
[329] *Ibid.*
[330] For more information on the Manitoba Greens' conception of democracy, see "Common Values of the Manitoba Greens" located at < http://www.greenparty.mb.ca/values.html>.
[331] See untitled pamphlet citing the perspectives, policies and beliefs of the Manitoba Green Party (circa 2000).

should be a lifetime process for Manitobans, and that all of the province's residents should be given equal opportunities to participate in the process. Accordingly, residents should have an equal right to affordable education.[332]

Energy

The Green Party of Manitoba advocates eliminating all subsidies for connecting new installations to the province's electric power supply. Connecting a new single family home to the electric power grid for heating purposes costs many thousands of dollars. It says that "subsidies encourage the use of conventional power production over solar or co-generation."[333] Thus, it suggests utilising tax credits to retrofit homes and public offices – this could include photovoltaic cell generation systems, direct passive solar heating, and other alternative energy measures. It also recommends adjusting electricity rates to reward conservation and discourage waste.

First Nations

The Manitoba Greens recognise the grave injustices that Canada's indigenous peoples have been forced to endure. The Party says that "from historical policies of conquest and domination, to more recent attempts at assimilation and genocide, the past racist/exploitative practices of those in power cannot be forgotten."[334] It argues that Canada has a moral duty to act within United Nations guidelines, and constitutionally recognise aboriginal self-government and autonomy. Moreover, the Federal Government should implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission on aboriginal Peoples, which include expanding access to lands and resources, settling all outstanding land claims, and granting the right to self-government.[335]

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[332] See document "Green Party of Manitoba Draft Policies 1999," submitted by the 'Society and Environment' and 'Economy and Environment' Policy Committees.
[333] *Ibid.*
[334] See untitled pamphlet citing the perspectives, policies and beliefs of the Manitoba Green Party (circa 2000).
[335] See document "Green Party of Manitoba Draft Policies 1999," submitted by the 'Society and Environment' and 'Economy and Environment' Policy Committees.

Forestry

Before considering any forestry operation, the Green Party of Manitoba feels that wildlife species and their habitats should *first* be fully protected via an adequate system of preserves in all vegetation zones and ecosystems, surrounded by buffer zones and connected by corridors, at all scales, and in all areas (including rural, agricultural, residential, and urban areas).[336] It then supports legislation and regulations that ensure: 1) proper forest stewardship practices including the maintenance of a sufficient number of standing dead and downed trees to ensure sufficient species habitat; 2) a prohibition on the cutting of forests that lack the ability to regenerate; 3) the reform of taxation on forested lands to eliminate incentives for the liquidation of biological capital in the form of the standing stock of trees and other dependent species; and 4) the purchase of conservation easements on land (held by the province) by conservation authorities, or by other public bodies where necessary or appropriate.[337]

Health

The Manitoba Greens believe that the province's residents should have an equal right to access healthcare services. This said, the Party recommends healthcare initiatives that encourage an individual to take responsibility for their own well-being (for instance, health prevention including exercise, adequate sleep, and a healthy diet). It also says that "critical to promoting health in our society is the elimination of pollutants in our natural environment."[338] Thus, it advocates relying on the findings of environmental science to help determine health funding priorities. Recognising the particular health needs of women, the Party also feels that the government should continue to fund abortion services in the province. This said, support should also be made available for other, less invasive family planning programs in order to provide a diversity of options for women.

[336] *Ibid.*
[337] *Ibid.*
[338] See untitled pamphlet citing the perspectives, policies and beliefs of the Manitoba Green Party (circa 2000).

Housing

The Green Party of Manitoba believes that adequate housing should be both a social right and public necessity. It recognises the following housing categories: 1) privately owned homes; 2) cooperative housing; 3) rental accommodations; 4) socially assisted housing; and 5) sustainable housing (which can be integrated into the above four).[339] Moreover, it advocates proper zoning, and believes it is necessary to:

- allow and encourage the zoning of current single family homes into multiple family units;
- encourage infilling and intensification of [Manitoba's] cities;
- discourage urban sprawl with Greenbelts around all urban centres in Manitoba; and
- encourage the establishment of home based businesses, with the only zoning requirement being the approval of immediate neighbours.[340]

Manufacturing, Product Stewardship, and Corporate Charters

The Manitoba Greens argue that the province's companies should take responsibility for their products (from 'cradle to grave'), and be fully liable for their environmental wrongdoings. To this end, it supports broadening the scope of the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act to include public access to all environmentally relevant data on provincial products. It believes that Manitoba's companies should adhere to the same rules and regulations as the province's residents. It also expects Manitoban companies to be as responsible with their international operations as if they were based in the province. It indicates that companies should be rewarded with tax benefits if they reduce their energy and water consumption, rely on alterative energy sources, use biodegradable materials, and protect animals,[341] plants and ecosystems. Polluters and other careless companies would not only miss out on the rewards, but they would be held liable for inaction. The worst offenders – manufacturers of arms and other intrinsically destructive enterprises – should be completely banned from the province. All in all, the Party suggests the following conditions before a corporate charter is granted to a limited company: 1)

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[339] See document "Green Party of Manitoba Draft Policies 1999," submitted by the 'Society and Environment' and 'Economy and Environment' Policy Committees.
[340] *Ibid.*
[341] The Manitoba Greens believe that wild, farm and domesticated animals have the right

corporate officers and large shareholders must be personally liable for the harm they cause; 2) corporations should be encouraged through the tax system to be cooperatively owned by employees; and 3) businesses applying for government contracts should be expected to practice high labour and environmental standards in Canada and abroad.[342]

Mining

The Green Party of Manitoba argues that the mining industry does not always act in the best interests of Manitobans, local communities, or the province's ecosystems.[343] It states that mines drain wetlands, lakes and ponds, alter the flow of rivers, and are destructive to Manitoba's northern ecosystems. Thus, there is a critical need to minimise the impact of mining in the province. Moreover, the Party says that if it is elected into power:

> [It will] examine all proposed mines and mining related activities for their environmental effects. [It will also] prohibit mine exploration and other mining activities in wilderness areas, parks, areas of natural and scientific interest and other environmentally significant areas. [It will] require public notifications, independent studies, and outlines of planned habitat protection measures for all developments. No mine [would be allowed to] discharge any toxins, in any amount. Mines meeting the standard would enjoy taxes accurately reflecting costs to the public and the environment. [Moreover,] all mines would submit closure plans, including financial assurances, for public review.[344]

Poverty, and Social Services

The Manitoba Greens believe that every person has a right to the essential basics of nourishment, clothing and housing – free from the poverty of material *need*. The Party recognises that there are different interpretations of poverty. The word can mean the hopelessness of scarcity, the fear of destitution, a weak spirit, or a lack of care and respect. It believes that real wealth derives from ensuring people's basic material needs, and attaining inner happiness. With this in mind, the Party seeks an improvement in the allocation of social services. Specifically, social services

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to ethical treatment by human beings.
[342] See document "Green Party of Manitoba Draft Policies 1999," submitted by the 'Society and Environment' and 'Economy and Environment' Policy Committees.
[343] *Ibid.*

should respond according to an individual's specific situation, and not relative to some generalised social management plan. The establishment of community relief networks that would merge both formal government and informal local supports thereby replacing the current centralised, officious and mechanical welfare system, is recommended.

Sustainability

The Green Party of Manitoba argues that sustainable activities reuse environmentally-sound materials, use alternative energy sources, and ultimately ensure intergenerational justice. It points out that "activities are not sustainable when they require continual inputs of non-renewable resources, use renewable resources faster than their rate of renewal, cause cumulative degradation of the environment, or require resources in quantities that undermine other people's well-being."[345]

Transportation

The Manitoba Greens state that the province's urban transportation network is a wasteful, inefficient and socioenvironmentally-destructive system. Specifically, pointing to the high rate of automobile use, the Party criticises the province's urban planners for having placed automobiles above individual and social well-being. It believes that planners should be designing automobile-free villages within cities where residents can access nearby services and employment by foot or bicycle. It also says that:

> Exhaust from cars causes global warming, acid rain, respiratory ailments and deterioration [of] the urban environment. Drilling and transportation of oil creates negative social and environmental consequences. The infrastructure supporting the automobile wastes land that should be used for agriculture, wildlife restoration or recreation. New roads are expensive and cause more traffic, congestion and urban sprawl. Cars make cycling and walking dangerous. Private automobiles are directly responsible for hundreds of deaths in Manitoba every year.[346]

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[344] *Ibid.*

[345] See untitled pamphlet citing the perspectives, policies and beliefs of the Manitoba Green Party (circa 2000).

[346] See document "Green Party of Manitoba Draft Policies 1999," submitted by the 'Society and Environment' and 'Economy and Environment' Policy Committees.

Seeking a reduction in total road traffic, the Party is dedicated to non-polluting, inexpensive, energy efficient and reliable public transportation. All in all, it states that an environmentally-sound public transportation strategy can, for example:

- modify zoning to bring places of work, living and recreation closer together;
- remove all subsidies to the private automobile, and include in [a] vehicle license fee, the costs of police, hospitalisation, pollution cleanup, and road construction and maintenance;
- revitalise an efficient rail system for long distance haulage of goods and for inter-community personal travel;
- conduct yearly safety checks on all vehicles using Manitoba's roads with strict enforcement of automobile emission regulations;
- promote cities where people do not need to commute, and commodities are transported by rail;
- introduce tax systems that reflect the long-term ecological costs of transportation services; and
- implement the City of Winnipeg Transit proposal to add 2 cents of tax per litre of gasoline. [This] money, estimated at about $30 million, would go directly to improving the public transit system.[347]

Recycling and Waste Management

The Green Party of Manitoba argues that tipping fees at rubbish dumps impede recycling efforts by erroneously reflecting the entire cost of throwing away 'waste' in landfill sites. It points out that waste disposal sites leak a toxic amalgamated soup of household and industrial chemicals. Specifically, the combination of car batteries, soap, water, car oil, transmission fluids, antifreeze, and the myriad of toxic chemicals that the province's residents take for granted percolates through landfills and pollutes the ground water around landfill sites.[348] All waste disposal sites leak, and are a serious health threat to bordering homes and communities. In essence, the public and health benefits of reduction, reuse, rejection and recycling far outweigh the throw-away convenience of landfill sites. Consequently, the Party believes it is important to:

- implement dumping fees that reflect the full long-term cost of waste disposal;
- require full product responsibility on all products and packaging;
- ban non-reusable containers and products;

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[347] *Ibid.*
[348] *Ibid.*

• ban the export of recyclable materials;
• continue funding and expanding the blue box [curb-side recycling] program;
• institute an immediate ban on new landfill site construction;
• establish community drop off points for recyclable materials like plastics that are not economical to collect; and

• ban compostable material from landfill collection in favour of home and business composting.[349]

The Party also calls for better inspection of Manitoba's incinerators, with full public disclosure of the investigation's results. It also supports provincial and federal statutes that encourage the use of non-toxic materials in manufacturing processes, and materials which are reusable, recyclable, long-lasting, and biodegradable (noting that a biodegradable item should not release any toxic residue during the course of its decomposition). In addition, it advocates waste reduction at all points of transfer from raw material to consumer products, through incentives, taxation and education.[350] It also promotes legislation that relies on tax breaks, fees, and alternate price structures to support the use of recycled substances over raw materials – Manitoba needs to provide incentives for companies to recycle. All in all, it urges governments to implement comprehensive recycling programs, with a goal to recycle and compost 80 percent of household and commercial waste in Manitoba within five years.[351]

Water Quality and Conservation

There are negative socioenvironmental consequences to releasing chemicals into lakes, streams, rivers and aquifers. Consequently, the Manitoba Greens propose to establish legally enforceable standards for zero discharge of toxic materials into the province's water supply, and support the right of citizens to prosecute water polluters for environmental and health damages. The Party also suggests installing "water conservation measures like low-flush toilets, showerheads, and grey water recycling systems by way of tax rebates, and other programs directly benefiting the

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[349] See untitled pamphlet citing the perspectives, policies and beliefs of the Manitoba Green Party (circa 2000).
[350] See document "Green Party of Manitoba Draft Policies 1999," submitted by the 'Society and Environment' and 'Economy and Environment' Policy Committees.
[351] *Ibid.*

consumer."[352] Moreover, it would like to see communities, where possible, abolish sewers and centralised sewage treatment plants by utilising locally constructed wetlands. With this in mind, it supports all current efforts to maintain Manitoba's wetlands, and recommends stronger conservation laws, as well as greater financial assistance for landowners who wish to maintain their wetlands.

Leisure, Work and Job Creation

The Green Party of Manitoba advocates deconstructing the techno-industrial dichotomy of work and freedom. Rather than furthering technological dependency through, for instance, the use of timesaving devices, it calls for the implementation of a public education program that would encourage group activities and individual self-reliance. It is convinced that the enslavement, consumption and addiction to technology creates social discord, and accelerates environmental decline.

The Party argues that the inherently unstable techno-industrial system is responsible for creating and stigmatising the unemployed and underemployed segments of society, and forces many others to accept unfulfilling jobs. As a response, it proposes to fully develop communal activities and self-reliant communities instead of placing trust in the centralised, capital-intensive and techno-industrial system for regular life-long 'employment.' It also encourages socioenvironmentally-sensitive self-employment in regional services and local production. Moreover, it advocates permanent employment in (and public funding of) the renewable energy and alternative technology sectors, as well as a redirection of public resources toward low cost housing projects and the development of ecologically-based communities.

The Party favours work exchange, product exchange, barter, and 'payment in kind' service for family and local community benefits.[353] It also recommends job sharing (with shorter workweeks), adequate child-care programs, and financial rewards for the individual and collective care of homes, children, families and communities. Lastly, it suggests replacing the

[352] *Ibid.*
[353] *Ibid.*

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current welfare system with a basic income program to support those who are victims of systemic unemployment, or who earn little.

Conclusion[354]

The Manitoba Green Party, like many other Green parties, leans to the left of the political spectrum. Denouncing top-down corporate and government privilege, it advocates socioenvironmental protection measures including an end to discrimination along lines of race, class, gender, generation and species. It also demonstrates reverence for the Earth, noting that ecology must be at the core of progressive socioeconomic and political decision-making processes.

The Party considers political issues that transcend its provincial borders. For example, it addresses Quebec separatism – a topic that, at first glance, circuitously affects Manitobans. Specifically, it supports 'Quebec's right to separate from the Confederation of Provinces through appropriate non-violent means.' Moreover, it expresses concern that the Canadian Government assure 'the orderly division of Quebec and [...] allow the James Bay Cree and Anglophones in Western Quebec to shape their own destiny unhindered by the tension resulting from ethnic nationalism.' Why would the Manitoba Green Party (as a provincial party) discuss Quebec separatism, and express concern for minority groups in Western Quebec? Indeed, while Manitobans are unquestionably anxious about the possible division of Canada, such sentiment is usually expressed at the national level with political forums set by the federal parties. A plausible answer: the Party synthesises issues, defies customary political debate and structures, and ultimately perceives Quebec separatism and the possible break-up of Canada as an explicit provincial matter. Its compassion and sympathy is holistic, borderless and inclusive – it is a bioregional, regional, interprovincial and international Party. It believes that 'distant' worries should be Manitoba's concerns.

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[354] Reminder (from the introduction): The following concluding remarks are not meant to be 'complete.' The main objective of this material is to identify the Party's salient points for reflective discussion or rather, what I interpret as the noteworthy points (recognising that what is significant is relative to an observer's interpretation of significance). Moreover, the material contains interpretive remarks; that is, it includes unchained, subjective and free-flowing observations.

The Party is 'aware of the dangers of socially-sanctioned and illegal drug use.' It believes that 'all controlled substances ranging from tobacco and alcohol to soft and hard drugs should be managed in the same way.' This latter argument can be interpreted in two ways. The Party is either suggesting that all drugs, whether legal or illegal have the potential to cause bodily harm, and therefore should be regulated to contain, reduce and/or eliminate harm, or that soft and hard drugs should be deregulated and be offered to the public in the same manner as alcohol and tobacco. I suspect that the Party generally advocates the latter. While it states that it 'does not promote the use of controlled substances,' it nevertheless 'believes that it should be up to the individual to decide whether or not to use drugs.' Like the B.C. Greens, the Party appears to take a libertarian stance on drug use. However, unlike the B.C. Greens, it makes a point of citing the dangers of drugs. Specifically, it 'recognises that some individuals may form a harmful addiction or dependency, and therefore need professional help.' Thus, on the one hand, it argues that it is up to the individual to decide whether s/he wishes to use drugs, and on the other, when addicted, it is up to the state and community groups to intervene to help that individual overcome their addiction. This suggests that the Party is willing to support individual drug use at the public's expense. In essence, the Party implies that the state together with community groups should take corrective measures at the point of addiction, rather than implement a precautionary and preventive approach (utilising both regulation and incentives) to encourage the individual to avoid substances that result in a loss of control over their health and well-being. This said, similar to those B.C. Greens who are against drug use, I suspect that there are members of the Manitoba Greens who genuinely believe that social good will come about from the legalisation or rather deregulation of drugs. This is a fair position, as long as the objective is to utilise legalisation as a means of containing the problematic substance for the purpose of reducing harm (or 'personal pollution').[355]

The Party identifies 'healthy communities as family-oriented communities.' It supports 'all families (in the broad conception of the term) to maintain their care ethic, and help members with hardships.' The Party

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[355] Examine the conclusion of the chapter on the B.C. Green Party for more information.

raises a unique and important point. Much of the environmental literature points to the significance of building community, encouraging local empowerment, and fostering bioregional awareness. There is also a body of literature that emphasises a shift from the 'self' to the 'Self' – a movement away from personal self-interest to holistic ecological awareness.[356] But, aside from a mere footnote in Sarah Conn's diagram of Self-realisation,[357] the notion of family is noticeably absent from the environmental literature.[358] It is almost as if family is a trivial and valueless element of environmental praxis. As long as families reject internal parochialism and function as interwoven sub-systems of the local community, strong families, particularly extended families (of various kinds), are a key component of social stability, integration and welfare, and offer a bridge between the individual and her/his community. The latter not only eases loneliness and isolationism, but also reduces individualism, self-absorption, and perhaps even socioenvironmental apathy. As the Manitoba Greens point out, healthy families exemplify care and compassion; they engender commitment, love, trust, and concern. All in all, the Party not only recognises the importance of sustaining individual, community, societal, and ecological interactions, but also values strong family and household relationships.

The Green Party of Manitoba maintains that 'encouraging everyone to live more humbly would reduce crime committed against wealth.' This is yet another intriguing point. The prevailing assumption in Western society is that manufactured objects or 'things' carry greater value than, for instance, a wild area, social interactions, spiritual well-being, and green governance. Individuals are effectively indoctrinated into believing that happiness can be derived from, say, a new watch, a pair of fashionable shoes, or a fancy red automobile. The most socially-identified (or corporate-advertised) 'goods' are thought of as the most reassuring, gratifying, and legitimate items. The purchase of a new product, especially a big ticket item

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[356] For example, investigate Fox, W. (1990). *Toward a Transpersonal Ecology.* Boston, MA: Shambhala Publications; and Naess, A. (1988). *Ecology, Community and Life Style: An Outline of Ecosophy.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
[357] See Conn, S.A. (1991). "The Self-World Connection: Implications for Mental Health and Psychotherapy," *Woman of Power,* Vol. 20, No. 1., p. 74 [Note: Prof. Sarah Conn is an ecopsychologist at Harvard University's Institute for Psychology and Social Change].
[358] For example, investigate the bibliography of environmental works in Drengson, A.R.

such as a car or computer, typically produces an immediate surge of pleasure and achievement, and often confers status and recognition upon the owner.[359] However, withdrawal symptoms become increasingly evident as time passes and as the new product becomes the lifeless object.[360] In order to relieve the material-fix, the consumer's behaviour becomes focused on the short-term remedy which is to seek out another material item.[361] The consumer is interminably hopeful that the next possession will satisfy inner wishes and needs. The Party identifies the absurdity of this consumerist mind-set, and the substantial benefits of simple living. It understands the difference between material wealth and socioenvironmental capital. Moreover, it implies that those who commit crimes of monetary wealth have been raised and programmed to believe that reconstituted nature, a chemically-manufactured item, or 'private' property has value. With this in mind, it suggests that 'criminals' (along with other material-addicted citizens) can relearn to perceive wealth as socioenvironmental quality and hardship as ecological destruction or social decay.

On a related matter, the Party notes several conceptions of poverty. It argues that poverty can be 'the hopelessness of scarcity, the fear of destitution, a weak spirit, or a lack of care and respect.' Consequently, it 'seeks an improvement on the allocation of social services' which should 'respond according to the individual's specific situation,' and not according to a 'generalised social management plan.' Here is yet another introspective position. Evidently, the Party demonstrates an understanding of (and even expands on) Wolfgang Sachs' identification of poverty (as destitution, scarcity and frugality).[362] It rejects conventional, linear indicators of poverty which are wholly tied to monetary wealth and material interests. Such indicators idealise, venerate and popularise consumption and material status, and blur the contrasting forms of wealth and poverty beyond

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(1994). *An Ecophilosopher's Dictionary*. Victoria, BC: LightStar Press., pp. 49-56.
[359] See Kanner, A.D. & Gomes, M.E. (1995). "The All-Consuming Self," In Roszak, T., Gomes, M.E. & Kanner, A.D. (eds.). *Ecopsychology: Restoring the Earth, Healing the Mind.* San Francisco, CA: Sierra Club Books., p. 79.
[360] See Boston, T. (1996). "Ecopsychology: An Earth-Psyche Bond," *The Trumpeter: Journal of Ecosophy*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 77. Now online:
<http://trumpeter.athabascau.ca/archives/content/v13.2/boston.html>.
[361] *Ibid.*, p. 77
[362] Investigate Sachs, W. *Planet Dialectics.*

recognition.[363] Moreover, the Manitoba Greens apply the philosophy of situated knowledge to governments' delivery of services (for those in need). Governments usually seek quick-fix, one-dimensional and blanket solutions to multifaceted social problems, rather than offering services on a one-to-one basis.[364] In seeking top-down administrative ease, they opt for universal welfare systems, automatically assume that the destitute face identical suffering, and ultimately homogenise what are in reality specific individual concerns.[365] Conversely, the Manitoba Greens hint at a social welfare system with, for instance, social workers and counsellors assessing need, and offering assistance on an individual basis (somewhat like a doctor and nurse assessing a patient, and offering her/him a distinct diagnosis and prescription/remedy). All in all, the Party weaves together the libertarian's call for individual rights and context with the socialist's advocacy of widespread social provisions. In effect, the Party takes a progressive leftist libertarian position on poverty and welfare.

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[363] *Ibid..*
[364] Investigate "Government of Canada" located at <http://canada.gc.ca/>; and "Province of Manitoba" located at <http://www.gov.mb.ca/index.shtml>.
[365] *Ibid.*

8. Challenging Ontario's Industrial Tide: The Green Party of Ontario

Introduction

This chapter explores Ontario's Green Party, and offers some reflective analysis on the nature of its paradigm. Specifically, along with the other chapters detailing Green Party paradigmatic positions, it helps answer the third research question posed in chapter one, namely: What are the demonstrated paradigmatic positions of the federal and provincial/state Greens? The Green Party of Ontario was formed in 1983,[366] and has been evolving ever since. It supports green economics, progressive social planning, ecopolitical reform, as well as the general premise that humans have a responsibility to protect and preserve the diversity of the natural world.[367] It believes that non-human life has value that is independent of its usefulness to humankind which, in turn, has no right to reduce ecological richness and diversity except to satisfy vital needs.[368]

Government Reform

The Green Party of Ontario indicates that the Canadian electoral system is inequitable and undemocratic. Millions of dollars are spent on promotion during election campaigns. The Party says that "this media saturation works and it strongly favours the party with the most money."[369] Moreover, the political party in power usually champions the interests of those that can offer the most financial support – big businesses and wealthy individuals.

As a response, the Party calls for a referendum to provide voters the opportunity to choose a form of proportional government.[370] It supports substituting the current first-past-the-post electoral system with the system of proportional representation, so that the amount of seats in the house

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[366] See "Green Party of Ontario: What is the Green Party?" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/elect/platform.htm>.
[367] *Ibid.* Also investigate pamphlet "The Green Party of Ontario: Your Other Choice" (circa 2000).
[368] See "Constitution of the Green Party of Ontario" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/constitution.htm>.
[369] See "Building a Sustainable Future" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/docs/basf1999.htm>.
[370] See "Green Party of Ontario: Platform"
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/elect/platform2.htm>. Also investigate press release "Green Party asks for proportional representation" (1 June 1999).

correspond to the proportion of people that champion the platforms of the elected parties. Such a system maintains constituency links by regionally 'topping up' seats so that all voters can be represented by a regional MP from her/his preferred party.[371]

Quebec

The Green Party of Ontario supports the concept of self-determination. Thus, should Quebec decide to separate from the Confederation of Provinces through appropriate nonviolent methods, they would do so with the Green Party of Ontario's support.[372] The Party feels that the Canadian government should ensure the orderly partition of Quebec if and when such an event occurs, and to allow the James Bay Cree and Anglophones in Western Quebec and Montreal to shape their own destiny unimpeded by the discord brought about by ethic nationalism.

Aboriginal Issues

The Ontario Greens recognise that the country's indigenous peoples have experienced enormous personal injustices and systemic inequities. Noting past policies of conquest, as well as more recent attempts at assimilation and control, the Party condemns Canada's mistreatment of indigenous cultures.[373] It believes that it is ethically essential that Canadians support aboriginal self-determination. Canada needs to operate within United Nations guidelines, and recognise self-government for First Nations via constitutional change. The Party calls upon the federal government to:

• begin negotiating with native people in the province for the immediate return of [their] traditional lands;
• negotiate a series of transfer payments, for five to ten years, to assist in re-establishing a sustainable [native] economy;
• continue to offer free post-secondary education to native people;
• [grant] full sovereignty to the First Nations of Canada; and
• [ensure that] constitutional amendments regarding native self-government [are] a priority in federal-provincial dialogue.[374]
Communities

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[371] See "Building a Sustainable Future" located at <http://www.greenparty.on.ca/docs/basf1999.htm>.
[372] See "Green Party of Ontario 1999 Policy Guide" located at <http://www.greenparty.on.ca/policy/guide.htm#T1>.
[373] Ibid.
[374] Ibid.

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The Green Party of Ontario wants the province's communities to become more autonomous, noting that "diverse local economies are much more stable than one-industry towns."[375] With this in mind, it advocates community barter banks and currency systems, local ecoagriculture and other initiatives which entail direct community involvement with regional businesses. It also supports home skills courses and service co-operatives that encourage low-income workers to meet more of their personal needs without spending.[376]

The Party believes that single-parent families, the mentally ill, battered women, and the socio-economically destitute are unjustifiable targets for government cutbacks. Instead of being shunned and criticised, the disenfranchised need to be empowered through reliable social programs. Accordingly, the Party supports providing sufficient funds for community initiatives, expanding provincial programs for co-operative housing projects, and altering tax laws that punish single income families.[377]

Education

The Ontario Green Party believes that the difficulties affecting the provincial education system are a part of a larger cultural crisis. Dominant cultural values and practices, including the emphasis on competition over cooperation, consumption over sustainable resource use, and bureaucracy over authentic human interaction, have been detrimental to social and natural environments.[378] The current education system perpetuates these pathologies. Consequently, the Party envisions a centrally developed yet diverse public education system – a system rooted in socioenvironmental well-being, and one that will educate individuals to cope in a constantly changing and complex world – rather than one which reinforces

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[375] See "For a Healthy Ontario" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/elect/1999platform.html>.
[376] *Ibid.* Also investigate pamphlet "The Green Party of Ontario: Your Other Choice" (circa 2000).
[377] *Ibid.*
[378] See "Green Party of Ontario 1999 Policy Guide" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/policy/guide.htm#T1>.

monocultured, unsustainable practices.[379] It also insists that a progressive education is vital to the long-term health of the planet.

Childcare and Parenting

The Green Party of Ontario sees parenting as a valuable investment not only in the well-being of the present generation of children, but for posterity.[380] It holds that the provincial government should provide generous assistance for parenting, instead of simply forcing parents to obtain employment outside the home. Too much outside work can place an enormous amount of stress on family life which, in turn, extends into communities and diminishes social capital. Thus, the Party believes in:

• paying parents who elect to stay at home with young children a Guaranteed Annual Income to help relieve the financial hardship of the single-income family, while leaving vacancies in the workforce for others;
• extending parental leave so that parents' jobs and careers are protected;
• encouraging job-sharing and part-time jobs with benefits;
• legislating personal days for sick children;
• creating a high-quality, provincial daycare program for all who need it; and
• reforming tax laws that currently make single income families pay higher taxes than double income families.[381]

Health

The Green Party of Ontario believes that a healthy lifestyle and a healthy environment create a healthy social system.[382] A healthy lifestyle can be achieved through a good diet (including pesticide-free, non-irradiated, non-genetically engineered food), exercise, stress reduction, and the avoidance of tobacco, illicit drugs and alcohol. Such a shift in personal behaviour reduces medicare costs for preventable diseases. Moreover, a healthy environment is contingent upon clean air, water and land, as well as sound resource management policies.[383]

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[379] Investigate press release "Greens support U.N. education ruling" (8 November 1999).
[380] See "Building a Sustainable Future" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/docs/basf1999.htm>. Also investigate pamphlet "The Green Party of Ontario: Your Other Choice" (circa 2000).
[381] See "For a Healthy Ontario" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/elect/1999platform.html>.
[382] See "Green Party of Ontario: Platform"
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/elect/platform2.htm>. Also investigate pamphlet "The Green Party of Ontario: Your Other Choice" (circa 2000).
[383] Investigate press release "Ontario receives wake up call – Province has to be responsible

The Ontario Greens' vision of health and well-being also focuses on providing greater access to alternative healthcare systems, and concentrates on offering treatment facilities that are human-scale, community-centred places of healing.[384] Ultimately, the Party supports a patient's right to decide from a selection of treatment options. This includes the right of women to choose to have an abortion.[385]

Addictive Substances and Practices

The Ontario Green Party recognises that gambling has detrimental effects on all segments of society, and therefore it opposes the development of gambling opportunities in the province. Specifically, it calls for the cancellation of all plans for the expansion of provincial casinos, slot machines, video terminals, as well as an end to lotteries linked to commercial sport.[386]

The Party is also against the use of illicit drugs. This said, it believes that drug laws, by and large, are more harmful than the drugs they attempt to regulate. Consequently, the Party recommends the decriminalisation of soft drugs, the development of treatment programs for drug users, and the redefinition of hard drug use as a health rather than criminal issue. It is critical of drug monopolies, and supports the legalisation of drugs, in part, as a means of weakening the power base of drug cartels.

The Party notes that "cigarettes cause 35,000 premature deaths annually which results in a yearly drain on the [provincial] economy [– the total] lost income and medical costs [are] over $5.2 billion as opposed to the $3 billion the tobacco industry contributes to the economy through jobs and taxes."[387] Consequently, it advocates closing the province's borders to imported tobacco, and banning the export of all tobacco goods. It also supports a ban on the marketing of all tobacco products, and on tobacco industry funding of sporting, recreational and cultural activities. It

for protecting water" (1 June 2000).
[384] See "Building a Sustainable Future" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/docs/basf1999.htm>. Also investigate press release
"Green Party – Healthcare platform" (25 May 1999).
[385] See "Green Party of Ontario 1999 Policy Guide" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/policy/guide.htm#T1>.
[386] See "For a Healthy Ontario" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/elect/1999platform.html>.
[387] See "Building a Sustainable Future" located at

recognises the rights of non-smokers, and calls for a ban on smoking in all indoor public spaces and upon all forms of mass transportation. Moreover, the Party supports a significant rise in the penalties for selling tobacco goods to minors, a ban on the sale of tobacco products from vending machines, and powerfully worded (psychologically effective) health warnings on cigarette packages.

Welfare

The Ontario Greens state that welfare (the dole) was originally meant to be a short-term relief program for unemployed workers between jobs.[388] However, most entry-level employment is too low-paying to support a family.[389] There are very few parents who can afford to accept employment which, in effect, offers a lower standard of living for their children. The Party recognises that welfare needs reform so that unemployed people can have the freedom to work. Accordingly, it proposes a Guaranteed Annual Income (G.A.I.) supplement to replace welfare.[390] The G.A.I. is a top-up program that, amongst other things, offers low-income workers a minimum standard of living, and the unemployed an opportunity to obtain part-time work. It also provides a geared-to-income extended healthcare initiative for those who need it.[391]

Employment

The Ontario Greens believe that meaningful work is essential for human dignity. But, since there are no longer enough jobs to go around, only the fortunate have full-time employment.[392] Consequently, the Party supports:

• the expansion of non-job work (in more self-sufficient communities) in place of [a] dependence on mega-projects and centralised, capital-intensive manufacturing processes;

<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/docs/basf1999.htm>.
[388] See broadsheet "Green Party of Ontario: 1999 Election Platform."
[389] *Ibid.*
[390] See "For a Healthy Ontario" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/elect/1999platform.html>.
[391] See broadsheet "Green Party of Ontario: 1999 Election Platform."
[392] See "For a Healthy Ontario" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/elect/1999platform.html>.

- work exchange, product exchange, barter, 'payment in kind' service for family and community benefits;
- redirecting capital towards greater development of low cost housing and model ecological communities;
- redirecting production towards sustainable technologies and methods;
- a flexible system of job sharing and shorter work hours; and
- a recognition and reward of the care of home and children.[393]

Endangered Species and Habitat

Canada's endangered species list now contains 258 plant and animal species – 20 species were added to the list in 1994. The species that were added in Ontario were the King Rail, Acadian Flycatcher, Yellow-Breasted Chat, Hooded Warbler, Northern Bobwhite, Short-eared Owl (birds), the Warmouth, Eastern Sand Darter, Rosyface Shiner, and Lake Chubsucker (fish), the Blunt-lobed Woodsia, Deerberry, and Round-leaved Greenbrier (plants).[394] Thus, the Party believes that:

> The provincial government should enact legislation requiring habitat protection and restoration for endangered species. None of the 258 species on the endangered list receives any mandatory protection from the law. Unlike the U.S., Canada does not have an endangered species law. Neither federal nor provincial wildlife laws require a response when a species becomes endangered. Such legislation would in some cases mean an absolute prohibition on human activity that threatens a sensitive habitat. In others, it would mean that environmental assessments of projects would be required to take into account the status of pressured species. The law would give the public the right to seek a court injunction when human activity threatens the existence of a species.[395]

Moreover, the Party states that the province should form a wilderness-centred conservation strategy. The conservation strategy would set aside 50 percent of each of Ontario's 53 ecological zones as wilderness. These areas would be linked with wildlife corridors, enclosed with buffer zones, and free of human habitation, resource exploitation, roads and railways.

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[393] See "Green Party of Ontario 1999 Policy Guide" located at <http://www.greenparty.on.ca/policy/guide.htm#T1>.
[394] *Ibid.*
[395] *Ibid.*

Animal Rights

The Ontario Greens argue that all species have the intrinsic right to
subsist without regard to their value to human beings, and that all animals,
whether wild or domestic, have the right to fair, honourable and ethical
care. The Party acknowledges aboriginal practices that involve killing
animals to provide life essentials. However, in the spirit of non-violence,
the Party ultimately seeks a general societal shift towards a plant-based diet
since, it insists, vegetarianism is not only healthier, but also displays human
compassion and care towards animals.

Agriculture

The Ontario Greens propose eliminating government subsidies on
pesticides and chemical fertilisers (both of which are a health hazard), and
increasing labelling requirements so that customers will know about the
contents and source of the groceries they purchase.[396] Moreover, the Party
calls upon the government to provide financial assistance to farmers who
want to convert to organic and chemical-free farming.[397] Understanding the
problem of the corporatisation and globalisation of agriculture, the Party
also believes in protecting local farmers from inequitable international
trade deals that place them at a considerable disadvantage. It supports local
farmers on a variety of levels. It believes in restoring the financial health of
the family farm, assuring a supply of locally-produced organic food,
preserving bioregional diversity, and stabilising the socioeconomic life of
regional communities. The Party also wishes to redirect tax to encourage
ecoagricultural practices – this would help farmers who are presently
involved in, for instance, animal husbandry find more sustainable
employment.[398]

Food

The Ontario Greens believe that having sufficient nutritious food is a
fundamental human right. It recognises that the world comprises serious

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[396] See "For a Healthy Ontario" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/elect/1999platform.html>.
[397] See broadsheet "Green Party of Ontario: 1999 Election Platform."
[398] See "Building a Sustainable Future" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/docs/basf1999.htm>.

food disparities – there are many individuals who are famished while a small portion of the world's population lives in sheer opulence. The Party is also troubled by the poor quality of today's food. The vitamin and micro-nutrient content of food has decreased dramatically in the last few decades, and pesticide residues in food are a considerable cause of concern.[399] In addition, the current provincial food system (which is tied to global agriculture) encourages a number of unsustainable agricultural practices including mono-cropping, chemical farming, centralisation, over processing, and long distance transportation.[400] Furthermore, the Party says that:

> It is well known that Ontarians suffer greatly from an inordinate amount of heart disease, strokes and cancer. There is sufficient evidence in the medical community to advise the public that these and other debilitating and fatal diseases are preventable through changing to a vegetarian or near-vegetarian diet. The provincial economy is overburdened by disease care costs that are a direct consequence of the meat, egg and dairy diet. [Also], the provincial landscape has been denuded of trees in order to produce feed crops to grow sheep, pigs, chickens, cattle and other animals that are turned into meat, dairy and egg units for sale and consumption.[401]

Consequently, the Party encourages the consumption of locally-grown, organic fruits, vegetables and grains that are free of artificial additives or substitutes and have not been subject to processing and irradiation. It also supports the limited use of the Ontario Health Insurance Plan (OHIP) card for percentage reductions on purchases of organic locally-grown fruits and vegetables in order to encourage healthy eating and bioregional produce purchases. Processed foods (including foods that have been irradiated) and animal-source foods would not qualify for this discount.[402] The capital funds for this program could be based on a snack and fast food tax, as well as the elimination of meat subsidies.

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[399] See "For a Healthy Ontario" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/elect/1999platform.html>.
[400] *Ibid.*
[401] See "Building a Sustainable Future" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/docs/basf1999.htm>.
[402] *Ibid.*

Forestry and Mining

The Ontario Greens advocate setting aside 20 percent of Ontario's public land as fully protected provincial forest.[403] It also believes that it is essential to replace clearcut forestry practices with ecoforestry methods to obtain timber, while using hemp and other similar crops for pulp and paper purposes. As part of its vision of ecoforestry, it supports made-in-Ontario and value-added ventures over raw timber exports. It also calls for an increase in stumpage fees and the implementation of fair transition programs for laid-off workers.[404]

The Party is against mining activities in wilderness, parks and environmentally significant areas (several areas that are designated as 'protected areas' are open to development). Accordingly, it believes in a full and rigorous environmental assessment of all proposed mines and mine-related projects. The Party also advocates "a closure plan including financial assurance to be filed for public review 30 days before a new mine or mine related facility can be approved, [as well as] a closure plan and financial assurances for all existing mines."[405] This process would not, however, apply to all projects. For instance, given the inherent dangers associated with nuclear technology, the Party believes it is vital to entirely phase-out uranium mining in the province. It argues that there should be absolutely no release of hazardous materials from mines into the natural environment – on-site treatment of all mine waste water and tailings leachate for non-nuclear waste should be undertaken to prevent the release of foreign substances into ground water or adjacent water bodies. Essentially, a mine should function according to the closed-loop principle. As an incentive against problematic mining practices, the Party also supports a tax on mining production to more accurately reflect public and environmental costs.[406]

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[403] See broadsheet "Green Party of Ontario: 1999 Election Platform."
[404] See "For a Healthy Ontario" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/elect/1999platform.html>.
[405] See "Green Party of Ontario 1999 Policy Guide" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/policy/guide.htm#T1>.
[406] See broadsheet "Green Party of Ontario: 1999 Election Platform."

Energy

The Green Party of Ontario supports removing all taxes on 'soft-energy' systems such as solar, wind and biomass energy, and establishing a minimum quota of 'soft-energy' electricity by energy suppliers.[407] In addition to providing tax relief for manufacturers who switch to zero-discharge production systems, it also supports the introduction of a carbon tax to encourage clean and efficient energy use.[408] Moreover, the Party is committed to a non-nuclear Ontario, and supports phasing-out nuclear energy in the province. This is no small task, as 50 percent of Ontario's baseline electrical supply originates from nuclear power plants. It also advocates:

- diverting Ontario Hydro's nuclear research funds and resources [towards] developing sustainable soft energy alternatives;
- using the electric grid as an electricity exchange system and a means of access to reserve supply from existing hydro-electric, solar and co-generation plants; and
- revising the Hydro rate structure to reward conservation and production rather than waste.[409]

Transportation

The Green Party of Ontario is dedicated to cleaner, cheaper, energy efficient, accessible and safer forms of transportation.[410] This includes the use of bicycles, feet, buses, and car-pooling.[411] It wants to encourage a reduction in the total volume of road traffic, halt expensive mega-road projects, phase in reasonable gas taxes, license fees and toll increases, and reduce greenhouse car emissions by shifting to clean-fuel systems.[412] The Party also proposes upgrading rail service to serve a larger number of communities, and ultimately provide rapid, efficient service at a low cost.[413]

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[407] *Ibid.*
[408] See "For a Healthy Ontario" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/elect/1999platform.html>.
[409] See "Building a Sustainable Future" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/docs/basf1999.htm>.
[410] See "Green Party of Ontario 1999 Policy Guide" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/policy/guide.htm#T1>.
[411] Also investigate press release "Green Party Leader begins tour on bicycle" (5 May 1999).
[412] See "For a Healthy Ontario" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/elect/1999platform.html>. Also investigate press release "Green Party demands freeway construction moratorium" (1 April 2000).
[413] See broadsheet "Green Party of Ontario: 1999 Election Platform."

Manufacturing

The Ontario Green Party has developed a series of targets and standards for the province's manufacturers. Specifically, it calls upon governments to ensure that firms:

• establish long-term environmental goals for [all] world-wide operations;
• [use] chemicals or products [which] are biodegradable, do not accumulate in the food chain [, and are not] teratogenic, mutagenic or carcinogenic nor [...] toxic in concentrations (occurring under field conditions);
• halt the production of organisms [...] which disrupt ecological systems;
• use renewable energy resources and minimise energy consumption; and
• actively protect the existence of animals, plants and their natural habitats.[414]

Waste Management

The Ontario Greens support dumping fees that expose the full long-term rate of waste disposal. It also calls on companies to take full accountability for their products and packaging (the 'cradle to grave' approach). The responsibility of pick-up, recycling, and reuse of products and packaging material should be born by the manufacturers and charged to clients.[415] For instance, a tax can be applied to the price of an automobile – this levy can be used to dismantle, recycle and reuse the remains of the car by the manufacturer (and affiliates) at a later date. Recognising the 'not in my backyard' (NIMBY) syndrome, the Party recommends a ban on the export of recyclable wastes. Ideally, all materials should be recycled in the place of manufacture. The Party also believes in adequately financing and expanding the blue box program, as well as establishing community drop-off points for recyclable materials such as plastics – items that are not economical to collect.[416] In addition, it advocates banning non-reusable containers and products, compostable material from landfill collection (in favour of home and business composting), and new landfill site construction.[417] Ultimately, it argues that items should be either reusable, recyclable or banned from production.

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[414] See "Building a Sustainable Future" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/docs/basf1999.htm>.
[415] *Ibid.*
[416] *Ibid.*
[417] See "Green Party of Ontario 1999 Policy Guide" located at

According to the Ontario Greens, the provincial economy is burdened by high levels of unemployment, a large deficit, a large public debt, and a reliance on technologies that are harmful to Ontario's human and non-human residents.[418] It states that the province's relative success is not judged by the happiness or health of the population but rather by its unsustainable rate of resource consumption.[419] The Party maintains that the neoclassical economy serves the narrow economic and political objectives of elite establishments. Moreover, the depletion of ecological capital is ignored as an external cost.

According to the Green Party of Ontario, a local currency nourishes a sustainable regional economy. To this end, the Party advocates the formation of provincially licensed, regionally administered Local Employment Trading Systems (L.E.T.S).[420] A L.E.T. system is a non-profit, interest and tax free, bartering and exchange system.[421]

Local businesses are also a key element of a sustainable regional economy. They foster employment, community responsibility and local empowerment. The Ontario Greens believe in shifting business, employment and property taxes away from local and independent businesses onto large national and multi-national corporations.[422] The Party also recommends removing all hidden subsidies to large corporations which disadvantage small, local businesses.

There are businesses that cause social and environmental havoc to their communities. Thus, the Ontario Greens argue that creating a sustainable future will depend on applying the following conditions to a limited company before granting it a Corporate Charter:

• corporate officers must be legally liable, criminally and in civil court for the harm they cause;

<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/policy/guide.htm#T1>.

[418] *Ibid*. Also investigate pamphlet "The Green Party of Ontario: Your Other Choice" (circa 2000).

[419] *Ibid*.

[420] See "For a Healthy Ontario" located at <http://www.greenparty.on.ca/elect/1999platform.html>.

[421] *Ibid*.

[422] See "Building a Sustainable Future" located at <http://www.greenparty.on.ca/docs/basf1999.htm>.

• corporations should be encouraged through the tax system to be co-operatively owned by the employees of the company; and

• businesses that apply for government contracts would be expected to practice high labour and environmental standards in Canada and abroad.[423]

Conventional politicians cause havoc to social, economic and natural systems when they use so-called economic indicators – including the G.D.P. – to measure economic health.[424] Such indicators do not take into consideration the socioenvironmental costs of dwindling fisheries, deforestation, polluted air, or even damage from natural disasters.[425] Consequently, the Ontario Greens support replacing the G.D.P. and other biased accounting systems with more accurate indicators of actual progress in order to identify real economic problems, and promptly respond to them.[426] The Party also calls for a stable-state economy – a market which neither expands nor contracts.

Taxation

The Green Party of Ontario advocates a tax on mechanised services and production processes to counter federal tax breaks which subsidise job-killing technologies.[427] It also believes that the provincial government should begin a gradual and partial shift of taxes away from income and consumption onto emissions, waste, landfill use, fossil fuel consumption, resource depletion, and pollution, while enhancing tax relief measures for low-income individuals and households.[428] This proposal does not encourage or discourage economic activity, it only causes a reduction of throughput in industrial processes. Businesses which follow the path of tax resistance could quickly adjust to take advantage of reduced taxation on green technologies and processes.[429] The Ontario Greens also believe that the federal government should be encouraged to switch the source of revenue for the Canada Pension Plan and Employment Insurance from

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[423] *Ibid.*
[424] See broadsheet "Green Party of Ontario: 1999 Election Platform." Also investigate pamphlet "The Green Party of Ontario: Your Other Choice" (circa 2000).
[425] See "For a Healthy Ontario" located at <http://www.greenparty.on.ca/elect/1999platform.html>.
[426] See broadsheet "Green Party of Ontario: 1999 Election Platform."
[427] *Ibid.*
[428] See "For a Healthy Ontario" located at <http://www.greenparty.on.ca/elect/1999platform.html>. Also investigate press release "Greens would give 100 percent tax cut" (14 May 1999).

payroll taxes to general revenue – the federal government revenue shortfall made up by instituting green taxes.[430]

Pesticides

The Green Party of Ontario supports organic food cooperatives, and a province-wide certification system for organic produce. It also believes in redirecting agricultural education, extension services and research to focus on sustainable methods, in addition to offering education and financial support to conventional farmers who wish to convert to ecoagriculture.[431] Moreover, the Party pushes for an end to the Provincial Sales Tax (P.S.T.) free status of pesticides, a ban on the pesticide 2 4-D, and the elimination of all pesticides and herbicides used for private lawn care purposes.[432] It also supports the labelling of all pesticides used in the production of foods sold in Ontario.[433]

Chlorine

According to the Green Party of Ontario, the chlorine bleaching of paper in North America gives rise to over 150,000 tons of persistent toxic pollutants each year, including considerable quantities of dioxin.[434] Thus, it insists on a phase-out of chlorine, noting that:

> Chlorine is a highly reactive chemical which makes it an excellent disinfectant. However, chlorine reacts with organic substances found naturally in drinking water and causes the formation of a class of chemicals called the trihalomethanes. Some commonly known trihalomethanes are chloroform, benzene, carbon tetrachloride and toluene, all of which are known carcinogens. Between 1974 and 1988, there have been 18 conclusive studies linking carcinogens in drinking water to human cancers.[435]

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[429] *Ibid.*
[430] See "Green Party of Ontario 1999 Policy Guide" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/policy/guide.htm#T1>.
[431] *Ibid.*
[432] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Green Party calls for end of cosmetic pesticide use" (23 May 2000).
[433] See "Building a Sustainable Future" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/docs/basf1999.htm>.
[434] *Ibid.*
[435] See "Green Party of Ontario 1999 Policy Guide" located at
<http://www.greenparty.on.ca/policy/guide.htm#T1>.

The Party agrees with the Bi-national Science Advisory Board of the International Joint Commission on the Great Lakes in its observation that the weight of scientific evidence suggests that exposure to organochlorines is a significant health hazard.[436] It believes that chlorine must be immediately phased-out for the following reasons:

• all chlorinated organic compounds that have been studied exhibit at least one of a wide range of serious toxic effects such as endocrine dysfunction, developmental impairment, birth defects, reproductive dysfunction, infertility, immuno-suppression, and cancer – often at extremely low doses;
• many chlorinated compounds such as methylene chloride and trichloroethylene are recognised as significant workplace hazards; and
• in the Great lakes, reproductive, developmental, and behavioural dysfunctions have been reported in 14 species at the top of the food chain, including humans.[437]

Conclusion[438]

The Green Party of Ontario expresses a comprehensive interpretation of socioenvironmentalism. Its paradigm contains, for instance, the beliefs of ecological economics, deep ecology, social justice, and social ecology. Indeed, it recognises nature as ecological capital, as well as a subject with intrinsic value. It emphasises human rights and equity through the promotion of inclusive social welfare and health provisions. Moreover, identifying the relationship between human and ecological exploitation, it recognises that natural and social systems are being objectified and exploited for short-term profit. The Party displays many shades of Green.

Unlike the B.C. and Manitoba Greens, the Ontario Green Party explicitly condemns illicit drug use. This said, it maintains that 'drug laws, by and large, are more harmful than the drugs they attempt to regulate.' Thus, it 'recommends the decriminalisation of soft drugs, the development of treatment programs for drug users, and the redefinition of hard drug use as a health rather than criminal issue.' Moreover, it is 'critical of drug

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[436] *Ibid.*
[437] *Ibid.*
[438] Reminder (from the introduction): The following concluding remarks are not meant to be 'complete.' The main objective of this material is to identify the Party's salient points for reflective discussion or rather, what I interpret as the noteworthy points (recognising that what is significant is relative to an observer's interpretation of significance). Moreover, the material contains interpretive remarks; that is, it includes unchained, subjective and free-flowing observations.

monopolies, and supports the legalisation of drugs, in part, as a means of weakening the power base of drug cartels.' I think this is a reasonable (if risky[439]) position. At any rate, the Party's stance on drugs appears to be in contradiction with its position on tobacco. As noted earlier:

> 'It advocates closing the province's borders to imported tobacco, and banning the export of all tobacco goods. It also supports a ban on the marketing of all tobacco products, and tobacco industry funding of sporting, recreational and cultural activities... the Party supports a significant rise in the penalties for selling tobacco goods to minors, a ban on the sale of tobacco products from vending machines, and powerfully worded (psychologically effective) health warnings on cigarette packages.'

Thus, it calls for decriminalising soft drugs while also calling for a ban (of various kinds) on the use and distribution of tobacco. This is a source of confusion and concern. The Party needs to clarify (and offer consistency for) its position on illicit drug use and drugs in general. This said, it does offer a relatively pointed criticism of drug use, and a brief but clear basis for why it supports the decriminalisation of drugs.

The Ontario Greens recognise 'aboriginal practices that involve killing animals to provide life essentials.' Nevertheless, 'in the spirit of non-violence, the Party ultimately seeks a general societal shift towards a plant-based diet since, it insists, vegetarianism is not only healthier, but also displays human compassion and care towards animals.' This is an interesting though somewhat controversial point. The Ontario Greens subtly call upon aboriginal peoples to reconsider their cultural practices and diets. But, does the Party have the right to affect sociocultural norms within aboriginal communities? There are scholars who would argue that the Ontario Green Party's comments, even if largely implicit in nature, amount to a form of Western ethnocentrism and imperialism – by suggesting that vegetarianism would benefit traditional cultures.[440] If the Party seeks a *general* societal shift towards vegetarianism, then perhaps it might consider offering aboriginal peoples a forum to discuss the benefits

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[439] For information on the 'risks' of legalisation, explore the conclusion of the chapter on the B.C. Greens (including the references).
[440] For information on ethnocentric praxis, investigate Monet, D. & Skanu'u. (1992). *Colonialism on Trial: Indigenous Land Rights and the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en Sovereignty Case.*

of a plant-based diet. From a human and indigenous rights standpoint, it should be up to aboriginal peoples to decide if and when they will or will not be vegetarians – this is a question of self-determination.[441] This said, there is another side to the argument, and one that the Ontario Greens seem to advocate. Specifically, should we not consider the rights of animals (including mammals and fish) in the debate? Moreover, do aboriginal peoples or even mainstream cultures have a right to consume animals for their own needs and desires? Ultimately, all beings need to consume some aspect of nature to survive, and survival is an understandable and acceptable *necessity*. However, the Party guardedly implies that it is unethical and ultimately destructive for any person, irrespective of culture or background, to consume nature, including animals, beyond the *basic need to survive*. Indeed, *desires and wants*, whether cultural or otherwise, do not sufficiently justify the consumption of other living beings.[442] Thus, people (aboriginal or otherwise) can collectively consume living beings as long as survival is at stake, and one or more species and ecosystems are not fundamentally threatened by this need to survive. This is in keeping with the third principle of the Deep Ecology Movement that "humans have no right to reduce [ecological] richness and diversity except to satisfy *vital* human needs."[443] But, this argument should be more readily applied to dominant cultures – in many instances, aboriginal peoples individually and collectively distinguish between needs and wants (perhaps more so than even a number of 'Greens').

The Ontario Greens argue that 'having *sufficient nutritious* food [emphasis added] is a fundamental human right.' It points out that 'the world comprises serious food disparities – there are many individuals who are famished while a small portion of the world's population lives in sheer opulence.' This is a key point. The Party recognises the discrepancy that

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Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers.
[441] For example, investigate Leacock, E. & Lee, R. (eds.). (1982). *Politics and History in Band Societies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; Asch, M. (1993). *Home and Native Land: Aboriginal Rights and the Canadian Constitution*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press; and Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (1996). "For Seven Generation: An Information Legacy of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples" (CD-ROM) Libraxus, Inc., Ottawa, Canada.
[442] For example, investigate Sessions, G. (ed.). (1995). *Deep Ecology for the 21st Century*. Boston, MA: Shambhala.
[443] See Drengson, A.R. (2002). "The Essence for an Ecocentric Education: Arne Naess, Ecophilosophy, and The Deep Ecology Movement." In Boston, T. (ed.). *Green Education:*

exists between those who have nutritious foodstuffs, and those who eat poor quality food. It also understands the common disparity regarding basic access to food. But, the two (nutrition and access) do not always go hand in hand. Moreover, they, respectively, should not be generalised to First and Third World situations. The stereotyped discourse regarding world food issues has distorted and homogenised the different, indeed unique, social situations involving food. Green and social progressive policies often assume that the First World (the North) is rich in nutritious foods while the Third World (the South) is in despairing need.[444] While this is true to a large extent, such statements nevertheless blur specifics. There are Third World peoples who are living quite well (with sufficient nutritious food obtained from their bioregion) while there are individuals in First World countries (with the ability to access food) who are experiencing a poverty of diet. For instance, there is a discrepancy between those who live a nomadic lifestyle and subsist sparsely off the land but who obtain nutritious food, such as the San Bushmen of Africa, and those who live in working-class neighbourhoods in, say, Australia or Canada who purchase unhealthy foods. While the first-world worker may have the means to access food, the social circumstances are such that s/he is nevertheless living off a diet of processed or fast foods, in contrast to the San Bushmen who is living a relatively healthy, nourishing and sustainable lifestyle through the reliance on native flora and fauna (bioregional/locally grown organic foods).[445]

On a related matter, the Party recommends 'a snack and fast food tax' as a way to encourage healthy living. This could help reduce the disparity between those who are knowledgeable about the health risks of a poor diet (and seek to lessen such risks), and those who are unaware of the dangers associated with a fast food diet or who have little incentive to change their habits. This also corresponds with the motto 'tax bads not goods.' Indeed, the Party may want to consider taxing all food products that are found to contain additives or unhealthy properties. It could utilise

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Learning for the Earth and Posterity. Philadelphia, PA: Xlibris Press (forthcoming).

[444] Investigate Goodman, D. & Watts, M. (eds.). (1997). *Globalising Food: Agrarian Questions and Global Restructuring.* London, UK & New York, NY: Routledge.

[445] For example, generally investigate Suzuki, D.T. & Knudtson, P. *Wisdom of the Elders*; and Swift, J. (1995). *Wheel of Fortune: Work and Life in the Age of Failing Expectations.* Toronto, ON: Between the Lines Press.

a sliding scale – heavily taxing the very worst foods, and barely taxing the least harmful foods.

The Ontario Green Party recommends 'eliminating government subsidies on pesticides and chemical fertilisers (both of which are a health hazard), and increasing labelling requirements so that customers will know about the contents and source of the groceries they purchase.' It also supports 'the labelling of all pesticides used in the production of foods sold in Ontario stores.' This is an important issue. But, why does the Party call for labelling and stop short of banning toxic substances in food? Perhaps, for strategic reasons, it wants to assume a moderate stance. However, a ban would not be a radical act. Prior to the second world war, foods were organically grown and artificial substances including toxic chemicals did not exist on a widespread basis.[446] Thus, the overwhelming historical norm has been to rely on nature; it is revolutionary to continue to support, in whole or in part, the ever-increasing use of chemical toxins in (and for) foodstuffs.

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[446] Investigate "A Short History of Pesticides" located at
<http://www.simplelife.com/organiccotton/09PSTCDShstry.html>; and "History of Pesticides" located at
<http://www.chem.monash.edu.au/docs/DGHewitt/Powerpnt/Agrichem/sld017.htm>

9. Terra Nova Greens: The Green Party of Newfoundland and Labrador

Introduction

This chapter explores Newfoundland's Green Party, and offers some reflective analysis on the nature of its paradigm.[447] Specifically, along with the other chapters detailing Green Party paradigmatic positions, it helps answer the third research question posed in chapter one, namely: What are the demonstrated paradigmatic positions of the federal and provincial/state Greens? Formed in 1996,[448] the Terra Nova Green Party is the Newfoundland and Labrador branch of the Green Party of Canada. Newfoundland's Green Party supports and cites the general principles of the national party, and recognises the need to build Green parties in Newfoundland, the Maritimes, and the rest of Canada, as well as to enhance the effectiveness of Greens throughout the world. However, the Party has resolved "to promote a declaration that [it] and, in fact, every Green Party of Canada Official Unit – whether provincial, regional or bio-regional – should have a reasonable degree of autonomy over their internal affairs, organisation, nomination procedures and policy for so long as these units conform to a broad interpretation of the Green Party's principles and tenets."[449]

Overall, as a general guiding perspective, it advocates a sustainable society that supports the wise use of natural resources. It also says that:

> Much of Newfoundland and Labrador's wealth depends on our abundant resources. However, our failure to manage our mineral resources, forests, farms, and energy sources has resulted in unemployment and pollution of water, air and land. Greens believe that it is possible to use our resources wisely without plundering the earth and threatening the province's future.[450]

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[447] I should say at the outset of this chapter that the Terra Nova Greens offer similar material as (if not directly borrow information from) the Ontario Greens in order to communicate their environmental, economic, and sociopolitical positions.

[448] Information gathered during correspondence with Jason Kennedy-Crummey, Executive Member, Terra Nova Greens, Mon, 24 Apr. 2000.

[449] See "Terra Nova Green Declaration" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/policy.html>.

[450] See booklet "Green Book: 1999 Provincial Election Platform."

Sense of Place

The Terra Nova Greens value tradition, regional cultures and heritage, and the history of Newfoundland. As a Party with a strong sense of place,[451] it draws attention to the variations between and within Newfoundland's local communities.[452] It honours the traditions of the Innu Nation (Nitassinan), as well as the lost culture of the Beothuk aboriginal peoples of Newfoundland.[453] It also notes the specific animals and plants that are unique to the province such as the "Tuckamore Tree,"[454] the "Pitcher Plant," (the floral emblem of the province of Newfoundland),[455] the "Barndoor Skate" (which is near extinction), [456] and the Newfoundland Caribou herd amongst many others.[457] The Party's sense of place is tied to an equally strong care ethic. Yet, while caring is part of what it really means to be a Newfoundlander or a Labradorian, the Party says that:

> ... in the past few years, the Newfoundland and Labrador government has shown a marked mean-spiritedness in their policies, a lack of compassion which they too easily blame on hard times. [The Terra Nova] Greens do not advocate fiscal irresponsibility or deficit financing to pay for social services. [It] believes that more efficient use of our tax money would allow for adequate budgets for quality social programs. [458]

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[451] Investigate "Newfoundland Heritage" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/heritage.html>; "Things of Interest," located at http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/miscfr.html>; and "Relevant Anthems and Political Songs of Newfoundland" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/songs.html>.

[452] Investigate "Visit Newfoundland's Communities" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/visit.html>.

[453] See "Innu Nation: Nitassinan" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/innu1.html>; and "Beothuk Indians of Newfoundland" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/beo1.html>.

[454] See "Some Forest Facts concerning Newfoundland and Labrador's Forest Crisis" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/forestissues.html>.

[455] See "Newfoundland's Provincial Flower is the Pitcher Plant" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/pitcher.html>.

[456] See "The Barndoor Skate Nears Extinction" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/barndoorskate.html>.

[457] See "Newfoundland Caribou Herd" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/caribou.html>.

[458] Investigate "Green Party of Canada: What can you do?" located at <http://www.green.ca/english/index.htm>; and see "Welcome to the Green Party of Canada in Newfoundland and Labrador" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/policy.html>.

Economics

The Newfoundland Greens argue that a sound economy is one that is strong and viable, and should be able to withstand human activity for generations. It believes that a truly efficient economy is one that feeds off the interest of natural resources and sustains the principle for posterity. A reliable economy would also tackle three types of deficits: fiscal, social and environmental. The Party states that "it is relatively easy to pay down the fiscal deficit by increasing either of the other two deficits."[459] For example, "video lottery terminals can increase provincial revenue, but at a great social cost, or social service programs can be slashed to make way for tax cuts, thereby increasing Newfoundland and Labrador's social problems."[460]

> Just as downloading provincial expenses onto municipalities fails to bring any tax relief to Newfoundlanders, exchanging one form of provincial deficit for another leaves [the province] no wealthier. The Terra Nova Greens believe the fiscal deficit must be reduced without increasing other deficits. [It] wants an end to deficit financing.[461]

In addition, the Party calls for an efficient tax system. It argues that "taxes on income, payrolls and sales actively discourage economic activity by making employment expensive."[462] It also contends that government allows industry to become capital intensive, ultimately relying on technology instead of human labour. In response, it proposes a measured and partial transfer of taxes away from earnings onto environmentally destructive activities including pollutants, general waste, landfill use, fossil fuels, and natural resource extraction, while legislating tax relief to low-income households. It also supports a tax on mechanisation to counter federal tax breaks which subsidise what it terms as job-killing technologies.[463]

The Terra Nova Green Party maintains that the Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P.) is an inaccurate economic indicator. It argues that business-as-usual politicians are causing havoc to the economy by utilising

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[459] See booklet "Green Book: 1999 Provincial Election Platform."
[460] *Ibid.*
[461] *Ibid.*
[462] See "Policy" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/index.html>.
[463] See booklet "Green Book: 1999 Provincial Election Platform."

the G.D.P. and other outdated economic indicators to measure socioeconomic vitality and health.[464] Quoting from the Ontario Greens, it says that:

> ... the G.D.P. is a Mad Hatter's accounting system: it adds but never subtracts. It does not take into consideration losses such as depleted fisheries, stripped forests, polluted air, high crime rates, or even damage from natural disasters. At best, these losses are deemed valueless and are ignored. At worst, they are counted as gains, since they cause more money to exchange hands than are added back in.[465]

Ultimately, the Party supports replacing the G.D.P. and other problematic accounting systems with more accurate indicators of genuine progress (ones that recognise, for instance, environmental externalities). It also urges the implementation of full-cost accounting, stating that:

> ... manufacturers must bear the full cost of any product they create, and the full cost must be reflected in the price. The real cost of a product includes the producer's expenses and profit, plus all the costs related to extraction, manufacturing, packaging, or transporting; lost resources (forests, fisheries, minerals, etc.); air, water or land pollution from extraction, manufacturing or transportation; health costs associated with this pollution; recycling or waste disposal costs for packaging. Currently many of these costs are not paid at all, leaving us with an environmental and health debt. Others are covered by taxes.[466]

Not only do the Newfoundland Greens believe that businesses should be responsible for the full cost of their products, the Party argues that irresponsible production should not be subsidised with people's tax dollars. The Party supports taxing 'bads' not 'goods,' and suggests a revenue-neutral tax shift away from incomes and onto natural resources:[467]

> This shift will stimulate the provincial economy rather than hurt it. Industry, which always follows the path of least tax resistance, will quickly retool to reduce resource and energy

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[464] *Ibid.*
[465] *Ibid.*
[466] See "Policy" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/index.html>.
[467] See booklet "Green Book: 1999 Provincial Election Platform."

use (since these will become more expensive), and increase employment since people will become cheaper to hire.[468]

Mining and Energy

The Newfoundland Green Party states that "since minerals are non-renewable, continuous mining and manufacturing is unsustainable."[469] It recommends a tax on mining production to more accurately reflect the socioenvironmental costs of mine waste such as tailings. It also believes in heavily taxing toxic emissions from mines, and prohibiting mining activities in wilderness, parks and sensitive areas.

The Party believes in bringing 'power under control,' and notes "how we consume energy is fundamental to our long-term prosperity."[470] Thus, it supports abolishing taxes on 'soft-energy' including solar and wind energy, in order to facilitate the decentralisation of energy production.[471] It also calls for a carbon tax to encourage cleaner energy use and tax relief for businesses who rely on zero-discharge production systems.[472]

Forestry

According to the Terra Nova Greens, Newfoundland and Labrador clearcuts (clearfells), on average, 24,000 flares of forest every year, which is comparable to 96,000 soccer fields. The Party points out that this rate of logging translates into the consumption of just under three million cubic meters of wood per year. Moreover:

• of the 35 ecoregions in the province, 20 ecoregions are forested;
• total forest resource road construction 1990-1998 = 96 km;
• total forest resource road construction [1996-2000] = 1,346 km;
• total logging road construction [for the past ten years] = 1,742 km;
• at least half of [the timber harvesting] is through old growth forests, forests that contain by far the highest number and variety of species;
• the-climate-limited forests of Labrador [cannot withstand the] onslaught of industrial [forestry];
• since 1979, pre-commercial thinning operations and planting have taken place on approximately 155,000 hectares of the forests of Newfoundland [which has made them] monocultured tree farms; and

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[468] *Ibid.*
[469] See "Policy" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/index.html>.
[470] *Ibid.*
[471] See booklet "Green Book: 1999 Provincial Election Platform."
[472] *Ibid.*

• the province [has] reverted to the use of the chemical pesticide DYLOX in some thinned areas, ostensibly to protect investments in silviculture.[473]

In response to the liquidation of Newfoundland's forests, the Party calls for the implementation of a more responsible, ecologically-based form of forestry. It says that "wise forest management preserves our forest resources for future generations and maintains species diversity while at the same time providing timber products for our present needs."[474] It believes in designating 20 percent of public land in Newfoundland and Labrador as fully preserved provincial forest. It also advocates replacing clearcut forestry practices with selective cutting, and curbing the practice of clearcutting in southern Labrador. Moreover, the Party supports made-in-Newfoundland and Labrador industry and value-added initiatives over the current trend to export raw timber (and jobs) to other countries, as well as the use of hemp and other crops for pulp and paper.

Fisheries

The Terra Nova Greens wish to nurture a long-lasting fishing and aquaculture industry in Newfoundland and Labrador. In order to move towards a sustainable fishery, the Party argues that Canada's maritime sovereignty should be extended to "a distance of 350 miles from Newfoundland and Labrador's shores."[475] Specifically, it says that "in order to protect the vulnerable groundfish of the Grand Banks and Flemish Cap, Canada must gain sovereignty over the whole area of the Grand Banks."[476] It also states that draggers should be banned, and commercial fishing quotas should be significantly cut. This will help protect crucial habitat, as well as substantially decrease the amount of bycatch and immature species caught by the commercial fishery:

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[473] See "Some Forest Facts concerning Newfoundland and Labrador's Forest Crisis" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/forestissues.html>.
[474] See "Policy" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/index.html>.
[475] See "Atlantic Fishery Policy" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/infish.html>; and investigate "Things of Interest" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/misc.html>; as well as "Media Reports of Terra Nova Green Activities in 2000" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/election00news.html>.
[476] *Ibid.*

The Terra Nova [Green Party] recognises the unsustainability
of industrial draggers which rape the oceans. [It] believes that
aquaculture, unlike industrial draggers, if properly monitored
and developed may be [a part] of long-term sustainability. To
this end, Newfoundland and Labrador communities and
industries must cease the dispersal of waste and raw sewage
into the ocean so as to facilitate a healthy environment for
future fishery and aquaculture development.[477]

The Party also calls for the establishment of marine protected areas
in Canada. It maintains that marine parks and reserves protect the nursery
grounds of numerous marine fish species, including cod and the barndoor
skate. The Grand Banks, the Hamilton Bank and other fishing grounds are
extremely productive marine areas which play an important ecological role.
The protection of these areas would help retain biodiversity while ensuring
the preservation of vital fish habitat.

There are two other fishery matters which are of serious concern to
the Newfoundland Greens, the latter of which has created some
controversy in Canada:

• The Capelin Fishery – Since capelin are the major food source of cod,
seabirds and many whales, a moratorium needs to be called for capelin
harvesting until the numbers rebound.
• The Seal Harvest – A seal harvest should only be implemented when
markets are available for the whole animal. A seal harvest should not be
used in an attempt to enhance fisheries.[478]

Although the Party is against any cruelty to animals it does see "a
distinction between animal rights and proper stewardship of the
environment."[479] Thus, with respect to the seal harvest,[480] it supports the
development of a multi-species management system that includes Harp
and Hood seal culls, noting that:

Limiting management to a single-species perspective may
lead to very negative surprises. The harvest of one species
does have impact on other species in the ecosystem; to

[477] *Ibid.*
[478] See "Policy: Atlantic Issues" located at <http://www.infonet.st-
johns.nf.ca/providers/green/atlpol.html>.
[479] See "The Terra Nova Green Party Policy on Newfoundland and Labrador's Seal Cull"
located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/sealpolicy.html>.
[480] For an overview of the different types of seals, investigate "Seals of the North Atlantic"
located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/seals.html>.

understand the population dynamics of one species you have to take into account its relationship to [for instance, predators and prey]. Politicians wanting to ban seal hunts because of cruelty have the responsibility to assure that they do not apply erroneous double standards.[481]

Agriculture

The Terra Nova Greens note that Canada's food is of inferior quality. This is due to agricultural industry subsidies, lack of food labelling requirements, over-processing, unsustainable chemical farming, and long-distance transportation. In addition, "fertile topsoil, our most important agricultural asset, is eroding due to poor conservation practices."[482] In calling for agricultural change, the Party proposes removing government subsidies on pesticides, fertilisers and other agri-chemicals, and informing consumers of the true contents of their food. It points out that synthetic, polluting substances not only destroy soil, but are a health hazard. Moreover, governments should assist farmers who wish to convert to more chemical-free farming. They should also protect farming communities from unfair international trade deals that put them at a social, economic and environmental disadvantage.

Transportation

The Party believes that the provincial government's vision of transportation is based on a 'roads to nowhere' approach. It says that:

> The current government policy on transportation is to cut public services and build more roads. But, it also means higher taxes, because gas taxes and license fees only cover a portion of road maintenance costs. The practical solution is to offer drivers a number of workable alternatives to road travel.[483]

The Party recommends replacing expensive mega-road projects with rapid, efficient and low-cost transportation initiatives such as high-speed rail, improved bus service, and extensive bicycle infrastructure. It also calls for a

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[481] See "The Terra Nova Green Party Policy on Newfoundland and Labrador's Seal Cull" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/sealpolicy.html>.
[482] See booklet "Green Book: 1999 Provincial Election Platform."
[483] *Ibid.*

gradual reduction of greenhouse car emissions by over 50 percent through the regulated implementation of clean-fuel systems.

Labour

The Green Party of Newfoundland supports strong labour standards, the redistribution of wealth, and a reduced workweek. Moreover, it:

> ... believes that meaningful work is essential for human dignity. But, since there is no longer enough to go around, only the privileged have full-time employment. The truth is that as a result of technology we can now produce enough goods and services for all our needs with 10 to 20 percent of [the] population unemployed. Election campaigns promising 'jobs, jobs, jobs' fail to acknowledge this change.[484]

The Party indicates that over the past century, governments have reduced the workweek several times to deal with states of technological unemployment.[485] Noting the most recent technological trends, it calls upon the Canadian and provincial governments to legislate a 32 hour workweek in order to increase the probability that both the unemployed and young people entering the job market can have access to employment. Under this system, while wages and salaries would fall to approximately 80 percent, taxes would also drop, for there would be significantly less need for welfare and unemployment claims.[486] The Party estimates that the average worker would bring home 95 percent of their current wage, while enjoying a three day weekend.[487]

Health and Wellness

The Green Party of Newfoundland believes that healthy lifestyles lead to a healthy and productive society. With this in mind, it advocates a good diet, regular exercise, stress reduction, and the avoidance of tobacco, recreational drugs and alcohol. Steering clear of the latter reduces costly treatments for preventable diseases. The Party also proposes the following:

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[484] *Ibid.*
[485] See "Policy" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/index.html>.
[486] See booklet "Green Book: 1999 Provincial Election Platform."
[487] *Ibid.*

• funding research into the causes of illness, [as well as] complementary medical disciplines (acupuncture, herbology, etc.) so that [the province has] medicare-covered alternatives to drug therapies;

• funding small community-based hospitals that emphasise and promote health maintenance;

• providing accurate information on the advantages of breast-feeding and giving adequate post-natal support;

• taxing goods that cause poor health such as tobacco and alcohol;

• including dentistry under medicare;

• offering nicotine replacement products such as patches, gum, nasal sprays and inhalers – so smokers avoid the adverse effects of inhaling tobacco smoke; and

• shifting treatment to the home wherever possible, with adequate support of healthcare professionals.[488]

The Terra Nova Greens indicate that many diseases are a result of unclean or poisoned habitats. In recent decades, there has been an increase in the number of formerly rare diseases in Canada, particularly immunological illnesses such as allergies and asthma. Moreover, ozone damage is causing a rise in the skin cancer rate, and various environmental toxins are causing increases in cancer generally. The Party believes that by recognising the interrelated health of the natural environment and its communities, it is possible to reduce many of these illnesses. It is in this context that it supports pesticide-free, non-irradiated, and non-genetically engineered food, as well as sound resource management policies that guarantee citizens the right to clean air, water and land. It notes that it is particularly crucial to educate the public about environmentally-induced diseases resulting from chemical pollution and waste.

Education

The Newfoundland Green Party argues that the implementation of free-market educational reforms is creating havoc at the school level. As a critic of competitive education, it believes that standardised tests may be useful as a self-diagnosis mechanism for schools that wish to target their teaching practices to a particular population, but that they should never be utilised for individual assessment. Newfoundland's "market-driven politicians want to measure the educational output of each classroom with standardised tests and believe the results will improve overall

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[488] See "Policy" located at <http://www.infonet.st-

achievement,"[489] However, "the real problems in our classrooms – lack of motivation, truancy, substance abuse, loneliness, malnutrition and physical unfitness – need to be solved, not tested."[490] The Terra Nova Greens ultimately believe in a strong public school system which:

- keeps schools small, especially high schools, so that students can feel [that they are a] part of a community;
- decreases class sizes, since class size has been proven a major factor for educational success;
- increases physical education and health education requirements; and
- increases arts programs, which inspire creative thinking and improve math ability.[491]

The Party believes that all children learn in a different way, and that they achieve their best results through a choice of learning environments and teaching methods. It indicates that government programs that push a single-method educational praxis are impediments to learning. By contrast, Green educational praxis considers the utility and importance of a wide variety of teaching approaches and settings. Consequently, the Party feels it is necessary to allow teachers and schools to select their own teaching methods, relative to the concerns of their students. It also calls for increasing the number of experimental or alternative school programs, as well as making a place for specialised teaching projects within the publicly funded system. It supports home schooling initiatives with co-operatives, programming and supplies, noting that there is a need for self-directed learning that is based on high curriculum standards.

Furthermore, the Terra Nova Greens believe in an affordable higher education, noting that university and college education is in the interest of the common good, and not for the few families or students who can afford to buy it. But, free-market governments are making post-secondary education especially inaccessible. Thus, the Party proposes: 1) reducing tuition to affordable levels, allowing students the option of repaying their student loans through community work, thereby reducing the number of graduate bankruptcies; 2) replacing the current student loan system with a

johns.nf.ca/providers/green/index.html>.
[489] Ibid.
[490] See booklet "Green Book: 1999 Provincial Election Platform."
[491] Ibid.

Guaranteed Annual Income; and 3) expanding post-secondary options to include more work terms and formal apprenticeship programs.[492]

Community and Family

Expressing particular concern for the socioeconomically destitute, the Newfoundland Green Party points out that "communities need to be strengthened through well-developed [...] social programs."[493] Specifically, it believes in providing adequate funds for public welfare initiatives, expanding federal, provincial and regional programs for co-operative housing, and encouraging local economic development through, for instance, L.E.T.S.

The Party is also committed to providing socioeconomic support for parenting (particularly single-parents who are facing financial hardship), rather than simply encouraging parents to seek employment outside the home. It says that:

> Too much outside work can create enormous stress on families, which spills over into our communities and workplaces and strains our social resources. The Terra Nova Greens believe in paying parents who elect to stay at home with young children a Guaranteed Annual Income to help relieve the financial hardship of the single-income family, while leaving vacancies in the workforce for others.[494]

Observing the importance of family responsibilities, the Party advocates the extension of parental leave, personal days for sick children, and job-sharing as well as part-time employment with benefits. The Party also believes in creating a quality provincial daycare program for all those in need, and reforming tax regulations that currently force single income families to pay higher taxes than double income earners.[495]

Proportional Representation

Like other Green parties throughout the world, the Newfoundland Green Party wishes to institute a system of proportional representation,

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[492] *Ibid.*
[493] See "Policy" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/index.html>.
[494] See booklet "Green Book: 1999 Provincial Election Platform."
[495] *Ibid.*

especially given that under the current first-past-the-post system, a minority of voters can elect a majority government. In Canada, provincial majority governments have been elected with as little as 36 percent of the popular vote.[496] This raises serious questions about freedom, equity and justice.

The Terra Nova Greens believe that proportional representation is "a more fair way to elect a government."[497] In a provincial proportional representation election, parties would be "elected to power by the percentage of the total vote they receive"[498] while "majority governments, which are profoundly undemocratic, would become rare."[499] Essentially, there would be no wasted votes.

All in all, in support of a more equitable electoral process, the Party calls for a referendum on proportional representation, an immediate end to corporate and large-sum donations to political parties (since as the argument goes 'whoever pays the piper calls the tune'), and legislated limits to promotion and election spending.

Conclusion[500]

The Green Party of Newfoundland embodies a curious mixture of political ideologies. While generally socialist in orientation (for instance, it seeks a regulated green economy and universal social provisions), it also embraces elements of conservatism and libertarian ideology. For instance, it seeks to *conserve* nature in the spirit of Gifford Pinchot (see below). It also advocates freedom and *liberty* by, for instance, strongly arguing that Green parties 'should have a reasonable degree of autonomy and self control over their internal affairs.' In essence, it is 'neither left nor right' but both.

The Terra Nova Green Party, as its name suggests, is a bioregional-based political party which is wholly woven into the cultural landscape of

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[496] *Ibid*. Also investigate "Terra Nova Green Press Releases" located at < http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/pressreleases01.html>.
[497] *Ibid*.
[498] See "Policy" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/index.html>.
[499] *Ibid*.
[500] Reminder (from the introduction): The following concluding remarks are not meant to be 'complete.' The main objective of this material is to identify the Party's salient points for reflective discussion or rather, what I interpret as the noteworthy points (recognising that what is significant is relative to an observer's interpretation of significance). Moreover, the material contains interpretive remarks; that is, it includes unchained, subjective and free-

Newfoundland. Specifically, it values 'tradition, regional cultures and heritage, and the history of Newfoundland.' It points to 'the variations between and within Newfoundland's local communities,' and 'notes the specific animals and plants that are unique to the province.' The Party is fortunate to be rooted in long-established, responsive and caring communities that are relatively unhampered by the pathology of modernism and voracious economic power.[501] By contrast, most Greens in North America are seeking to revitalise their modernist-beset communities and reclaim a past.[502] As social animals, people have a long history of living together, but with the advance of patriarchal 'civilisation' and industrialisation, society has become increasingly oppressive.[503] There is a growing realisation that modern society should find ways to turn that phenomenon around, and create open-handed communal realities.[504] By embracing the philosophy of bioregionalism, the Party effectively deconstructs modernist assumptions of society, economy, and polity. For instance, it challenges the dominant system's homogenisation of social and natural systems, and rejects the monoculturing effect of globalisation and autocratic hierarchical governance. With respect to the latter, it suggests that communities should assume the democratic right to form their own decisions independent of large-scale corporate, government, and media influences. Overall, the Party is wise to locate Green principles within the context of Newfoundland's culture and history, if not simply to encourage a stronger bioregional ethic in a province receptive to place-based initiatives.

While the Terra Nova Green Party reflects the compassion of Newfoundland, at times it also appears to mirror the dominant system. For instance, it employs resource conservation terminology. It advocates 'a

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flowing observations.
[501] Investigate "Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada: Celebrating 500 Years of Culture, 50 Years of Confederation" located at
<http://www.stemnet.nf.ca/~mcoady/mikehome/nfldlink.htm> (particularly the section "Newfoundland History and Heritage"); and "Folklore and Traditional Culture" located at
<http://www.heritage.nf.ca/society/folklore.html>.
[502] Investigate Kobza, K. P. & Buchanan, C. P. (eds.). (1998). *There Goes the Neighborhood: Protecting Your Home and Community From Poor Development.* Columbia, SC: Neighbourhood America Press; and Beatley, T. & Manning, K. (1997). *The Ecology of Place: Planning for Environment, Economy, and Community.* Washington, DC: Island Press.
[503] See Andruss, V., Plant, C., Plant, J., Wright, E. & Mills, S. (eds.). *Home! A Bioregional Reader.*
[504] *Ibid.*

sustainable society that supports the *wise use of natural resources*.'[505] It also

states that '*wise forest management* preserves our *forest resources* for future

generations and maintains species diversity while at the same time

providing timber products for our present needs.'[506] Moreover, it notes that:

> 'Much of Newfoundland and Labrador's *wealth depends on our*
> *abundant resources*. However, our *failure to manage our mineral*
> *resources*, forests, farms, and energy sources has resulted in
> unemployment and pollution of water, air and land. Greens
> believe that it is possible *to use our resources wisely* without
> plundering the earth and threatening the province's future.'[507]

The Party may wish to consider utilising more ecologically-sensitive

language. It is widely understood amongst deep ecologists and other

ecocentric environmentalists that the utilisation of resourcist vocabulary

underscores exploitation over preservation and stewardship.[508] Specifically,

resource conservationists perceive nature as a source of resources, wealth

and property for human use and benefit, rather than a subject of beauty,

reverence, and intrinsic value that demands our care and respect.[509]

The Party may also want to consider taking a stronger position on

certain issues. For instance, it believes in 'curbing the practice of

clearcutting' (clear-felling) and advocates an 'aquaculture industry.'

Clearcutting is wholly destructive and therefore should be *banned* under

binding local, provincial, federal and international laws.[510] Aquaculture or

fish farming has its limitations (causing regional pollution and breeding

disease).[511] As an alternative, the Party can emphasise lacto-ovo

vegetarianism as a means of reducing human dependency on fish stocks in

general.[512] This may not be a popular move in a province that has a proud

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[505] Emphasis added.
[506] *Ibid*.
[507] *Ibid*.
[508] For example, investigate Rodman, J. (1983). "Four Forms of Ecological Consciousness Reconsidered." In Attig, T. & Scherer, D. (eds.). *Ethics and the Environment*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall; and Drengson, A. & Inoue, Y. (eds.). (1995). *The Deep Ecology Movement: An Introductory Anthology*. Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Publishers.
[509] *Ibid*.
[510] Investigate Kohm, K. A. & Franklin, J. F. (1996). *Creating a Forestry for the Twenty-first Century: The Science of Ecosystem Management*. Washington, DC: Island Press; and the "Ecoforestry Institute Society of Canada" located at <http://www.ecoforestry.ca/>.
[511] For example, investigate Goldburg, R. & Triplett, T. (1997). *Murky Waters: Environmental Effects of Aquaculture in the United States*. New York, NY: Environmental Defense Fund.
[512] Investigate Akers, K. (1993). *Vegetarian Sourcebook: The Nutrition, Ecology and Ethics of a Natural Foods Diet*. Baltimore, MD: Vegetarian Resource Group.

history of fishing, but given the collapse of the fishery, it seems the most effective ecological response.[513]

Perhaps, the Party assumes a more moderate position on some issues in part to gather greater support from its electorate (a constituency that may not always apply its care ethic or principles in a consistent fashion). While the Party currently takes a socioenvironmentally progressive stance on most issues, if it compromises Green principles to suit the desires of the electorate, it may run the risk of being perceived as yet another 'mainstream party.' Mainstream political parties tend to place election victories above education and ethics (accepting that 'popular sentiment' resulting from political manoeuvres and programming at the time of an election constitutes 'democracy').[514] Conversely, as a rule, most Greens act as public educators, and function, only secondarily, as election candidates.[515] Thus, if the Terra Nova Green Party wishes to be in step with the worldwide Green movement, it would be best to place known Green principles wholly above electoral interests, and offer communities vital information on environmental and social justice concerns. This applies to its position on the seal hunt.

Although the Party opposes cruelty to animals, it does draw 'a distinction between animal rights and proper stewardship of the environment.' Hence, with regard to the seal harvest, it 'supports the development of a multi-species management system that includes Harp and Hood seal culls.' As previously noted, it believes that:

> 'Limiting management to a single species perspective may lead to very negative surprises. The harvest of one species does have impact on other species in the ecosystem; to understand the population dynamics of one species you have to take into account its relationship to [for instance, predators and prey]. Politicians wanting to ban seal hunts because of cruelty have the responsibility to assure that they do not apply erroneous double standards.'

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[513] Investigate Martin, C. (1992). *No Fish and Our Lives: Some Survival Notes for Newfoundland*. St. John's, Nfld: Creative Book Publishing; and "The Folks who Fish: Employment in the Fishery" located at <http://collections.ic.gc.ca/peifisheries/thennow/Workforce.asp>.
[514] Investigate "Canadian Political Parties/Les Partis politiques du Canada" <located http://home.ican.net/~alexng/can.html> (specifically the Canadian Alliance, and Conservative/Liberal parties).

This is a rather bold stance for a Green Party. It directly conflicts with the position taken by the Green Party of Canada and the B.C. Greens, and has already caused 'family' discord between the Newfoundland Greens and the two other parties.[516] The Terra Nova Greens effectively argue for complete species equality (largely in a management context), whilst taking the atypical position that a fish species possesses the same degree of instrumental and intrinsic value as a seal species. Conversely, the B.C. and Canada Greens, in general, believe that seals (at least, more so than fish) are intelligent and sentient living beings with inherent value who have faced a cruel and violent history, and therefore should be fully protected from exploitation.[517] But, perhaps the Terra Nova Green Party has a point. Why do the B.C. and Canada Greens perceive fish as being of less value than seals? While the two parties express comparatively poised concern over depleting fish stocks, why do they swiftly, sharply and expressively respond to a seal cull, and not the regular attack and slaughter of fish? There is a long history of human beings anthropomorphising animals, and accordingly, placing certain species above others.[518] Those that exhibit our characteristics, including our physical appearance and form of intelligence (and/or who are closely related to us) are respected over those who do not share our characteristics. I think this is problematic. I agree with the position that all animals should be treated with equal respect. Ideally, we should not place any particular species above another, nor should we place individuals within a particular species relative to some genetic pyramid or socially-constructed hierarchical structure. Indeed, from a broad ecological viewpoint, a fish species is of equal importance and value to a seal species – this is the way of nature.[519] Yet, how many Greens consistently keep with nature's ways? In my experience, most Greens (and I admit that I am no exception) have a loving affection and sociocultural preference for seals

[515] Investigate "The Greens – Index" located at <http://start.at/the.greens.index>.
[516] Investigate "CBC a.m. 640 Newfoundland & Labrador Regional News – Tuesday, April 18, 2000 AM NEWS" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/announce.html>; and "Green Party Divided over Hunt" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/election99news.html>.
[517] *Ibid*. Also see the previous chapters on the Green Party of Canada, and the B.C. Greens.
[518] Investigate Kennedy, J. S. (1992). *The New Anthropomorphism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; and Mitchell, R. W., Thompson, N. S. & Miles, H. L. (eds.). (1996). *Anthropomorphism, Anecdotes and Animals*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
[519] Investigate Miller, G. T. (1999). *Living in the Environment: Principles, Connections, and*

over fish (that is, in everyday life).[520] However, Barbara Noske suggests that to favour one species or member of a species over another amounts to speciesism:

> Speciesism generally refers to differences in treatment of individual beings on the grounds of their belonging to different biological categories: species in this case. It amounts to judging animals, not as unique and sentient individuals, but solely by their species. They become specimens of a particular species which may be favoured or abhorred by us, humans. The most common use of the term speciesism, however, centres around membership or, indeed, non-membership of one particular species, the human one, with as consequence the discrimination and often harsher treatment of anything non-human. Its critics have defined speciesism as analogous to racism and sexism.[521]

Irrespective of our sociocultural bias and whether we are for or against animal rights (or something in between), I do not believe that human beings *need* to consume fish or seals.[522] And, it is here that I separate myself from the three parties cited above. Human beings will survive (and do survive) without relying on fish or seal products. In fact, humans do not need to consume animal products at all.[523] We certainly do not need to wear seal-skin fur coats (there are other plant-based materials that can be used for this purpose),[524] and we do not need to eat fish meat.[525] Contrary to popular opinion, health specialists point out that a plant-based nutritional regime is actually healthier than a meat-based diet.[526] In essence, as suggested earlier, the Terra Nova Green Party would be wise to emphasise

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Solutions. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Pub Co.

[520] Investigate "The Greens – Index" located at <http://start.at/the.greens.index>.

[521] See Noske, B. (2002). "Relearning about Animals: Speciesism, Anthropocentrism, and Non-Western Cultures." In Boston, T. (ed.). *Green Education: Learning for the Earth and Posterity.* Philadelphia, PA: Xlibris Press (forthcoming).

[522] For more information on the distinction between 'needs' and 'desires,' examine the conclusion of the chapter on the Ontario Greens.

[523] This said, bi-products such as milk and cheese from cows may help those who are deficient in Vitamin B-12. Investigate "Vitamin B-12 – Do you Know Your Level?" located at <http://www.uwphysicians.org/hbeat/hb960227.html> (a web-site of the University of Washington Medical Centre); and "Glossary" located at <http://www.smartbasic.com/glos.vitamins/vit.b12.glos.html>.

[524] Investigate "The Terra Nova Green Party Policy on Newfoundland and Labrador's Seal Cull" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/announce.html>.

[525] Investigate "The Comparative Anatomy of Eating" (by Milton R. Mills, M.D.) located at <http://www.earthsave.bc.ca/articles/articles/health/comparative.html>.

[526] Investigate "More People Trying Vegetarian Diets" located at <http://www.fda.gov/fdac/features/895_vegdiet.html> (web-site of the U.S. Government's Food and Drug Administration).

vegetarianism as part of its platform, and encourage a general reduction in the consumption of animal species. This would also be in keeping with other Green positions.[527]

The Terra Nova Greens believe in 'paying parents who elect to stay at home with young children a Guaranteed Annual Income (G.A.I.) to help relieve the financial hardship of the single-income family, while leaving vacancies in the workforce for others.' This is an intriguing point, and one that many other Greens share. In addition to the general inequities within the workforce, there are discrepancies between those who are identified as workers and those who are not. Statistics Canada regularly registers comparatively high levels of unemployment in Newfoundland.[528] However, the statistics do not include the goods and services generated by the informal economy – an unidentified but significant contribution to the province.[529] Thus, it is noteworthy that the Terra Nova Greens are insisting on monetary compensation for a major segment of the province's 'unknown' workers – parents who wish to work at raising a family. Social policy specialists are quick to remark on how parents' work goes largely unrecognised by society and its institutions.[530] Moreover, often parental responsibilities fall onto the shoulders of women.[531] Hence, an added inequity: women must bear the responsibility of parental responsibilities and household chores without any financial recognition for their work/job (and worse, in certain instances, on their own). Accordingly, single mothers are amongst the poorest citizens in Canada.[532]

[527] Investigate "The Greens – Index" located at <http://start.at/the.greens.index>, particularly the Ontario Greens, the California Greens, and the federal Green Party in England.
[528] Investigate "Labour, Employment and Unemployment" located at <http://www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/People/labour.htm#pla> (Statistics Canada/Government web-site).
[529] For information on Newfoundland's informal economy, investigate Felt, L. F. & Sinclair, P. R. (eds.). (1995). *Living on the Edge: The Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland.* St. John's, Nfld: ISER Press.
[530] Investigate "The Alliance for a Caring Economy" located at <http://www.globalff.org/ace/advisors.htm>.
[531] *Ibid.*
[532] Investigate National Council of Welfare. (1998). *Poverty Profile 1996.* Ottawa, ON: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.

10. Brief Overview of the Canadian Green Parties[533]

It is interesting to observe the overwhelming similarities between the Canadian Green parties. True, the provincial Green parties such as the Ontario Greens have a broad conception of environmentalism, while the Canadian Greens place emphasis on international, 'red-green' laws and principles. The Green Party of Manitoba is transprovincial touching on, for example, Quebec separatism, and this can be contrasted with, for example, the slightly more provincially/regionally inclined Alberta Greens. Moreover, the Terra Nova Greens have difficulty with the BC Greens, and their opposition to the seal hunt. I have made a point of drawing out the uniqueness of each Party in the concluding sections of the preceding chapters. But, while Canada's Green parties demonstrate differences in perspective and orientation, for the most part they share virtually identical beliefs and values (and, in fact, in some instances, directly borrow concepts and visions from each other) despite their large geographical separation. The message (whether directly stated or not) is that they are united in a common struggle for peace, democracy, environmental protection, and distributive justice. The reader is left with the conclusion that Canada's Greens are not simply a series of parties, but are, in fact, an energised, collective movement that spans the Canadian landscape. This has a wide-ranging implications. It suggests that the parties have been (and probably will be) successful in directing a more or less unified message to the public, and that any internal bickering between the parties generally has been (and can be) set aside to achieve a consensus of perspective. I suspect that this is aided by a sense of collective grief over the plight of the planet and its inhabitants, and the presence of a clear and definable adversary i.e. an increasingly global power elite. As I rediscovered listening to a speech delivered one late afternoon on the radio by Senator Bob Brown, the admired Leader of the Australian Greens from the Australian Senate floor (as he talked of the multinational destruction of Tasmania's forests and how Tasmania has the potential to lead the nation as the environmentally

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[533] The conclusions for each of the Green Party chapters contain my own thoughts supported by that of others. This final section, like the last two chapters of the dissertation and the last chapter on the Australian Green parties, for the most part, does not contain footnotes/references. It is in these sections that I stand on my own, free of the support of other authors - relying on the material contained within the dissertation and my subjective,

and socially responsible state), it is easier to define what we seek, when that which is offensive most clearly rears its political head.

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personal knowledge of the parties for the basis of my arguments.

11. *The Green Party at the Federal Level: The Australian Greens*

Introduction

This chapter explores Australia's federal Green Party, and offers some reflective analysis on the nature of its paradigm. Specifically, along with the other chapters detailing Green Party paradigmatic positions, it helps answer the third research question posed in chapter one, namely: What are the demonstrated paradigmatic positions of the federal and provincial/state Greens? Founded in 1983, the Australian Green Party recognises the reciprocal inter-reliance between humanity and nature, and the need for environmental, social and economic sustainability.[534] It wishes to "eradicate poverty, oppression and discrimination and to build a society that is underpinned by the values of participatory democracy, social justice, and respect for cultural and ecological diversity."[535] It aims to transfigure oppressive industrial and government structures, and to develop a rich, participatory and democratic society based on social progressive praxis. While the Party seeks to achieve sustainability through representation in parliament, it also wishes to assist local, grassroots groups with their green endeavours. Additionally, it believes Australia should "play an active role in building a more cooperative and ecologically sustainable world that is capable of addressing the glaring disparities in energy and resource consumption and quality of life between the rich and poor."[536] Thus, it also helps national organisations with matters pertaining to, for example, Third World development, human rights, conflict resolution, social welfare, and wilderness preservation. Not only does it assist progressive social movements in Australia, it supports international efforts aimed at improving socioenvironmental well-being. Opposing parochialism, it calls for a worldwide, humanitarian and ecological consciousness that assures human and nonhuman security on an intra and intergenerational basis. In addition to championing the cause of socioenvironmental peace and justice for the current generation, the Party believes it is crucial to defend the interests of posterity. Governments should hand each generation an

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[534] Investigate "A Brief History of the Australian Greens" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/s1contact.htm#origins>.

[535] See "The Charter & National Constitution of the Australian Greens" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/s1cbasis.htm>.

endowment of socioenvironmental assets in order to sustain itself and its successors.[537] They also ought to invoke the precautionary principle when there is the potential for industrial activity to negatively impact on the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.[538]

Environmental Protection

The Australian Greens recognise that natural systems sustain and improve social well-being. Thus, the Party strives for the dual objective of environmental justice and social equity, and seeks to ensure that the disenfranchised do not assume the socioenvironmental costs of the industrial establishment's destructive practices. Where there is the potential for critical environmental destruction, the burden of proof should rest with industrial proponents – they are responsible for demonstrating that their initiatives are ecologically sustainable.

The Australian Greens advocate an ecologically sustainable society through: 1) the protection of biological diversity and the maintenance of ecological integrity; 2) the use of material resources in accordance with the Earth's capacity to supply them (and to assimilate wastes arising from their use); and 3) equity within and between generations.[539] The Party believes that such a society should include indigenous people's knowledge of ecological complexity and limitations.

> To become ecologically sustainable, our society must change over time from one which recognises no physical or ecological limits, to one which lives within the capacity of the Earth to support it and allows for the Earth to sustain the diversity of living things. This means that ingenuity must be used to do more with less, the trend to more efficient use of physical resources and energy must be accelerated, and the limits within which society and the economy function must be explicitly recognised. To enable targets to be set and progress to be measured, these limits must be defined as early as possible.[540]

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[536] *Ibid.*
[537] See Brown, B. & Singer, P. *The Greens.*
[538] *Ibid.*
[539] See "Environment" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/policy/s1environment.htm>.
[540] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Greens challenge Democrats on environment" (28 October, 2000).

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The Australian Green Party supports the preservation of the natural environment, both as a value in itself and as a central prerequisite for human survival and well-being.[541] With this in mind, it advocates international and national moves to halt deforestation in Australia and the world.[542] This involves both the elimination of unsustainable logging practices as well as a dramatic reduction in material consumption, particularly by wealthy countries and institutions. Embracing a strong humanitarian and ecological vision, it also backs international moves and conventions to stop over-fishing, ocean and atmospheric pollution, the trade in hazardous waste, land degradation, and the exploitation of (and trade in) endangered species.[543] Additionally, it supports the exchange of environmental information and sustainable praxis between countries, as well as the formation of a United Nations' Environment Council with similar decision-making powers as the Security Council, but dealing instead with socioenvironmental issues of global importance.[544]

Furthermore, the Australian Greens believe that "top priority of Australia's aid should be the satisfaction of the basic needs of the poorest people in developing countries, notably their basic food, health, shelter and educational needs."[545] Australian aid should also be directed towards ecologically sound and culturally appropriate initiatives, responding to the needs of local peoples and recognising the disparities that exist between rich and poor, men and women, as well as different races, backgrounds and cultures. Australia should provide aid at least in line with an amount approved by the United Nations.

Finally, on matters regarding peace and security, the Australian Greens call for:

• global regime initiatives to monitor and reduce the manufacture and export of biological, chemical and nuclear weapons technologies;

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[541] See Brown, B. & Singer, P. *The Greens*.
[542] Investigate press releases "Democrats go quietly as government reneges on forestry clause of Howard-Lees Pac" (30 November, 1999), and "Whole log exports from plantations skyrocket" (24 November, 1999).
[543] See Moore, C. (ed.). (1998). *The Greens National Policy*. Canberra, ACT: Aussie Print.
[544] See "International Human Rights, Protection & Promotion" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/policy/s1international.htm>.
[545] *Ibid.*

• a total international ban on all production, stockpiling and use of anti-personnel landmines;
• [initiatives to] ensure that Australia will not produce weaponry or components for export;
• regional security relations which build peace and confidence, and work towards resolving conflicts before they evolve into violent international disputes;
• [the development of] Australia's foreign and security relations in ways which recognise that peacebuilding and peacemaking are crucial elements of any regional conflict management framework, and that peacekeeping has the potential to operate at an interface between the two; and
• draw up a framework for nonviolent civilian resistance training, which would be activated in support of our military defence arrangements in the unlikely event that Australia's security is militarily threatened by overseas forces.[546]

Public Services

The Australian Greens believe that a dynamic civil service sustains social well-being. Therefore, community services should be properly funded to cover basic necessities such as healthcare, food, shelter, and clothing. Moreover, governments should not deny a service due to an individual's inability to pay, noting that the charging of exorbitant fees for essential services is a form of discrimination.

> Ownership by the government does not preclude some agencies [from] being run on a corporatised basis, but [it] does [suggest] that fulfilling of community service obligations may mean that their profits would not be as great as they would be without such obligations. This reduced revenue is accepted as a necessary cost in a civil and equitable society. These community service obligations may include providing services at reduced rates to the disadvantaged in society, for example, the aged or sick, and providing services to rural and remote communities.[547]

Health

The Party supports an inclusive healthcare system, calling for the reintroduction of dental treatment as a public service, and the development

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[546] *Ibid.* Also investigate press releases "Peacekeeping, ending the arms trade should be the priorities say Greens" (9 November, 2000), "French & Australian Greens protest secret Sydney nuclear shipment" (25 November, 1999), and "Australian Greens welcome German peacekeepers for East Timor" (8 October, 1999).
[547] See "Economic Overview" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/policy/s1economic.htm>. Also investigate press releases "One month bandaid is for Howard not the disabled" (4 October, 2000), and "Senate move on community tax slugs" (7 December, 1999).

of publicly funded birthing centres. This said, it aims to reduce high hospital admission rates by reorienting public health service provisions to focus on health prevention, and a primary care approach that is concerned with the maintenance of optimum health status.[548] It also believes in restricting the use of chemical food pesticides, irradiation and additives, and ultimately, ensuring that Australia fulfils its international obligations to address environmental issues which impact on health.[549]

Education

The Australian Greens believe that a sound education is a lifelong process that takes place in both formal and informal settings, and fosters intellectual, physical, ethical, emotional, and cultural development. It should offer people purposeful, fulfilling lives, and help develop nonviolent, equitable and ecologically sustainable communities in Australia and the world. It should enable individuals to make lasting constructive and creative social contributions,[550] and to value the uniqueness of each person's insights, abilities and conceptions of the world.

In the spirit of inclusive education, the Party also defends the right of individuals to access formal education with financial support, and relative to their needs, aims and skills. It supports the preservation and enrichment of public schools where parents, community groups and student organisations help design programs of study that suit their social, ecological, and cultural needs. This will assist in the development of an education system appropriate to an ecologically sustainable and multicultural Australia – a system that places value on long-term community well-being and rejects short-term interests. In addition, it recognises the important roles played by professional associations, local providers, and non-governmental organisations (N.G.O.s) in providing educational opportunities.[551] Recognising that in a technological society, empowerment of the individual relies on her/his ability to effectively use

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[548] See "Services" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/policy/s1services.htm>. Also investigate "AYPAC releases Election Scorecard" located at
<http://www.aypac.org.au/media/1998/election_scorecard.html>.
[549] See Moore, C. (ed.). *The Greens National Policy.*
[550] *Ibid.* Also investigate "The Greens reply to FASTS' ten questions" located at
<http://www.usyd.edu.au/su/fasts/1998/Greens.html>.
[551] See "Services" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/policy/s1services.htm>.

communication technology and information systems, the Party also believes that the public education system should sustain scientific and technological literacy, and support linkages with appropriate scientific bodies.[552]

Empowering Youth

The Australian Green Party opposes the practice of ageism, calling for public education and affirmative action initiatives to counter this little known but common prejudice. In order to abolish ageism, it maintains that young people must be seen as equal members of society. In practical terms, this means seeking their input and supporting their representation at all levels of government and in other institutions. Young people must not only play a central role in formulating policies which affect them, but they should be included more widely in general policy formulation.[553] Having sought the input of youth, the Party believes that many young people push for a healthy natural environment, meaningful work, a competency based wage system, as well as access to:

- secure, affordable and appropriate long term housing;
- education and training;
- diverse cultural and recreational facilities;
- reliable and affordable transport;
- a living environment which is free from the threat of physical or emotional abuse or discrimination of any kind; and
- health services which focus on the social, economic and environmental factors that impact on the lives of young people.[554]

Senior Citizens

The Australian Greens consider it fundamental that older people be accorded the same consideration and respect as the rest of the population.[555] The knowledge, talents, wisdom and memoirs of older people form the cultural bedrock of communities. The Party opposes ageism, noting the need for public education and government initiatives to overcome age discrimination. Additionally, everyone should be entitled to early

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[552] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "ALP votes down senate motion opposing government schools funding formula" (01 November, 2000).
[553] See "People" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/policy/s1people.htm>.
[554] See Moore, C. (ed.). *The Greens National Policy.*
[555] See "People" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/policy/s1people.htm>.

retirement, and have the right to work irrespective of age. Most importantly, older people should have adequate health services, transport, and accommodation including quality public sector housing.[556]

Multiculturalism

The Party believes that Australia is enhanced by a diversity of cultural communities. It supports the celebration of this diversity, and the right of all Australians to express and share their individual cultural heritage (so long as this is in keeping with human rights generally).[557] All Australians, regardless of race, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, gender or place of birth, should have equal socioeconomic and cultural rights.[558] Hence, the Party advocates: 1) the devolution of societal barriers along lines of race, background and cultural affiliation; 2) the implementation of programs that seek to eliminate ethnocentrism and racism; and 3) a situation in which all Australians have equitable access to, for instance, educational opportunities, work contracts, and basic goods and services.

Aboriginal Rights

The Australian Greens recognise that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island peoples, as the original occupants and custodians of Australia, have a specific and unique cultural relationship with the land that should be respected by all Australians.[559] The Party strongly opposes discrimination against Aboriginal communities, and calls upon the federal government to immediately grant indigenous Australians full socioeconomic and cultural self-determination (along with adequate funding for basic services). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island people need and are entitled to better health facilities and appropriate housing, training and education as they themselves determine.[560] The general health and welfare of Aboriginal

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[556] *Ibid.*
[557] See Moore, C. (ed.). *The Greens National Policy.*
[558] See "Society" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/policy/s1society.htm>. Also investigate "Engage: Newsletter of the National Ethnic Disability Alliance (N.E.D.A.)" located at <http://www.ozemail.com.au/~neda/nedaelection.html>.
[559] See "People" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/policy/s1people.htm>. Also investigate "Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs" located at <http://www.neither.org/neitherpgs/elec1998/pol-issues-society.shtml2.htm>.
[560] See Moore, C. (ed.). *The Greens National Policy.*

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communities is contingent on comprehensive education, employment, and political opportunities as well as adequate social services.[561]

Women's Rights

The Party supports the right of women to make informed choices about their lives – lifestyle, health, sexual identity, whether to bear children, and their reproductive process.[562] It also believes that women should have equal access and opportunity to all areas of political, intellectual, social and economic life. Thus, with respect to the latter, it advocates gender equity in politics, equal access to education and training, as well as affirmative action legislation to reform the workplace to remove sources of direct, indirect and systematic discrimination against women.[563] Moreover, it calls for a shift away from masculinist, hierarchical and exploitative power structures which dominate the country's socioeconomic and political systems.

Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Rights

The Australian Green Party believes that homosexuality and bisexuality are positive aspects of human sexuality. It recognises the diversity of lesbian, gay and bisexual Australians, their special needs as a disadvantaged community, the strength and durability of their aspirations and their unique and valuable contribution to Australian society.[564] It supports the full range of sexual diversity in society (including heterosexuality), while expressing particular concern with respect to the prejudice and marginalisation against people who do not 'fit' within the heterosexual norm. Noting that lesbian, gay and bisexual citizens make essential contributions to Australian society, the Party backs those movements that struggle to uphold the dignity and validity of their lifestyles.[565] Moreover, it advocates government initiatives that would protect all individuals from harassment, abuse, and vilification as a result

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[561] *Ibid.*
[562] See "People" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/policy/s1people.htm>.
[563] See Brown, B. & Singer, P. *The Greens.*
[564] See Moore, C. (ed.). *The Greens National Policy.* Also investigate "Young, Gay, Black, Green and Female" located at <http://members.tripod.com/reconciliation/ygbgf.htm>.
[565] *Ibid.*

of sexual orientation. In a civil society, human rights and freedoms should be granted to citizens irrespective of their sexuality.

Local, Rural Communities

While a global perspective is necessary if society is to both care for the planet and redress worldwide injustices and inequities, the well-being of the world rests significantly on the actions of communities – particularly local, rural communities – and their ability to generate lasting regional initiatives as well as indirectly promote socioeconomic and political change at the national and international levels.[566] Hence, the Australian Greens call for a greater degree of regional planning, community consultation, and local measures aimed at sustaining long-term socioeconomic and ecological well-being. The Party points out that under the current worldwide capital-driven system, local, rural communities face challenging circumstances. For instance, there is a limitation of occupational choices (as a result of the 'one industry town' phenomenon typically instigated by capital deployment), family members often have to leave their district to obtain work, and cutbacks abound in the public service sector (in the interests of 'efficiency').[567] In order to counter community displacement, the Party believes that governments should encourage a multiplicity of small local development initiatives (in accordance with the principles of sustainability) rather than embrace quick-fix mega-projects that can result in short-term job security and socioenvironmental destruction.

Economics

In order to prevent irreversible environmental damage, the Australian Greens argue that it is necessary to separate the fulfilment of economic well-being from the exploitation of natural resources. The linear ideology of neoclassical economic development must be replaced by a holistic, long-term understanding of environmental and socioeconomic obligations. Most critically, the impact of economic activity must be kept within environmental limits, particularly given the restricted capacity of

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[566] See "Society" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/policy/s1society.htm>. Also investigate "Strengthening Rural Communities" located at <http://www.campus.greens.org.au/policy/society.htm>.
[567] *Ibid.*

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ecosystems to process wastes.[568] In order to counter the problematic effects of the conventional economy, the Party believes that the federal government should embrace a taxation system which understands:

• the need for a fair distribution of national income and wealth;
• the fact that environmental resources are community resources;
• [the benefits of relying on] incentives for sustainable use, and penalties for the unsustainable use of natural resources;
• [the need for] adequate provision of resources for public services;
• the [benefit] of full employment; and
• the double benefit of reducing taxes on labour and increasing taxes on resource use and pollution.[569]

The Australian Greens support the use of taxation as a mechanism to protect the natural environment and ensure social well-being. This can be accomplished either by relying on tax revenue to finance beneficial reforms or by utilising tax as a steering instrument in itself.[570]

On matters of globalisation and trade, the Party supports international trading systems wherein nation states work to maximise global equity and ecological sustainability.[571] It also advocates trade that enhances the development of economies and societies that are ecologically sustainable, diverse, self-reliant, and therefore less vulnerable to external political and economic pressures.[572] This said, it argues that foreign investment and trade matters should be assessed on an individual basis to determine whether they comply with international environmental and human rights protocols. Given the possible socioenvironmental costs and benefits arising from international trade, and noting the risks and benefits of foreign investment, the Australian Greens call upon governments to adhere to the following goals:

• limit trade in goods and services that are produced by methods that are environmentally unsustainable or socially unjust;
• promote trade associations and participate in international trading systems in order to enhance the achievement of this goal;

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[568] See Moore, C. (ed.). *The Greens National Policy.*
[569] See "Economic Overview" located at
<http://www.greens.org.au/policy/s1economic.htm>.
[570] *Ibid.*
[571] See Moore, C. (ed.). *The Greens National Policy.*
[572] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Senate backs right to protest at s11" (7 September, 2000).

• increase Australia's self-reliance by limiting net foreign debt and current account deficits; and

• promote the regulation of transnational corporations.[573]

Employment

The Australian Greens differentiate between employment and work (the latter referring to any meaningful endeavour). The Party supports inclusive employment, meaning the availability of safe, socially useful, environmentally benign, adequately paid, full or part-time work for all those who wish to engage in it.[574] It disputes the populist perception that unwaged people are unproductive members of society. It rejects any prejudicial inference of 'inadequacy' in those who are unemployed, but contribute to society through other productive, economic and/or socially useful activities.[575] The Party opposes all forms of intolerance and inequities arising from reductionist interpretations of work.

The Australian Greens believe that the worldwide trend towards neoclassical economic growth is a short-term and faulty solution to employment, stating that unfettered market economies and mass-consumerism place great pressures on natural and social systems (threatening communities' long-term job security). The Party calls upon governments to reassess their faith in globalisation, competitiveness and economic rationalism. Limiting globalisation is necessary to ensure socioeconomic and environmental sustainability. Taking a restrained approach protects employment in domestic industries, and can also result in environmental benefits from, for instance, the reduced transportation of goods.[576] While restraint may give rise to economic costs, such costs are less than the resultant socioenvironmental benefits (if compared on an intra and intergenerational basis).

The Green Party of Australia supports shorter working hours, and an increase in the minimum wage. It argues that work, income and leisure need to be shared equally throughout society. With respect to the latter,

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[573] See "Economic Overview" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/policy/s1economic.htm>. Also investigate Harries, C. (2000). "Milking the Taxpayer: How Hundreds of Companies in Australia get on the Dole," *Green*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 5-8.

[574] See "Society" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/policy/s1society.htm>.

[575] *Ibid.*

[576] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Jobs dishonesty" (6 September, 2000).

people should have time for leisure as well as the opportunity to see and respond to the needs of family, friends, community, and the natural world.

Overall, the Party proposes a concept of employment, labour market and income that adequately recognises and rewards people's occupations, with a commitment to a proper safety net for all.[577] It is against discrimination in employment, and seeks to ensure a more equitable and safe working environment for all individuals irrespective of their race, gender, culture, sexual orientation, or age.

Transportation

The Australian Greens call for environmentally-sensitive transportation that enables the public (including those with disabilities) to access a variety of locations in a safe and efficient manner. The Party believes in using integrated urban transportation planning, and incorporating socioenvironmental costs, so that more energy-efficient modes of transport (walking, cycling, public transport, rail, coastal, shipping) and non-transport solutions are able to compete for funding with the provision of facilities for cars and trucks.[578] It aims to: 1) dramatically reduce per capita and overall use of fossil fuels for transport, making the system sustainable into the future; 2) reduce car ownership and use for urban commuting while improving the quality of service provided by public transport, especially in relation to frequency, speed and convenience; and 3) encourage the cycling and walking amenity of the streets by supporting, for example, lower urban speed limits on residential roads.[579]

Drugs

The Australian Green Party believes that illegal drugs should be dealt with outside the criminal system.[580] It argues that the decision to use drugs in a democratic society should rest will the individual and not the state, noting that individual gratification may involve the use of drugs. This

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[577] See Moore, C. (ed.). *The Greens National Policy.*
[578] See "Services" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/policy/s1services.htm>.
[579] See Moore, C. (ed.). *The Greens National Policy.* Also investigate "Drugs and Addiction" located at <http://www.campus.greens.org.au/policy/society.htm>.
[580] See Brown, B. & Singer, P. *The Greens.*

said, classification and regulation of drugs should be based on known health effects and rely on community-based education programs which make factual information freely available to the public.[581] Additionally, regulation should aim to increase individual health and social well-being. Governments should provide serious addicts with access to programs that emphasise harm minimisation and long-term personal safety. The Australian Greens ultimately seek:

- more appropriate classifications for drugs based upon their effects upon health;
- a wide availability of relevant information about drugs;
- the decriminalisation of drugs;
- [the distribution of information] making the connections between addictive drug use and wider issues such as suicide, unemployment, [and] homelessness;
- [to shift the focus away from] excessive drug use which is a symptom rather than a cause; and
- [to encourage] community-based counselling and support services for drug users without condemnation, including adequate follow-up.[582]

Conclusion[583]

The Australian Green Party is both a top-down and bottom-up organisation, possessing strong leadership and an international commitment, while also seeking grassroots input and local initiatives. It does not advance its leadership at the expense of grassroots voices (and vice versa), nor does it situate a local or national initiative above an international concern. In essence, the Party demonstrates an egalitarian and inclusive philosophy of administration and place. The Party also values the role of government in providing public services. It rejects the market-model of prosperity and 'trickle-down' economics, calling upon governments to guarantee welfare for all. In this respect, the Party accepts a fundamental principle of equity – that governments have an obligation to ensure the well-being of its less fortunate residents (noting the disparities that exist along lines of race, class and gender), since dominant markets are

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[581] See Moore, C. (ed.). *The Greens National Policy.*

[582] See "Society" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/policy/s1society.htm>.

[583] Reminder (from the introduction): The following concluding remarks are not meant to be 'complete.' The main objective of this material is to identify the Party's salient points for reflective discussion or, rather, what I interpret as the noteworthy points (recognising that what is significant is relative to an observer's interpretation of significance). Moreover, the material contains interpretive remarks; that is, it includes unchained, subjective and free-

essentially incapable of covering everyone's basic needs. Similarly, it emphasises that environmental justice should benefit all, regardless of class, background, gender or species.

The Australian Greens readily connect with local, national and international organisations on environmental, peace and global issues. The Party expresses particular concern with regard to the 'basic needs of the poorest people in developing countries,' and works with groups that seek to resolve the disparities between rich and poor nations. Evidently, the Party does not restrict itself to a particular political border – it expresses inspiration and concern across physical divides. It illustrates openness and a rejection of provincial bias and human-induced boundaries, in favour of a view of the Earth and its inhabitants as an interconnected whole. While this may be obvious to Greens, the political mainstream embraces a far more isolationist and N.I.M.B.Y.-oriented perspective.[584] Moreover, by connecting with local, national and international organisations, the Party demonstrates knowledge of broad-based networking and coalition building. This is a crucial move. Reaching out to other like-minded groups ensures a large and diversified support base, improves access to the electorate (by spreading information into previously untapped channels), offers additional recruits for the cause, and ultimately helps gather momentum for Green issues.[585] It also has ethical significance. To indicate that one is willing to work with other organisations across Australia and abroad is to demonstrate an ability to tolerate differences (subtle or otherwise) and function, on a cooperative and consensual basis (at least to a degree that facilitates communication), with individuals to achieve general common goals.[586] The gentle ability to

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flowing observations.

[584] N.I.M.B.Y. stands for "not in my backyard" – a phrase which promotes private property rights and the separation of the individual or community from the greater collective responsibility of ensuring socioenvironmental sustainability. In referring to the 'political mainstream,' I am pointing to, for example, the politically right of centre 'Liberal Party of Australia.' Investigate "Liberal: the Official Liberal Party Web-Site" located at <http://www.liberal.org.au/>.

[585] Investigate Della Porta, D. & Diani, M. (eds.). (1999). *Social Movements: An Introduction.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers; and Stryker, S., Owens, T.J. & White, R.W. (eds.). (2000). *Self, Identity, and Social Movements (Social Movements, Protest, and Contention, V. 13).* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

[586] Investigate Susskind, L., McKearnan, S. & Thomas-Larmer, J. (eds.). (1999). *The Consensus Building Handbook: A Comprehensive Guide to Reaching Agreement.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press; and Susskind, L., Levy, P.F. & Thomas-Larmer, J. (1999). *Negotiating Enviromental Agreements: How to Avoid Escalating Confrontation, Needless Costs, and Unnecessary Litigation.* Washington, DC: Island Press.

develop relationships should not be overlooked or undervalued – it is key to resolving the world's regional conflicts.[587]

The Party argues that 'the disenfranchised [should] not assume the socioenvironmental costs of the industrial establishment's destructive practices' and that 'where there is the potential for critical environmental destruction, the burden of proof should rest with industrial proponents – they are responsible for demonstrating that their initiatives are ecologically sustainable.' This is a noteworthy point. There are environmentalists who identify ecological exploitation as a product of human activity.[588] They do not readily point to any particular element of humanity as the perpetrator of harm. But, to avoid the issue of agency is to indirectly attribute anti-environmental behaviour to the poor and disenfranchised populations.[589] In essence, we all become responsible for the environmental crisis irrespective of class or situation, while industrial interests, in large measure, produce and profit from environmental destruction.[590] The Party understands that it is the industrial establishment, not the public, who should largely be held accountable for socioenvironmental havoc. At present, governments, persuaded by the ideology of the corporate market, simply off-load industrial wastes (and the like) onto society through, for example, taxation and increased healthcare costs.[591] Meanwhile, industrial giants, through paybacks and political donations, ensure that the politics of accountability leans in their favour – they court and fund politicians who make certain that the public collects the costs of exploitative production.[592]

[587] Investigate Avruch, K. (1998). *Culture & Conflict Resolution.* Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace; and Lederach, J.P. (1996). *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures.* Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press.
[588] Investigate Katz, E., Light, A. & Rothenberg, D. (eds.). (2000). *Beneath the Surface: Critical Essays in the Philosophy of Deep Ecology.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
[589] Investigate Seager, J. *Earth Follies.*
[590] For more information on the topic of 'industry and environmental exploitation,' investigate Ehrlich, P.R. & Ehrlich, A.H. (1997). *Betrayal of Science and Reason: How Anti-Environmental Rhetoric Threatens Our Future.* Washington, DC: Island Press, and Mander, J. & Goldsmith, E. (eds.). (1997). *The Case Against the Global Economy: And for a Turn Toward the Local.* San Francisco, CA: Sierra Club Books.
[591] Investigate Cole, D.C., Upshur, R.E.G. & Gibson, L. (1999). "Detective Work," *Alternatives Journal,* Vol. 25, No. 3., pp. 26-32; Bocking, S. (1999). "Editorial: Treating the Causes," *Alternatives Journal,* Vol. 25, No. 3., p. 1; and Bovenberg, L. & Cnossen, S. (1995). *Public Economics and the Environment in an Imperfect World.* Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
[592] Investigate West, D.M. (2000). *Checkbook Democracy: How Money Corrupts Political Campaigns.* Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press; and Jacobs, L.R. & Shapiro, R.Y. (2000). *Politicians Don't Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness (Studies in Communication, Media, and Public Opinion).* Chicago, IL:

The Australian Greens champion the rights of those seniors and youth who are marginalised by the dogma of ageism. While racism and sexism are commonly understood forms of discrimination, ageism (despite it prevalence) is not a readily publicised issue.[593] The Party questions the deeply entrenched view that age can be a basis for assessing the worth of an individual. To the ageist individual, the meaning of personal and working relationships is consciously and more often unconsciously interpreted relative to a hierarchy of physical and/or mental abilities predetermined by age.[594] Instead of fully accepting a person for their strengths and limitations irrespective of age, the ageist person automatically assigns qualities to that person based on stereotypical (Western psychological) views of life stages.[595] Like the racist or sexist individual, this person also readily notices a person's physical appearance, and draws conclusions accordingly.[596] The actual specifics of that person are quickly blurred in favour of socially manufactured age criteria.[597] The Party understands the implications of ageism, noting that seniors and youth are often denied services and opportunities or treated as a lesser kind as a result of their age. It recognises that people suffer, on an emotional and/or physical level, when judged with such prejudice.

The Party has a unique conception of international trade – one which is contrary to the definitions formulated by the industrial establishment. Specifically, it 'supports international trading systems whereby nation states work to maximise global equity and ecological sustainability.' It also believes it is critical to 'limit trade in goods and services that are produced by methods that are environmentally unsustainable or socially unjust,' and to 'promote the regulation of transnational corporations.' In effect, it

University of Chicago Press.

[593] For example, a subject search of the Yale University Library Web-Site (Orbis) reveals 16 entries for ageism, 1426 entries for racism, and 471 entries for sexism. See "Orbis on the Web" located at
<http://mvsorbis.library.yale.edu:82/XWEBCONV/ORBA/XSMBWEBM/ORBSESN.STR?CONVTOKEN=INIT>.

[594] Investigate Palmore, E.B. (1999). *Ageism: Negative and Positive*. New York, NY: Springer Publishing; Young-Bruehl, E. (1998). *The Anatomy of Prejudices*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; and Allport, G.W. (1988). *Nature of Prejudice: 25th Anniversary*. Boulder, CO: Perseus Books.

[595] *Ibid.*

[596] Investigate Adams, M., Blumenfeld, W.J., Castaneda, R., Castaneda, C.R. & Hackman, H.W. (eds.). (2000). *Readings for Diversity and Social Justice: An Anthology on Racism, Sexism, Anti-Semitism, Heterosexism, Classism, and Ableism*. Levittown, PA: Falmer Press.

[597] *Ibid.*

redefines an expansionist concept, international trade, in line with socioenvironmental reality. This is a wise approach. There are industrial powers who have redefined and adopted Green vocabulary in order to secure greater market advantage.[598] In a number of instances, words like balance, ecology and empowerment have been reconstructed according to the interests of those who, in practice, oppose environmental efforts.[599] As a countermove, the Party would do well to redefine common industrial terms and phrases along ecological lines (as it has done with international trade). Scholars in the fields of ecological economics and green commerce (albeit in a somewhat moderate manner) have reinvented popular economic concepts in step with ecological reality,[600] while social critics such as Wolfgang Sachs have redefined notions of development, growth and poverty.[601] More of the latter is needed. Ultimately, the Party can be as adaptable as the industrial establishment in seeking terms, phrases and images which have not been traditionally a part of its discourse.

The Australian Greens question 'the populist perception that unwaged people are unproductive members of society,' and challenge 'any prejudicial inference of inadequacy in those who are unemployed, but contribute to society through other productive, economic and/or socially useful activities.' This is a socially progressive position, and one that directly challenges the dominant assumption that a person's productivity is contingent on their performance in the marketplace. Indeed, along with capital accumulation, social status, and even ideological orientation, a person's position of employment, what may also be termed as an individual's market position, is increasingly being accorded a value relative to external, transnational demands.[602] In this era of globalisation, a person's

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[598] Investigate Tokar, B. (1997). *Earth for Sale: Reclaiming Ecology in the Age of Corporate Greenwash*. Boston, MA: South End Press; Greer, J. & Bruno, K. (1996). *Greenwash: The Reality Behind Corporate Environmentalism*. Penang, Malaysia: Third World Network and New York, NY: The Apex Press; and Helvarg, D. (1994). *The War Against the Greens: The 'Wise Use' Movement, the New Right, and Anti-Environmental Violence*. San Francisco, CA: Sierra Club Books.
[599] *Ibid.*
[600] Investigate "ISEE: International Society for Ecological Economics" located at <http://www.ecoeco.org/>.
[601] For example, Sachs defines poverty as frugality, scarcity or destitution. See Sachs, W. *Planet Dialectics*.
[602] Investigate Pot, F. (2000). *Employment Relations and National Culture: Continuity and Change in the Age of Globalisation*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, and Prakash, A. & Hart, J.A. (eds.). (2000). *Coping With Globalisation*. London, UK: Routledge.

significance (including their emotional and physical well-being) is becoming contingent on a highly selective but volatile global demand, rather than, say, on semi-autonomous personal and community growth.[603] The Party recognises the inherent bias and inequity within the dominant representation of work and productivity, and sees, for example, environmental and social justice activists, who voluntarily attend meetings, rallies and demonstrations, as valuable members of society. It interprets a person's care of human and nonhuman beings as a mark of success (irrespective of monetary indicators).

Finally, on a more critical note, the Party maintains that 'the decision to use drugs in a democratic society should rest will the individual and not the state, noting that individual gratification may involve the use of drugs.' While it identifies drug use as a probable health hazard, by making such a statement, it nevertheless legitimates the separation of the individual from society, and thereby reinforces the negative societal consequences resulting from the individual's decision to use drugs. An individual's state of health bears on the well-being of others (particularly loved ones), since emotional and physical well-being, as well as personal and collective health finely interweave with one another.[604] In essence, illicit drugs are harmful, not only to the individual user, but to those who are directly and indirectly associated with the user.[605]

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[603] Investigate Martin, H.P. & Schumann, H. (1997). *The Global Trap: Globalization and the Assault on Prosperity and Democracy.* London, UK: Zed Books.
[604] Investigate Margen, S. (2001). *Wellness Encyclopedia of Food and Nutrition.* London, UK: Rebus Press.
[605] Investigate "The National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug Information" located at <http://www.health.org/newsroom/>.

12. Canberra's Green Party: Australian Capital Territory Greens

Introduction

This chapter explores the Green Party of the Australian Capital Territory (A.C.T.), and offers some reflective analysis on the nature of its paradigm. Specifically, along with the other chapters detailing Green Party paradigmatic positions, it helps answer the third research question posed in chapter one, namely: What are the demonstrated paradigmatic positions of the federal and provincial/state Greens? With its first members elected to parliament in 1995,[606] the A.C.T. Greens seek a world characterised by ecological sustainability, peace, social justice and grassroots participatory democracy.[607] It opposes socially repressive and environmentally destructive institutions and their practices via nonviolent democratic means.[608] Specifically, it supports voting, referendum, rallies/public demonstrations, and consensus decision-making processes. Overall, the differences between the A.C.T. Greens and other conventional parties are as follows:

A.C.T. Greens	Other Parties
Participatory Democracy	Representative Democracy
Long Term Planning	Election Based Planning
Living as Part of the Ecology	Controlling the Environment
Feminist and Flexible	Paternalistic and Rigid
Ecology the Basis of Life	Economy the Basis of Life
Regional Economics Based on	Centralist Economics Based on
Cooperation and Sustainability	Competition and Waste[609]

Ecology and Sustainability

In the spring of 1996, the A.C.T. Greens put forward a parliamentary motion to halt surface poison baiting in conservation areas and reserves. The aim was to prevent non-target animals such as the Tiger Quoll (a carnivorous native marsupial) from being poisoned during the baiting

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[606] See "What the ACT Greens bring to ACT Politics" located at
<http://www.act.greens.org.au/record.html>.
[607] See "The A.C.T. Greens Constitution" located at
<http://www.act.greens.org.au/constut.html>. Also investigate "The Greens Charter" located at < http://www.act.greens.org.au/charter.html>, and "ACT Greens Achievements & Initiatives" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/initat.html>.
[608] Investigate "News from the ACT Legislative Assembly" located at
<http://www.act.greens.org.au/nletter.html>.
[609] See "Environment Community Economy" located at
<http://www.act.greens.org.au/gdiff.html>.

process. While it is necessary to ensure that feral animals, particularly in conservation reserves, are kept under control, the Party believes that baiting programs should be specific and accurate, using the most humane and effective methods available.[610] The Party also supports a kangaroo cull (under certain conditions). It proposes a full scientific study of kangaroo numbers and impacts in the A.C.T., and endorses kangaroo culling only if the study finds that it is necessary for environmental and animal welfare reasons.[611]

With respect to land use, the Party indicates that despite the relatively high percentage of land in conservation reserves there is still, nevertheless, a need to increase the number of reserves in the A.C.T. The territory has experienced significant habitat destruction that has endangered ecosystems, species and genetic diversity. This is a result of industrial activity that does not recognise the costs of environmental damage or the benefits of environmental services. Hence, the Party feels that A.C.T.'s remaining critical habitat should be set aside in perpetuity by the federal and territory governments so as to prevent ecosystem collapse, recognising the needs of human and nonhuman posterity.[612]

On matters pertaining to the reduction of pollution and waste, the Party calls upon the federal and territory governments to eliminate all point source pollution through regulation and monitoring. However, control of non-point source pollution is more difficult since it requires extensive public education and the provision of pollution guidelines.[613] The A.C.T. Greens also believe that the two levels of government should expand public recycling services, and tax industrial practices that produce waste. Ultimately, the Party supports a stronger government role in promoting the practice of refusing, reducing, reusing, and recycling items as a means of helping decrease society's reliance on ecological capital.[614]

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[610] See "Animal Welfare" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/amwel-p.html>.
[611] Ibid.
[612] Investigate press release "Environmental value confirmed at Conder" (19 September, 2000).
[613] See "Environment Protection" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/eprotec-p.html>.
[614] Investigate "Waste and Recycling" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/recycl-p.html>, and "The ACT Greens Issues Paper on Environment" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/enviro-i.html>.

Energy

In late 1996, the A.C.T. Green M.L.A.s submitted a motion that was accepted by the assembly calling on the territory government to develop specific greenhouse gas reduction targets, taking into account gases produced by power stations supplying the A.C.T. with electricity.[615] The Green M.L.A.s were also successful in getting legislation passed in 1997 which requires houses in the A.C.T. to be energy rated when they are sold[616] – this energy 'star' rating is announced to potential buyers prior to the sale of a home. All the same, while these are advances, they are minor changes towards energy efficiency and reduction. Ultimately, the A.C.T. Greens believe the A.C.T. government should:

• develop and implement a comprehensive long-term greenhouse gas reduction strategy for the A.C.T.;
• purchase electricity from the 'green power' scheme;
• conduct environmental, including energy use, audits of its own operations;
• buy equipment with the highest energy star rating if new equipment is bought (where appropriate the government should buy second hand equipment);
• adopt energy efficiency criteria including passive solar design features in all new buildings under its control; and
• gain support for a national carbon tax to reduce carbon dioxide emissions and create jobs in renewable energy and energy efficiency related industries.[617]

Food Quality

The A.C.T. Greens believe that good health involves the right to access high-quality food at an affordable price. A.C.T.'s residents should be ensured access to food which is "fresh, unprocessed, varied, free from chemical additives, hormones, antibiotics, pesticides, herbicides, heavy metals, aluminium, and with [minimally added salt, sugar and fats]."[618] Accordingly, the Party believes it is important to encourage:

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[615] See "Energy" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/energy-p.html>. Also investigate press release "Greenhouse strategy welcomed, but implementation will be the test" (14 January, 2000).
[616] See "Energy" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/energy-p.html>.
[617] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Green light for clean air" (26 June, 2000).
[618] See "Food" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/food-p.html>. Also investigate press release "Greens move to ensure eggs labels 'conspicuous'" (21 October, 1999).

• an expansion of local organic food production, through the establishment of an organic food production extension officer position in the A.C.T.;
• the development of the A.C.T. as a regional produce hub and the development of a regional produce label;
• a feasibility study [to assess] the development of an A.C.T. wholesale market that draws on regional produce;
• community planting and management of organic food producing trees on appropriate areas of public land, which are not being used for native revegetation; and
• foods, at the retail level, to be tested more frequently and comprehensively for toxic chemicals used in production, storage, transport and display.[619]

Social Justice and Welfare

The A.C.T. Greens call upon the territory government to improve the health and well-being of its disadvantaged residents. The government's free market liberalism is ineffective in assuring the provision of basic human services. In particular, 'free' markets come at a cost to society through increased poverty, misery and social decay.

> Many people are disadvantaged due to factors such as age, ethnicity, disability and income. While government does not have to deliver *all* services, and the role of non-government community organisations in particular is invaluable, government must retain a direct role. Specifically, government must accept and be responsible for market failure and the quality of life of disadvantaged people and/or communities.[620]

The Party indicates that while A.C.T.'s residents have relatively high incomes, they also face the second highest level of expenditure on basic living costs in Australia. Consequently, A.C.T.'s poor face a comparatively severe degree of destitution (when compared with other parts of Australia).[621]

Health

The A.C.T. Greens support the introduction of 'right to know' legislation to ensure corporate declaration and public discovery of toxic

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[619] *Ibid*. Also investigate press release "Michael Moore flags compromise on GM food" (25 July, 2000).
[620] See "Social Justice Overview" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/sojust-p.html>.
[621] Investigate press release "Quality of Life Being Eroded?" (3 April, 2000). Also investigate "ACT Greens Housing Issues Paper" located at < http://www.act.greens.org.au/House-i.html>.

chemical use, transfer and release, a register of contaminated sites, environmental and water quality reporting, toxic substance planning strategies (including emergency planning) and notification requirements.[622] It also calls for a study to assess the health and environmental impacts of newly discovered and existing chemical substances, noting that manufacturers have a responsibility to validate the safety of their products.

The A.C.T. Greens believe in a universal health system that is accessible to all Australians regardless of their income or status. Such a system should be properly and publicly funded, offering services based on an individual's health requirements. Thus, the Party advocates the "enhancement of the Medicare system, and the appropriate shift of resources from the fee-for-service component of Medicare to the public hospital and salaried part of Medicare and related funding."[623] Moreover, it calls upon the federal government to strengthen multipurpose community health centres so that they can provide an appropriate range of services to the community they serve, including primary medical care, mental health care, dental care, home nursing, maternal and child health, drug and alcohol services, services for seniors, and services for Aboriginal peoples, as well as other minority groups.[624]

Education

The A.C.T. Greens believe that a quality public education should be offered to all residents without financial expense, and that the federal government should adequately fund rather than out-source or replace the current system with elite, private education.[625] Moreover:

> The [Party] thoroughly reject[s] the market model for education and the simplistic notion that 'choice' can deliver a high quality public education system for all. Where market models of education have been applied, three distinctive trends stand out. Firstly, there is a loss of diversity in student populations within schools and between schools. Secondly,

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[622] See "A.C.T. Greens Health Policy" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/health.html>.
[623] *Ibid.*
[624] *Ibid.* Also investigate "ACT Greens Health & Community Services Issues Paper" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/health-i.html>, as well as press release "Indigenous health – performing well in the Territory?" (15 February, 2000),
[625] Investigate press release "Report into services for students with a disability released today" (15 February, 2000).

there is an increasing differentiation in the quality and resources available to schools. Thirdly, there is a loss of diversity of options and effective curriculum choices. While Governments claim these changes are about 'choice,' the reality is that 'choice' is only for the financially better off in the community.[626]

The Party calls for a primary and secondary school curriculum that underscores global inter-reliance, and displays the importance of developing a sustainable, equitable, and nonviolent world. With this in mind, it advocates pastoral care, particularly for early secondary schooling, recognising the social conscience and ecological ethics of progressive religions. While the Party seeks to inspire socioenvironmental values at the primary and secondary levels, it also calls for a life-long education that empowers people and their communities to have socially peaceful, environmentally sound, economically secure and purposeful lives.[627] Accordingly, the A.C.T. Greens are deeply committed to community learning, action, and diversity which result in cultures of learning. Overall, life-long education contributes to the development of a unified yet multifaceted and multicultural world.[628]

Community

The Party advocates a progressive socioeconomic system that incorporates community-based services. It states that high quality community support services should be available to anyone in need, regardless of income.[629] Priority issues for funding include mental health, housing, services for young people, family support, employment programs, services for Aboriginal peoples, and dental health.[630]
Moreover, the Party calls for greater community education in the A.C.T., arguing that community awareness and expression is at the heart of a democratic system.[631] It believes that "a fundamental principle of

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[626] See "Education" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/educat-p.html>.
[627] *Ibid.*
[628] *Ibid.* Also investigate "ACT Greens Education Issues Paper" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/educat.html>.
[629] See "Community Sector" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/comsec-p.html>.
[630] *Ibid.*
[631] Investigate "ACT Greens Program for Better Government" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/goodgov.html>. Also investigate press release "Greens how-to-vote card bill keeps voters informed" (20 August, 1999).

democracy is that people should be able to have a say in the determination of issues that directly affect them."[632] Similarly, it feels that citizens should have equal opportunity to participate in the political system. Participation processes should ensure representativeness and equity by consulting with a cross section of groups, and by reaching out to the underrepresented or disadvantaged populations.[633]

Families

Pointing to the diversity of family types, the A.C.T. Greens call upon the territory and federal governments to improve the well-being of the family unit through the provision of public services specifically designed to enhance family and household life. The Party firmly opposes the current trend of privatising family support services, and believes that the two governments should:

• encourage family friendly work policies including maternity and parental leave and flexible working arrangements, such as flexitime, permanent part-time, job sharing, and compressed hours;
• support specific early intervention counselling services for men or women involved in family disputes or violence;
• ensure sole parent families are adequately supported; and
• work towards expanding the availability of affordable childcare in the A.C.T. which meets the existing diversity of needs, [particularly] in part-time care, occasional care, home-based family daycare, and after hours services for shift workers and students. Services for children with special needs must also be [made] available.[634]

Youth

The Party supports the right of young people to access social services and financial resources without suffering discrimination based on age or any other related status. Every young person, regardless of race, gender, sexuality, or ability should be able to live in a society that

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[632] See "Community Consultation and Development" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/ccdev-p.html>.
[633] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Greens plan for better government" (15 January, 1998).
[634] See "Families" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/family-p.html>. Also investigate "Birthing Services Action Plan" located at < http://www.act.greens.org.au/birth-ap.html>.

adequately empowers them to participate in education, employment, training or other meaningful work.[635]

> Young people should be given a supportive and safe environment to develop from the dependence of childhood to the autonomy of adulthood so that they will be able to participate in their community. Young people have a right to be consulted and heard wherever possible in community-based decisions which affect their lives.[636]

Accordingly, the Party calls upon the A.C.T. government to comply with all international obligations as identified in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child – principles that are premised on a respect for youth. This will help A.C.T.'s young people further develop as conscientious and considerate members of the community.

Seniors

The Party believes that senior citizens should be viewed with respect, recognising that they possess a wealth of knowledge, wisdom and memories. It opposes the discrimination against and oppression of older people, noting that they have a right to control their own lives irrespective of their social situation. They should be in a position to decide how to live and what kind of care they need.[637] Indeed, senior citizens should have the right to determine their own destiny in a society committed to democracy, equity and opportunity. The exercise of choice to determine how to live, and what kind of care to receive, is as important for older people as for everyone else.[638] Ensuring the quality of life and self-determination of older people requires adequate funding and inclusive policies vis-à-vis employment, health, housing and community services.[639]

People with Disabilities

Calling for an end to discrimination against people with disabilities, the A.C.T. Greens endorse the 1992 Commonwealth Disability Discrimination Act, and the 1991 Territory's Disability Services Act.

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[635] See "Children and Youth" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/childy-p.html>.
[636] *Ibid.*
[637] See "Older People" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/older-p.html>.
[638] *Ibid.*

Moreover, the Party insists that government (together with other institutions and organisations) should ensure that people with disabilities can access opportunities, services and basic needs without hindrance. This includes, for example, employment (noting the dual need of employment and accommodation support), respite care, accessible transport, and education (including holiday/after school programs for young people, particularly for those with autism).[640] Moreover:

> Greater emphasis needs to be placed on developing a [holistic, long-term] approach to delivering services. The A.C.T. Greens are concerned that standards of care for people with disabilities have been lowered due to increased need and a reduction in support. This can force carers to desperation to the extent that they accept inferior levels of care.[641]

Lesbian and Gay Issues

The A.C.T. Green Party believes that freedom of sexual orientation is a fundamental human right, and that sexual diversity is a healthy element of society.[642] It expresses concern for the well-being of lesbians, gays and bisexual people – pointing out that they face frequent prejudice and marginalisation in the A.C.T. Hence, it supports equal rights for all, independent of their sexuality, and values the many social contributions made by residents of diverse sexual orientations.[643] Overall, the Party calls upon the territory and federal governments to enact legislation that would: 1) defend the dignity and equality of lesbians, gays and bisexual people at all times; 2) not tolerate any person being harassed, abused, vilified, stigmatised, discriminated against, disadvantaged or exploited because of their sexual orientation; and 3) actively oppose any existing laws or practices which discriminate against lesbians, gays and bisexual people

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[639] *Ibid.*

[640] See "People with Disabilities" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/pdisab-p.html>.

[641] *Ibid.* Also investigate "An ACT Greens Action Plan on Caring For Carers" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/carer-ap.html>, as well as press releases "Tucker to release disabilities report" (15 February, 2000), and "Disabled service-provider agreement flawed" (8 January, 1998).

[642] See "Lesbian and Gay Issues" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/lesbga-p.html>.

[643] *Ibid.*

through family law, legal status, employment, immigration or law enforcement.[644]

Women's Issues

The A.C.T. Greens argue that, regardless of the social, economic or political activity, women should have access to the same opportunities as men – with equal value and credit. All women have the right to participate in society, including all aspects of public life, to the full extent of their interests and abilities, and without the risk of exploitation or fear for personal safety.[645] In addition to participation, every woman has the fundamental right to determine the course of her life without overt or implicit patriarchal bias. The Party states that there are top-down, male-dominated institutional structures that discourage or prevent women from making a full and equal contribution to society. Indeed, women are often more disadvantaged in terms of access of opportunity and participation, employment security, income and benefits, and segregation within and between job sectors.[646]

Aboriginal Issues

The A.C.T. Greens recognise the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as the original and rightful custodians of Australia. Crucial to improving the situation for indigenous people is a fundamental shift away from Euro-Australian authority towards Aboriginal self-governance.[647] The federal government refuses to grant nation-status to Aboriginal peoples, stating that all Australians should be treated uniformly irrespective of their ties to the land. The Party strongly disagrees with the federal government's colonial position, and objects to any further contravention of native title through economic action, legislative manoeuvres or social marketing, noting that the issue of land rights is at the heart of Aboriginal autonomy. Moreover, along with self-

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[644] *Ibid.*

[645] See "Women" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/women-p.html>. Also investigate press release "To get women into the assembly, vote Green" (13 February, 1998).

[646] *Ibid.*

[647] See "Indigenous Australians" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/indig-p.html>.

determination, the government should offer Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people equitable access to appropriate housing, culturally sensitive health facilities, improved education, and employment opportunities.[648]

Economics

The A.C.T. Greens state that an economic system should serve individuals, communities and the natural environment rather than the opposite: human beings and nature serving the economy. Conventional economists confuse ends and means – the economy is not an end in itself, it is a means to a sustainable society.[649] Consequently, the Party believes it is important to: 1) work to develop an economy that sustains nature, society, and employment; 2) ensure that socioenvironmental costs and benefits are incorporated into government, individual and business initiatives; and 3) use the taxation system as a tool for achieving greater socioeconomic equity and ecological sustainability.[650]

Addictive Substances and Habits

The A.C.T. Greens recognise the direct and indirect risks of drug use, and call upon the federal and territory governments to rethink their position against illicit drugs. Specifically, it believes that prohibition is an ineffective method of ending drug misuse and abuse, and results in greater harm than prevention. It takes drug users into the criminal world, exposes them to the risks of using impure substances, and channels huge profits through the black market and into the hands of criminals.[651] Accordingly, it calls upon the government to place greater emphasis on prevention and treatment, identifying drug abuse as a major health concern. The Party also states that:

> Tobacco is a major carcinogen with a variety of health effects. Alcohol used in excess is detrimental to health and is a significant contributor to anti-social behaviour, violence and crime. Abuse of illegal drugs causes a breakdown in health, an increase in crime, corruption and drug trafficking, places

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[648] *Ibid.*

[649] See "Economic Overview" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/overview.html>.

[650] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Jobs and the Economy" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/jobeco.html>.

[651] See "Drugs" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/drugs-p.html>.

further burdens on the justice system and marginalises users.[652]

This said, the Party believes that the federal and territory governments should grant individuals the right to decide if and when they wish to use drugs. Specifically, it argues that:

> Government's role should be restricted to promoting healthy lifestyles and preventing the promotion of unhealthy lifestyles by vested interest groups, such as tobacco companies. Stopping tobacco promotion is particularly important where juveniles are targeted by advertising campaigns. The ultimate decision about personal drug use, however, remains up to mature individuals.[653]

Transportation

The A.C.T. Greens point out that the automobile – the dominant mode of transportation in Australia – severely impacts on natural, social and economic systems. Combustion-based cars release pollutants throughout their 'lifetime' from 'cradle-to-grave,' and are a significant contributor to climate change. Automobiles also result in serious accidents, often with youth and their families as the victims. They cause noise pollution (along with psychological distress), and worse alienation – creating physical barriers between people and their neighbourhoods. Additionally, society suffers in the loss of land due to the construction of roads, highways, garages, and parking lots. To reduce energy consumption and pollution and to increase access to services and opportunities for all people within the community, the Party believes that public transportation, cycling, and walking must be made more attractive and viable options.[654]

Sports and Recreation

The Party maintains that fitness (along with a healthy diet and adequate sleep) has a positive bearing on an individual's physical and sociopsychological well-being, and is key to a joyful, active life. Although not everyone wants to be a top athlete, all should be given the opportunity

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[652] *Ibid.*

[653] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Limit the gamble" (23 March, 2000).

[654] See "Transport" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/trans-p.html>. Also investigate press releases "Tucker to amend new bicycle rules" (7 February, 2000), and

to maintain their desired level of fitness.[655] Thus, the A.C.T. Greens support institutions and organisations which provide sport and recreation activities to society in an equitable manner with the aim of encouraging independence, healthy living, and friendship irrespective of sociocultural background. Recognising the different roles for sport and recreation, the A.C.T. Greens place particular emphasis on non-elite sport and accessible recreational activities.[656]

Conclusion[657]

The A.C.T. Greens champion the rights of non-human beings, minority peoples, and disadvantaged residents in the territory. While the Party embraces a global perspective, it has a slight predisposition towards addressing local community concerns – advocating regional economics, bioregional planning, and grassroots participatory democracy. It also demonstrates a consultative attitude, pointing to the need for governments to work with individuals and communities to effect progressive social change. Accordingly, while it strongly supports the distribution of government services (that further social equity and ecological sustainability), it is generally critical of paternalistic top-down, government authorities on the grounds that they devalue and discourage public participation.

The Party calls for 'community planting and management of organic food producing trees on appropriate areas of public land, which are not being used for native revegetation.' This is a valuable suggestion, particularly for poor urban areas. Typically, the more benevolent of society's individuals, organisations and institutions have sought to alleviate urban destitution through an advocacy for (and the implementation of) social welfare provisions (such as the dole) and/or by giving to charities

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"Greens call for action on light rail" (13 January, 1998).

[655] See "Sport and Recreation" located at <http://www.act.greens.org.au/sporec-p.html>.
[656] *Ibid.* Also investigate press releases "Primary school ovals officially neglected" (3 February, 1998), and "Lake user forum needed as Olympics loom" (21 January, 1998).
[657] Reminder (from the introduction): The following concluding remarks are not meant to be 'complete.' The main objective of this material is to identify the Party's salient points for reflective discussion or rather, what I interpret as the noteworthy points (recognising that what is significant is relative to an observer's interpretation of significance). Moreover, the material contains interpretive remarks; that is, it includes unchained, subjective and free-flowing observations.

such as food banks.[658] Instead of granting the destitute the means of food production, conventional wisdom has tended to focus on immediate, band-aid solutions to the inequitable distribution of food capital.[659] While it is crucial that governments and non-profit organisations offer temporary relief, there is also a need for long-term measures that encourage self-sufficiency.[660] Hence, the Party may wish to encourage the transformation of central city parks into community gardens where the poor are given the opportunity to plant, exchange and gather organic fruits and vegetables amongst one another with the instructive, logistic and financial support of public and private institutions.[661] Similarly, the Party may also want to call upon private property owners whose property adjoins public lands (for instance, homeowners' front lawns and walkways) to plant fruit-bearing trees/bushes and other eatable vegetation for public consumption.[662] Preferably, the fruits and vegetables would be organically-grown and native to the region.

The A.C.T. Greens believe that governments should 'accept and be responsible for market failure, and the quality of life of disadvantaged people and/or communities.' This is a noteworthy point. However, the major political forces in the territory (the Labor and Liberal parties) subscribe to economic rationalism and rely on corporate power.[663] They are

[658] Investigate Pierson, C. & Castles, F.G. (eds.). (2000). *The Welfare State: A Reader*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers; Salamon, L.M. (1995). *Partners in Public Service: Government-Nonprofit Relations in the Modern Welfare State*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press; and Powell, W.W. & Clemens, E.S. (eds.). (1998). *Private Action and the Public Good*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
[659] Investigate Landman, R.H. (1993). *Creating Community in the City*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
[660] Investigate Waterman, M.P. (1995). *Self-Sufficiency Gardening: Financial, Physical and Emotional Security from Your Own Backyard*. Port Townsend, WA: Loompanics, and "L.E.T.S. stands for Local Exchange Trading System" located at <http://www.lets.sligozone.net/lets%20system.html>.
[661] Investigate the various essays in "Urban Agriculture Notes" located at <http://www.cityfarmer.org/>, and the fiirst paragraph of "Community Gardens " located at <http://aggie-horticulture.tamu.edu/kinder/commun.html>.
[662] Investigate the various essays in "Urban Agriculture Notes" located at <http://www.cityfarmer.org/> such as "Community Gardening in Major Canadian Cities: Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver Compared" by Sean Cosgrove, and "Vegetable Production on Open Spaces in Dar es Salaam: Spatial Changes from 1992 to 1999" by Stefan Dongus.
[663] Investigate "Legislative Assembly for the Australian Capital Territory: Members by Party" located at <http://www.legassembly.act.gov.au/index.html>; "Legislative Assembly for the Australian Capital Territory 4th Assembly" located at <http://www.legassembly.act.gov.au/index.html> (particularly "Summary of Bills"); "ACT Branch: Australian Labor Party" located at <http://www.act.alp.org.au/>; and "Canberra Liberals" located at <http://www.canberraliberals.org.au/>.

not at liberty to act in the interest of socioeconomic justice.[664] Even the
A.C.T.'s Labor Party has succumbed to a view that the common person
benefits from 'free' enterprise.[665] By contrast, the A.C.T. Green Party
exhibits concern for the working class, the poor, and others who do not
profit (or benefit little) from the corporate distribution of labour and
capital. Unlike the major political parties, it is not chained to the corporate
market, since it directly represents and exclusively receives support from
individual citizens.[666] In essence, it can freely back progressive union
activity, social protests, and the provision of essential services by the
government in the interest of community welfare, without internal
hindrance from industrial forces. Thus, A.C.T. governments are unlikely to
respond to market failure, and ensure equity for the disenfranchised, unless
they are free of corporate interference, and constitute Green
administrations.

The Greens of the A.C.T. wish to see legislation that covers 'public
disclosure of toxic chemical use, transfer and release, a register of
contaminated sites, environmental and water quality reporting, toxic
substance planning strategies (including emergency planning) and
notification requirements.' The Party points to yet another crucial issue.
Given that the dominant, sensational media largely ignores multifarious
environmental problems, particularly those that do not generate immediate
environmental impacts, governments have a responsibility to fully and
clearly inform the public of potential and on-going socioenvironmental
threats.[667] This is a challenge since most governments are, at the very least,
indirectly responsible to corporations who in turn profit from the
suppression of socioenvironmental information.[668] This said, I can think of

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[664] *Ibid.*

[665] Investigate "Legislative Assembly for the Australian Capital Territory 4th Assembly"
located at <http://www.legassembly.act.gov.au/index.html> (particularly "Summary of
Bills"), and "ACT Branch: Australian Labor Party" located at
<http://www.act.alp.org.au/>.

[666] See "The ACT Greens Constitution" located at
<http://www.act.greens.org.au/constut.html#chapter2>.

[667] Investigate Waterman-McChesney, R. (2000). *Rich Media, Poor Democracy: Communication
Politics in Dubious Times.* New York, NY: New Press; Chomsky, N. (1997). *Media Control:
The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda (The Open Media Pamphlet Series, No 1).* New
York, NY: Seven Stories Press; and Herman, E., Waterman-McChesney, R. & Herman, E.S.
(1998). *The Global Media: The Missionaries of Global Capitalism (Media Studies).* London, UK:
Cassell Academic.

[668] Investigate Mills, C.W. (2000). *The Power Elite.* Los Angeles CA: Getty Center for
Education in the Arts, and Korten, D.C. (1996). *When Corporations Rule the World.* San

at least one way that the A.C.T. Greens could encourage the enactment of environmental 'right-to-know' legislation. The Australian people and, I would presume, citizens of the A.C.T., are concerned about their health and well-being.[669] Hence, the A.C.T. Greens, in the interest of raising public awareness (noting the media-orientation of dominant culture), could passionately underscore the connections between environmental degradation and public health.[670] As a result of the market economy (and the incessant ideology of competition), Western peoples have come to value self-interest.[671] While there are those who interpret life as a duty involving self-sacrifice and altruism, the average person is typically moved to green action by individual, immediate threat or incentive.[672] Many Greens reflexively place their own philosophy of self-sacrifice onto others, assuming that the public can fully relate to selflessness.[673] It is a lofty assumption, not born by the present state of affairs.[674] For the average person (and voter), unless socioenvironmental degradation directly or indirectly impacts on their own well-being and their loved ones, it is, in the end, largely an inconsequential matter.[675] Essentially, the Party would do

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Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers & West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.

[669] Investigate VandenHeuvel, A. & Hayes, B. (1995). "Public Attitudes towards Government Spending on Health Care." *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 275-290.

[670] Investigate Pimentel, D., Westra, L. & Noss, R.F. (eds.). (2001). *Ecological Integrity: Integrating Environment, Conservation, & Health.* Washington, DC: Island Press.

[671] Investigate Singer, P. (1995). *How Are We to Live? Ethics in an Age of Self-Interest.* Loughton, UK: Prometheus Books, and Frankel-Paul, E. & Miller, F.D. (eds.). (1997). *Self-Interest.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

[672] Investigate "Fairness Motivations and Tradeoffs Underlying Public Support for Government Environmental Spending in Nine Nations" located at <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/GSS99/report/c-report/cross15.htm> (a report by Kenneth A. Rasinski and Tom W. Smith of the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago), and Page, B. I. & Shapiro, R. Y. (1992). *The Rational Public: 50 Years of Public Opinion Research.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

[673] For examples of environmental altruism, investigate The Blockaders. (1983). *The Franklin Blockade.* Hobart, Tas: The Wilderness Society; MacIsaac, R. & Champagne, A. (eds.). (1995). *Clayoquot Mass Trials: Defending the Rainforest.* Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers; and Schwab, J., Schwab, J. & Gibbs, L. (1994). *Deeper Shades of Green: The Rise of Blue-Collar and Minority Environmentalism in America.* San Francisco, CA: Sierra Club Books.

[674] Investigate Goudzwaard, B. (1997). *Capitalism and Progress: A Diagnosis of Western Society.* Grand Rapids, MI: Erdman's Publishing; Naylor, R.T. (1996). *Bankers Bagmen and Bandits: Business and Politics in the Age of Greed.* Montreal, PQ: Black Rose Books; and Karliner, J. (1997). *The Corporate Planet: Ecology and Politics in the Age of Globalization.* San Francisco, CA: Sierra Club Books.

[675] Investigate Williams, B.A. & Matheny, A.R. (1998). *Democracy, Dialogue, and Environmental Disputes: The Contested Languages of Social Regulation.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press; Goldsteen, R.L., Schorr, J.K. & Lester, J.P. (1991). *Demanding Democracy After Three Mile Island.* Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida; and Jenkins, G. & Lamech, R. (1994). *Green Taxes and Incentive Policies: An International Perspective.* Oakland, CA: Institute for Contemporary Studies.

well to redefine environmental impacts utilising health concepts and terminology, emphasising the specific relationships between individual, social and ecological well-being.[676] While many Greens accept the socioecocentric act of placing the larger Self above egoism,[677] I do not believe that the public is willing to do the same – instrumental reasoning, at least for the immediate future, appears to be more palatable to the public.[678]

The Party supports 'pastoral care, particularly for early secondary schooling, recognising the social conscience and ecological ethics of progressive religions.' This is a most unusual and surprising position – Green parties do not normally associate religion with politics (it is typically a domain for the conservative right).[679] In fact, there are Greens who strongly emphasise the separation of the two indicating that the former is dogma.[680] Moreover, to suggest that religious activity can occur within the classroom setting raises questions vis-à-vis indoctrination.[681] If students are given the opportunity to critically challenge and explore one or more religions, then I would argue that such questions can be set aside, albeit with the caution that some educators may represent their religion as blind faith.[682] In essence, Green parties should welcome religion, but with a critical eye.[683] Progressive religions, in particular, promote a philosophy of care, compassion and civic virtue, whilst criticising violence, greed, and self-interest.[684] Alas, there is a backlash against progressive religious

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[676] Investigate Scott, R. (2000). *The Ecology of Health (Schumacher Briefing, 3).* Dartington, UK: Green Books/Resurgence Books.

[677] Investigate, for example, "Welcome to Deep-Ecology.net" located at <http://www.deep-ecology.net/>.

[678] I should add that there is a distinction between framing socioenvironmental issues in step with public sympathy, and relying on popular opinion to identify campaign issues, the latter of which is problematic for reasons I outline in the previous chapter, as well as the chapter on the Newfoundland Greens.

[679] Investigate "The Greens – Index" located at <http://start.at/the.greens.index>.

[680] Investigate "Cultural Democracy" located at < http://www.greenparty.org/>.

[681] Investigate Spiecker, B. & Straughan, R. (eds.). (1991). *Freedom and Indoctrination in Education: International Perspectives.* London, UK: Cassell Academic, and Audi, R. & Wolterstorff, N. (1996). *Religion in the Public Square: The Place of Religious Convictions in Political Debate (Point/Counterpoint).* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield (particularly Audi's position).

[682] *Ibid.* Also investigate Durham, M. (2001). *The Christian Right, the Far Right and the Boundaries of American Conservatism.* Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, and Beikmann, R. (1996). *God in My Classroom: Devotions for Christian Teachers.* St. Louis, MI: Concordia Publishing House.

[683] Investigate Turner, B.S. (ed.). (1996). *The Blackwell Companion to Social Theory.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.

[684] Investigate Suzuki, D. Connell, A. & McConnell, A. (1999). *The Sacred Balance: Rediscovering Our Place in Nature.* Seattle, WA: Mountaineers Books; Rice, J. (1998). *Before the Great Spirit: The Many Faces of Sioux Spirituality.* Albuquerque, NM: University of New

activity. Specifically, ardent rationalists ridicule the loving, romantic elements of religion, while progressive religious morality is devalued by the worldwide increase in corporate activity with its associated principles of control, domination, competition, and voracity.[685] Consequently, the kindness and concern of the 'religious left' is increasingly isolated from public discourse.[686]

The Party recognises 'the diversity of family types,' and argues that 'the territory and federal governments [should] improve the well-being of the family unit through the provision of public services specifically designed to enhance family and household life.' This is yet another intriguing point – and again, one which is ordinarily a topic of interest for the conservative right,[687] and not the Greens.[688] However, the Party seems to reject the narrow characterisation of family so often energetically pushed by the right.[689] In addition to the traditional conceptions of family (extended and nuclear families, each with a mother and father), it appears to value same-sex couples with children, single-parent families, non-blood relatives or relations raising or not raising children, and more than two parents as representative of family life. In essence, the loose notion, a 'diversity of family types,' suggests that the Party defines family, in a general context, as two or more individuals who are bonded to one another through love. This said, how general is the Party's definition of family? Does family include non-human relations (for instance, individual animal species such as cats or

Mexico Press; Cummings, C. (1991). *Eco-Spirituality: Toward a Reverent Life.* Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press; Bernstein, E. (ed.). (2000). *Ecology & the Jewish Spirit: Where Nature and the Sacred Meet.* Woodstock, VT: Jewish Lights Publishing; and Tucker, M.E. & Ryuken-Williams, D. (eds.). (1998). *Buddhism and Ecology: The Interconnection of Dharma and Deeds (Religions of the World and Ecology).* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
[685] Investigate Haught, J.F. (1996). *Science and Religion: From Conflict to Conversation.* Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press; Smith, H. (2000). *Why Religion Matters: The Fate of the Human Spirit in an Age of Disbelief.* San Francisco, CA: Harper San Francisco; Bstan-Dzin-Rgya-Mtsho, Quaki, F., Benson, A. & the Dalai Lama. (1999). *Imagine All the People: A Conversation with the Dalai Lama on Money, Politics, and Life as it Could Be.* Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications; and Hicks, D.A. (2000). *Inequality and Christian Ethics (New Studies in Christian Ethics, No. 16).* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
[686] *Ibid.* Also investigate Barnet, R.J. & Cavanagh, J. (1995). *Global Dreams: Imperial Corporations and the New World Order.* Carmichael, CA: Touchstone Books.
[687] Investigate "Family" located at <http://www.heritage.org/library/keyissues/family/>.
[688] Investigate "The Greens – Index" located at <http://start.at/the.greens.index>.
[689] Investigate Lewis, S.M. (1998). *The ABCs of Real Family Values: The Simple Things That Make Families Work.* New York, NY: Plume; Bathurst-Gilson, A. (1999). *The Battle for America's Families: A Feminist Response to the Religious Right.* Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press; and Lee, C. (1998). *Beyond Family Values: A Call to Christian Virtue.* Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press.

dogs)? I strongly suspect that the Party tacitly (if not explicitly on informal occasions) recognises non-human relations as family. But, what are the implications of governmental policy vis-à-vis family if 'pets' are included as part of the family unit? Perhaps, governments should, for instance, offer support to families with animals who are in need of medical treatment. Undoubtedly, this would be a peculiar move to the average person, while the progressive social activist who questions the right of families to have and feed pets in the first place (given the needs of the world's destitute) would perceive any significant role of government in caring for pets as elitism and inequity at its worst.[690] Indeed, more money is spent in the world on pet food than on basic health and nutrition for poverty-stricken countries.[691] Moreover, matters are already difficult with conservative critics opposing the rights of non-traditional families, and would be further complicated by the provision of services to non-human family members.[692] This said, one set of inequities does not preclude concern for another – both human and non-human inequities can be addressed together.[693] There is enough capital to ensure the provision of basic government services to all those in need (including human and non-human beings), whether on a local, national and international basis – if not purely through the redistribution of corporate wealth and the devolution of class differences.[694] Ultimately, the Party may wish to reconceptualise 'public services' as socioenvironmental services, and call upon governments to grant life essentials to non-human family members. At the very least, it would help

[690] Investigate Ridley, K. (1998). "Editorial: Might as Well Face It, We're Addicted to Stuff," *Hope: How to be Part of the Solution*, Nov./Dec. Issue, p.1; "Hunger Websites & Resources" located at <http://www.worldrevolution.org/Resources.asp?CategoryName=Hunger>.
[691] See "About Obscenities, Poverty and Inequality in a Capitalist System" located at <http://www.rrojasdatabank.org/pobres01.htm>.
[692] Investigate Lewis, S.M. *The ABCs of Real Family Values*; Bathurst-Gilson, A. *The Battle for America's Families*; and Lee, C.. *Beyond Family Values*.
[693] Investigate Gallo, A.M. (1996). *A Voice for the Planet, a Voice for Humanity*. Fairfield, IA: Sunstar Publishing.
[694] Investigate Murray, M.L. (1997). *And Economic Justice for All: Welfare Reform for the 21st Century*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe; "Facing Global Power: Strategies for Global Unionism" located at <http://www.icem.org/congress99/englotxt.htm> (a report produced by the International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine and General Workers' Unions (I.C.E.M.) during the Second World Congress, Durban, South Africa, 3-5 November, 1999); Kingston, P.W. (2000). *The Classless Society (Studies in Social Inequality)*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press; and Lee, D.J. & Turner, B.S. (eds.). (1996). *Conflicts About Class: Debating Inequality in Late Industrialism*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

further the animal rights debate, and encourage governments, at some rudimentary level, to practice species equality.[695]

Lastly, the Party notes that 'fitness (along with a healthy diet and adequate sleep) has a positive bearing on an individual's physical and sociopsychological well-being,' and hence it 'supports institutions and organisations which provide sport and recreation activities.' This is a key point, and one seldom expressed by Green parties.[696] It suggests a holistic knowledge and appreciation of the interconnections between individual and social well-being.[697] It also demonstrates an understanding of the human body as a highly complex and delicate living system requiring care.[698] However, while the Party emphasises well-being through recreation and sport, it also supports the right of the individual to 'decide if and when they wish to use drugs.' This circuitously suggests that athletes have the right to use steroids and other performance-enhancing drugs. Many professional athletes identify the use of drugs (even over-the-counter prescriptions), let alone performance-enhancing drugs as a serious breach of sports ethics.[699] In fact, there is an admiration of the drug-free lifestyle.[700] Essentially, the Party will almost certainly lose the attention of the fitness and sports community if it continues to promote an open, libertarian stance on drug use. Therefore, if not for this reason alone, it should reconsider its position on the liberalisation of drugs.

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[695] For information on species equality, investigate Anderson , J.C. (1993). "Species Equality and the Foundations of Moral Theory," *Environmental Values*, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 347-365, and "Peter Singer: Equal Consideration For All" located at <http://www.thevegetariansite.com/ethics_singer.htm>.

[696] Investigate "The Greens – Index" located at <http://start.at/the.greens.index>.

[697] For more information on holistic conceptions of wellness, investigate Diener, E. & Suh, E.M. (eds.). (2000). *Culture and Subjective Well-Being (Well Being and Quality of Life)*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press; Corbin, C. (1997). *Concepts of Fitness and Wellness*. New York, NY: McGraw Hill; and Margen, S. *Wellness Encyclopedia of Food and Nutrition*.

[698] *Ibid.*

[699] Investigate "International Association of Athletes Against Drugs" located at <http://www.iaaad.org/spa/inicial.htm>; "Athletes Against Drugs" located at <http://www.joinaad.org/>; and "Sport Against Drugs" located at <http://www.sportagainstdrugs.org/messaggi.asp>.

[700] *Ibid.*

13. The World's First Green Party: The Tasmanian Greens

Introduction

This chapter explores Tasmania's Green Party, and offers some reflective analysis on the nature of its paradigm. Specifically, along with the other chapters detailing Green Party paradigmatic positions, it helps answer the third research question posed in chapter one, namely: What are the demonstrated paradigmatic positions of the federal and provincial/state Greens? Originally named the United Tasmania Group, it was the first green political party to be formed in the world having been established at a meeting at the Hobart Town Hall in 1972 to campaign against the flooding of Lake Pedder.[701]

The Tasmanian Greens believe in an inclusive democratic state whereby all residents participate as equal decision-makers in the ecological, sociopolitical and economic well-being of their communities.[702] In achieving such a state, the Party argues that political expression should be based on legislative and constitutional reform, individual and community empowerment, and ultimately, environmental protection, social justice, and value-added ecologically-sensitive economic activity. With respect to the latter, business ventures should maximise the benefit obtained, while minimising the volume of matter and energy that usefully flows through the economy.[703] The Tasmanian Greens maintain that a progressive economy is one that respects the state's intra/intergenerational well-being, natural diversity, and sociocultural richness.

The Party calls upon the state to take an active role in ensuring that basic social justice principles are built into all its activities – particularly in areas of 'user pays,' state taxation and charges which have an adverse impact on low income families and businesses at risk.[704] According to the Greens of Tasmania, the state needs a better balance of economic and social development – a balance which gives priority to improving the quality of

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[701] See "About the Greens" located at <http://www.tas.greens.org.au/about.html>.
[702] See "The Greens Charter... The Tasmanian Greens" located at <http://www.tas.greens.org.au/home/about/charter.html>.
[703] See Tasmanian Greens. (1996). *Strategies for the Future*. Hobart, TAS: Tasmanian Greens.
[704] *Ibid*. See "The Future is Green" located at <http://www.vision.net.au/~tasgreens/greens/charter.html>.

all peoples' lives, not just those with the most 'resources.'[705]

Wilderness and Natural Assets

The World Conservation Union (I.U.C.N.) and other similar international authorities have affirmed that Tasmania's temperate rainforests warrant protection because of their global ecological significance.[706] The Tasmanian Greens are committed to preserving the state's unique temperate forests, rugged landscapes, archaeological treasures, and cultural assets from heedless ecological exploitation. The Party has been instrumental in developing and enhancing Tasmania's national parks, world heritage and reserved lands systems during the past decade – against huge political and corporate counter-pressure.[707] This was particularly the case during 1989-91 when the state was governed by a minority Labor Government (which was kept in office by five elected Greens under the Labor-Green Accord). Through public participation, discussion with political parties, negotiations with governments, and by working closely with community groups, the Greens of Tasmania helped achieve, for example, important additions to Tasmania's World Heritage Area, such as the Lemonthyme, Denison-Spires, Lower Gordon River, Farmhouse Creek, upper Weld River Valley, the Central Plateau and parts of the Great Western Tiers.[708] The Party believes that these areas should be preserved in perpetuity, free of socioeconomic activity – that is if the activity directly or indirectly affects the intrinsic value of the wild area. It rejects strategies that enable powerful or moneyed elites from unfairly accessing or utilising the state's national parks, world heritage and reserved lands, even in a seemingly benign capacity such as helicopter 'ecotours.'[709]

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[705] *Ibid.*

[706] See section IV. 48 of Bureau of the World Heritage Committee. (1999). *Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage.* Paris, France: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

[707] See Tasmanian Greens. *Strategies for the Future.*

[708] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Tasmania's World Heritage Area" located at <http://www.tasmanian-ways.de/heritage.html>.

[709] See Tasmanian Greens. *Strategies for the Future.* Also investigate "Call for Public Comment –
Additional Helicopter/Floatplane Proposals/Sites in the Tasmanian Wilderness World Heritage Area" located at <http://www.tct.org.au/heli1.htm>.

The Tasmanian Green Party calls upon the state and federal governments to affirm the inherent value of the state's unique forests and their long-term responsibility to preserve them.[710] It believes that expansionist governments and industry are largely responsible for the damaging impacts on forest ecosystems (for instance, transforming trees from old growth forests into pulp and paper products). Tasmania is consuming its forests at an unsustainable rate. Consequently, the Party advocates the establishment of a comprehensive, representative and extensive native forest reserves system based on public lands, but incorporating measures to ensure protection of forest ecosystems on private lands.[711] The Tasmanian system of reserved forests should be structured to protect old growth, biodiversity, Aboriginal, aesthetic and recreational values.[712] In order to help mitigate any adverse environmental impacts, the Tasmanian Greens argue that governments and industry can also restore abandoned public and private lands (through the art and science of restoration). Moreover, the Tasmanian Greens call for a wood products and pulp and paper industry that is agriculturally based and operates under the tenets of ecological sustainability and a clean production system.[713] It calls upon the state and federal governments to end the export of woodchips sourced from Tasmania's native forests, and speed up the transition currently under way to source virtually all of Tasmania's wood from plantations rather than native forests. [714] It supports a plantation forestry that does not utilise chemical fertilizers or pesticides, involve clearing of native vegetation, degrade the landbase, result in water pollution, and circumvent community needs.[715] It also believes that it is important to

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[710] Investigate "Woodchipping and Jobs" located at
<http://www.vision.net.au/~tasgreens/issues/index.html>.
[711] See Tasmanian Greens. *Strategies for the Future.*
[712] Investigate "Woodchipping and Jobs" located at
<http://www.vision.net.au/~tasgreens/issues/index.html>; and " Sustainable Forestry…
Issues for the Tasmanian Greens" located at
<http://www.tas.greens.org.au/home/campaigns/sustainableforestry.html>.
[713] See Tasmanian Greens. *Strategies for the Future.*
[714] *Ibid.*
[715] Investigate "Peg Putt and the Tasmanian Greens" located at
<http://www.tas.greens.org.au/home/electedgreens/pegputt/inaugural.html>.

achieve maximum levels of ecologically-sensitive downstream processing and value adding of wood products within Tasmania.[716]

Hydro

Historically, whole river ecosystems have been destroyed by hydro-electricity storage dams which not only drown riverine ecosystems but also can change water temperature for as far as 200 kilometres downstream, permanently affecting whole river ecosystems.[717] Over 25 years ago, Tasmania's Greens first revealed the environmental destruction caused by dams and the shortsighted assumption that the state's economy and employment can be buttressed by 'cut-rate' hydroelectric power. While it is true that 'hydro-industrialisation' offered short-term benefits up until the early 1970's, the Hydro Electric Commission's (H.E.C.'s) failures soon came to the forefront. By the early 1990's, the H.E.C. had created an extreme oversupply of power and serious problems in servicing their well over a billion dollar debt. According to the Tasmanian Greens, unnecessary dams and retiring large industries have saddled the H.E.C.'s smaller electricity consumers with the existing debt servicing burden, putting upward pressure on their electricity bills.[718] The Party writes:

> In a climate of oversupply, there are limited options for the H.E.C. to cover its loan commitments. Consequently, consumers not on contract supply now have to pay increased power levies and face prospects of having to pay further tariff hikes in the near future. This is an indictment of past and present political attitudes [...] and power pricing for bulk power consumers is still conducted behind closed doors, via long-term secret contracts. Bulk power customers use this contract system to insulate themselves against price changes. This undemocratic and inflexible procedure has created fierce debate in the Tasmanian community.[719]

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[716] See Tasmanian Greens. *Strategies for the Future.* Also investigate "Green Loggers: An Attempt at Ecoforestry and Value-added Wood Products," *Ecoforestry,* Vol. 15, No. 2., pp. 18-26.

[717] See Tasmanian Greens. *Strategies for the Future.* Also investigate press releases "Government Making Decisions in the Dark on Hydro" (2 September, 1997); and "More Information Required to Decide on Hydro Sale" (25 August 1997).

[718] *Ibid.*

[719] *Ibid.* Also investigate Tasmanian Greens. (1998). *Clean, Green and Clever: How The Bass Strait Cable Could Jeopardise this Future.* Hobart, TAS: Tasmanian Greens.

Education

The Party supports Tasmanians' right to public education (irrespective of their wealth or background). It recognises the need for a strong universal public education system, based on justice, equity, and ecological awareness. It argues that this system must be respectful of individual needs and offer the opportunity for a lifetime of progressive learning. The state should fund, in perpetuity, childcare, pre-schooling, primary education, secondary schooling, and tertiary institutions, as well as occupational training and continuing education courses. Moreover, the Tasmanian Greens argue that governments must reject the concept of an open training market – an economic rationalist perspective which sees the privatisation of education and training as a significant cost savings.[720] Current patterns of community demand are such that in a costly, exclusive privatised training system access would be severely curtailed and would therefore be discriminatory.[721]

Drugs

Clearly, some drugs, namely alcohol, tobacco, caffeine, and prescription drugs are legal whilst others, such as marijuana, heroin, cocaine, psychedelics (mushrooms, LSD, peyote, etc.), 'speed' and 'designer' drugs are not.[722] The Tasmanian Greens argue that Australia faces a bizarre situation where the two drugs responsible for the most drug related deaths are legally and unrestrictedly available to persons over eighteen and are promoted in the form of advertising, while the use of the 'other' drugs is illegal and incurs heavy penalties and convictions.[723] The Party believes that governments should implement a series of reforms leading to the legalisation of drugs with appropriate restrictions (relying on exhaustive clinical research and trials).[724] It also argues that once informed of the personal consequences and social impacts of drug use, people should

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[720] See Tasmanian Greens. *Strategies for the Future.* Also investigate "The Stop Privatisation Campaign" located at <http://www.progressivelabour.org/stopprivatisation.htm>.
[721] *Ibid.*
[722] See Tasmanian Greens. *Strategies for the Future.* Also investigate "Australian Drug Foundation" located at <http://www.adf.org.au/drughit/index.html>; and press release "Community Safety More Important than Petty Convictions" (3 September, 1997).
[723] *Ibid.*
[724] Investigate, for example, "Tasmanian Greens Legislation to Liberalise Marijuana Laws" located at <http://www.pdxnorml.org/HN_25.html>.

have the choice to decide whether or not they wish to use drugs. It advocates introducing a system of classification for all drugs according to their toxicity, addictive properties, euphoric effect, and social or community impact.[725] It maintains that it is critical to license manufacturers, suppliers and possibly users, and administer the drugs through the health system (while assisting people with drug problems).[726] Ultimately, the Tasmanian Greens believe in:

• supporting, expanding and encouraging current and new programs which increase awareness of drug issues, create supportive environments for abusers and their families, provide access to reliable information, control supply, minimise harm, and regulate the supply of all drugs;
• decriminalising personal drug use subject to social and health effects;
• decriminalising marijuana possession and cultivation for personal use;
• subsidising drug withdrawal programs and replacement therapy;
• regulating the advertisement of all drugs to minimise the influence on minors;
• making the supply of all drugs to minors a criminal offence; and
• investigating the impact of legalising, and trial mechanisms for, the supply of heroin and amphetamines to registered addicts.[727]

Health

The Tasmanian Green Party subscribes to the World Health Organisation's interpretation of health as "not just the absence of disease, but complete physical, social and emotional wellbeing."[728] It is committed to ensuring the highest level of well-being for every Tasmanian, and believes that all Tasmanians should be ensured the right to live amongst healthy ecosystems, supportive social networks (such as close family and/or friends), and bioregional-based, co-operative and giving communities.[729] It also feels that everyone should be guaranteed opportunities for sustained employment, adequate food and shelter, physically and emotionally safe workplaces, and equitable incomes. It is necessary that the state place individual and public rights above corporate or government interests in achieving such outcomes. The Greens of Tasmania base their vision of health on the philosophy that:

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[725] Investigate, for example, "Decriminalisation" located at
<http://www.nzdf.org.nz/update/messages/37.htm>.
[726] See Tasmanian Greens. *Strategies for the Future.*
[727] *Ibid.*
[728] See "World Health Organisation" located at < http://www.who.int/home-page/>.

• wellbeing depends upon the proper functioning of the biosphere;
• health depends upon effective services and a social support network that ensures that every person has access to appropriate treatment and health education;
• physical and emotional health depends upon mutual respect and social systems which allow each person to develop to their full potential;
• the allocation of resources for a community's health services should reflect community needs; and
• health services workers should be employed under the best possible work practices agreements which encompass salaries commensurate with responsibilities, stress minimisation through allocation of adequate resources, and training programs which provide for skill enhancement, career development and job satisfaction.[730]

Furthermore, the Tasmanian Greens believe that it is critical to place greater emphasis on the prevention of ill-health and disease than to support what in many instances amounts to the corporate exploitation of illness (for instance, through the sale of drugs designed to treat illnesses that could have been prevented by way of lifestyle changes such as exercise and a healthy diet).

Aboriginal Justice

The Tasmanian Green Party recognises that Aboriginal people had prior occupation of the land now known as Tasmania.[731] It acknowledges that the Tasmanian Aboriginal people were dispossessed of their land following Britain's invasion in 1803, and expresses deep regret that the ethnocentric attitude of British colonists was the root cause of this dispossession and other acts of discrimination perpetrated since the nineteenth century.[732] Noting the brutal manner in which the British murdered the Tasmanian Aborigines, the Party believes that the current generation of white Tasmanians have a fundamental responsibility to address Aboriginal injustices by reconciling with the Aboriginal community, recognising that true reconciliation is rooted in Aboriginal self-determination, socioeconomic empowerment and environmental equity. The Tasmanian Green Party, because it is aware of the close connection

[729] See "Tasmanian Greens" located at
<http://www.tas.greens.org.au/home/policy/index.html>.
[730] See Tasmanian Greens. *Strategies for the Future.*
[731] Investigate press releases "Tasmania Going Down Bad Road on Aboriginal Rights" (12 December, 1997); and "Multiculturalism and Reconciliation..." (29 April, 1997).
[732] See Tasmanian Greens. *Strategies for the Future.*

between the land and Aboriginal identity, believes that this justice can only be achieved through the return of more land which is of spiritual, cultural, historical and economic significance to the Aboriginal people.[733] It also recognises that, further to this, justice requires addressing all continuing inequities relating to health, education, housing, the justice system, the economy and self-determination.[734]

Gay and Lesbian Community

For over twenty years, lesbian and gay Tasmanians have struggled against discrimination and prejudice, while also seeking recognition, equality, acceptance, dignity, emancipation, and self-determination.[735] The Tasmanian Green Party supports all those who champion the rights of the lesbian and gay community. It rejects any distinction in criminal law between heterosexual and homosexual sexual activity, and will oppose any legislative preamble or other statement which denigrates homosexual people in any way.[736] Ultimately, the Party:

• defends the dignity and humanity of all people including lesbian and gay people at all times;
• does not tolerate a person being harassed, abused, vilified, stigmatised, discriminated against, disadvantaged or exploited because they are lesbian or gay;
• will protect the legal equality, civil liberties, human rights and democratic freedoms of all Tasmanians including lesbian and gay Tasmanians; and
• acknowledges the diversity of lesbian and gay Tasmanians, including their special needs as a disadvantaged community, the strength and durability of their aspirations, and their unique and valuable contribution to Tasmanian society.[737]

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[733] *Ibid.* Also investigate Emanuel, K. (2000). "Walk for Solidarity" *Green Left Weekly*, 19 July Issue, p. 7; Tasmanian Greens. (1997). "Coexistence or Extinguishment?" *Greenweek*, 16 September Issue, p. 1; and Tasmanian Greens. (1997). "Parliament Apologises to the Tasmanian Aboriginal people," *Greenweek*, 5-13 Aug. Issue, p. 1.
[734] *Ibid.*
[735] See Tasmanian Greens. *Strategies for the Future.* Also investigate "Chronology of the Gay Law Reform Campaign in Tasmania Month by Month" located at <http://www.tased.edu.au/tasonline/tasqueer/history/monthly9.html>.
[736] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Supporters & Opponents" located at <http://www.tased.edu.au/tasonline/tasqueer/sup_opp/sup_op.html>; and 'Significant Relationships Bill' in the "Information Regarding Legal Recognition of Same Sex Relationships around Australia" located at <http://www.aidscouncil.org.au/equal_info.htm>.
[737] *Ibid.*

Seniors

Identifying the importance of respecting one's elders, the Tasmanian
Greens note that older people have a wisdom and experience that is often
overlooked by dominant, modern culture.[738] The Party emphasises the
importance of ensuring that older people be accorded the same rights and
respect as everyone else, retain influence over their own personal and social
affairs, and function as participants (rather than simply as observers) in
determining the policies, programs and institutions that affect their lives.
The exercise of choice to determine how to live, and what kind of care to
have for those who need outside help, is as important for older people as
for everyone else.[739] The Tasmanian Greens ultimately support:

- encouraging older people and people with disabilities to live as
independently as possible, and to seek nursing home accommodation only
when they are not able to live independently at home;
- an increase in federal funding to enable community groups to contribute
to the choice and affordability for older people seeking to live
independently;
- improved housing, health and social needs of older people in rooming
houses;
- a universal health system which provides full hospital, medical, dental,
pharmaceutical, pathological, allied health, and community services;
- the provision of adequate and secure funding for post-acute care,
including convalescence, slow stream rehabilitation, and restorative care in
the community; and
- increased training of general medical practitioners in the care of older
people.[740]

Youth

The Tasmanian Greens are committed to helping all young people,
particularly those facing inequity, injustice or poverty, achieve their life
goals and aspirations. It strongly opposes any ideas or actions that result in
the exclusion of young people due to their race, sexuality, gender,
disability, age, or any other personal attribute. The Party recognises the
unique characteristics of young people (including their particular
orientations, needs and creativity), and seeks to protect the diverse ways in

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[738] See "Tasmanian Greens" located at
<http://tas.greens.org.au/home/policy/index.html>.
[739] See Tasmanian Greens. *Strategies for the Future.*
[740] *Ibid.*

which youth express themselves.[741] It also maintains that 'solutions' to young people's problems must involve young people themselves.[742] In this respect, age should not be a barrier in any participatory democracy. Involvement should be linked to direct outcomes so that young people can see a difference.[743] However, young people, particularly those from the most disadvantaged groups, should be motivated into participating by being given some incentive to do so. [744]

Conclusion

The Tasmanian Green Party seeks a progressive and left-leaning agenda – embracing elements of socialist libertarianism, ecocentrism, and ecological economics. It is a voice that opposes waste, want, and the pathology of modern, consumer culture. It seeks to appeal to both moderate and radical constituencies. With respect to the latter, it is an activist-based party, and supports those who choose to exercise their participatory democratic right to protest against exploitative corporate, government and media powers (via non-violent methods).[745]

The Party argues for 'community empowerment,' and while it offers some discussion on the need for community in its various documents and websites, it does not offer any detailed discussion on its philosophy and history of place (and in this context, I am referring to 'place' in its original form as a local, regional and physical construct).[746] This is rather surprising, since I assumed that the Tasmanian Greens of all the Australian Green parties would offer material that illustrated the state's traditions and regional diversity. Indeed, Tasmania is Australia's smallest and only island state – home to some of the nation's most complex wilderness regions,

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[741] Investigate "Greens Youth Network and the Tasmanian Greens" located at
<http://tas.greens.org.au/home/local/gyn.html>.
[742] See Tasmanian Greens. *Strategies for the Future.*
[743] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Global Young Greens" located at
<http://web.greens.org/gyg/>; and "Global Young Greens Network" located at
<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/gygnetwork/>.
[744] *Ibid.*
[745] Investigate, for example, "Senate Greens [Bob Brown]" located at
<http://www.bobbrown.org.au/bob.htm>; and "Confederation of Australian Greens... & the Tasmanian Greens" located at
<http://tas.greens.org.au/home/about/australiangreens.html>.
[746] Investigate Forbes, P., Whybrow, H. and Armbrecht Forbes, A. (eds.). (1999). *Our Land, Ourselves: Readings on People and Place.* San Francisco, CA: Trust for Public Land.

place-based communities, and vivid historical lessons.[747] For example, Tasmanian poetry and icons as well as links to the history of the Palawa (the Tasmanian Aborigines) did not appear on the Party's website.[748] The Terra Nova Green Party, by contrast, not only differentiates itself from other Green parties by identifying its connection with Newfoundland and Labrador, it discusses, in detail, the essence of what makes its home unique.[749] While the Tasmanian Green Party examines issues and concerns relevant to Tasmania, it does not adequately display the characteristics of a bioregional-oriented party – a party, in this instance, which ultimately embodies and carefully describes the culture, communities, ecology, and overall identity of Tasmania.[750] I would expect less from other Australian Green parties, since the other parties are rooted in places that are arguably more easily moved by technocratic, modernist culture.[751] Comparatively speaking, Tasmania has been better insulated from the world's moneymakers and powerbrokers due to its separation from the nation's mainland.[752] The state's citizenry have managed to retain a degree of convivial, community life that is the envy of many modern urban dwellers. Thus, it appears that the Party, in some measure, is succumbing to the increasing internationalisation and nationalisation of politics (or the attempt to consolidate political ideas, an approach akin to the corporate

[747] Investigate Morgan, S. (1992). *Land Settlement in Early Tasmania: Creating an Antipodean England (Studies in Australian History)*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; Gowlland, R. W. (1986). *Trampled Wilderness: the History of South-West Tasmania*. Devonport, TAS: C.L. Richmond Printers; Rashidi, R. (1996). "The Black Presence in Tasmania: A Case of Genocide." *The Challenger*, Feb. Issue, p. 24; Flanagan, R. (1997). *The Sound of One Hand Clapping*. Sydney, NSW: Macmillan; Ryan, L. (1996). *The Aboriginal Tasmanians*. St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin; "Plants of Tasmania" located at <http://www.dpiwe.tas.gov.au/inter.nsf/ThemeNodes/BHAN-54746E?open>; and "Wildlife of Tasmania" located at <http://www.dpiwe.tas.gov.au/inter.nsf/ThemeNodes/LBUN-5362MH?open>.
[748] Investigate Everett, J. D. (1990). *The Spirit of Kuti Kina: Tasmanian Aboriginal Poetry*. Hobart, TAS: Eumarrah Publications; and Backhouse, S. (1988). *Tasmanian Artists of the Twentieth Century: Painters, Sculptors, Printmakers and Photographers, 1900-1985*. Hobart, TAS: Pandani Press.
[749] Investigate "Terra Nova Greens" located at <http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca/providers/green/index.html>; and "A Brief History of the Nation of Newfoundland." located at <http://134.153.80.1/providers/green/sovereign.html>.
[750] Investigate Sale, K. (2000). *Dwellers in the Land: The Bioregional Vision*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
[751] Investigate Wiseman, J.R. (1999). *Global Nation: Australia and the Politics of Globalisation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ Press; and Frankel, B. (2001). *When the Boat Comes In: the Transformation of Australia in the Age of Globalisation*. Sydney, NSW: Pluto Press.
[752] Investigate "Tasmania: An Overview" located at <http://www.ontas.com.au/about-tasmania.htm>; and "Information About Tasmania" located at <http://www.vision.net.au/~tassiebear/TasInfo.html>.

goal of merging businesses to achieve greater 'effiency'), and by consequence, is responding to the conscious or more often unconscious push (on the part of the Greens in Australia and in particular the federal Greens – led by Bob Brown) to globalise and nationalise the Green movement.[753] While there is some evidence of a grassroots, community perspective, the Green leadership in Australia (as is the case with Canada's Greens) is increasingly advocating a broader and more global perspective in generating its philosophy.[754] Green movements and many other social progressive bodies are having to react to larger international and national concerns.[755] Moreover, because of the central role of developments within Tasmania in the formation of Australian Green politics, and in particular, because of the dominance of the persona and influence of Bob Brown – a Tasmanian who is very much the dominant shaping force within the Greens nationally – there is an extraordinarily close correspondence between what is thought in Tasmania and what the national leadership thinks. It is not only Brown himself – his key advisers come from, or have come to be based within, Tasmania. The consequence is that the very people who devise the Tasmanian Greens' concepts are, by and large, the same people who devise the Australian Greens' perspectives. Arguably, this is why the Tasmanian Green Party largely presents itself as a wing of the Australian Greens rather than as a place-based party with loose but supportive ties to the federal Greens. All of this relates to a larger point that I will examine in the concluding chapter of the dissertation, that is, the overwhelming standardisation of the Greens in Canada and Australia.

There seems to be some conflict within the Tasmanian Greens' vision of forest plantations. On the one hand, it supports plantation forestry, while on the other it offers a link to a website which condemns forest

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[753] Investigate O'Meara, P., Mehlinger, H.D. and Krain, M. (eds.). (2000). *Globalization and the Challenges of the New Century: A Reader*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press; and Baylis, J. & Smith, S. (eds.). (2001). *The Globalization of World Politics*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

[754] For example, the leadership of the Australian Greens chose to devote 6 out of a total of 9 media releases to discuss international concerns. See "Australian Greens" located at <http://news.greens.org.au/document.php3>, as well as <http://www.greens.org.au/bobbrown/>.

[755] Investigate, for example, "Global Greens Charter" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/globalgreens1.htm>.

plantations.[756] The Tasmanian Greens might want to apply the latter thinking to their overall position on plantation forestry, and ultimately, offer a more coherent position against this albeit milder form of industrial forestry – a dominant, agriculturally-oriented perspective that still views the land in a reductionist manner as 'private or public' property to grow 'resources' for material products (products that could otherwise be obtained from reducing, reusing or recycling efforts).[757] Alternatively, it might wish to consider emphasing the benefits of ecoforestry – a form of forestry that does not rely on simplified tree plantations based on one or a limited number of species but rather aims to ensure that human activities result in the restoration or preservation of fully functioning, biodiverse forest ecosystems.[758] Ultimately, the Tasmanian Greens might wish to consider the following 'Oath of Ecological Responsibility,' and seek a more ecocentric forestry platform:

> 1. We shall respect, hold sacred, and learn from the ecological wisdom of natural forests with their multitude of beings;
> 2. We shall protect the integrity of full functioning forests;
> 3. We shall not use agricultural practices on forests;
> 4. We shall remove from forests only values which are in abundance to meet vital human needs;
> 5. We shall remove individual instances of values only when this does not interfere with full functioning forests: when in doubt, we will not;
> 6. We shall minimise the effects of our actions in forests by using only appropriate, low impact technology practices;
> 7. We shall use only non-violent resistance (for example, Gandhian methods) in our protection of forests; [and]
> 8. We shall do good work and uphold the Ecoforester's Way as a sacred duty and trust.[759]

Identifying the importance of respecting one's elders, the Tasmanian

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[756] See "Preolenna Industrial Plantation Issues" located at
<http://www.tassie.net.au/%7Ecdibley/contents.html>.
[757] Investigate "Why should Intensive Tree Plantations and Plantation Forestry NOT be a permitted use on Good Agricultural Land in Tasmania ?" located at
<http://www.tassie.net.au/~cdibley/mryan.html>; Hjarsen, T. (1997). *Effects of Rural Agriculture and Plantation Forestry on High Andean Biodiversity*. Denmark, Netherlands: Centre for Research on the Cultural and Biological Diversity of Andean Rainforests; "The Report of the Ecological Society of America Committee on the Scientific Basis for Ecosystem Management" located at <http://esa.sdsc.edu/ecmtext.htm>; and "The Forest Policy Green Paper" located at
<http://www.ecs.co.sz/forestry_green_paper/forest_green_paper_chapter2.htm>.
[758] Investigate Drengson, A. and Taylor, D. (eds.). (1997). *Ecoforestry: The Art and Science of Sustainable Forest Use*. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers.
[759] See Drengson, A.R. *An Ecophilosopher's Dictionary.*, p. 13.

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Greens note that 'older people have a wisdom and experience that is often overlooked by technocratic, modernist culture.' This is an important point. There is an ideology in dominant culture that effectively views current techno-modern achievements as being superior to the wealth of living human history.[760] For example, the value of the latest computer is set higher than the wealth of our elders (as is reflected in government policies to pour disproportionate funds into the development of computer services over facilities for aged care).[761] Dominant culture holds that the meaning of technological progress outweighs the value of the knowledge and information accumulated by the oldest members of the community.[762] Opportunity and innovation generally come before history and that which is old. In a recent editorial, I point to the preoccupation of modern society with anything that is 'new' and therefore apparently 'improved' – to the point that modern culture hardly questions the assumption that a vision or practice from the past must be weak or irrelevant. I wrote:

> For the most part, the Western system rejects or forgets the old, the past and rushes for the latest packaged goods and services. It separates the generations - the old from the new, allows our children to wrongly learn that new means better... This system insists upon new news and fresh manufactured material. It also conditions us to believe that the words *future* and *new* are undeniably connected. And, certainly this is how the modern, Western system keeps its hold on societies – by saying that no you cannot go back to the ways of the past, or reuse ideas and materials – you have to manufacture something new, bigger or better... [Alternatively,] we can dive into the past and call upon our elders to describe a time when organic farming was the norm, when pesticides and other carcinogenic chemicals did not exist, and when community cohesion far surpassed individual gratification or personal profit. This I believe is the challenge in a modernist system that liberates "newness" and asks us to abandon our histories (in the case of Aboriginal cultures, has in fact erased and continues to remove or ignore traditional indigenous knowledge in an effort to incorporate Aboriginal elements into the modern monoculture).[763]

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[760] Investigate Adler Falk, U. & Falk, G. (1997). *Ageism, the Aged and Aging in America: On Being Old in an Alienated Society*. Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas Publisher Ltd.
[761] Investigate Arber, S. & Ginn, J. (1991). *Gender and Later Life: A Sociological Analysis of Resources and Constraints*. London, UK: Sage Publications.
[762] Investigate Adler Falk, U. & Falk, G. *Ageism, the Aged and Aging in America*; and Mitcham, C. (1994). *Thinking Through Technology: The Path Between Engineering and Philosophy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
[763] See "Wisdom of the Past or the Ideology of the Future?" located at <http://egj.lib.uidaho.edu/egj12/boston1.html>.

14. *Living with the Legacy of Eurocentric Exploitation: The Victorian Greens*

Introduction

This chapter explores Victoria's Green Party, and offers some reflective analysis on the nature of its paradigm. Specifically, along with the other chapters detailing Green Party paradigmatic positions, it helps answer the third research question posed in chapter one, namely: What are the demonstrated paradigmatic positions of the federal and provincial/state Greens. Formed in 1992, the Green Party of Victoria unites environmental, indigenous, feminist, labour, animal welfare, and social justice activists.[764] Opposing right-wing extremism and economic rationalism, it seeks to provide an opportunity for ordinary people to become politically active, challenge class divisions, and build a more cooperative, equitable and sustainable world.[765] The Victorian Greens also advocate participatory democratic praxis, and believe that all levels of government should be elected through a fair and transparent voting system based on proportional representation.[766]

Environmental Protection

The Party points out that Victoria has several biodiverse habitats including a vast coastline, semi-arid mallee dunefields, woodlands, and temperate rainforests. This said, European powers have exploited these 'resources' over the past 150 years largely in the interest of short-term financial gain. Specifically, Victoria's forests have been reduced from 88 percent to 35 percent, while there remain only patches of grasslands and woodlands that once covered 34 percent of the state.[767] Additionally, 12 mammals are extinct, while 11 mammals together with 425 plants are endangered or vulnerable.[768] According to the Victorian Greens, instead of responding to serious loss of habitat and threats to wildlife, the Liberal

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[764] See "Who are the Greens" located at
<http://www.vic.greens.org.au/grassroots/whoarewe.htm>. Also investigate "A Brief History" located at <http://www.vic.greens.org.au/grassroots/history.htm>.
[765] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Mary Hutchison's priorities for Isaacs" located at
<http://www.vic.greens.org.au/elections/isaacspri.htm>.
[766] *Ibid.*
[767] See "Biodiversity & Land Management" located at
<http://www.vic.greens.org.au/policies/biodiversity2.htm>.
[768] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Green cards a world first" (15 March, 2000).

government of Premier Kennett (no longer in office) consciously weakened environmental planning legislation, reduced personnel and resources, and abolished the Commissioner of the Environment – a body that existed to assess the state's environmental performance. The Party also notes that it spent half the national average on the development and maintenance of national parks. Moreover, the Department of Conservation and Natural Resources, which is responsible for conservation and management of the state's flora and fauna, land, water and marine environment, lacked much of the necessary expertise, failed to meet some basic functions, and compromised key environmental data as a result of the cutbacks.[769] The government even eliminated divisions such as the Office of the Environment, the wetlands unit, and the native vegetation retention group. The 16 officers that administer the Flora and Fauna Guarantee (F.F.) were reduced to five people for whom the F.F. forms one of several tasks.[770] Consequently, it calls upon the present Labor government to correct the errors of its predessor, and lead the states in environmental protection.

Forestry

The Victorian Greens call upon the government to protect the state's remaining old growth forests, and replace conventional forestry operations with a green timber industry. A clean, green timber industry processes existing plantations, not native forests, adds value to plantation wood by processing it in Australia to the maximum extent possible, and uses non-polluting technologies that draw on minimal inputs of water and energy.[771] It also encourages investor confidence by avoiding the public uproar associated with the logging of native forests. In essence, the Victorian Greens believe that the processing of existing plantations (on marginal lands) benefits both business and the natural environment. The sooner the industry completes the transition from native forests to existing plantations, the sooner it will free itself from the ongoing conflict over native forest logging which distracts governments from recognising the needs of the

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[769] *Ibid.*

[770] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Employement" located at <http://www.vic.greens.org.au/policies/employment2.htm>.

[771] See "A Clean Green Timber Industry" located at <http://www.vic.greens.org.au/policies/timber2.htm>.

plantation-based industry and prevents the industry from realising its own potential.[772]

Aboriginal Issues

The Victorian Greens believe that the issues facing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island people are national ones which can only be resolved through political forthrightness by a federal government in conjunction with concerted state and local governments.[773] The three levels of government (in recognition of international laws and obligations pertaining to Aboriginal justice) need to guarantee Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples the right to socioeconomic and political self-determination, recognising the particular disparities facing Aboriginal populations and the need to fund Aboriginal services. With respect to the latter, the Party argues that the federal government can help revive Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture by ensuring that indigenous Australians receive adequate healthcare, housing and education.[774] Ultimately, the Victorian Greens call for:

• adherence to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Black Deaths in Custody;
• increases to the Land Acquisition Fund;
• implementation of the recommendations of *Going Forward: Social Justice for the First Australians*; and
• immediate introduction and implementation of a social justice package for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island people by the federal government.[775]

Democracy

The Party calls for responsive governance and participatory democracy in Victoria. It advocates thorough reform of the state constitution to eliminate high-handed government authority, remove the power of moneyed interests, maintain the separation of powers, ensure democratic rights, and guarantee due process under the law. It also

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[772] *Ibid.*
[773] See "Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Affairs" located at <http://www.vic.greens.org.au/policies/indigen2.htm>.
[774] *Ibid.*
[775] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Manditory Sentencing – the Jailed Generation" located at <http://www.vic.greens.org.au/media/green001.htm>.

recommends a constitutional convention to spark public dialogue on (and offer suggestions for) political change.[776]

The Victorian Greens argue that the two major parties that currently 'represent' Victoria's parliamentary system embrace virtually identical political values, including the need to satisfy global capital. Victoria's parliament does not represent a range of public sentiment which includes socioenvironmental concern. Thus, the Party seeks proportional representation as a way of diversifying the political landscape, and ultimately, ensuring that the public has greater direction over parliament, rather than the reverse.

Freedom of Information

The Victorian Greens look upon the public's right to access information as a fundamental element of democracy. Amendments to the Freedom of Information Act by the former Kennett government have extended cabinet privilege to such an extent that few documents of any importance can be obtained even through parliament.[777] In addition, the private sector is controlling, withholding and gaining greater access to public information, as a consequence of the state's market-oriented government privatising public services. Thus, the Party proposes:
1) amending the constitution to enshrine the right to know, providing a duty on governments to maintain freedom of access to information, subject to a limited range of qualifications; 2) amending the Freedom of Information Act so that cabinet privilege applies only to documents that have been brought into existence expressly for the purpose of submission to cabinet; and 3) legislating to ensure that the public has the right to obtain information about the socioenvironmental performance of industry.[778]

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[776] See "Agenda for Democracy" located at
<http://www.vic.greens.org.au/policies/democracy2.htm>. Also investigate "Constitution – Introduction and Definitions" located at
<http://www.vic.greens.org.au/grassroots/constintro.htm>.
[777] *Ibid.*
[778] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Triple alliance forged to 'restore democracy'" located at
<http://www.theage.com.au/daily/990904/election2000/election2000_8.html>.

The Victorian Green Party supports the development of local government as a participatory, democratic, and publicly elected provider of community services. It opposes large-scale forced amalgamations, the imposition of unelected commissioners, the use of councils to implement liberal economic policies, and the reduction of public service provision through the award of contracts to private firms.[779] Moreover, local governments in Victoria are not autonomous institutions. Indeed, the state government can replace elected councils with unelected commissioners at liberty (as the Kennett Government did in the early 1990s), seriously compromising the composition and function of local government. Thus, the Party believes it is necessary to:

• reassert the power of local government to determine its own priorities, by repealing legislation making competitive tendering compulsory, and removing the power of the Minister to cap local government revenue-raising;
• [make sure that] tendering is carried out, and that legislation is introduced to ensure that future contracts include public input into the formulation of specifications, clear performance standards, review processes and penalties; and
• provide increased funding of $20 million statewide for community health care, library and council-run child-welfare services (none of which [should] be contracted out).[780]

The Party argues that the Victorian government should offer an annual review of the state's regional development projects, identifying the environmental, social, health and economic impacts of all industrial activity. According to the Victorian Greens, major developments are being fast-tracked (avoiding environmental and planning scrutiny), and Ministers for Planning have constantly intervened in planning decisions, both through 'calling in' permit applications and through initiating rezonings – the Minister's authority to do so is practically limitless.[781] Thus, the Party recommends limiting the Minister's power to call in permit requests, and ensuring that the Minister obtains permission from affected communities

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[779] See "Local Government" located at
<http://www.vic.greens.org.au/policies/localgovt2.htm>. Also investigate press release "Future is bright green for country Victoria" (5 May, 2000).
[780] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Local Agenda 21"
<http://www.vic.greens.org.au/grassroots/mcc/localagenda.htm>.

and the cabinet for rezonings, through changes to the Planning and Environment Act. As a measure to initiate local, environmentally-sound governance in Victoria, it also seeks extensive reform of the Environmental Effects Act to make certain that the Environment Minister's assessment of local development projects is in the public interest (identifying the needs of present and future generations).

Education

The Victorian Greens believe in an education which reflects on the nature of individual, social and ecological existence. The central tenet of this view of education is that learning is not simply a process to acquire vocational skills, or develop a person's intellectual capacity, but is the means of developing in each person such understanding of the world and of the meaning of life as is possible to human beings.[782] This educational philosophy rejects competitive education, and instead, seeks cooperation amongst learners – developing a sense of concern, care, tolerance, and admiration towards all human and nonhuman life at the local, national and global levels. In the spirit of democracy and equity, the Victorian Greens call for an education which requires governments to:

• [provide adequate assistance in the form of] remedial teachers, aides, psychologists, equipment for all children and adolescents with learning difficulties [or special needs];
• [guarantee] additional funding for schools in disadvantaged areas, thus ensuring that no school is limited by the resources of its parent community or local community;
• [oppose the] ranking of schools according to test scores, and [the use of] standardised testing in primary school, junior and middle secondary school;
• [introduce] policies and practice guidelines relating to affirmative action, equal opportunity, freedom from abuse, sexual harassment, and racial vilification [for] all school communities;
• [encourage all schools to] play an active role in the life of [their] local community;
• [institute] free post-secondary education to all students who meet the appropriate prerequisites; and
• [ensure] equality of educational opportunity for all people [throughout their lives, recognising] an individual's changing needs for skills and careers.[783]

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[781] *Ibid*.
[782] See "Education" located at <http://www.vic.greens.org.au/policies/education2.htm>.
[783] *Ibid*. Also investigate "Constitution – Chapter 1" located at

Health

The Victorian Greens support universal access to health services and programs which take into account the environmental, social, political, economic, cultural and spiritual contexts of life.[784] The Party argues that the success of health services should not be measured on the basis of an economic rationalist form of 'cost-effectiveness' or 'efficiency,' but through a qualitative study of general community well-being, noting the importance of socioenvironmental indicators in determining health. It holds that optimum health is rooted in a holistic vision of well-being and sustainability. For instance, health is tied to environmental protection, nonviolence, and social welfare at the local, state, national and international levels. It is dependent on treatments that have been developed utilising an ethical framework based on veritable socioenvironmental cost/benefits.[785] The Party also believes in an accessible healthcare system with services available to all those in need, irrespective of income or background. Universal healthcare funds should cover medical and hospital costs, *as well as* the full range of basic health needs such as dental and nursing services.[786] Lastly, as a means of helping increase people's quality of life, the Party calls upon the government to emphasise health education and disease prevention in addition to medical treatments – care as well as cure.

Employment

The Victorian Greens believe that unemployment is a result of poor government decisions. It maintains that economic rationalist governments do not reward socially useful work or place a dollar value on environmental stewardship. Accordingly, the Victorian Greens call for the redirection of state expenditure away from government propaganda, advertising and public relations, consultants, major construction projects such as toll roads, special events and legal challenges against community groups, and towards projects which will benefit the environment, workers

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<http://www.vic.greens.org.au/grassroots/constchap1.htm>.
[784] See "Health" located at <http://www.vic.greens.org.au/policies/health2.htm>.
[785] *Ibid.*
[786] *Ibid.*

and communities.[787] Specifically, it supports a progressive state public sector that offers employment in, for example, alternative transportation, health prevention, and ecological restoration. This said, it also believes that it is critical to empower (and finance) local governments so that they can play an increasingly active role in local employment and service provision.[788] As a means of ensuring equity in the public and private sectors, it recognises an active union movement that champions workers rights including fair wage policies, affirmative action, equal opportunity, as well as healthy, safe and humane working conditions. It also supports those unions that identify the links between a worker's well-being and the health of the natural world.

Industry

The Victorian Greens maintain that Australia must develop "products and processes to meet an increasing population's material needs while protecting the natural environment upon which all economic activity and social well-being ultimately depends."[789] The Party proposes shifting investment towards sustainable activities that value intergenerational environmental protection, and away from short-term, consumptive, and resource-intense practices. Moreover, manufacturers need to move towards a whole life cycle approach to resource management, taking responsibility for the reduction, sale or recovery of by-products, and the reuse of materials from products at the end of their useful life. The ultimate goal should be to refuse, reuse, reduce or recycle 'waste' materials – including paper, glass, metals, plastics, and organic matter – from cradle to grave. As a means of keeping industry accountable and to ensure that manufacturers fulfil their socioenvironmental obligations, the Party also calls on governments to phase-in green taxes on energy, water and landfill space that equitably incorporate the social, health and environmental costs of production and use.[790] The aim would be to encourage industry to cut, if not eliminate, their resource expenditures.

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[787] See "Employment" located at <http://www.vic.greens.org.au/policies/employment2.htm>.
[788] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Local government" located at <http://www.vic.greens.org.au/policies/localgovt2.htm>.
[789] See "Industry" located at <http://www.vic.greens.org.au/policies/industry2.htm>.
[790] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Council should be leading the campaign to shift

Conclusion[791]

The Victoria Green Party embodies an intriguing mixture (and occasionally contradicting set) of beliefs – most are progressive, but some are quite conventional. For example, it opposes right-wing extremism, classism and the spread of market liberalism, yet it accepts the practice of 'resource management' and the presence of at least some nature-exploiting industry (for instance, a plantation timber industry). 'Resource management' is generally advocated by industrialists who view nature as a stockpile of resources to be used and managed exclusively for human benefit. For the Party to use the word 'industry' is for it to suggest that large-scale, corporate activity (or at least some of it) is acceptable. Industry is not a term normally associated with, for example, green community markets. In essence, the Party while generally progressive in perspective also embodies some rather conventional concepts.

The Victorian Greens maintain that 'a clean green timber industry processes existing plantations, not native forests,' and that 'the sooner the industry completes the transition from native forests to existing plantations, the sooner it will free itself from the ongoing conflict over native forest logging.' This is a questionable statement. First, a clean green business embraces ecoforestry, not plantation forestry – the latter leads to simplified ecosystems, and limits biodiversity.[792] Second, one problem, plantation forestry, should not be identified as a solution to another concern, native forest logging. Both feed the industrial paradigm, and cause long-term ecological harm.[793] Conversely, ecoforesters oppose tree farms, identify the intrinsic and instrumental values of forests (with a primary focus on the forest environment not the bottom line), rely on selective harvesting

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Coode Island" (8 February, 2000).

[791] Reminder (from the introduction): The following concluding remarks are not meant to be 'complete.' The main objective of this material is to identify the Party's salient points for reflective discussion or rather, what I interpret as the noteworthy points (recognising that what is significant is relative to an observer's interpretation of significance). Moreover, the material contains interpretive remarks; that is, it includes unchained, subjective and free-flowing observations.

[792] Investigate Travers, R. (2000). "Three Pillars of Operational Ecoforestry: Editorial," *Ecoforestry*, Vol. 15, No. 4., pp. 2-3; Wittbecker, A. (1999). "Global Logic or Local Knowledge?" *Ecoforestry*, Vol. 14, No. 4., pp. 4-7; and Timoney, K. (1998). "Alberta: Clearcut logging, Plantation Forestry, Resistance to Change and the Future of Old-Growth Forests," *Ecoforestry*, Vol. 13, No. 2., pp. 14-23.

[793] *Ibid.*

methods, and collect a range of forest products (including a variety of tree species) – the annual growth (or less) – from full functioning, biodiverse forest ecosystems.[794] Perhaps, the Party advocates plantation forestry because it believes it is more politically expedient to do so – some rural constituencies are dependent on plantation forestry.[795] However, as I have discussed before (for example, see the chapter on the Terra Nova Greens), Green parties do not usually place political interests above ecological concerns. Most work from the premise that natural systems nourish and therefore should drive social activity, including politics. If Victoria's Green Party values its role as an ecology-based party, it would be wise to situate Green principles above any political motivations or interests. Moreover, the Party attempts to support its position by stating that plantation forestry is only practiced on marginal lands. This is an inadequate justification. Instead, the Party would be wise to highlight ecological restoration – the practice of transforming marginal lands into moderately complex forest ecosystems through the reintroduction of native flora and fauna.[796] The aim of restoration is to dramatically increase the long-term ecological health of an area in the interest of posterity.[797] Ultimately, as an alternative to plantation forestry, the Party might consider shifting its energies towards: 1) reducing the consumption of paper and wood products, 2) supporting recycling firms, 3) advancing ecoforestry efforts, and 4) restoring degraded ecosystems.[798]

The Victorian Greens point out that 'the two major parties [the Labor and Liberal parties], currently representing Victoria's parliamentary system,[799] embrace virtually identical political values including the need to satisfy global capital,' and that 'Victoria's monocultured parliament does not represent the range of public sentiment which includes

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[794] Investigate Wittbecker, A. (1999). "Good Forestry," *Ecoforestry*, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 7-12.
[795] Investigate "Proceedings from the International Workshop on Ecosystem-Based Community Forestry " located at
<http://www.forestsandcommunities.org/proceedings/ses1.html>.
[796] Investigate "Welcome to the Society for Ecological Restoration (SER) Internet Resources Site" located at < http://www.ser.org/>, and "Welcome to NZ Ecological Restoration Network" located at <http://www.bush.org.nz/today/index.html>.
[797] *Ibid.* Also investigate "What is Ecological Restoration?" located at
<http://web.uvic.ca/enweb/rns/intro.html>.
[798] Investigate Miller, G. T. *Living in the Environment.*
[799] Investigate "The Legislative Assembly" located at
"http://www.parliament.vic.gov.au/const.html#la>.

socioenvironmental concern.'[800] This is an interesting argument, and one that is expressed in a similar vein by other Greens practitioners and theoreticians.[801] For example, the Greens leader in the United States, Ralph Nader, contends that the Republican and Democratic parties (the latter of which has been referred to as a 'left-leaning' political entity by the dominant media[802]) are two branches of the same party,[803] while Joan Russow, the former Leader of the Green Party of Canada, maintains that all the major political factions in her country including the major 'left' of centre political party – the New Democratic Party (N.D.P.) – to greater or lesser degrees hinge on industrial support.[804] Peter Hay, in his essay on the Tasmanian Greens, points out that Tasmania's two dominant parties are largely one and the same, in so far as both subscribe to 'business as usual' praxis, seeking capital at the expense of the natural environment.[805] This monoculturing of parliament directly interrelates with the ideology of globalisation.[806] While globalisation can be seen in a positive light, bolstering democratic interests (in terms of fostering greater public communication and access to information), it is most often associated with international trade liberalisation (or corporate control and globalisation).[807] There is also a third trend, sociopolitical globalisation, which is the attempt, by corporations and their dominant political allies, to globalise and standardise the social and political spheres in the interest of international capitalism.[808] This is where the argument on parliamentary homogenisation

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[800] Investigate "Victorian Branch of the Australian Labor Party" located at <http://www.vic.alp.org.au/>, and "LibLine: The Official Liberal Party of Australia (Victoria Division) Homepage" located at <http://www.vic.liberal.org.au/>.

[801] Investigate "The Greens – Index" located at <http://start.at/the.greens.index>.

[802] Investigate, for example, "Bush Picks Chao for Labor Secretary, Zoellick for Trade Representative" located at <http://www.cnn.com/2001/ALLPOLITICS/stories/01/11/bush.wrap/index.html>, and "Meet my Good Friend Al Gore" located at <http://www.cnn.com/2000/ALLPOLITICS/stories/08/17/lieberman8_17.a.tm/index.html>.

[803] Investigate "Bush, Gore are Clones of Each Other; Nader's his Own Man" located at <http://archive.showmenews.com/2000/Aug/20000805Comm002.asp>.

[804] Russow made this observation during a telephone conversation with me in December, 1998.

[805] See Hay, P.R. "Green Politics 'in the System.'"

[806] Investigate Nash, K. (2000). *Contemporary Political Sociology: Globalization, Politics , and Power*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

[807] Investigate Rodrik, D. (1997). *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?* Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics; Giddens, A. (2000). *Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping Our Lives*. London, UK: Routledge; and Mittelman, J.H. (2000). *The Globalization Syndrome*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

[808] Investigate Falk, R. (1999). *Predatory Globalization: A Critique*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell

ties with globalisation. Sociopolitical and economic globalisation reinforce the belief in a universal, world order (a single social, economic, political and cultural system) that spreads the ideals of capitalism and the Western (though, mostly American) dream – the illusion of 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'[809] To the staunch sociopolitical and economic globalist, a country's progress is illustrated by its acceptance of corporate icons and products such as those generated by Rothmans, Kraft, Ford, Unilever, Honda, and Shell, and (largely by consequence) the rejection of indigenous, local praxis.[810] A nation's strength is defined relative to the degree to which it embraces capitalist politics.[811] 'Democratic' governments are those that 'free' industry from environmental and labour oriented regulatory initiatives, multilateral negotiation, as well as cultural and socioeconomic complexity (all of which to a lesser or greater extent hampers the smooth, universal transactions of commercial enterprise).[812] In contrast, 'repressive' governments are those that reject unfettered capitalism, advocate widespread social provisions, establish local, ecologically-based markets, and foster diversity (in the widest context).[813] All in all, the Party's view of parliamentary homogenisation (and that of others) speaks to the global, capitalist drift towards the synchronisation of humanity (and the monoculturing of nature).

The Party points out that 'the private sector is controlling, withholding and gaining greater access to public information, as the state's market-oriented government privatises public services.' First, to withhold information is to practice censorship and secrecy.[814] Second, to gain greater access to (and ultimately buy/sell) private information is a violation of

Publishers.
[809] Investigate Guyatt, N. (2000). *Another American Century? The United States and the World after 2000*. London, UK: Zed Books, and Iriye, A. (2001). *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
[810] Investigate Micklethwait, J. & Wooldridge, A. (2000). *A Future Perfect: The Challenge and Hidden Promise of Globalization*. New York, NY: Random House.
[811] Investigate Gilpin, R. & Gilpin, J.M. (2000). *The Challenge of Global Capitalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
[812] Investigate Wallach, L., Sforza, M. & Nader, R. (1999). *Whose Trade Organisation? Corporate Globalization and the Erosion of Democracy*. Washington, DC: Public Citizen Inc., and Hahnel, R. (1999). *Panic Rules! Everything You Need to Know About the Global Economy*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
[813] Investigate Friedman, M. (1963). *Capitalism and Freedom*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, and Vásquez, I. (2000). *Global Fortune: The Stumble and Rise of World Capitalism*. Washington, DC: Cato Institute.
[814] Investigate White, H. (1997). *Anatomy of Censorship: Why the Censors Have It Wrong*.

individual rights, freedoms and privacy.[815] Despite the concerns, corporate capitalists aim to profit from both forms of information hegemony. For example, a company can increase its assets by off-loading its socioenvironmental costs onto its competitors (individuals, organisations, communities, nations or other businesses) if the latter are unaware of (and therefore do not respond to) the move, while an advertising firm can assess their target audience via private information that is sold on the marketplace without an individual's informed consent.[816] With regard to the latter corporate manoeuvre, it is interesting to note that as market-oriented governments outsource and sell public services, they also support the privatisation of public information.[817] In fact, they treat information, products and social services equally as articles of trade.[818] Alas, this is not even fair trade. Indeed, dominant political establishments (along with their corporate companions) control and manage trade at the call of capital.[819]

The Party 'opposes competitive education, and instead, seeks cooperation amongst learners – developing a sense of concern, care, tolerance, and admiration towards all human and nonhuman life at the local, national and global levels.' It has reason to take this stance. Competitive education is rooted in an industrial worldview that defines people as aggressive, economic beings. Under this conception of education, teachers are to identify learners as labourers who exhibit either industrious or unproductive behaviour, depending on their level of performance.[820] They generally 'train' students to conform to financial interests and dominant ideological orientations. Meanwhile, competitive, capital-driven educators themselves are assessed by higher level administrators or bosses to see whether they are doing their 'job' properly and efficiently, or more

Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
[815] Ibid.
[816] Investigate Clinard, M.B. (1990). Corporate Corruption. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers; Hager, N. & Burton, B. (2000). Secrets and Lies: The Anatomy of an Anti-Environmental PR Campaign. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press; and Dilenschneider, R.L. (2000). The Corporate Communications Bible. Beverly Hills, CA: New Millenium Press.
[817] Investigate Boggs, C. (2000). The End of Politics: Corporate Power and the Decline of the Public Sphere. New York, NY: Guilford Publications.
[818] Investigate Nader, R. (ed.). (1993). The Case Against Free Trade: Gatt, Nafta and the Globalization of Corporate Power. Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books.
[819] Investigate Greider, W. (1998). One World, Ready or Not: The Manic Logic of Global Capitalism. Westport, CT: Touchstone Publishers.
[820] Investigate Belfield, C.R. (2000). Economic Principles for Education: Theory and Evidence. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.

subtly, whether or not they are producing the right kind of students for the transnational order (at least this is the underlying premise of their actions).[821] In a competitive education system, there is a definite chain of command wherein governments and industry influence administrators who preside over teachers who are, in turn, positioned above learners.[822] Moreover, vested interest 'curriculum' funnels its way down the hierarchy, having been consciously advanced by governments (who are dependent on corporate support).[823] Conversely, a caring and cooperative education fosters a philosophy of participatory democracy.[824] Identifying differing abilities and strengths, students and teachers learn together in a peaceful, collegial and selfless manner (and without the authority of vested interests).[825] Cooperative education has no place for egotistical domination or control over other people and nature, let alone competition, combative behaviour or militancy between or amongst other fellow learners.[826] It is about partnerships, respecting other voices, forming relationships, and learning as a collective, united and unified group.[827]

The Victorian Greens call upon 'the government to emphasise health education and disease prevention in addition to medical treatments – care as well as cure.' This is a crucial point. Modern culture is fixated on quick-fix solutions to medical problems.[828] Indeed, the human body is perceived as a motorised system that can be repaired with the aid of a physician and/or pharmaceutical drug.[829] Instead of taking responsibility for personal health through improved diet, exercise, sleep, and other lifestyle practices, modern culture relies on (and takes comfort in) external aids and devices in

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[821] See Boston, T. (2002). *Toward a Greener Millennium: A Survey of Green Thought, Pedagogy, and Initiatives.* Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press (forthcoming).

[822] Investigate Becker, W.E. & Baumol, W.J. (eds.). (1995). *Assessing Educational Practices: The Contribution of Economics.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

[823] Investigate Boyles, D. (1998). *American Education and Corporations: The Free Market Goes to School (Pedagogy and Popular Culture).* New York, NY: Garland Publishing.

[824] Investigate Thayer-Bacon, B.J. & Bacon, C.S. (1997). *Philosophy Applied to Education: Nurturing a Democratic Community in the Classroom.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

[825] Investigate Sapon-Shevin, M. & Sapon, S. (1998). *Because We Can Change the World: A Practical Guide To Building Cooperative, Inclusive Classroom Communities.* Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon, and Fox, R.F. & Gerbner, G. (1996). *Harvesting Minds.* Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

[826] See Boston, T. *Toward a Greener Millennium.*

[827] *Ibid.*

[828] Investigate Payer, L. (1994). *Disease-Mongers: How Doctors, Drug Companies, and Insurers Are Making You Feel Sick.* New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

[829] Investigate "Super Painkillers Top List of New Wonder Drugs" located at <http://www.canoe.ca/HealthNews/980617_painkillers.html>.

its attempt to heal illness.[830] It overlooks the principle of prevention.[831] Just as a judicious government might halt the application of an ecologically-harmful chemical product rather than risk its use, individuals can eliminate destructive physical behaviour and limit harm to themselves (and, in emotional terms, to their family and friends).[832] Of course, there are instances when an individual is unable to care for her/himself and needs medical assistance. But, such assistance should not come at the expense of health education and disease prevention which significantly reduces disease (most notably heart disease and cancer – the two most prevalent, life-threatening ailments of the modern age).[833] Ultimately, as the party implies, there is a need to distinguish between and ultimately equalise the practices of preserving and restoring the human body (akin to the preservation and restoration of nature).

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[830] *Ibid.* Also investigate Hopkins, V. & Mindell, E.L. (1999). *Prescription Alternatives: Hundreds of Safe, Natural, Prescription-Free Remedies to Restore and Maintain Your Health.* Chicago, IL: Keats Publishing.

[831] Aronowitz, R.A. (1999). *Making Sense of Illness: Science, Society, and Disease.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

[832] Emotional distress is one branch of the problem. If the individual harms her/himself, s/he negatively affects the overall well-being of family, friends, and even his/her community. Not only does the self-harming actions of the individual cause emotional upset for loved ones, but s/he indirectly and directly alters the psychosocial and physical health behaviour of others (as an agent of socialisation). For example, if a father and mother smokes, there is a greater risk of their children smoking later on in life. Investigate "More Health Risks in Children of Smokers" located at <http://www.heartinfo.com/reutersnews/t0820-2f.htm>.

[833] Investigate Raczynski, J.M. & Diclemente, R.J. (eds.). (1999). *Handbook of Health Promotion and Disease Prevention.* Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers; "Tips On How To Have A Healthy Heart: 'The Nutrition Diet'" located at < http://www.health-heart.org/ >; and Leith, L.M. (1998). *Exercising Your Way to Better Mental Health.* Morgantown, WV: Fitness Info. Tech.

15. Greens in Australia's Industrial Core: The Green Party of New South Wales

Introduction

This chapter explores the Green Party of New South Wales (N.S.W.), and offers some reflective analysis on the nature of its paradigm. Specifically, along with the other chapters detailing Green Party paradigmatic positions, it helps answer the third research question posed in chapter one, namely: What are the demonstrated paradigmatic positions of the federal and provincial/state Greens? Founded in 1984, the aim of the N.S.W. Green Party is to promote socioeconomic and political change in keeping with the principles of ecological sustainability, social equality, economic justice, grassroots democracy, peace, disarmament and nonviolence.[834] It works with international, national and local Greens to oppose vested-interest schemes, and assist others in the dissemination of socioenvironmental information. Recognising the need for equity and affirmative action initiatives, the Party also calls for greater representation in society by women, rural peoples, minorities, and disadvantaged groups.[835]

Biodiversity

The N.S.W. Green Party notes that its state has a high rate of extinction and significant loss of habitat despite its economic 'prosperity,' and thus, capacity to preserve biodiversity. Accordingly, the Party believes that it is crucial to preserve habitats and ecosystems, as well as maintain threatened populations of individual flora and fauna, pointing out that:

> N.S.W. is fortunate to have incredible biodiversity in a wide variety of environments, from marine and estuarine to forest and rainforest; from arid plains to rangelands to snow-topped mountains... The northeast of N.S.W. (and southeast Queensland) comprises one of the three areas of highest biodiversity in continental Australia, due to the overlapping of temperate and tropical distributions (the McLeay McPherson overlap). Within this area [several] species exist at

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[834] See "The Greens NSW: Promoting Social, Economic and Political Change" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/index.html>. Also investigate "A Short History of the Greens in Australia" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/party/history.html>.
[835] Investigate "Constitution of the Greens NSW" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/party/constitut.html#13. Policy>.

the northern (or southern) end of their range and many require special habitats that survive only as isolated remnants.[836]

In addition to preserving biodiversity through the establishment of parks and reserves, the Party calls upon the state to outlaw the introduction of non-native species, review the issuing of licenses to kill native fauna, offer incentives such as tax-breaks to farmers and other users to rely on non-toxic alternatives to pesticides, and provide similar incentives to private landholders and leaseholders who preserve key habitat. It also supports the funding of school and community education programs which explore the value and fragility of the state's biodiversity, as well as the problems associated with, for example, non-native species and agrochemicals such as pesticides.[837]

Marine Environment

The N.S.W. Greens note that the state has a transitional marine environment with numerous unique sub-tropical and tropical species. This said, while the state's coastal zone is a remarkable and dynamic environment, it is nonetheless beleaguered by industrial activity. Housing, road construction, and other developments threaten the distinctiveness of the state's coast. Accordingly, the Party believes in working towards:

• placing an immediate moratorium on all coastal natural vegetation clearance, within 5 kilometres of the reach of tidal waters, until effective coastal protection and management legislation is enacted;
• prohibiting the expansion of coastal cities, towns and villages beyond the boundaries of existing urban development;
• [rigorous] enforcement of N.S.W. coastal zone management policies, [and] penalties for [a violation of policy];
• the development of recycling methods so that sewage becomes a resource rather than a waste product; and
• the introduction of measures to stop industrial, agricultural and domestic pollution and discharges from entering waterbodies in a step-by-step program to obtain zero pollution.[838]

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[836] See "Biodiversity" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/bio.htm>.
[837] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Budget and pesticides occupy the Greens" located at <http://www.echo.net.au/archives/echo_14.04/greens.html>.
[838] See "Marine Environment" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/marine.htm>.

The Party also supports the creation of a comprehensive and representative reserve system of Marine Protected Areas, as well as the collection of scientific data on the socioenvironmental benefits of these areas.[839] Moreover, in addition to general public input, it values the contribution of Aboriginal peoples in the stewardship of marine parks.

Wetlands

According to the N.S.W. Green Party, the state's wetlands have been generally used as a dumping ground for industry. They have been exploited for large-scale agriculture, and their water diverted for irrigation. They have also been drained to build apartment blocks, homes and other physical structures. The ideological view that wetlands are private and public resources that possess instrumental value has led to their decline throughout the state. Thus, the Party calls upon the N.S.W. government (together with local governments) to protect and preserve the state's remaining wetlands. Specifically, it advocates the establishment of the following wetland parks in N.S.W: Brisbane Waters, Hexham, Jervis Bay, Tathra–Black Ada, Tuckean, Yarrahappini, Eve Street and Shell Harbour.[840] It also believes in awarding financial incentives to rural landholders who enhance the biodiversity and ecological functions of their wetlands.[841] Similarly, the Party supports local communities and groups in the stewardship of wetlands (particularly indigenous peoples, given that they are the original custodians of the land).

Forests and Wilderness

The N.S.W. Greens believe that there is an urgent need for ecologically sustainable forestry, as well as a comprehensive, adequate and representative forest reserve system.[842] The Party supports the protection of all significant wilderness areas including old-growth forests and endangered species habitat. In order to ensure long-term protection, it calls upon the government to substantially increase the Wilderness Fund with

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[839] *Ibid.*
[840] See "Wetlands" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/wetsum.htm>.
[841] *Ibid.*
[842] See "Forests & Wilderness" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/forsum.htm>.

the purpose of: 1) offering public education on the value of wilderness, 2) forming conservation agreements with private landholders, and 3) purchasing leasehold lands within identified wilderness areas.[843] Moreover, it supports the shift away from industrial forestry in prime habitat to plantation forestry on marginal lands, and calls upon the federal and state governments to ban the clearfelling (clearcutting) and woodchipping of native forests.[844] Essentially, the Party advocates an ecologically sustainable forestry based on mixed species plantations, adding that the state should offer incentives to companies that implement reafforestation programs for both conservation and timber purposes.[845] In instances where families and towns are temporarily affected by the shift from industrial to sustainable forestry, it believes that governments should provide financial compensation and/or jobs to those in need. Furthermore, it recognises Aboriginal people's prior custodianship of the land, and the right of (and need for) indigenous Australians to take part in the stewardship of their land.[846]

Energy

In addition to its strong emphasis on energy conservation measures, the N.S.W. Green Party supports sustainable energy alternatives such as solar and wind power. Accordingly, it calls upon the state government to place a small levy on fossil fuel use to fund renewable energy programs in N.S.W., and to set time-bound and cost targets for increases in the proportion of energy derived from renewable sources.[847] It also believes that the government should encourage the sale and installation of energy efficient products, enforce minimum efficiency standards for all consumer appliances and white goods, and place energy efficiency labels on all new

[843] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Another Poor Reserve Outcome Expected" located at <http://www.nccnsw.org.au/forests/news/media/19990219_crownl.html>.
[844] Investigate press release "Japan price drop undermines Carr's woodchip promise" (27 January, 1999).
[845] See "Industry" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/indus.htm>.
[846] See "Forests & Wilderness" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/forsum.htm>.
[847] See "Industry" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/indus.htm>. Also investigate press release "Tax Reforms Contravene International Greenhouse Agreement" (28 August, 1998).

and refurbished buildings, household appliances, water heaters and lighting.[848]

The Party says that coal is a prosperous business in the state, especially in regional areas such as the Hunter Valley. It is one of N.S.W.'s main exports and markedly influences the state's balance of payments. Arguing that the state does not need to rely on coal to generate electricity, it opposes the state's exorbitant use of coal on environmental grounds, believing that the state government should identify the full environmental costs of the coal industry.[849] The state government can also shift the Department of Mineral Resources' responsibilities vis-à-vis coal to a new Department of Renewable Energy in order to facilitate the transition from coal to alternatives sources of power. Moreover, as part of this shift of focus, royalties from coal mining can be directly related to a set of environmental performance standards so that mining developments with minimal environmental impact pay a lower royalty.[850]

Unions, Work, and Income

The N.S.W. Greens believe that democratic freedoms rest, in part, on a dynamic union movement. Without the protection of a trade union, the remuneration and working conditions of all workers, and particularly the less powerful, are bound to be diminished by the economic power of the employers.[851] Hence, the Party advocates the equitable redistribution of capital from employer to employee, long-term employment security for workers, cutting overtime work, and offering overtime hours to the under-employed or unemployed population. Moreover, it is committed to:

• the role of unions in maintaining fair working conditions and remuneration;
• the right of unions and unionists to take strike action to protect and promote their legitimate industrial interests without legal impediment;
• collective bargaining;
• independent state and federal Industrial Relations Commissions; and
• legislative protection for casual workers and piece-workers from exploitation.[852]

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[848] See "Energy" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/enesum.htm>.
[849] See "Coal" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/coal.htm>.
[850] *Ibid.*
[851] See "Industrial Relations" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/irsum.htm>.
[852] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Greens condemn Howard's attack on unions and

To resolve systemic unemployment and empower underemployed workers, the N.S.W. Greens advocate a Guaranteed Annual Income (G.A.I.) which could be administered as a federal program and offered by the state. The Party also supports the introduction of a Low Income Card for all people on or below a determined low income, so that they can have access to transport, medical and other concessions.[853]

Health

The N.S.W. Green Party regards health as a broad concept that encompasses physical, emotional, social and environmental well-being. Accordingly, it calls upon the state government to expand community health centres which empower people to manage their own health, and which emphasise preventive medicine, including education programs aimed at the avoidance of illness.[854] With respect to the latter, the government can promote nutrition, stress-reduction, physical fitness and environmental quality. Moreover, the N.S.W. Greens believe that the state's health is harmed by administrative 'efficiency,' economic rationalism, and the downsizing of the public sector. Aboriginal peoples' well-being is notably affected by the reduction of services. In order to sustain public health, the Party maintains that governments need to guarantee (with adequate funding) that all members of society have access to quality public services and provisions, particularly life essentials.

Schools

The Green Party of N.S.W. notes that the state's public schools lack adequate financial support which, in turn, adversely affects the progress of students and teachers. A fair, tolerant, and informed population cannot do without a well-funded public education system. Accordingly, the Party argues that:

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workers" (18 April, 1998).

[853] See "Social Equity" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/seq.htm>. Also investigate press release "Greens say tax package will hurt the poor and community groups" (30 September, 1998).

[854] See "Health" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/healsum.htm>.

• federal and state governments must acknowledge their prime responsibility for the provision of free, quality comprehensive public education;
• education is a right which should be guaranteed by government within the framework of a public service and not be subject to the laws of the market and notions of competition; and
• only comprehensive public education is capable of providing everyone with a sound foundation for lifelong learning by granting both sexes equal access to early childhood services, schools, TAFE and university education, irrespective of background.[855]

The Party believes that government support of wealthy private schools, which already enjoy access to private funds well beyond those available to public schools, leads to an inequitable society.[856] It contends that such funding is not only unfair from an economic viewpoint, but can reinforce systemic discrimination. Generally speaking, public education does not discriminate on the basis of ethnicity, religious background, sexuality, marital status, physical handicap or socioeconomic status.[857] Private schools, on the other hand, discriminate on the basis of, for example, religious background and sexuality.

Young People

The N.S.W. Greens call upon federal, state and local governments to work together to include young people in the development of policies, recognising that government decisions in a democracy should be based on the will of the people (which includes youth). According to the Party, many young people are estranged from the decision-making process, but seek resolution to the growing socioenvironmental crisis. Issues of concern to youth are secure, long-term affordable housing, relevant education, a clean and healthy urban and natural environment, social equity, meaningful work, and protection from exploitation, neglect and abuse.[858] Ageism, social alienation, unfettered free market praxis, environmental destruction, and impediments to employment, education and welfare deprive a notable proportion of youth from their right to environmental and social well-

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[855] See "Schools" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/schools.html>.
[856] *Ibid.*
[857] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Greens nominate boost to funding for public education as key election issue" (24 January, 1999).
[858] See "Children and Young People" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/pol3.htm>.

being. The Party believes that governments have a responsibility to ensure that their decisions result in intra and intergenerational equity by guaranteeing that adequate support and a healthy environment are available for the state's youth, both born and to be born.[859]

Aboriginal Issues

The N.S.W. Greens are critical of the state Labor government's passage of legislation that reinforces the Commonwealth government's Native Title (Amendment) Act. Enacted in September 1998, the state legislation applies some of the worst features of the federal government's Act, including 'bucketloads of extinguishment' of native title across land affected by a variety of Crown titles.[860] The Party believes that Australia must abolish the discriminatory legislation, establish a reparations tribunal, and offer full and fair compensation to Aboriginal peoples. It also calls upon the federal and state governments to identify native title as a common law right, guaranteed at national and regional levels. Moreover, it advocates treaty negotiations between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians, and calls for a national apology, an annual Sorry Day, and the prior ownership of Australia to be recognised in the Constitution proper (not just in the Preamble).[861] Supporting the economic and sociocultural freedoms of Aboriginal peoples, the Party believes that indigenous Australians should have the right to govern themselves. It notes the importance of tackling the chronic health problems and reduced lifespans of indigenous Australians through Aboriginal administered medical services and increased education for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health professionals and service providers.[862]

Women's Issues

The N.S.W. Greens believe that deep-rooted inequities still impede women's socioeconomic and political opportunities, despite the hard-won successes of the women's movement. For example, much of Australia's

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[859] *Ibid*.
[860] See "Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders" located at
<http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/atsisum.htm>.
[861] *Ibid*. Also investigate press releases "Green Sorry for White Mistakes" (26 May, 1998), and "Greens blame Coalition for racist election gains" (16 June, 1998).
[862] *Ibid*.

unpaid work such as childcare, eldercare, and community work falls onto the shoulders of women without remuneration from governments or businesses. Moreover, women's employment preferences are often limited to under-paid or temporary appointments that squeeze in with unpaid family and community obligations. Accordingly, the Party is committed to the protection of women's rights to equal pay, opportunity and responsibility.[863] It advocates legislation to reform the current system of labour to eliminate sources of conscious and tacit discrimination against women in the workplace. It also seeks increased and equitable participation by women in all decision-making processes, and equal access to all forms of education.[864]

People with Disabilities

The Party supports the empowerment of people with disabilities to live independent lives, make their own decisions, and be supported in those decisions.[865] Consequently, it recognises that people with disabilities need funding for accommodation, domiciliary support, healthcare, physical aids, and legal representation.[866] Adequate support increases their mobility, independence, and choices in life. While people with disabilities already have access to support services in many instances, such services lack consistent and appropriate levels of financial support. The Party believes that funding should be restored, indexed to the C.P.I., and guaranteed beyond the tenures of governments.[867]

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgendered People

The N.S.W. Greens have backed amendments to the state's Anti-Discrimination Act prohibiting homosexual vilification and transgender discrimination, and have championed the legal recognition of same sex relationships and a non-discriminatory age of consent.[868] The Party calls upon all levels of government to guarantee, by law, full equality between

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[863] See "Women" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/women.htm>.
[864] *Ibid.*
[865] See "People with Disabilities" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/pwd.htm>.
[866] *Ibid.*
[867] *Ibid.*
[868] See "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgendered People" located at

lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered relationships and heterosexual relationships. For instance, it supports removing the remaining exemptions identified in the Anti-Discrimination Act which reinforce discrimination against homosexual and transgendered individuals. Expressing concern with regard to the abuse faced by lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered people, the Party also advocates incentive-based mechanisms for the prevention of hate-based crime, including school and public media-based education, counselling, and focused offender rehabilitation programs.[869]

Crime

The N.S.W. Greens believe in a "humane justice system that emphasises reducing the causes of crime rather than increasing punitive measures and curtailing civil rights."[870] The Party states that prisons lack the support services needed to help people overcome their personal troubles and problem behaviours. The woeful under-resourcing of rehabilitation programs and support services is demonstrated by the fact that nearly 80 percent of those serving their first custodial term re-offend.[871] The 'law and order' approach whereby prisoners are incarcerated without adequate and on-going treatment does not serve prisoners or society. Hence, the N.S.W. Greens oppose the mass incarceration of unwell people – such institutionalisation should be used only in severe cases such as homicide. The Party supports offender rehabilitation, victim support, community work orders, and home detention.[872] It also calls upon the three levels of government to fund crisis centres, half-way houses, shelters, and drug and alcohol rehabilitation centres.

Drugs

The N.S.W. Greens' perspective on drugs is "based on harm minimisation and an understanding that drug use should not be treated as a crime, but as a health and social problem."[873] Accordingly, the Party

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<http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/gaysum.htm>.
[869] *Ibid.*
[870] See "Justice" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/jussum.htm>.
[871] *Ibid.*
[872] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Firearms Policy" located at <
http://www.ssaa.org.au/green.html>.
[873] See "Drugs & Harm Minimisation" located at

advocates community initiatives that help reduce the risks of drug use. This includes creating an environment where health and education programs can be offered to drug users without fear of criminal sanctions.[874] Overall, it supports:

- the removal of all criminal sanctions for personal drug use;
- education programs for schools and the community;
- health and social programs aimed at drug users to minimise the adverse impacts on the user and the spread of disease;
- voluntary detoxification and rehabilitation for users wishing to control or end their drug use;
- introduction of mechanisms for testing the quality, purity and potency of drugs; and
- education programs to reduce the incidence of tobacco smoking and excessive consumption of alcohol.[875]

Solid Waste Management

The N.S.W. Greens's approach to waste management is based on two key principles: 1) the best way to deal with waste is to avoid producing it in the first place; and 2) those who generate waste should be responsible for its full life cycle.[876] Hence, individuals, organisations and institutions can refuse, reduce, reuse, and lastly, recycle materials. The advantages of waste minimisation include less need for waste disposal, reduced consumption of energy and materials in manufacturing and transport, less need to make new goods, greater local self-sufficiency, cost savings for consumers and society, and employment opportunities by means of re-using and recycling 'wastes.'[877]

Transportation

The N.S.W. Greens are against the construction of new highways and roads. Traffic congestion and urban air quality problems can best be reduced by the provision of efficient public transportation facilities and financially competitive rail freight transport options.[878] Many rural and

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<http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/drugsum.htm>.

[874] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Heroin a Health issue not a police issue say the Greens" (21 April, 1998).

[875] *Ibid.*

[876] See "Solid Waste Management" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/solid.htm>.

[877] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Greens call for Blue Mountains sewerage clean-up" (10 July, 1998).

[878] See "Transport" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/transum.htm>.

suburban areas rely on obsolete planning practices that regard private automobiles as the only practical mode of transit, instead of village-oriented methods that rely on local public transportation. Accordingly, the N.S.W. Greens are committed to:

• new public transport projects, particularly those that will reduce private vehicle use;
• restructuring the transport bureaucracy with the establishment of a N.S.W. Commission for Integrated Transport with complete strategic planning powers;
• incentives to local councils to operate subsidised mini-buses;
• allocation of funds from road building to the construction of the bicycle network;
• all new roads, bridges and upgrades to Ausroads standards for bicycles;
• provision of bicycle storage facilities; and
• encouraging modal shift of freight from road to rail by improvements to the rail system.[879]

Recreation and Sports

The N.S.W. Greens support the establishment of a wide range of sport and recreational services that are accessible to the public, noting the diversity of individual needs and abilities. The Party believes that recreation and sport has a vital role in creating a healthy lifestyle, and focuses people's energy in a positive and socially constructive direction.[880] Ensuring adequate funding for public recreation and sport enhances the well-being of society, and reduces illness, depression and pressure on other health-related services. As a preventive service, public recreation and sport can also have a significant ameliorating impact on the levels of violence and crime in society.[881]

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[879] *Ibid.* Also investigate press releases "New plan would triple Sydney aircraft noise" (16 March, 1999), and "Greens pressure for promised light rail study" (16 October, 1998).
[880] See "Recreation and Sport" located at <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/policies/rec.htm>.
[881] *Ibid.*

The N.S.W. Green Party embraces both issues and constituency-based politics. Specifically, it identifies the concerns of minority and aggrieved members of society, while also addressing such issues as healthcare, education and transportation. The Party has a clear socioenvironmental conscience, supporting rigorous environmental regulations, governmental provision of social services, and a more equitable distribution of capital. While it leans towards the left and embraces elements of socialism, at times, it does so in a rather moderate fashion. For example, in its most conventional mode, it assumes the presence of corporations – the ultimate icons of the capitalist state (albeit with the intention of altering corporate practices). Moreover, the Party displays a broad concern for the natural world – from wetlands and forests to coastal regions. Its literature contains lengthy passages citing the need for protected areas (particularly wilderness environments). This said, it falls short of being described as an ecocentric political party since it advocates plantation forestry which is a resourcist enterprise.

The N.S.W. Greens support an 'ecologically sustainable forestry based on mixed species plantations,' and 'incentives [for] companies that implement reafforestation programs for both conservation and timber purposes.' While I have already discussed the issue of plantation forestry in the previous chapter's conclusion, the N.S.W. Greens' statement nevertheless warrants a response. In particular, sustainable forestry is not based on mixed species plantations. It is, in fact, based on fully-functioning, complex forests (which embody an interweaving web of genetic, species, and ecosystem diversity).[883] I also take issue with the claim that companies should be granted incentives to implement reafforestation programs. First, large companies would be best replaced by small businesses that practiced ecoforestry.[884] Second, corporations should not receive incentives to

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[882] Reminder (from the introduction): The following concluding remarks are not meant to be 'complete.' The main objective of this material is to identify the Party's salient points for reflective discussion or rather, what I interpret as the noteworthy points (recognising that what is significant is relative to an observer's interpretation of significance). Moreover, the material contains interpretive remarks; that is, it includes unchained, subjective and free-flowing observations.

[883] Investigate Travers, R. (2000). "Biodiversity-based Productivity: Foundation of Ecologically Sustainable Forestry: Editorial," *Ecoforestry*, Vol. 15, No. 3, pp. 2-3.

[884] Investigate Wittbecker, A. "Global Logic or Local Knowledge?"

implement reafforestation programs, since reafforestation itself is a questionable activity.[885] Instead, the Party would be wise to consider encouraging governments to offer incentives to small, regional ecoforestry operations that wished to a) practice ecoforestry, and b) undertake restoration on lands that have been adversely affected by industrial activity including industrial forestry (where possible).[886] Moreover, I also have difficulty with the Party's 'both-sides' position.[887] A Green Party should ultimately be a party of ecology, not resource management *and* industrial activity.[888] Thus, the N.S.W. Green Party might consider framing its discussion of forestry, not in the context of 'conservation and timber purposes' (the latter being particularly questionable), but relative to the need for wilderness preservation.[889]

The N.S.W. Greens note that 'private schools... discriminate on the basis of, for example, religious background and sexuality,' ultimately cultivating rigid social structures, intolerance, and sexism. This is a serious charge, but one that is backed by the literature.[890] Even though the Party is highly critical of private education, I suspect that it recognises those private schools that foster progressive learning (schools that, for example, promote nonviolence, human rights, environmental protection, as well as sociocultural and ecological diversity),[891] but with the caveat that such

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[885] 'Reafforestation' is not the act of replacing a forested area as the term suggests (an utter impossibility). It is the "planting of *trees* on land [forming simplified ecosystems – since it takes more than trees to create a complex ecosystem] that was previously under forest cover, but which has been depleted by habitat destruction or over-exploitation." See Lund, H. Gyde (coord.) (2000). *Definitions of Forest, Deforestation, Afforestation, and Reforestation.* Manassas, VA: Forest Information Services.

[886] Investigate "Ecoforestry Institute Society of Canada" located at <Ecoforestry Institute Society of Canada>; "Welcome to the Society for Ecological Restoration (SER) Internet Resources Site" located at <http://www.ser.org/>; and "Welcome to NZ Ecological Restoration Network" located at <http://www.bush.org.nz/today/index.html>.

[887] Investigate Russow, J. & White, D. (2002). "Principle-Based, Global Education," In Boston, T. (ed.). *Green Education: Learning for the Earth and Posterity.* Philadelphia, PA: Xlibris Press (forthcoming).

[888] Investigate "The Greens – Index" located at <http://start.at/the.greens.index>.

[889] Investigate Rodman, J. "Four Forms of Ecological Consciousness Reconsidered," and "Ecoforestry Institute Society of Canada" located at <Ecoforestry Institute Society of Canada>.

[890] Investigate Crosier, L.M. (1991). *Casualties of Privilege: Essays on Prep Schools' Hidden Culture.* Washington, DC: Avocus Publishing, and Menendez, A. (1993). *Visions of Reality: What Fundamentalist Schools Teach.* Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.

[891] Investigate Nordland, E., Reardon, B.A. & Zuber, R. (eds.). (1994). *Learning Peace: The Promise of Ecological and Cooperative Education (SUNY Series in Global Conflict and Peace Education).* Albany, NY: SUNY Press; Tiedt, P.L. & Tiedt, I.M. (1998). *Multicultural Teaching: A Handbook of Activities, Information, and Resources.* Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon; and Vlachou, A.D. (1997). *Struggles for Inclusive Education: An Ethnographic Study (Disability,*

schools should be transformed into public institutions (rather than follow the liberal trend of privatising public education).[892] Indeed, under international law, education is a human right, not a select, elite endeavour.[893] It is a widespread public service that should be available to all without favouritism on the basis of class, race, sex, religion, or background.[894] While the Party is right to reject one-sided religious 'instruction,' it can, nevertheless, encourage (through the advancement of a progressive, public education) open and reflective discussion of various religious beliefs (which includes the right to oppose or accept a religious perspective).[895] Spiritual ecology (which includes the subfield of ecotheology) would be particularly relevant to a peace, social studies and environmental curriculum.[896] In addition to promoting freedom of religion as a flexible, introspective pursuit, the Party can encourage educational administrators to more readily tolerate the diversity of sexual orientations in schools.[897] Ideally, a school should reflect the diversity of the world in which it exists, and not only embody the presence of people of different backgrounds, races, cultures, religions, but accept the presence of those with different sexual orientations. Not only do various religious private schools condemn the diversity of sexuality in schools (and in general), but several segregate students along lines of physical gender.[898] Despite the 'old school' documentation suggesting otherwise,[899] there is corroborated

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Human Rights and Society). Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

[892] Investigate Jonathan , R. (1998). *Illusory Freedoms: Liberalism, Education and the Market*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.

[893] Investigate Hodgson, D. (1998). *The Human Right to Education (Programme on International Rights of the Child Series)*. Aldershot, UK: Dartmouth Publishing, and "The Rights International Research Guide for International Human Rights Lawyers" located at <http://www.rightsinternational.org/instruments.html>.

[894] *Ibid*.

[895] Investigate Hobson, P.R. & Edwards, J.S. (1999). *Religious Education in a Pluralist Society: The Key Philosophical Issues (Woburn Education Series)*. Portland, OR: Woburn Press.

[896] Investigate Petrie, T., Leighton, K., Linder, G. & Wilson, E.O. (eds.). (1996). *Temple Wilderness: A Collection of Thoughts and Images on Our Spiritual Bond With the Earth*. Minocqua, WI: Willow Creek Press; Byrd McDaniel, J. (1995). *With Roots and Wings: Christianity in an Age of Ecology and Dialogue (Ecology and Justice)*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books; and Versluis, A. (1992). *Sacred Earth: The Spiritual Landscape of Native America*. Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions International.

[897] Investigate Walling, D.V. (ed.). (1996). *Open Lives, Safe Schools*. Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa, and Jennings, K. (ed.). (1998). *Telling Tales Out of School*. Los Angeles, CA: Alyson Publications.

[898] Investigate "Independent School Associations" located at <http://www.independentschools.com.au/organisations.html>

[899] Investigate "Benefits of Single-Sex Education" located at <http://www.ee.cua.edu/~georgvis/admissions/benefits.htm>, and "A Case for Single-Sex Education" located at <http://members.easyspace.com/fathers/vmisingl.htm>.

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evidence to suggest that gender-specific schools (and related gender-specific environments such as all male or female clubs), on the whole, result in students who: a) have difficulty communicating with the opposite sex later on in life, and b) to varying degrees, exhibit sexist behaviour (preferential treatment towards a specific gender, particularly when prompted by certain activities reminiscent of their former gender-specific education).[900] In response, the Party can point out that gender division is a form of segregation, and can foster serious attitudinal barriers between men and women (particularly men over women as exemplified by the strength of the masculinist culture).[901]

The Party supports 'a wide range of sport and recreational services that are accessible to the public, noting the diversity of individual needs and abilities.' Specifically, it recognises the particular requirements facing each *individual user* of public sport and recreational services. This is a valuable observation. There is a tendency for public sport and recreational services to be distributed in a generalised manner, without due consideration for individual needs.[902] Instead of improving community health, top-down service-providers often take a 'one size fits all' approach to sports and recreation which can ultimately lead to the opposite of the intended result: poor health and physical injuries for the user.[903] There are governments, for example, that fund the development of standardised public sports complexes without offering users individualised instruction about nutritional diversity, the multiplicity of exercise routines, and other lifestyle choices.[904] Each person's physical needs and outcomes are, to a certain extent, distinct. Just as one might question the homogenisation of each person's form of wellness (which can include social, physical,

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[900] Investigate Epstein, C.F. (1997). "The Myths and Justifications of Sex Segregation in Higher Education: VMI and The Citadel," *Duke Journal of Gender Law & Policy*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 101-118; Lee, V. (1995). "A Narrowly Gender-Based Model of Learning May End up Cheating All Students," *The Harvard Education Letter*, Vol. 11, No. 4, pp. 3-6; "Gender and Race Based Schooling" located at <http://www.udayton.edu/~gender/pages/schooling.htm>; and "Single-Sex Education" located at <http://www.cwrl.utexas.edu/~wolfe/e306/spring98/projects/marie/>.
[901] *Ibid.*
[902] Investigate Kraus, R. (1996). *Recreation Programming: A Benefits-Driven Approach.* Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon Press, and Torkildsen, G. (1999). *Leisure and Recreation Management.* London, UK: E & FN Spon.
[903] *Ibid.*
[904] Investigate "Links and Contacts" located at < http://www.asritc.com.au/links/links.html>.

spiritual, and emotional well-being),[905] so too is it a flaw to generalise each person's mode of physical well-being.[906] Ultimately, the Party's observation has wide-ranging implications in the area of health and fitness. It suggests that governments and other sport and recreational service providers ought to avoid generalised applications of health, and not only observe the layered, overlapping and complex patterns inherent in an individual's experience of wellness, but meticulously unearth the specifics within particular sub-categories of wellness (such as physical well-being).[907]

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[905] Investigate Boston, T. "Situating a Subjective Project."
[906] Investigate Corbin, C.B., Lindsey, R., Welk, G., Corbin, W. & Welk, K. (1999). *Concepts of Physical Fitness: Active Lifestyles for Wellness.* New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, and Powers, S.K. & Dodd, S.L. (1996). *Essentials of Total Fitness, The: Exercise, Nutrition, and Wellness.* Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
[907] Investigate Magaziner, A. (1999). *Total Health Handbook: Your Complete Wellness Resource.* New York, NY: Kensington Publishing.

16. The Tropical Greens: The Green Party of Queensland

Introduction

This chapter explores the Green Party of Queensland, and offers some reflective analysis on the nature of its paradigm. Specifically, along with the other chapters detailing Green Party paradigmatic positions, it helps answer the third research question posed in chapter one, namely: What are the demonstrated paradigmatic positions of the federal and provincial/state Greens? Formed in late 1991, the Queensland Green Party has organised several campaigns, notifying the public of the state's most acute socioenvironmental problems. Branches in Cairns, Townsville, the Sunshine Coast and Brisbane have uncovered serious cases of water pollution caused by effluent discharges from sewage treatment plants and the illegal dumping of waste from industry.[908] Others have been in the forefront of campaigns to reduce air pollution in the Brisbane region through improved traffic management and the provision of public transport.[909] Still others have called for the preservation and restoration of wilderness areas such as the Great Barrier Reef. A recent campaign, launched by the Whitsunday Greens, stemmed from the federal government's failure to provide proper moorings for boats anchored on the Reef.[910]

Democracy

The Queensland Greens argue that since governments obtain their legitimacy from the people and only the people, it follows that government must be from the people, by the people and for the people.[911] Democratic governments empower the public to participate in the decision-making process, and support the right of the citizenry to affect social change. The Party points out that an undemocratic system is one that not only lacks participation, but ignores or undervalues the knowledge of the general

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[908] See "About us" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/about.html>.
[909] *Ibid.*
[910] *Ibid.* Also investigate "State Announces Worst Possible Scenario For Burnett" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/qld/info/campaigns/burnett.html>.
[911] See "Democratic Process and Electoral Reform" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/democratic.html>. Also investigate press releases "Court appeal challenges civil liberties infringements by councils" (25 July, 2000), "Real representation" (11 September, 1998), and "Parliamentarians need code of

public. It emphasises the need for government officials to interact with and seek input from the general public, noting that real parliamentary representation is based on equal standing for all members of society and the devolution of government authority .

Censorship

According to the Queensland Greens, censorship laws are a tool of the establishment which have been used to stifle and control information in the guise of morality. Queensland has a record of repressing free speech and individual liberties. A culture of censorship, intolerance and prudishness limits human expression, stifles the creative process, constrains academic freedom, hampers public health education campaigns, and impacts on minorities with alternative social values.[912] The Party notes that Queensland has the most severe censorship laws in Australia. Under the current censorship regime, Queensland is the only state where material classified as acceptable by the Commonwealth Censor is not permitted to be sold (as is the case with all states and territories, materials that are refused classification by the Commonwealth Censor are not permitted to be sold or distributed).[913] Consequently, the state government has banned several publications containing gay and lesbian themes – despite public opposition.

Biodiversity

Of the four fundamental environmental issues, namely the conservation of air, water, land, and biodiversity, the Queensland Greens believe that the conservation of biodiversity is both the measure and purpose of the other fundamental conservation issues.[914] The Party supports strong biodiversity protection measures, identifying the exploitation of habitat by industrial interests as the main threat to biodiversity. The protection of biodiversity requires an understanding of

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conduct" (22 February, 1998).

[912] See "Censorship" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/censorship.html>.

[913] *Ibid*. Also investigate "Publications too 'raunchy' for Queensland adults to read?" located at <http://www.efa.org.au/Analysis/qldraunchy.html>.

[914] See "Biodiversity Protection" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/biodiversity.html>.

ecosystems as complex, variable entities. The Party argues that it is vital to avoid any degree of habitat destruction where species become rare or endangered, and require rescue operations to ensure their survival.[915] Noting that the diversity of life is essential to habitats, it feels that biodiversity protection should be based on effective local, state and national legislation.

Fire

Queensland's Green Party points out that wildfire contributes to, for example, climate change, a reduction in biodiversity, poor soil quality, and the depletion of the natural resource base. Hence, it advocates a long-term initiative of propagating a greater number of fire-resistant native plants. It also supports a strategy of controlled hazard-reduction burning in notably fire-prone areas to avoid more destructive wildfire.[916] This should be carried out utilising site-specific practices, having regard to regional and climatic conditions and a very well-prescribed mosaic plan.[917] This said, the Party emphasises that controlled burning is a practice that is best carried out with considerable precautions since it may itself result in wildfire.

Land Clearing

The Queensland Greens argue that the long-term ecological costs of clearing land (for instance, salinity and erosion) outweigh the short-term benefits of greater agricultural yields. But, the state government has so far failed to address the issue of land degradation despite repeated calls for improved legislation, coordinated regional planning initiatives, an adequate land management research budget, and greater resources for rural extension services.[918] As a beginning, the Party believes that the government should:

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[915] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Green boss gives go-ahead for Hinchinbrook Tree Clearing in Glider Habitat" (2 December, 1999).

[916] See "Fire Management" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/fire.html>.

[917] *Ibid.*

[918] See "Land Clearing" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/land.html>. Also investigate "Land Clearing Issue" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/qld/info/campaigns/land_clearing.html>.

• recognise the value of native vegetation on private and crown land and undertake the investigation and documentation of this resource by means of satellite and on-the-ground monitoring;
• make a comprehensive survey and map of all vegetation on private and crown lands in the state, with priority being given to those communities under greatest threat, and use this and existing information to form a composite land-management map that includes fauna, soil, water and land-tenure parameters on a catchment-by-catchment basis; and
• include land-clearing information in state-of-the-environment reports.[919]

Coastal Protection

The Green Party of Queensland expresses concern that the state's diverse and fragile coastal ecosystems are under threat. It aims at protecting, for example, the Torres Strait, the Gulf of Carpentaria and the Great Barrier Reef.[920] A growing and consumption-oriented population (which is dependent on urbanisation, tourism, and development activities) resides within 50 kilometres of the coastline, resulting in extensive environmental damage. The Party is critical of the federal government's apathy in reversing coastal destruction. Moreover, regional planning, which would help prevent coastal degradation, is generally not being adopted in coastal regions.[921] The Party states that regional planning councils in far north Queensland wish to address coastal issues on a regional scale, but often lack the authority and capital to do so. Consequently, the Party calls for the establishment of federal and state laws which advance ecologically sustainable development in the coastal zone at the local level. This would allow regional planning councils to oppose the release of persistent toxic chemicals into nearby ocean, and ensure that urbanisation and habitat preservation are considered on a regional scale (recognising the concerns that affect a particular locale).

Animals

The Queensland Green Party urges people to develop a greater empathy with animals (and nature in general). It condemns the abuse of

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[919] *Ibid.* Also investigate press releases "Senate takes on Queensland land clearing" (16 August, 2000), and "Land clearing rates show desperate need for tree clearing laws" (10 July, 2000).
[920] See "Coastal Protection" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/coastal.html>.
[921] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Greens support no new whale licences for Moreton Bay" (14 March, 1998).

animals, "whether that abuse takes the form of wanton cruelty or thoughtless exploitation, such as factory-farming, vivisection or the destruction of animal habitats."[922] It believes that humans should respect the rights of every living being, and foster an ecological consciousness that recognises species equality. It seeks to "end all forms of animal abuse by supporting research into alternatives to drugs in the treatment of disease, by supporting humane and ecologically sensitive agriculture, and by opposing some aspects of industrial medicine and the abuse of animals by agribusiness."[923] Hence, it calls for:

• [an] increase [in] the number of officers responsible for enforcing anti-cruelty legislation;
• [an] increase [in] penalties for breaches of anti-cruelty laws;
• [a greening of Queensland's] cities, replanting areas with native flora so that native animals can return to [the state's] neighbourhoods; and
• [greater education –] educate people about what can be done in neighbourhoods to bring animals back into [their] lives.[924]

Agriculture

The Party argues that ecoagriculture helps ensure the long-term vitality of communities – farmers and their families are not dependent on agribusinesses and their chemical fixes (via pesticides, herbicides and fertilisers). Accordingly, it calls for a community consultation process that would ensure a shift from industrial agriculture to bioregional-based ecoagriculture. The goal would be to encourage a greater range of regional value-added projects, employment opportunities, and lifestyle choices.[925] The Party is also concerned about the environmental costs to downstream producers, the social and health implications of conventional agricultural production, and the lack of adequate health facilities for rural communities.[926]

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[922] See "Animals" located at
<http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/animals.html>.
[923] *Ibid.*
[924] *Ibid.*
[925] See "Agriculture and Pastoralism" located at
<http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/agriculture.html>.
[926] *Ibid.* Also investigate press releases "Poisoned groundwater on the Eastern Downs - Who is accountable?" (17 March, 2000), and "Federal Environment Minister supports Green criticisms of cane farming practices" (9 September, 1998).

Energy

The Queensland Greens point out that coal produces the vast majority of the state's electricity. While the consumption and export of coal has a major affect on Queensland's economy, the Party contends that this non-renewable, finite energy source is a socioeconomic and environmental liability (for instance, the air pollution caused from the burning of coal is a human and ecological health hazard). Hence, it calls upon the state government to establish a new Queensland Alternative Energy Development Corporation (Q.A.E.D.C.) under the Business, Industry and Regional Development portfolio which could research and help advance alternative energy, including renewable solar, geothermal, wind, tidal and methane energy.[927] Moreover, noting the obstacles facing the alternative energy sector, the Party advocates "restructuring the energy industry to align profit with energy savings and efficiency, [as well as to ensure] true and fair competition for private-sector energy-service companies." [928] It supports a larger role for the private energy sector, believing that it should compete, as well as collaborate with government energy services. With respect to the latter, it feels that the Queensland Electricity Corporation (Q.E.C.) should continue its main functions in the short term, but under the following constraints: 1) no new coal-fired electricity plants should be built; 2) the Q.E.C. should be subject to a levy approximating external socioenvironmental costs; and 3) there should be a tonnage cap for current fossil-fuel usage levels, with any new fossil-fuel plant operating within the current cap.[929]

Economics

The Queensland Greens argue that governments have a responsibility to conserve the state's natural resources by rejecting neoclassical economics – an inaccurate economic system that ignores external costs. As an alternative, governments should practise ecological economics, which identifies the limits of natural capital. They also need to

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[927] See "Energy" located at
<http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/energy.html>.
[928] *Ibid.*
[929] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Federal government's two percent renewables bill should not be supported by renewable energy industry – Greens" (14 July, 2000).

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establish a set of socioeconomic indicators that measure and promote the benefits of equitably distributing economic activity amongst the population.[930] Moreover, they can offer a yearly report identifying the overall environmental health of the state. The Party also believes it is important that governments adopt economic initiatives that encourage the development of secondary processing and tertiary service sectors by promoting research and development of green technologies, and providing assistance for the formation of clean, green industries.[931] Additionally, it advocates the elimination of all government funding to industries which demonstrate a negative impact on labour, employment, social well-being, and the natural environment. There is a need to offer disincentives to unsustainable industries in the form of taxes, and introduce new pollution and labour licences to reinforce the disincentives.[932] Conversely, financial incentives should be awarded to manufacturers whose practices function in unison with natural and social systems.

Taxation

The Queensland Greens believe that a taxation system should be based on principles of sustainability, equity, transparency, adequacy, and efficiency.[933] Specifically, the Party calls for a tax system that ensures greater income equality, and the distribution of socioenvironmental capital on an intergenerational basis. The system should also protect the public interest against those who seek short-range financial or political benefit. Overall, the Party advocates a taxation system that results in socially useful investment, a healthy environment, and a more self-sufficient Queensland economy – one that is less dependent on unrestrained resource use and less vulnerable to external fiscal and monetary pressures.[934]

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[930] See "Economic Overview" located at
<http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/econoverview.html>.
[931] *Ibid.*
[932] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Free Trade's Free Ride on the Global Climate" located at
<http://www.qld.greens.org.au/info/discuss/20001121.html>.
[933] See "Taxation" located at
<http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/taxation.html>.
[934] *Ibid.* Also investigate press releases "Hanson fails to respond to Greens' tax attack" (13 September, 1998), and "Tax reform essential" (10 September, 1998).

Health

Queensland's Green Party believes in the right and the responsibility of all individuals to have good health, and backs preventive and educational health initiatives with appropriate funding for both.[935] It also calls for greater access to quality healthcare facilities, insisting that a well-funded public health system is a human right. The public health system should aim to close the gap between poor and prosperous members of the community, emphasising equal access to health services.[936] The Party argues that support should be offered to all those who cannot afford the costs of their medical and related needs (this includes the chronically ill, people with disabilities, pensioners, and the jobless). There should also be community-administered primary healthcare with the provision of adequate support and multi-purpose facilities such as childcare centres.[937]

Education

The Queensland Green Party contends that a high quality education is one that leads to an equitable, sustainable and informed society. In seeking to achieve such a society, it calls for a holistic education that fosters reflective, ethical, and participatory approaches to learning. While it advocates lifelong informal learning, it also underscores the importance of public formal education. Indeed, the Party supports the maintenance and enrichment of the public schooling sector, as well as the right of each individual to adequate financial support while undertaking a formal educational program.[938] Moreover, it recognises the distinct educational needs, abilities and aspirations of each individual, and calls upon the community to acknowledge such differences. The Party believes in the right of communities, including student groups, parents, citizen organisations, and academic bodies, to help set the directions, priorities and curriculum of the public education system.[939]

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[935] See "Health" located at
<http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/health.html>.
[936] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Queensland Greens candidate for Mt Cootha" located at
<http://www.qld.greens.org.au/election/copeman_d.html>.
[937] *Ibid*
[938] See "Education" located at
<http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/education.html>.
[939] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Drew Hutton Defends Trial SOSE Syllabus" located at
<http://www.greens.org.au/qld/info/campaigns/sose.html>.

Housing

The Queensland Greens point out that under four percent of all state housing is public housing (much of which is in need of repair). This is far below the national average, and is exacerbated by poor management, poor location and the stigmatising of tenants,[940] raising questions about the state government's level of social responsibility. Almost 13 percent of the population – single people, couples and families – and over forty percent of one-parent families are living in housing-associated poverty in Queensland.[941] Moreover, the Party maintains that the state's residential tenancy legislation is some of the worst in the country. Despite recent amendments to the Residential Tenancy Act, tenants have scarcely any legal rights and protections. Consequently, the Queensland Greens advocate a sustainable housing strategy for the state that develops innovative approaches to the provision of adequate, affordable, appropriate and secure housing for all Queenslanders, particularly those on low incomes and with special needs.[942] Furthermore, it encourages everyone to consider a range of housing options including housing cooperatives, boarding homes, and other similar alternatives to private housing and flats. Any new housing should be built in accordance with the principles of environmental and social sustainability.

Aboriginal Issues

The Queensland Greens believe that the federal and state governments should respect Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island peoples' spiritual connection with nature. The Party supports inalienable native title to traditional lands to empower Australia's indigenous peoples who have been denied their country, and seeks to enable them to preserve their lifestyle and culture, noting their contribution to all aspects of Australian society.[943] The Party argues that Australians should listen to and learn from the deep cultural wisdom of indigenous peoples, particularly in connection

[940] See "Housing" located at
<http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/housing.html>.
[941] *Ibid.*
[942] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Greens criticise Beanland on retirement villages" (1 June, 1998).
[943] See "Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs" located at
<http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/Aboriginal.html>.

with land custodianship, reciprocal human-nature relationships, respect for elders, and a broad based social care ethic (that unites family and community).[944] The Party also calls upon Australians to recognise the right of Aboriginal communities to rely on their own customs and lore as the basis for self-government.

Women

The Queensland Greens note that women still do not enjoy the same opportunities to participate in and enjoy all aspects of community life as men.[945] Women confront patriarchal structures that devalue their social, economic and political contributions to society. Consequently, the Party calls upon the government to:

• improve women's wages (equal pay for work of equal value) and develop a comprehensive superannuation system which takes into account many women's broken employment patterns;
• ensure that all work sites of more than ten parents with children provide work-based childcare;
• expand Working Women's Centres;
• support gender equity programs;
• assist all women to access higher education;
• ensure that women and girls influence all decisions made affecting their health; and
• make available appropriate counselling and support to women prisoners and victims of crime.[946]

The Queensland Greens reject gender discrimination, and recognise the need to prevent male privilege, emphasising that it is a basis for inequity against women. The Party is committed to full participation by women in all areas of socioeconomic and political life.[947] Given that the majority of Queenslanders living in destitution are women, it calls upon the federal and state governments to improve the employment conditions and general welfare of the state's women. Moreover, it supports measures that promote a healthy and peaceful family life including services designed to

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[944] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Native title position a betrayal of indigenous Queenslanders" (28 May, 1998).
[945] See "Women" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/women.html>.
[946] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Chapter Seven of Constitution: Formal Matters" located at < http://www.qld.greens.org.au/info/qgreens/const_7.html>.
[947] See "Gender" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/gender.html>.

break the generational cycle of family violence, noting that women are most often the victims and men the perpetrators of abuse.[948] It believes that there is a common source to this aggressive, pathological behaviour. Male violence, suicides, diseases and mortality rates are, at least partially, attributable to the anxiety arising from inappropriately competitive jobs or social roles.[949] Accordingly, the Party argues that society's institutions and organisations should encourage men to embrace non-competitive, cooperative and caring solutions in life – a move towards greater cooperation amongst men and between men and women is a cornerstone of a peaceful and just society.

Drugs

While the Queensland Green Party identifies illicit drug use as a critical social issue, it maintains that 'law and order' drug strategies do not deter individuals from utilising drugs. It believes in addressing the problem of drug abuse at its source by dealing with the socioeconomic circumstances that lead people into using drugs.[950] These problems include alienation of youth from society, inappropriate educational structures, unemployment (especially of young people), family breakdown, poverty, and community dislocation.[951] Hence, like other Green parties, the Queensland Greens contend that drug use should be classified as a social problem and not a criminal matter. The Party states that its outlook on drugs corresponds with its stance on youth, justice, families, welfare, education, and employment – all of which, amongst other matters, seek to ensure a society that connects with and cares for those who look to drugs for relief instead of relying on other more promising outlets. Hence, the Queensland Greens support increased funding for drug rehabilitation, new treatment methods, reduced penalties for use of drugs, and properly conducted trials of a regulated medical supply of drugs to addicts.[952]

Conclusion[953]

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[948] *Ibid.*
[949] *Ibid.* Also investigate "Bicentennial Man" located at <http://www.qld.greens.org.au/info/discuss/20000114.html>.
[950] See "Drug Regulation" located at <http://www.greens.org.au/qld/docs/policy/qld/drugregs.html>.
[951] *Ibid.*
[952] *Ibid.*
[953] Reminder (from the introduction): The following concluding remarks are not meant to

The Queensland Greens hold to the broad principles of environmental and social justice, while also emanating a strong social libertarian philosophy. With respect to the latter, it is especially keen on upholding the liberal democratic rights of free speech, participatory dialogue, transparent decision-making, and open, grassroots governance. It also has an obvious bioregional (if not state) emphasis, generally addressing issues that are particular to Queensland such as 'preservation and restoration of the Great Barrier Reef.'

The Party points out that 'Queensland has the severest censorship laws in Australia, and that 'the state government has banned several publications containing gay and lesbian themes – despite public opposition.' Queensland's government selectively represses free speech; that is, it identifies specific forms of information and, in a top-down fashion, attempts to remove it from the public sphere.[954] But, the questions that one might raise are: Who exactly decides that the information is problematic? What is to be repressed? Is the information, in fact, a danger to the public good? Clearly, the Queensland government has decided (without a public referendum and consultation with minority groups) to ban written materials – particularly of a sexual nature.[955] With respect to the latter, the government's attempt to repress sexual expression (as it pertains to consenting mature individuals) suggests that it may also be seeking to advance a conservative 'morality' and prudish Victorian austerity.[956] Regardless of the government's 'moral position,' the repression of expression (information created with the informed consent of those involved) is a breach of democratic freedoms.[957] In a free society, people should be able to access information as long as it does not impinge on the

be 'complete.' The main objective of this material is to identify the Party's salient points for reflective discussion or rather, what I interpret as the noteworthy points (recognising that what is significant is relative to an observer's interpretation of significance). Moreover, the material contains interpretive remarks; that is, it includes unchained, subjective and free-flowing observations.

[954] Investigate "Publications too 'raunchy' for Queensland adults to read?" located at <http://www.efa.org.au/Analysis/qldraunchy.html>.

[955] *Ibid.*

[956] Raines Day, N. & Winget, M. (2000). *Censorship: Or Freedom of Expression?* Minneapolis, MN: Lerner Publishing, and Strossen, N. (2000). *Free Speech, Sex, and the Fight for Women's Rights.* New York, NY: New York University Press.

[957] Investigate Phillips, P. (1998). *Censored 1998.* New York, NY: Seven Stories Press, and Murray, T. (1996). *Moral Panic: Exposing the Religious Right's Agenda on Sexuality.* London,

rights and well-being of others (directly or indirectly), as defined by an informed public and scientific consensus.[958] Of course, certain forms of 'liberty' can come at a cost to society. For example, there are certain fundamentalist religious groups that forcibly impose (via the practice of indoctrination, or worse, violence) their own ideas onto others.[959] Despite their calls for religious 'freedom,' these groups do not rely on principles of informed consent, participatory communication, and critical thought.[960] Clearly, under these circumstances, the state government would be within its authority to restrict information.

The Party advocates 'a sustainable housing strategy for the state that develops innovative approaches to the provision of adequate, affordable, appropriate and secure housing for all Queenslanders, particularly those on low incomes...' This is admirable stance. However, an argument calling for sustainable housing without also citing the need for the equitable provision of foods (ideally, organic produce) will still leave the poor in a position of hardship.[961] Many progressive governments recognise the need for adequate social services such as housing.[962] Yet, aside from monetary relief such as the dole or the partial funding of food banks, these governments usually do not take it upon themselves to guarantee foodstuffs for impoverished populations.[963] Specifically, while we might encounter housing for the destitute, we do not see grocery stores dedicated to the poor. Similarly, we hear arguments for more public funding of healthcare, but little, if anything, about creating publicly funded/owned farms (for the production and equitable distribution of organic produce).[964] In step with

UK: Cassell Academic.
[958] Investigate Day, N. & Winget, M. *Censorship.*
[959] Investigate Streiker, L.D. (1984). *The Gospel Time Bomb: Ultrafundamentalism and the Future of America.* Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, and Thaler Singer, M. & Lalich, J. (1996). *Cults in Our Midst.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
[960] *Ibid.*
[961] Investigate Ehrlich, P.R., Ehrlich, A.H. & Daily, G.C. (1997). *The Stork and the Plow: The Equity Answer to the Human Dileman.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
[962] While progressive governments identify housing or healthcare as 'services,' they do not do so with food. I suspect that they unconsciously refer to the neoclassical economic assumption that rudimentarily separates and classifies 'goods' and 'services.' Investigate, for example, "German Government" located at <http://deutschakeins.800mph.com/government.html>, "NZGO: Gateway to the New Zealand Government" located at <http://www.govt.nz/>, and "News | Swedish Government Offices" located at <http://www.regeringen.se/inenglish/>.
[963] *Ibid.*
[964] Investigate "Government of Canada" located at <http://www.gc.ca/>, and "European Governments on the WWW" located at

progressive governments, the Party also offers a partial solution to alleviating societal destitution. Hence, as a break from mainstream political propensities, it may want to call upon governments to develop a Department (Ministry) of Equitable Food Provision with the authority to offer 'public food' to those in need – akin to public healthcare. This would be in keeping with international law which indicates that all individuals, regardless of background or circumstances, should have sufficient access to both food and shelter.[965]

The Party also 'encourages everyone to consider a range of housing options including housing cooperatives, boarding homes, and other similar alternatives to private housing and flats.' Evidently, the Party supports the equitable distribution and ownership of shelter, and questions the squander resulting from the individual possession of private property.[966] With respect to the latter, it is especially unjust for individuals to own large, flamboyant properties that they do not use when other residents have an inadequate (if any) place to live.[967] Similarly, it is inequitable for individuals within a community to own homes with unused space (for example, additional rooms) which could otherwise house people whose misfortunes leave them without shelter (for which there are many in the world). Ultimately, the wealthy who have been socialised to perceive 'their' property as an individual possession, or worse, as means of hierarchically elevating their 'social' status can be encouraged to seek more cooperative, equitable and socially constructive forms of housing.[968]

But, there is another related (perhaps, more central) issue that stems from the Party's position on housing. Modern home construction involves considerable use of natural capital; it is a 'resource' intensive enterprise.[969] Thus, as part of their position on housing, the Party might want to encourage less dependency on homes in general, and overtly support

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<http://www.gksoft.com/govt/en/europa.html>.

[965] See "The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights" located at <http://hrightsforum.hypermart.net/billhistory.html>.

[966] Investigate, for example, "Why are anarchists against private property?" located at <http://wildhunt.unseelie.org/anarchy/secB3.html>.

[967] Ibid.

[968] Investigate, for example, McCamant, K. Durrett, C. & Hertzman, C. (1993). *Cohousing: A Contemporary Approach to Housing Ourselves*. Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press, and Wettenhall, G. (1984). *Common Equity Rental Co-operatives: A Draft Strategy for their Implementation in Victoria*. Melbourne, Vic: Ministry of Housing.

[969] Investigate "Welcome to Green Construction" located at

subcultures and those indigenous peoples who wish to live off the land with few material items or structures.[970] Given the temperate to tropical climate in Queensland, it is conceivable that a person or group of people could live outdoors for much of the year without the reliance on what modern culture conventionally deems as a home (albeit, some form of basic shelter might be necessary such as permanent to semi-permanent tents or trailers).[971] In essence, an ecologically sustainable vision of housing can include the weaning of modern culture from the insatiable infatuation with large-scale physical buildings and homes.[972] Moreover, such a redefinition of housing also helps reinvent notions of wealth and poverty. Indeed, under the new definition, people who choose to live without a conventional home would no longer be classified as those in need.[973] On the contrary, since they have been able to escape the pathology of materialism, they would be seen as 'well-off' (in the true sense of the word). In essence, the Party could help shift the focus away from material solutions to 'poverty and shelter' through a greater adherence to socioecocentric praxis.[974]

Finally, the Party states that 'society's institutions and organisations should encourage men to embrace non-competitive, cooperative and caring solutions in life – a move towards greater cooperation amongst men and between men and women is a cornerstone of a peaceful and just society.' This is a most valuable point. Many men (and a few masculinist women) in modern society are socialised from an early age to assume that aggressive actions offer greater results.[975] Later on in life, this translates into violence against nature and humanity (with war being the epitome of violent

<http://www.greenconstruction.co.uk/default.htm>.
[970] Investigate, for example, Rose, D.B. (2001). *Dingo Makes Us Human: Life and Land in an Australian Aboriginal Culture*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
[971] Investigate "Queensland" located at <http://members.ozemail.com.au/~michaelt/qld.html>.
[972] Investigate, for example, Burch, M. *Simplicity.*, and Burch, M. (1997). *Simplicity Study Circles: A Step-by-Step Guide*. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers.
[973] I do not think that anyone should live in a house-free state unless they are in the position/ready to do so (that is, they have the know-how and resources to live without housing).
[974] This said, ecologically sensitive material-based solutions may be needed in certain cases – for instance, those who live in modern, technocratic cities cannot (are not free to) live off the land in the same manner as those who live out in the bush/wilderness. With respect to the latter, investigate, for example, Chiras, D.D. (2000). *The Natural House: A Complete Guide to Healthy, Energy-Efficient, Environmental Homes*. White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green Publishing.
[975] Investigate, for example, Jaggar, A.M. & Young, I.M. (eds.). (1999). *A Companion to Feminist Philosphy (Blackwell Companions to Philosophy)*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.

behaviour).[976] Planetary destruction and human misery is, in part, attributable to the lack of a care ethic.[977] Indeed, if modern, masculinist culture with its competitive drive and social aggression reversed its course, and cared for itself and others (including the natural world), there would be less impetus for socioecological destruction.[978] As a practical measure, the Party might want to consider encouraging governments to develop a Department (Ministry) of Peace which could, amongst other matters, undertake peace impact assessments, provide conflict resolution as a public service, and offer incentives to institutions that support peace initiatives (amongst peoples and nations as well as between human and non-human beings, noting that modern culture has difficulty understanding/listening to nature's ways).

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[976] Investigate, for example, Warren, K.J. (2000). *Ecofeminist Philosophy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

[977] Investigate, for example, Radford-Ruether, R. (1996). *Women Healing Earth: Third World Women on Ecology, Feminism, and Religion* (Ecology and Justice). Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

[978] *Ibid.*

17. *Progressive, Independent, and Driven: The Green Party of Western Australia*

Introduction

This chapter explores the Green Party of Western Australia (W.A.), and offers some reflective analysis on the nature of its paradigm. Specifically, along with the other chapters detailing Green Party paradigmatic positions, it helps answer the third research question posed in chapter one, namely: What are the demonstrated paradigmatic positions of the federal and provincial/state Greens? Established in 1990, the W.A. Greens resulted from a union between the Green Earth Alliance and the W.A. Green Party.[979] The Green Earth Alliance was itself a product of an earlier merger between the Alternative Coalition, the Vallentine Peace Group and Green Development.[980] Even though the W.A. Green Party is not officially an affiliate of the Australian Green Party, it shares the same general goals, and works directly with Greens in other states and at the federal level. Like other Greens, the Party strives towards a society characterised by ecological sustainability, socioeconomic equality, participatory democracy, and nonviolence:[981]

> The essence of the Green [Party] vision is the interconnection of issues. [Addressing, for example, the] rural environmental crisis, disenfranchisement of young people, injustice against indigenous people, family disintegration, [and] unemployment... will only come when we recognise that these issues are fundamentally interconnected. The path to creative solutions is to address these issues as a whole and not in isolation.[982]

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[979] See "Who is the Green Party" located at
<http://members.iinet.net.au/~greenswa/who_are_the_greens.htm>.
[980] *Ibid.* The Vallentine Peace Group was founded by Jo Vallentine. "Jo was the first Greens Member of Federal Parliament in Australia, [having been] elected to the Federal Senate in 1984 as a member of the Nuclear Disarmament Party. In 1990, Jo became the first Greens member of the Senate following the merger of the Green Earth Alliance with the W.A Green Party." See "Members of Parliament: Legislative Council, Western Australia" located at <http://www.wa.greens.org.au/parliament/index.html>.
[981] See "Vision and Principles" located at
<http://members.iinet.net.au/~greenswa/Vision.htm>. Also investigate W.A. Greens. (1999). "The Charter of the Greens: Basis for Action," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA)*, July Issue, p. 4; and W.A. Greens. (1999). "Principles of a Sustainable Society," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA)*, July Issue, p. 5.
[982] See "Who is the Green Party" located at
<http://members.iinet.net.au/~greenswa/who_are_the_greens.htm>.

The Party is a grassroots organisation wherein local branches function relative to the interests of their local communities. Community participation is its binding agent, giving it versatility and strength.[983]

Land Degradation

The W.A. Greens feel that land degradation is the most serious environmental issue in the state. Past and present land use practices and inappropriate management of land for pastoral and broadacre farming have resulted in a huge range of environmental impacts including soil loss, rising salinity, extinctions, and a reduction in native plant and animal populations, as well as a massive decline in water quality in streams, rivers and estuaries.[984] Hence, the Party calls upon the state government to introduce an ecosystem-based system of conservation reserves, an end to the clearing of ecologically-sensitive lands, and the restoration of deep-rooted native vegetation. Moreover, the state government can provide communities with incentives for best landcare practices, and develop legally-binding land management agreements, in consultation with local communities, that aim to phase-out unsustainable activities on marginal and unsuitable land.[985]

Contaminated Sites

The W.A. Greens insist that the 1500 contaminated sites in the state, a high number of which are located in Perth, are an environmental and health hazard. Despite the contamination, the state government and Environmental Protection Authority do not have a system to manage contaminated areas. Consequently, the W.A. Greens believe that the state government should immediately restore all contaminated lands that pose a risk to groundwater supplies, soil quality, and human health through the introduction of contaminated sites legislation.[986] It would also be useful if the government established a statutory public register, including an

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[983] *Ibid.*
[984] See "Platform Papers" located at <http://members.iinet.net.au/~greenswa/Platform percent20Papers.htm>.
[985] *Ibid.* Also investigate Davies, S. (1997). "Selling-out our Heritage," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA)*, Mar. Issue, p. 4.
[986] Investigate Bant, G. (1999). "Government Buries Head in Kakadu Decision," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA)*, May Issue, p. 1; and Bant, G. (1999). "Federal Government

appropriate system of classification, for all contaminated sites.[987] Moreover, in order to ensure that polluters are held accountable for their actions, the state government should implement the polluter pays principle, and offer incentives to those companies and individuals that properly eliminate their wastes. It should also establish a fund to pay for clean-ups, and ensure that the community is fully informed about (and involved in) decisions regarding contaminated sites.

Mining and Resources

The W.A. Greens point out that mining and resource exploitation forms a large share of the state's financial wealth, and an even larger proportion of its exports. However, resource extraction has also caused extensive, long-term damage to fragile ecosystems and their aquifers through, for example, the decommissioning of mining pits, and the seepage of toxic wastes from tailing dams. Hence, the Party calls upon the state government to:

• review the royalties system to promote equity in the industry and greater downstream processing;
• prohibit mining and exploration within National Parks and A Class Conservation Reserves;
• review design criteria and integrity of all tailing structures to ensure complete enclosure of all materials and fluids;
• expand the environmental bond system used by the Mines Department to cover all extractive industries; and
• reject any mining of uranium.[988]

Forestry

The W.A. Greens note that forested woodlands once covered two percent of the state. Yet, despite the fragility of this forest type, over half of it has been exploited for timber. Of the remaining half, only 23 percent of Karri, six percent of Jarrah, and three percent of Wandoo is relatively intact

Stumbles on Kakadu," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA)*, Mar. Issue, p. 11.
[987] The W.A. Green Party. *Election Platform: Restore the Balance*. Endorsed by State Campaign Committee: Authorised by K Haynes & Printed by C Hall, 16 Wickham St, East Perth.
[988] See "Platform Papers" located at <http://members.iinet.net.au/~greenswa/Platform percent20Papers.htm>. Also investigate W.A. Greens. (1998). "Greens Challenged by International Company: Donations Appeal for Court Case," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA)*, June Issue, p. 6.

and protected in conservation reserves.[989] The rest has been or will be exploited for mining, woodchipping, and logging purposes (the latter concerns clearfelling/clearcutting of old growth forests). The Party points out that most of the state's residents oppose the clearfelling of forests – ecosystems are destroyed with few jobs provided to communities. Accordingly, it believes forestry operators should rely on selective logging, utilise an extended cycle of non-reserve old growth areas for high quality timber products, and develop agroforestry for hardwood sawlog crops.[990] The Party understands the short-term economic impact this could have on many working families and communities in the South West. However, on a long-term basis, the shift from industrial forestry to sustainable forestry will result in more lasting forms of employment – jobs will develop in, for example, the new timber industry, value-added businesses, and tourism. The Party supports consultations with the South West's communities, and calls upon the state and federal governments to immediately initiate transition strategies involving all affected residents in the region.[991]

Energy

The W.A. Greens argue that "energy utilities, whether public or privately owned, must become energy service organisations, not just energy suppliers."[992] Utilities should consult with residents to assess energy needs in the interest of socioenvironmental well-being. There should be a shift from centralised power generation towards decentralised sources that use renewable energy technologies such as solar, wind and tidal power.[993] There should also be an emphasis on cutting energy consumption, and reducing the use of non-renewable fossil fuels. In order to improve the energy system, the Party proposes:

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[989] The W.A. Green Party. *Election Platform: Restore the Balance*. Endorsed by State Campaign Committee: Authorised by K Haynes & Printed by C Hall, 16 Wickham St, East Perth.
[990] *Ibid.*
[991] *Ibid.* Also investigate Heinzman, S. (1999). "Great Community Support for the Forest Inspection Tour," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA)*, Mar. Issue, p. 7; and Beilby, M. (1999). "Forests," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA)*, Feb. Issue, p. 3.
[992] See "Platform Papers" located at <http://members.iinet.net.au/~greenswa/Platform percent20Papers.htm>.
[993] *Ibid.*

• an end to the construction of freeways and major urban roads [which are] inappropriate for [a] post-oil age;
• [that] utilities [...] provide [people with] equal access to ways of improving their energy efficiency;
• [an] economic evaluation of energy production and consuming projects;
• [incorporating] a penalty for use of non-renewable fuels to reflect their non-renewable character;
• [a] progressive reduction of long distance trade in favour of labour intensive local industry;
• [opposition to] nuclear energy and uranium mining; and
• an interim moratorium on new natural gas export projects, and further uses of gas for power generation and mineral processing. Alternative fuels exist for the latter uses, but not for transport and agriculture's transition to the post-hydrocarbon age.[994]

Transportation

The W.A. Greens feel that Perth is at a critical stage where its growing dependence on automobiles is causing congestion, air pollution and the division of communities.[995] The people of Perth have more cars per capita than any other Australian capital city, and are amongst the greatest consumers of petrol (gas) in the world. Hence, the state should quickly shift to non-oil based transport, public transport, cycling and walking – with future urban advancements based on this shift.[996] In order to help facilitate the shift, the Party calls upon the federal and state governments to: 1) oppose the building of new freeways and major road links; 2) transfer monies saved from the cancellation of proposed major road works to develop public transport based on alternative systems; and 3) construct more bicycle and pedestrian paths in the urban areas of Western Australia.[997]

Small Business

The W.A. Green Party supports local, community-based economic projects, and opposes corporate-driven financial initiatives that generate

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[994] *Ibid.* Also investigate Llewellyn, P. (1999). "Working the Winds of Change," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA)*, June Issue, p. 5; and Fleay, B.J. (1998). "Oil Supply will Climax Next Decade," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA)*, Dec. Issue, p. 4-5.
[995] The W.A. Green Party. *Election Platform: Restore the Balance*. Endorsed by State Campaign Committee: Authorised by K Haynes & Printed by C Hall, 16 Wickham St, East Perth. Also investigate press release "Greens call for innovative study into public transport options for Albany" (16 January, 2001).
[996] *Ibid.*
[997] *Ibid.* Also investigate press release "Court's transport plans outmoded, inefficient and costly" (13 January, 2001).

wealth for a select few. While the latter initiatives ensure security for external investors, given the mobility of corporate capital, they also give a disproportionate amount of local community investment to elite interests. Similarly, corporate initiatives encourage the export and external processing of raw materials, and thereby remove the option of value-added production in Western Australia. They can result in greater economic uncertainty, lower employment levels, and increased foreign debt, since the community does not gain the maximum value from its raw materials. With this in mind, the Party also opposes government subsidies for big business, noting that they come at a significant cost to taxpayers. Subsidies come in the form of cheap energy, free land, infrastructure, tax advantages, royalty holidays, underpriced resources, relaxation of anti-pollution guidelines, and even the provision of funding and infrastructure for clean-up and restoration efforts.[998] Ultimately, the Party feels that the state government should offer incentives for small businesses, especially those that have high environmental, social, labour, and health standards. Similarly, the Party believes it would be helpful if the state government controlled trading hours, and banned discriminatory trading practices that favour one stop supercentres – a number of which are internationally owned franchise operations.[999]

Industrial Relations

The W.A. Green Party supports an equitable and healthy working environment for all, regardless of race, sex, culture, background, or other similar status. It recognises the need for workplaces to have cooperative, sincere and mutually respectful relationships between employer and employee.[1000] A just working environment benefits both managers and workers – reducing conflict and ensuring a framework of common understanding. This said, there is always the danger of the exploitation of human 'resources.' Hence, the Party argues it is critical to:

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[998] See "Platform Papers" located at
<http://members.iinet.net.au/~greenswa/Platform%20Papers.htm>.
[999] *Ibid.*
[1000] The W.A. Green Party. *Election Platform: Restore the Balance*. Endorsed by State Campaign Committee: Authorised by K Haynes & Printed by C Hall, 16 Wickham St, East Perth.

- maintain a strong Western Australian Industrial Relations Commission;
- preserve the right to collective bargaining, and the role of the unions to negotiate on behalf of their members;
- improve minimum standards to address the needs of all vulnerable workers including women, young workers and those without the educational ability to understand [complex] agreements drawn up by employers;
- ensure that training is made available to all workers as part of their job description including apprentices, trainees, part-time and casual employees without loss of pay;
- outlaw discrimination on the basis of sexual preference; and
- provide incentives to employers [who enable] non-English speakers to learn English on the job.[1001]

Social Justice

The W.A. Greens believe that individuals have the right to equality, freedom and democracy in a society bound by nature's limits and social obligations. Human rights and responsibilities apply to all people regardless of culture, class, race, age, gender, sexuality or nationality.[1002] While the Party advocates equal opportunity for individuals, it feels that the rights of individuals and corporations should not supersede the needs, concerns and responsibilities of the greater collective good. With respect to corporate interests, the legal system needs to redefine businesses as accountable social organisations rather than granting them rights as if they were human beings.[1003] Moreover, society should be based on mutual aid, non-violence and intergenerational concern, as well as the elimination of material want. It should also cherish sociocultural diversity, and support affirmative action initiatives that seek to reverse inequities along lines of race, class, gender, age, culture and background.[1004]

Participatory Democracy

The W.A. Green Party advocates open, democratic institutions, and decentralised decision-making processes. However, modern "institutions of representative democracy offer only limited community participation in

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[1001] *Ibid.* Also investigate W.A. Greens. (1998). "On the Waterfront," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA)*, May Issue, p. 7.
[1002] See "Social Justice" located at <http://members.iinet.net.au/~greenswa/Soc_Just.htm>.
[1003] *Ibid.*
[1004] Investigate W.A. Greens. (1998). "Aboriginal Land Rights – Where does the Dispossession Stop?," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA)*, Apr. Issue, p. 5.

decision-making."[1005] These institutions reproduce social inequalities, and repress, for example, the representation or voices of women and Aboriginal peoples. Moreover, the "increasingly centralised power of the state, corporations and other institutions such as the media undermine the expansion of democracy."[1006] In working towards participatory democracy, the Party believes that the public would benefit from decentralised political structures, the empowerment of local councils, and direct community participation in the processes of governance.[1007] The direct participation of the community in making laws and policy should underpin all action of government, from workplaces to schools.[1008]

Women

The W.A. Green Party indicates that women's issues extend into all facets of life, noting that women are vital to ensuring intergenerational welfare, ecological sustainability, and the elimination of violent, masculinist institutions and processes.[1009] The Party advocates an equal proportion of women in all state sectors, and a greater appreciation of women's work, whether paid or voluntary. Proudly pointing out the high number of women in its own political organisation, the Party also fully supports women who seek public office and parliamentary representation, including all those who wish to address the concerns of the everyday woman. The latter is especially important given that many women will suffer if governments continue to cut or limit funding in the areas of health, childcare, welfare, education, and legal aid. Women already face a disproportionate level of poverty (destitution).

[1005] See "Participatory Democracy" located at
<http://members.iinet.net.au/~greenswa/PD.htm>.
[1006] *Ibid.*
[1007] Investigate "Structure and Processes" located at
<http://members.iinet.net.au/~greenswa/structure.shtml>.
[1008] See "Participatory Democracy" located at
<http://members.iinet.net.au/~greenswa/PD.htm>. Also investigate W.A. Greens. (1999). "Building Communities for a Green Future," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA)*, Sept. Issue, p. 5.
[1009] Investigate Tyley, J. (1998). "Why a Women's Group?," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA)*, June Issue, p. 4; and Xamon, A. (1998). "The Women's Caucus," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA)*, Apr. Issue, p. 7.

Education

The W.A. Green Party conceptualises education as a lifelong process of ethical, physical, emotional, intellectual, and cultural development, taking place in a variety of formal and informal settings, and aimed at empowering people to live purposeful, satisfying lives.[1010] Education should also help develop communities that are peaceful, equitable and ecologically sustainable.[1011] The Party believes that education has a social purpose, and should foster moral development and community concern. Hence, it advocates including environmental, peace and social justice education as part of each subject in the school and university curriculum.[1012] In order to ensure a viable education system in Western Australia, it calls on the federal and state governments to ensure access to high quality education, and fully fund the public education system, including universities and colleges. This also includes providing specialised services for students with disabilities.

Health

The W.A. Greens argue that "the provision of quality healthcare is a central responsibility of government."[1013] While the private sector can provide some health services, governments need to ensure that public healthcare is available for those in need. Accordingly, it advocates an increase in government spending for public hospital services, including funds to eliminate waiting lists. It also supports greater funding for women's and Aboriginal health services, as well as the introduction of legislation to allow more aged care within the community.[1014] Moreover, it believes that governments should emphasise health promotion, and fully assess societal health costs and benefits:

[1010] The W.A. Green Party. *Election Platform: Restore the Balance*. Endorsed by State Campaign Committee: Authorised by K Haynes & Printed by C Hall, 16 Wickham St, East Perth.

[1011] *Ibid*. Also investigate W.A. Greens. (1998). "Notes from the South West," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA)*, Apr. Issue, p. 3.

[1012] *Ibid*.

[1013] See "Platform Papers" located at <http://members.iinet.net.au/~greenswa/Platform percent20Papers.htm>.

[1014] *Ibid*. Also investigate Watson, G. (1998). "Greens (WA) Support Abortion Law Reform," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA)*, June. Issue, p. 3.

Health is considerably more than the absence of disease. It reflects the quality of people's lives in terms of their relationships, connectedness with others, feelings of empowerment, sense of purpose, and positive well-being. Physical, mental and spiritual health [matters] are sufficiently interwoven to require diverse ways to promote the health of the community. Among the significant causes of poor health are the prevailing environmental and social conditions, including social fragmentation, poverty, homelessness, pollution, racism, ageism, and lack of access to resources.[1015]

The W.A. Green Party calls upon the federal and state governments to offer educational programs which emphasise preventive approaches to health, including a recognition of, for example, diet, exercise, leisure, rest and social harmony as a basis for well-being. It also feels that they should provide funding to address human induced environmental threats to health such as pollution and toxic sites.[1016]

Crime

According to the W.A. Greens, Western Australians are deeply troubled by the level of criminal activity in the state. Thus, in order to reduce offences, the Party calls for greater communication within and amongst communities, provision of public services for disenfranchised youth and the destitute, and self-determination for Aboriginal peoples. There is also much that can be achieved through better legal advice at the community level and the opportunity for mediation – the latter can provide a more meaningful and satisfactory outcome for all parties, avoiding the adversarial techniques of criminal or civil courts.[1017] In order to reduce the crime rate, the Party insists that governments should:

• provide increased support and compensation for victims (and for their right to be heard in processes in relation to the offence);
• reject simplistic solutions such as the '3 Strikes You're In' legislation which provides mandatory custody regardless of the age of the offender or the seriousness of the offence;
• implement the findings of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody [which was an Australian government commission established

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[1015] See "Platform Papers" located at <http://members.iinet.net.au/~greenswa/Platform percent20Papers.htm>.
[1016] *Ibid.*
[1017] The W.A. Green Party. *Election Platform: Restore the Balance.* Endorsed by State Campaign Committee: Authorised by K Haynes & Printed by C Hall, 16 Wickham St, East Perth.

in October 1987, after succesful lobbying by indigenous groups including the Committee to Defend Black Rights, Aboriginal Legal Services, and the relatives of those who died in custody];

• support community based initiatives to address offending, particularly those designed to meet the needs of juveniles considered at risk of offending;

• increase funding for legal aid, especially for juveniles, family and criminal matters; and

• reject the privatisation of prisons, detention centres and other correctional programs.[1018]

Drugs

The W.A. Greens express concern over the extensive misuse of drugs (particularly amongst youth) in Western Australia. The use of drugs, such as cannabis and amphetamines, is high by international standards, despite a strong commitment to law enforcement.[1019] The Party identifies drug abuse as a health problem, and accordingly calls upon governments to abolish their punitive measures in favour of incentive-based initiatives designed to highlight the benefits of drug-free, healthy living. Governments can also improve treatment and rehabilitation facilities, and develop strategies to prevent drug abuse through the integration of police, health, education, and social services.

Conclusion[1020]

The Green Party of Western Australia – a party of peace, social justice and environmental protection – defines itself (if not explicitly then tacitly) in the context of the challenges that result from a state that is often stirred by discriminatory 'Wild West' ideologues and laissez faire free-market interests. It is a bottom-up, bioregional and largely socialist libertarian organisation that, accordingly, seeks to distinguish itself from

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[1018] *Ibid.* Also investigate Brooke, M. (1999). "Misery Justice," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA),* Mar. Issue, p. 8-9; Brooke, M. (1999). "Restorative Justice: An Approach to Healing the Effects of Crime," *Green Issue: Newsletter of the Greens (WA),* Mar. Issue, p. 9; and "The Establishment of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody" located at <http://www.atsic.gov.au/issues/rciadic/cunneen/establishment.htm>.
[1019] See "Platform Papers" located at <http://members.iinet.net.au/~greenswa/Platform percent20Papers.htm>.
[1020] Reminder (from the introduction): The following concluding remarks are not meant to be 'complete.' The main objective of this material is to identify the Party's salient points for reflective discussion or rather, what I interpret as the noteworthy points (recognising that what is significant is relative to an observer's interpretation of significance). Moreover, the material contains interpretive remarks; that is, it includes unchained, subjective and free-flowing observations.

other Australian Greens (hence, its informal affiliation with the other federal and state Greens in Australia). Embracing the philosophy of self-determination, it is a decentralised political party that strongly encourages its local branches to function independently of one another, but in the interest of socioenvironmental sustainability and with the purpose of redefining what it sees as an inflexible and inequitable state government system. The Party addresses problem areas in the state such as mining, contaminated sites and crime, and in the spirit of local, grassroots community involvement, offers reflections on 'small business' – a subject not normally discussed under a separate heading by the Greens.[1021] However, despite its show of autonomy, the Party's remaining areas of interest are more or less the same as those examined by other Australian Greens. This suggests that the Party's desire for independence is more generally symbolic than based on actual practice. Its libertarian 'self-determining' approach may also be somewhat reflective of a constituency-based interest in establishing its own individual identity (whether valid or not) in the eyes of a rugged and proudly independent 'Western' Australian culture.

The Party believes in improving 'minimum standards to address the needs of all vulnerable workers including women, young workers and those without the educational ability to understand [complex] agreements drawn up by employers.' This is a vital issue that often goes unexamined by Green parties. As part of a free and open society, governments together with the support of unions need to ensure that employers fully inform workers about the conditions of their employment irrespective of race, class, gender or background.[1022] Employers also need to guarantee the health and safety of workers, noting the differing needs and circumstances of individual employees. Moreover, employers should not expect existing qualified workers to undertake different tasks or sign new, intricate and legally-binding agreements that they do not understand or are incapable of comprehending without extensive training, which in an equitable

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[1021] See "Green Parties World Wide" located at <http://www.greens.org/>.
[1022] Investigate, for example, Repa, B.K. (2000). *Your Rights in the Workplace.* Berkeley, CA: Nolo Press, and Zigarelli, M.A. (1994). *Can They Do That?: A Guide to Your Rights on the Job.* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

workplace, should come at the expense of the employer.[1023] Ultimately, as *public* institutions, governments together with unions should ensure that employers do not devalue qualified employees on account of their sociocultural circumstances or individual background, or more likely, indirectly penalise them through, for example, an assigned task which they are incapable of completing as a result of their circumstances or background.[1024]

The Party believes that the state should 'outlaw discrimination on the basis of sexual preference' in the workplace. This is an interesting and somewhat disturbing revelation. It implies that workplace discrimination is a notable problem in Western Australia. It further suggests that employers in the state may be assessing applicants for a position or existing employees on the basis of physical characteristics rather than appropriate experience or performance. Moreover, various forms of prejudice are interrelated with one another, and it is conceivable that if an employer were to judge someone on the basis of sexual preference, they may do so on other grounds such as race, class, or age.[1025] In short, discrimination on the basis of sexual preference may be symptomatic of a more general form of workplace harassment and discrimination in the state.[1026]

The Party opposes 'simplistic solutions such as the '3 Strikes You're In' legislation which provides mandatory custody regardless of the age of the offender or the seriousness of the offence.' It is right to do so – mandatory custody/sentencing is an unreasonable practice. The notion that an individual can receive mandatory custody/sentencing whether they have committed three relatively serious offences (for instance, assault), or whether they have only committed three minor crimes (for instance, the theft of food) indicates that the Western Australian government places all crimes on an equivalent footing without properly assessing the distinctions

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[1023] *Ibid.*

[1024] *Ibid.* Also, investigate, for example, Mehmet, O., Mendes, E. & Sinding, R. (1999). *Towards a Fair Global Labour Market: Avoiding the New Slavery (Routledge Studies in the Modern World Economy).* London, UK: Routledge.

[1025] Investigate, for example, Adams, M., Blumenfeld, W.J., Castaneda, R. & Hackman, H.W. (eds.). *Readings for Diversity and Social Justice.*

[1026] Investigate, for example, Bannerji, H. (ed.). (1993). *Returning the Gaze: Essays on Racism, Feminism and Politics.* Toronto, ON: Sister Vision Press; Reese, L.A. & Lindenberg, K.E. (1999). *Implementing Sexual Harassment Policy: Challenges for the Public Sector Workplace.* London, UK: Sage Publications; and Linda Lemoncheck, L. & Sterba, J.P. (eds.). (2001). *Sexual Harassment: Issues and Answers.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

between (and range of) offensive behaviours.[1027] It suggests that the state government is willing to economise on the inherent complexity of the criminal justice system.[1028] It also suggests that the government may adhere to the larger liberalist project of bolstering free market forces through the simplification, limitation and privatisation of public services. Indeed, I wonder if the state government has a (if not explicit then implicit) financial motive for the maintenance and development of mandatory custody/sentencing.[1029]

The Party argues against 'the privatisation of prisons, detention centres and other correctional programs' in Western Australia. It is right to take such a position. To argue that prisons and detention centres should be private facilities is to indicate that imprisonment can be something of a profitable enterprise.[1030] In short, the purpose of incarceration becomes fuelled by financial considerations, rather than the rehabilitation of offenders. In Western Australia, many 'offenders' are of Aboriginal descent. This is due, in large measure, to the on-going modernist (largely Euro-Australian) colonisation of their lands, and the resultant lack of sociocultural, political and economic self-determination.[1031] Thus, aside from the questionable practice of keeping high numbers of Aboriginal peoples captive (when it is modern culture that is responsible for causing Aboriginal social alienation), to privatise Western Australia's correctional system is to further suggest that it is acceptable to allow the profit motive (as a means of ensuring a so-called efficient, economical and feasible

[1027] Investigate, for example, Wicharaya, T. (1995). *Simple Theory, Hard Reality: The Impact of Sentencing Reforms on Courts, Prisons, and Crime (New Directions in Crime and Justice Studies)*. Albany, NY: SUNY, and Greenwood, P.W. (1994). *Three Strikes and You're Out: Estimated Benefits and Costs of California's Mandatory-Sentencing Law*. Rand Corporation. Santa Monica, CA: RAND. Also see "Mandatory Sentencing in Australia" located at <http://scholar.uws.edu.au/~10014501/about.html>.

[1028] Investigate, for example, Chambliss, W.J. (1999). *Power, Politics, and Crime*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, and Tonry, M. & Petersilia, J. (eds.). (2000). *Prisons: Crime and Justice*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

[1029] Investigate, for example, Mauer, M. (1999). *Race to Incarcerate*. New York, NY: New Press, and Dyer, J. (2000). *The Perpetual Prisoner Machine: How America Profits from Crime*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

[1030] *Ibid.*

[1031] Investigate, for example, "Royal Commission on Aboriginal Deaths in Custody" located at <http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/special/rsjproject/rsjlibrary/rciadic/>; "Australia: Report on Aboriginal Deaths-in-Custody" located at <http://www.nativenet.uthscsa.edu/archive/nl/91a/0065.html>; and Elder, B. (1999). *Blood on the Wattle: Massacres and Maltreatment of Aboriginal Australians Since 1788*. London, UK: New Holland Publishers.

correctional system) to influence Aboriginal people's sentences.[1032] Of course, implicit for-profit Aboriginal incarceration and detention is/would be racism at its worst.[1033]

[1032] Investigate, for example, "Private Prisons" located at <http://home.vicnet.net.au/~pjan/pjakit.htm#Loser%20Pays>, and "Privatisation of Corrections" located at <http://www.johnhoward.ab.ca/PUB/C46.htm>.
[1033] Ibid.

18. Brief Overview of the Australian Green Parties[1034]

Together, the Australian Green parties present a striking picture of solidarity. Undoubtedly, this has resulted in a more influential, tactful Green movement in Australia. Like their Canadian counterparts, the parties embrace a common vision of social justice, ecological sustainability, and intergenerational equity. They differ from Canada's Greens in that they focus greater attention on addressing the concerns of specific populations that have faced inequities such as the Aborigines, elderly, youth, people with disabilities, women, and the bisexual, gay and lesbian communities. This may, in part, be a result of the system of proportional representation used to elect the Australian Senate and, within a more limited jurisdiction, the Tasmanian House of Assembly. This allows Greens to be elected with a small percentage of the popular vote and by relatively small targeted populations such as individuals and groups that either feel oppressed or more often ignored by the powers that be – such as those groups cited above and/or those who support their cause. This is not to say that the parties follow dominant political conventions of 'persuading' certain constituencies into voting for them (only to change their outlook following an election) – clearly, the Greens are principled and sincere in their concern for those that they represent. Rather, it suggests that Australia's Greens have evolved from simply embracing socioecological principles to recognising the constituencies that most readily would benefit from these principles. The danger of course is that the parties (particularly, moderate Greens) may find it more expedient, in certain instances, to sacrifice or bend socioecological principles to suit the needs of their constituencies; and as I suggested in the chapter on the Green Party of Victoria, Greens should not position political interests above socioecological concerns. Indeed, if they sacrifice socioecological concepts in order to respond to the short-term goals of a constituency (for instance, establishing a plantation forestry operation at the expense of an ecosystem in order to generate employment), they may fall victim to a mainstream politics which positions election

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[1034] The conclusions for each of the Green Party chapters contain my own thoughts supported by that of others. This final section, like the last two chapters of the dissertation and the last chapter on the Canadian Green parties, for the most part, does not contain footnotes/references. It is in these sections that I stand on my own, free of the support of other authors - relying on the material contained within the dissertation and my subjective,

victories above education, ecology, culture and ethics, assuming that short-term 'popular opinion' resulting from political imagery and tactics during an election can adequately represent 'democracy.' This said, Australia's Greens, for the most part, function as public educators, and can be contrasted with the dominant political parties that place their election victories ahead of the common good. Indeed, the world need only look to Australia for Greens who have managed, despite strong political influences, to stand forth in the name of socioecological justice.

personal knowledge of the parties for the basis of my arguments.

19. Similarities and Differences between the Canadian and Australian Greens[1035]

Introduction

This chapter explores the paradigmatic similarities and differences of the Green parties of Canada and Australia. Thus, it offers an answer to the fourth research question posed in chapter one: Do Greens share similar or different paradigmatic positions? In writing this chapter, I have only partially drawn from the former chapter conclusions (chapters three through sixteen) for points of discussion. I want to minimise overlap – offering something different at every stage, but at the same time to discuss some of the more pertinent points of the previous chapter conclusions. I should add that the following discussion is not meant to be 'complete.' As I mentioned in the first chapter, the main objective of this chapter is to discuss the Green parties' *salient* points (or rather, what I interpret as the key points). Moreover, the following contains inductive commentary including unchained, subjective and free-flowing observations (within reason). For further details on this line of inquiry, refer to the section of the introductory chapter entitled 'The Variable Shape of the Study'. Equally, unlike a traditional comparative study, I will not firmly nor deterministically juxtapose in a reductionist manner the 'known' against the 'unknown,' since something that is not stated or documented may in fact exist, given the complexity of multidimensional Green parties. As I mentioned in the chapter conclusion for the Green Party of Canada, it is quite plausible that a Party or its delegates tacitly advocate a thought or action. Indeed, just because a political party overlooks a concept, does not mean that its members have not quietly thought about that concept. It may be simply a case that they have not plainly documented their thoughts. Consequently, a certain level of intuition is required on my part in examining the similarities and differences of the Australian and Canadian Green parties – my assessment of the Greens is based on the material contained within the dissertation together with my own personal,

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[1035] The conclusions for each of the Green Party chapters contain my own thoughts supported by that of others. This chapter, like the following chapter and the respective final sections of the Canadian and Australian Green parties, for the most part, does not contain footnotes/references. It is in these sections that I stand on my own, free of the support of other authors - relying on the material contained within the dissertation and my

subjective interpretations and observations during my research efforts (again, within the boundaries of reason).

Environmental Protection

As their name suggests, the Greens of Canada and Australia are dedicated to the preservation, conservation and restoration of their respective ecological regions. The Greens differ from other political parties in this regard – ecology serves as the foundation for their political discourse. They argue for stronger regulatory mechanisms to preserve biodiversity and reduce or eliminate ocean, land and/or groundwater pollution, consistently pointing to the apathy of governments in avoiding or repressing environmental concerns. They all emphasise the need for intergenerational equity, with some parties, such as the Alberta and Saskatchewan Greens, even embracing elements of a socioecocentric intergenerational ethic. These latter parties recognise that nature embodies intrinsic rights and values, and that human survival is entirely contingent on the well-being of natural systems. However, they stop short of advocating complete equality and equity between and within species (a far more deep-seated proposal) that would, in time, result in a complete transformation and devolution of the modern, material-based society into indigenous and bioregional cultures, coupled with a dramatic reduction in the human population.

Forestry

The Canadian and Australian Greens also take a strong position on forest protection. However, they possess differing interpretations of sustainable forestry. Several of the Australian Green parties advocate plantation forestry, which is in direct contrast to the philosophy of ecoforestry – an ecosystem-based interpretation of forestry advocated by most if not all of Canada's Greens. As I noted in some of the previous chapters conclusions, plantation forestry is an extension of dominant, industrial forestry. It can include the ruinous practice of large-scale clear-cutting (clear-felling), and substitutes complex natural forests with simplified tree plantations which only grow one or a few tree species. By

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subjective, personal knowledge of the parties for the basis of my arguments.

contrast, ecoforestry aims to manage human activities so that they do not interfere with fully functioning, biodiverse forest ecosystems.[1036] Essentially, there are Australian Greens who advocate a form of forestry that is antithetical to the very ideals they maintain to uphold, including the preservation of biodiversity and the practice of eco-system-based stewardship. In 1992, over fifteen-hundred of the world's most respected scientists signed "The World's Scientists' Warning to Humanity" which included signatures from more than half of all living scientists awarded the Nobel Prize. They wrote: "We the undersigned, senior members of the world's scientific community, hereby warn all humanity of what lies ahead. A *great change* in our stewardship of the earth and the life on it is required if vast human misery is to be avoided and our global home on this planet is not to be irretrievably mutilated."[1037] It is over ten years later, and the planet's life support systems are worse off. There is less forest coverage now than in 1992, and back then, the scientific community called for "great change." Accordingly, there is a need for more passionate yet dignified calls for change against even the smallest inclinings of an industrial-biased formulation of forest policy. True Greens do not nor should they stand for (or even tacitly accept) the concerns of the forest industry or any other industry for that matter, but ultimately represent the long-term health and well-being of forests and communities. A long-range vision goes beyond the present industrial and political context and delves far into the future (seeking intergenerational equity and well-being). Thus, as I have suggested in previous chapter conclusions, members of Australia's Greens who advocate plantation forestry may wish to reflect upon the long-term ecological consequences of what often amounts to a conventional and agricultural-based timber or pulp and paper producing operation, and whether their primary concern rests with their constituency, the forest environment, or both. I would maintain that a forester, let alone a Green, should be primarily concerned with the preservation and restoration of forested areas and not the short-term social, political or economic benefits of producing a paper or wood product, since intergenerational human

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[1036] Investigate Drengson, A. and Taylor, D. (eds.). (1997). *Ecoforestry: The Art and Science of Sustainable Forest Use*. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers.
[1037] See Union of Concerned Scientists. (1992). *World Scientists' Warning to Humanity*. Cambridge, MA: Union of Concerned Scientists.

needs are subject to the long-term well-being of ecological areas (and not the reverse). In ecological economic terms, this amounts to spending a portion of the 'interest' from the 'natural capital' of a complex forest ecosystem, so as to preserve it in perpetuity. Ecoforestry is a progressive concept that rejects the short-term interests of the timber industry in favour of long-term ecological protection and function, while mixed species plantations serve as a transitional strategy *for* timber industries, not forests and communities. Greens can support an ecoforestry and community-based ethic, along with a substantial effort to reuse, and recycle paper and wood materials already in circulation.

The Dominant System

All the parties vehemently oppose the dominant system. They question its technocratic assumptions and actions, identify Western pathologies, and point to the overwhelming material consumption plaguing modern society. They recognise the connection between high technology, corporatism, expansionist development and the exploitation of nature and human cultures (along, for instance, lines of race, class and gender). There is a significant understanding of political and corporate power networks and their efforts to suppress minority views and lifeways in order to elevate their own nexus of power.

The parties recognise the insidious nature of the monocultural perspective which finds it way into all aspects of modern praxis, including conventional resource management which attempts to control, 'manage' and simplify nature for profit. Most Greens question dominant forestry's preoccupation with the extraction of a few selected tree species from a given area for economic and material gain. True, there is inconsistency within the Australian Green parties' paradigm (and their overall critique of a dominant, monocultural praxis) in so far as we see evidence of support for plantation forestry. However, the support for plantations is an exception to an otherwise generally rigourous questioning of dominant praxis. For instance, on matters pertaining to agriculture, the parties – both Australian and Canadian alike – wholly reject agri-monocultures, large-scale land use, and the corporate control of farming. They question the use of pesticides, herbicides, and artificial fertilisers – toxic chemicals that

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symbolise an effort to dominate and manipulate the natural world for financial gain. They emphasise that a sustainable agriculture should involve organic methods, locally-run farms, co-operatives, and mixed-crop rotations. Similarly, there is an understanding that efforts to intensively farm non-native fish using artificial fertilizers via aquaculture (resulting in disease and increased competition) is also an example of the monocultural mind-set.

Furthermore, the parties openly but more often subtly note that financial powers are consciously and unconsciously involved in a mass conditioning process resulting in dominant universalised beliefs, technological addictions, and sociopolitical apathy, as well as the repression of praxis which runs counter to the transnational corporate agenda. This said, the parties fall short of candidly identifying the ideology of advertising, and the blatant attempts on the part of the powers that be to camouflage reality with artificial or distorted 'facts.' They may express concern over indoctrination, and what amounts to mass brainwashing campaigns, but they more often than not do so in a subtle and indirect manner. I suspect that this is due to their tendency at times towards political moderation (albeit with an alternative twist). Essentially, they are muted by the impression or image they need to generate in the eyes of their constituency. Unlike public interest groups who can gain their support from a smaller base of progressive advocates, Green parties need to ensure that their message is within the realm of at least a percentage of the voting population that can elect them into parliament including a percentage of more moderate Green voters. I think this is particularly the case in Australia where, in some legislative domains, there is a system of proportional representation, and where it is realistic to assume the election or re-election of Greens into parliament.

Interdependence

Perhaps, one of the most notable attributes of the Green parties is their understanding of the interdependence of issues, and the inherent complexity in human and natural systems. The Greens are a multifaceted political entity interweaving social, economic, political and environmental justice together with a comprehensive public policy platform, covering

topics ranging from health and education to business and the preservation of wild areas. They are also long-range thinkers and practioners who consider how present decisions will affect future generations. In this regard, they depart from mainstream parties who are primarily concerned with current political and economic cycles that range from a few months to several years (as opposed to multiple generations). As advocates of interdependence, they also seek to re-connect people with their natural environments. They value human and ecological diversity, arguing for the protection of distinct ecosystems, and the enhancement of personal, cultural and economic multiplicity. By contrast, the dominant system with its associated values of command and control, seeks uniformity, standardization, and a monoculturing of the human endeavour. At its worst, the emphasise is to simplify complexity in an effort to entrench a single and dominant corporation, government, culture and philosophy.

Nonviolence

Many Australian and Canadian Greens believe that communication and education between conflicting parties offers far better long-term solutions to conflict than war or mass murder and destruction. They note that the solution to a conflict is not to escalate violence. They subscribe to the Gandhian perspective that an 'eye for an eye, will make the whole world blind' – that violence breeds and legitimises violence. It is possible to find resolution in a conflict through non-violent civil disobedience. This involves taking action against things or ideas rather than people or natural environments. Indeed, there are other more appropriate means of projecting one's concerns or frustrations. This said, I did come across one major publication from the Australian Greens which mildly suggests that physical conflict may be inevitable in certain circumstances such as peacekeeping operations.[1038] Regardless of the circumstances, the Greens should be a party of nonviolence and oppose in principle all forms of violent activity whether seemingly 'justified' or not. There are plenty of other mainstream political parties that regularly employ violence as a means of conflict resolution. In short, the Greens should serve as an example to others and oppose violence in all its manifestations.

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Social Responsibility

The Green parties of Canada and Australia embrace a generally left-leaning perspective, and as such, emphasise the role of the state in providing social services such as health care, education, and environmental protection. At the same time, the parties, some more than others, point to bioregional praxis and/or the role of family, community and local groups in alleviating poverty, ill-health, apathy, and distress (the A.C.T. Greens even suggest that religious practice could help raise social awareness and action). This latter approach is characteristic of a libertarian conception of social welfare which holds that a bottom-up rather than top-down approach, in certain situations, may be more beneficial in furthering civil society. Irrespective of their positions on the political spectrum (whether leaning towards, for example, a green libertarianism or national and world federalism), the parties speak to that basic element of human understanding (often too lacking in a cold and blasé modernist culture) that values the content of a person's character, and not their misfortunes. Together, they demonstrate that individuals should have fair access to life's opportunities no matter what their background, status, appearance, or condition. Indeed, they express concern for those who have been discriminated on the basis of their age, race, gender, disability, or cultural orientation. They maintain that individuals should be guaranteed basic human needs such as food, shelter, and emotional support, and that family, organisations, institutions, communities and/or the state have a responsibility to sustain the public good, particularly those in need.

Drugs

I have already discussed the topic of drug use in previous chapter conclusions. Nonetheless, I feel this is a critical issue. Most of the Canadian and Australian Greens support the legalisation of soft and hard drugs, albeit each to a greater or lesser degree than others. This said, the Terra Nova Green Party is rather quiet on the subject, and I wonder if Newfoundland's Greens would oppose the legalisation of drugs (given that they already recommend 'the avoidance of tobacco, recreational drugs and

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[1038] See Moore, C. (ed.). *The Greens National Policy.*

alcohol'). There are several concerns with respect to the legalisation of recreational drugs. Most if not all illegal drugs can result in significant health consequences to society.

Even a 'soft' drug like marijuana has damaging effects. Smoking marijuana is equivalent to smoking ten cigarettes at once (in terms of the concentration of toxins which includes arsenic, formaldehyde, mercury, and lead amongst thousands of other chemicals).[1039] The evidence against any kind of smoking is overwhelming,[1040] and there are additional problems with marijuana:

- marijuana cigarettes contain more of the known carcinogen benzopyrene than tobacco cigarettes;
- marijuana and aging affect the brain in similar ways. This places the long-time user in high risk for premature memory disorders;
- the tar in a marijuana cigarette is 50-100% greater than that of tobacco;
- THC, the psychoactive ingredient in marijuana, which is stored in the fat of the body, causes harm to the brain and body by causing the cells to become toxic up to 30 days after the last use;
- smoking marijuana causes an immediate and potentially dangerous reduction in blood flow, with a 50% rise in heart rate; and
- marijuana smoke contains 4000 chemicals including over 200 known carcinogens.[1041]

If marijuana could be sold in pill form, then perhaps it could be used as a pain reliever. However, this would have to be carefully examined in relation to both the costs and benefits as well as whether or not other current drugs may be more suitable i.e. codeine. At the moment, most discussions regarding the legalization of marijuana have tacitly centred on legalizing the act of smoking the substance (which, evidently, is a harmful act). Moreover, some of the most ardent supporters for the legalization of 'medical marijuana' are often also habitual users of the drug who do not have a medical condition.[1042] To support the use of marijuana as a drug (which, again, is almost invariably smoked) is to support the inhalation of highly concentrated air pollution. It is no different than supporting those

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[1039] See "Drug Watch International" located at <http://www.drugwatch.org/>.
[1040] See "The Dangers of Smoking" located at <http://www.purchon.com/health/dangers.htm>.
[1041] See "Drug Watch International" located at <http://www.drugwatch.org/>, and investigate "Health Risks: Commonly Abused Substances" located at <http://depts.washington.edu/ovpsa/safety/healthrisks.html>.
[1042] Investigate "One Cannot Vote For A Medicine: Scientific Research and Peer-Approved Trials Essential" located at <http://www.drugprevent.demon.co.uk/briefing.html>.

who, hypothetically and bluntly speaking, might decide to rap their mouths around the tailpipe of a car and breath in some car exhaust. One is a drug and simply more 'fashionable' than the other.

In calling for the legalization of drugs, Greens risk endangering lives. 'Ecstasy' or MDMA, a popular illicit drug amongst youth, causes critical brain damage. Using it just a few times results in long-term, possibly permanent, problems with learning and memory, and therefore should never be legalised.[1043] MDMA damages neurons that release serotonin, which is a brain chemical thought to play an important role in regulating memory and other cognitive functions.[1044] Moreover, MDMA users may encounter problems similar to those experienced by amphetamine and cocaine users, including addiction.[1045] Other hallucinogens such as mescaline, peyote, psilocybin (or 'magic' mushrooms), lysergic acid diethylamide (commonly known as LSD or acid), and phencyclidine (otherwise known as PCP, angel dust, or loveboat) can also cause serious harm. These reality-altering substances cause erratic and unpredictable behaviour that can lead to injuries and death. Under the influence of hallucinogens, an individual's perception of time, direction, and distance becomes severely disoriented for up to twelve hours at a time. LSD produces tolerance, so that users who take the drug repeatedly must take higher and higher doses in order to achieve the same state of intoxication.[1046] This is extremely dangerous, given the unpredictability of the drug, and can result in increased risk of convulsions, coma as well as heart and lung failure.[1047] Moreover, each individual reacts differently to hallucinogens, and it is therefore not possible to predict whether an individual will avoid a 'bad trip' (giving rise to paranoia and possible psychosis). The physical and psychological risks associated with using hallucinogens include:

• increased heart rate and blood pressure;
• sleeplessness and tremors;

[1043] See "Ecstasy Addiction" located at <http://www.ecstasyaddiction.com/ecstasy_addiction.html#memory>.
[1044] Ibid.
[1045] Ibid.
[1046] See "U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and SAMHSA's National Clearinghouse for Alcohol & Drug Information" located at <http://www.health.org/>.
[1047] Ibid.

- lack of muscular coordination;
- sparse, mangled, and incoherent speech;
- decreased awareness of touch and pain that can result in self-inflicted injuries;
- convulsions;
- coma; heart and lung failure;
- a sense of distance and estrangement;
- depression, anxiety, and paranoia;
- violent behaviour;
- confusion, suspicion, and loss of control;
- flashbacks;
- behaviour similar to schizophrenic psychosis; and
- catatonic syndrome whereby the user becomes mute, lethargic, disoriented, and makes meaningless repetitive movements.[1048]

Instead of supporting the drug culture's campaign to legalise substances that result in bodily harm, Greens can argue for the responsible use of drugs for medical purposes under the supervision of a health practitioner with detailed pharmacological knowledge. My concern rests with drugs that are essentially poisons used for 'recreation,' and the possibility of irresponsible use and addiction. The dangers of illegal drugs are well documented. I find it hard to see how Greens could advocate a substance that damages the human body. It seems antithetical to the Greens' core principles of non-violence and healthy environments. Indeed, the Greens should be concerned about the legalisation of any drugs that cause harm. There are several recreational drugs i.e. nicotine (an alkaloid and known carcinogen in itself) that are legal, and should in my opinion be made illegal. A third of Canadians smoke, and I am convinced that this number would be drastically cut if the active ingredient in cigarettes, cigars, etc. – nicotine – was made illegal and less accessible. In risk assessment, if you show that something is risky and make it unavailable, people will be less inclined to use it; and on some level, legality for the general public implies acceptance. For example, in the United States guns can be openly purchased, while in Canada they are primarily available to hunters with a license following a carefully monitored examination.[1049] The consequence of this restriction or 'prohibition' is reduced crime and violence in Canada.[1050] If the recreational drug advocates of the Australian and Canadian Greens

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[1048] *Ibid.*
[1049] Investigate "Canadian Firearms Centre" located at <http://www.cfc-ccaf.gc.ca/>.
[1050] Investigate "The Case For Gun Control" located at <http://thomasash.hypermart.net/politicsandsociety/kangas-guncontrol.html>.

are successful in helping legalise the use of drugs/substances that cause harm, then they will unquestionably send a message to the public including youth that drugs are acceptable at least on some level by the government which in turn will lead to higher rates of addiction and very possibly death. Instead of supporting, even in a tacit manner, the use of recreational drugs, the Greens could take a truly progressive socioecological position and argue for: strong health-based regulations against recreational drug use; extensive education and counselling programs including more constructive and healthy drug-free activities (such as intellectual pursuits, sports, and community involvement); and a broader definition of pollution that includes illicit drugs or the smoking of such substances. It is also critical to identify the social context of drug use i.e. differences between powerful pushers, instigator users, innocent users or victims, and various individuals in between; and more generally, noting the negative social forces, subcultures, and cliques that form as a result of illegal drug use, and the effective means of destabilising these anti-health groups/subgroups. Moreover, it is not about individual rights to use drugs as some Greens suggest. It is about the right of individuals to be free and liberated of habitual, addictive, mind controlling or altering substances that cause bodily and psychological harm. There are many kind but hurt souls who have tried to heal their own inner personal pain through drug use instead of shifting their lifestyle/worldview, seeking a loving supportive social network, and looking to the help of a counsellor. In such situations, Greens can display empathy, express concern for their situation and offer encouragement words and actions while pointing to the limitations or 'quick-fix' drugs offer in resolving an issue (irrespective of the individual's class, status, success, or failure). All in all, as I suggested in several chapter conclusions, supporting the individual right to use drugs: 1) is equal to polluting the natural world (polluting oneself is akin to polluting the environment); and 2) places a boundary between the individual and society, when in fact an individual's ill-health adversely affects the well-being of society. Indeed, if an individual experiences ill-health, there is a resultant impact on society through, for example, increased healthcare costs, and loss of labour (in both the voluntary and employed sectors). Hence, the parties may wish to reconsider their call for the legalisation of

drugs. It is contradictory to call for a cleaner, and greener world through, for example, government regulations, while advocating the deregulation and use of self-polluting, carcinogenic, addictive or habit forming, and potentially life threatening drugs.

Fitness and Well-being

In my research and review of Green Party material, I discovered that the Green parties in Australia recognised the relationship between physical activity, health, and societal well-being more often than their Canadian counterparts. Aside from their intrinsic interest in the area, I suspect that this is a result of constituency-based politics. The physical fitness community in Australia is a significant force, and is linked to the health food movement, and to a lesser extent vegetarianism (or at least a reduction in the consumption of meat for health purposes), all of which is a noticeable segment of the voting population.[1051] While there is evidence suggesting that Canada's Greens value individual physical wellness, they may wish to consider forming a more overt connection with the fitness community and associated groups (similar to the explicit expression of interest shown by, for example, the N.S.W. and A.C.T. Greens) not only to increase their share of the vote, but because this community shares a deep and intrinsic appreciation of personal holism or the interconnection between individual and natural environments. There is an understanding of human cycles, and at least a tacit (if at times self-interested) appreciation for the parallels between individual and environmental destruction. Some Greens may criticise the fitness community on the grounds that it promotes narcissistic and individualistic behaviour, arguing that it is overly preoccupied with maintaining the health of the individual self. However, unlike modern culture's focus on material gain, technological achievement, and economic prosperity, a concern for one's own physical well-being is tied to natural laws with most in the fitness community, for example, demonstrating a preference for eating organic produce and/or low down on the food chain.[1052] As I suggested in previous concluding sections of the dissertation, physical wellness also has indirect and direct impacts on the surrounding

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[1051] Investigate "Australian Fitness Network" located at
<http://www.fitnessnetwork.com.au/zones.asp?zone=home>.

social environment in the form of increased performance and participation in society – whether to care for those who are unable to care for themselves or to involve oneself in environmental or social justice activities.

Politics

Generally speaking, Canada's Greens lean towards principle-based politics (though, the Newfoundland Green Party is somewhat of an exception), while the Australian Green parties (as I noted in the final section of Australia's Greens) tend to embrace constituency-based politics. Specifically, Australia's Greens place greater emphasis on discussing people and events over principles or abstract concepts. By contrast, Canada's Greens, particularly the Green Party of Canada, speaks of guaranteeing principles and obligations whether they are immediately accepted by the larger society (constituency) or not. This demonstrates a reality of politics in Canada – that a minority party has little if any hope of being elected unless it takes a more mainstream approach to interpreting ideas and actions (in addition to the other significant obstacle of securing financial support). It shows that Canada's Greens are in the position to state their true intentions without fear of losing an election – something they have never achieved nor will likely achieve, short of the adoption of proportional representation or a mass shift of consciousness towards environmental ideals. They need not compromise their perspectives for they are bound by a first-past-the-post system which essentially means that, in the best of circumstances, they would need a quarter of the vote to be elected into parliament. Australia's Greens demonstrate a far more cautious and strategic outlook in framing their paradigm, suggesting that they are sensitive towards public appeal. This could be the result of their participation in a system that contains a component of proportional representation which gives minority parties a greater chance of electoral success. While they may discuss, for example, the philosophy of environmental and social justice, they do so in the context of how it might benefit specific populations. In order to be elected in a modern democracy, it is necessary to appeal to short-term public sentiment. Consequently, it appears that Australia's Greens, in their quest to secure seats in parliament,

[1052] *Ibid.*

have chosen to directly connect concepts or issues to a particular element of the electorate placing emphasis on discussing, for example, gay and lesbian issues, youth, the elderly, or aboriginal affairs. I believe it essential that a Green Party holds to its principles over popularity (though, not to the point that they become abstractions to the electorate). The key, I would argue, is to relate progressive or even subversive ideas to the everyday experiences of the public. For example, it is possible to demonstrate the benefits of a non-consumer lifestyle such as increased opportunities for leisure, reduced stress, and greater time spent with family and friends, or with artistic endeavours or intellectual pursuits. Green parties can increase their share of the popular vote by directly addressing public concerns but in a manner that furthers the deepest of environmental ideals. All of this is to say that, while there is a danger of becoming lost in principles and abstractions on the part of Canada's Greens (perhaps particularly exemplified in the Green Party of Canada with its emphasis on international obligations), there is an even worse danger on the part of Australia's Greens in perpetuating mainstream politics by addressing popular concerns when popularity may not be in step with the science and reality of today's ill world. Indeed, we are witnessing the mass conditioning of human populations towards the acceptance of a material lifestyle to satisfy elite financial interests, the mass extinction of the non-human world, and the insanity and immaturity of war to resolve conflicts. This reality should be firmly embedded within the heart of all Green Party plans and approaches.

Conclusion

The Greens of Canada and Australia embrace virtually the same paradigmatic positions. They all advocate environmental and social justice, a strong public service sector, a participatory and inclusive democracy, intergenerational equity, and ecologically-based economic activity. This said, there are a few noticeable differences. There are several Green parties in Australia that advocate plantation forestry. By contrast, most if not all Canada's Greens embrace the practice of ecoforestry (a form of forestry that rejects timber plantations). Together, the Green parties of Australia recognise the relationship between physical activity, health, and societal well-being more often than Canada's Greens. On the whole, Canada's

Greens lean towards principle-based politics (though, the Newfoundland Green Party is arguably an exception), while Australia's Greens tend to advocate constituency-based politics. Nevertheless, the parties are strikingly similar despite their geographical distance from one another. As I point out in the following chapter, the uniformity of the Canadian and Australian Greens has both positive and negative consequences.

20. Conclusion[1053]

Introduction

In a technical deductive dissertation, this chapter would summarize the key findings of the study, and discuss their significance. While I am not entirely opposed to this approach (for certain calculable fields, and then again, under certain circumstances), in this instance (particularly given the subjectivity involved in the study of ever variable and evolving Green parties), I will offer a more loosely structured, reflective, and pragmatic conclusion – findings which have some operative use to the readers and participants of the study. Thus, this chapter offers a number of recommendations in general response to several key findings of the dissertation (that is, what I interpret as the key points).[1054] My hope is that the following information will be of use to the Green parties of Canada and Australia in developing their future paradigmatic positions. It may also be of use and interest to Green academics and policymakers who wish to further their own socioenvironmental initiatives.

Solidarity and Standardisation

There are overwhelming similarities between the Australian and Canadian Greens. As I pointed out in the concluding sections of the Canadian and Australian Green parties, this is a positive achievement – a common agenda and philosophy helps ensure solidarity amongst Greens,

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[1053] The conclusions for each of the Green Party chapters contain my own thoughts supported by that of others. This concluding chapter, like the previous chapter and the respective final sections of the Canadian and Australian Green parties, for the most part, does not contain footnotes/references. It is in these sections that I stand on my own, free of the support of other authors - relying on the material contained within the dissertation and my subjective, personal knowledge of the parties for the basis of my arguments.
[1054] As stated in the previous chapter, again, my goal is to minimise overlap – offering something different at every stage, while also pointing to some of the concepts from the previous concluding sections.

whether on a local, national or international scale. It shows that the parties have common core values, irrespective of place or situation. It also implies that they have consciously made regional, provincial/state, national and international efforts at addressing their political discrepancies. However, while the parties embrace a common vision, they have also standardised their approach to addressing concerns – to an extent that they lack unique Green identities. Thus, they might benefit from an adherence to what Donna Haraway and others refer to as the philosophy and practice of 'situated knowledge.'[1055] Situated knowledge amounts to a rich appreciation and recognition of culture and ecology within any given place and time.[1056] While the Australian and Canadian Greens, as individual parties, address concerns that are specific to their constituency, often referring to issues that directly or indirectly affect their province, state or nation, they could nevertheless make an attempt to derive a greater uniqueness and distinctiveness from one another, forging a politics that more aptly speaks of a group of people deeply committed to their home and the development of a sense of place or region (while also valuing the common principles that ensure solidarity with the world's Green movement and the uniqueness of cultures that function within the boundaries of biophysical reason – to do otherwise could result in various manifestations of Green parochialism). The Terra Nova Greens possess a comparatively deeper sense of connection with land, home and culture than most Green parties, and are therefore something of an exception in this instance. While the Party's support of the seal hunt may be of concern to many Greens, it nevertheless demonstrates a substantial commitment to its home environment. Thus, other parties may wish to look to the Terra Nova Greens for inspiration in creating a more place-based, bioregional party, with the aim to situate universal Green values and principles in

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[1055] For further information on this philosophy of enquiry, investigate "Chaos and Feminism – A Complex Dynamic: Parallels Between Feminist Philosophy of Science and Chaos Theory" located at <http://www.pamij.com/feminism.html>; Fuller, S. (1992). "Social Epistemology and the Research Agenda of Science Studies," in Pickering, A. (ed.). *Science as Practice and Culture*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, pp. 390-428; and Donna Haraway's notion of "situated knowledges" (as embodied genealogies or enfleshed accountability) in, for example, "The Promises of Monsters: A Regenerative Politics for Inappropriate/d Others" located at <http://www.stanford.edu/dept/HPS/Haraway/monsters.html>, as well as the cited references in "Difference, Diversity, and Nomadic Subjectivity" located at <http://women.ped.kun.nl/cbt/rosifoot.html#e24>.

accordance with the particular constituency, cultural elements and local ecology in which they find themselves. For example, a Party may use a particular flower from its region as an icon, make greater reference to area artists, poets and authors in the development of its Green vision (those that have lived in and written about its home), and/or provide greater background history to its cultural landscape(s). This serves several interrelated functions; it: a) ensures a greater sociopolitical connection with local knowledge and communities (including the tacit, almost instinctual knowledge that comes from embracing what anthropologists refer to as the ethnographic 'emic' perspective, the unmitigated application of indigenous explanations and concepts to describe reality);[1057] b) increases the chance of public solidarity and support during an election campaign (since, clearly, a Party that forms a place-based identity is one that demonstrates greater commitment to local needs and sensitivity towards regional distinctions); and ultimately, c) fosters and preserves varied cultures, philosophies and identities in a world increasingly victim to what Vandana Shiva refers to as 'monocultures of the mind' which is the annihilation of local knowledge through its interaction with dominant, modernist knowledge).[1058]

Technological Relations

There is an increasing use of technology in the delivery of Canadian and Australian Green Party information, as evidenced, for example, by the number of Green websites and links cited in the dissertation. This Green information technology (I.T.) revolution is having a profound effect on the parties. Greens can now access information from each other with relative ease, and are building support and camaraderie beyond geopolitical borders. Moreover, the dissemination of Green information via the internet has undoubtedly increased the awareness of environmental and social justice concerns, and has helped broaden the support base of the Greens. In the concluding section of the chapter on the British Columbia Greens, I

[1056] *Ibid.*
[1057] "Tacit knowledge [embodies] deeply-embedded cultural beliefs which are assumed in a culture's way of perceiving the world, so much so that such knowledge is rarely or never discussed explicitly by members of the culture, but rather must be inferred by the ethnographer." See "Ethnographic Research" located at <http://www2.chass.ncsu.edu/garson/pa765/ethno.htm>.

point to the importance of global Green networking, and argue that the notion of 'place' can also be defined as a concept that transcends physical boundaries, bringing together people who share a common purpose and philosophy but who do not necessarily live in the same community. However, there is an inherent risk in wholly embracing the global I.T. revolution. Greens may connect with individuals and groups in other parts of the world to an extent that they overlook their own neighbours and constituents, obtaining their resources from what is fast becoming a globalised Green network. Indeed, if too much emphasis is placed on connecting people (Greens or otherwise) via global I.T. or telecommunication devices, the result may very well be a serious shift of emphasis (whether consciously intended or not) away from encouraging the development of a local identity towards 'virtual' global cultures and values. Consequently, the parties may wish to undertake, for example, a 'computer use audit,' with an attempt to establish the amount of time and energy they spend between chatting with locals in the community and fostering global or even national connections via I.T. devices (with the aim of shifting more emphasis towards the former over the latter). The duality between mind and physical place will only expand if the Greens and indeed the greater public bond with distant virtual realities and cultures at the expense of their local biocultural communities. I think it is critical to foster global connections (and I.T. devices are an aid in this regard), but I also think it is perilous to do so at the sacrifice of real local networking. At its worst, a separation between mind and physical place could, in the long-term, result in increased regional instability and physical social isolation. Individuals or groups embedded in 'virtual cultures' may have difficulty relating to what is left of local knowledge systems. They could become estranged from a sense of locality altogether. Greens face something of a paradox – a situation where they live and work in local communities that are also increasingly driven and influenced by global information networks. Indeed, communities and their regional knowledge risk being dissolved by what could become an excessively dominant monoculture of global computerised communication.

[1058] See Shiva, V. (1993). *Monocultures of the Mind: Biodiversity, Biotechnology and the Third World*. Penang, Malaysia: Third World Publishing.

Jodi Seager, in her book *Earth Follies*, discusses the detached bureaucracy in industry, government and what she refers to as the 'ecoestablishment.'[1059] She notes the tendency for big business, governments and large NGO's to subscribe to a professional 'distancing' and the perspective that business and pleasure should never mix nor should any individual or group disclose personal or emotional sentiments – this, we are told, interferes with job performance, individual and group · productivity, and the management of the industry, association or government body. Such thinking reinforces divisions and dualities between, for example, individuals, ages, races, genders, communities and nature, and is rooted in a reductionist objective science which assumes that human emotions interfere with the scientific process and the efficiency of human endeavours. Of course, it is difficult to remove human emotions from a scientific, economic, social or political project, since even those endeavours that claim to be objective usually involve some form of subjective interpretation of data or reality. This is to say that human emotions play a key role in the construction of the world; and to demonstrate a detachment (and consequently a blank and emotionless disposition) from others, including non-human beings, leads, at its worst, to environmental and social apathy. The Canadian and Australian Green parties present a mixture of grassroots and mainstream political orientations. There are groups, such as the Alberta Greens or the Greens of Newfoundland, that have more of a personal, grassroots and local approach, while others such as the Australian or British Columbia Greens have a propensity, at times, towards personal distancing, hierarchical divisions and professional authority (to a degree that distinguishes them from other Greens, but which is not nearly as apparent as what can be found in traditional parties or organisations). The moderate Green parties tend to be more compromising in the formulation of their political imagery and strategy – that is, the way in which they advertise themselves to the public. While they may demonstrate personal and grassroots expression, they have less difficulty conforming to the dominant political conventions

of presentation and power. In addition to serving as political parties, Green parties also function as educational outlets, helping reconstruct the dominant system towards a 'politics of meaning.'[1060] Thus, the Greens (particularly the moderate Greens) may wish to demonstrate their care ethic and concept of meaning through a more personal account of their perspectives and practices. For example, most of the documentary material produced by the Canadian and Australian Greens is written in the third person or 'no person.' While Green Party officials or candidates have written some of their letters in the first person, they can further personalise and humanise their paradigm through a greater use of first person narration.

Green Relations

Several years ago, a co-editor with whom I was collaborating asked a local, grassroots environmental organisation if she might be given permission to use one of their decorative logos in our student journal. They refused permission. More recently, in compiling and editing a book on 'Green Education,' I was asked (with a degree of insistence) by a few contributors to the volume if they could retain the copyright of their work. I accepted their request. There were several times during the course of my research on the Greens in Canada and Australia that parties sent me standardised bureaucratic letters and emails. Moreover, despite repeated requests, it was also near impossible to organise interviews with the various Green Party officials. At various gatherings over the years, I learned that my experiences were not unique to my situation. Several environmental scholars have informed me of less than warm encounters in addition to tacit and sometimes overt individualistic competition either for money, recognition or power within Green circles. These incidences raise questions about the purpose of Green scholarship and the role of the Greens in contributing to a bureaucratic, private property and/or dominant

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[1059] See Seager, J. *Earth Follies.*

[1060] A 'politics of meaning' challenges "the present economic and cultural dominance of market driven hyper-consumption, the worship of material wealth, power and celebrity, the political, spiritual and ethical apathy, and the ecological and human damage this worldview produces." Instead, it "works to encourage a holistic and community spirit of caring that promotes tolerance, justice, and reconciliation." See "The Foundation for Ethics and Meaning" located at <http://www.meaning.org/>.

individualist ethic. In the above cases, Greens were acting as participants in the impersonal market system of self-interest and self-preservation. I could understand if an individual or organisation was interacting with an aggressive dominant figure or entity in the world – self-protection may be warranted in such instances. But, the incidences occurred within the Green community – a community where one might assume there to be an unspoken rule in helping one another. Indeed, few social movements are successful without what might be termed a 'personalised solidarity network.' By contrast, when I first arrived in Tasmania, I was greeted at the airport by an older lady who was also attending the University of Tasmania. She offered me food and accommodation for a few weeks. I insisted on paying for the lodging, but she refused (only to eventually accept after my repeated insistence). She introduced me to Hobart, and helped me find permanent accommodation. Other than a few short email conversations, I had never talked to her before. Indeed, I was surprised to find several local Greens generously giving their time and energy to me during my stay in Hobart. Moreover, I know of one Green teacher at the University of Victoria, Canada who regularly organises workshops, only to offer out-of-town visitors accommodation. I also know of several grassroots environmentalists who open-handedly supported one another during the 1993 Clayoquot Sound protests in British Columbia, Canada. They made each other meals, offered one another counselling and personal support, shared accommodation and transport, and functioned as a common unit, not unlike a close extended family. It was quite empowering to see such a substantial union of common concern. The above individuals may have been socialised by family, friends and communities that are quite external to the Green movement. Indeed, their beliefs and actions may have been influenced by non-Green sources. I think this is particularly the case in Tasmania where the general culture encourages care and reciprocity. Nevertheless, it is this sort of unquestioning and unconditional acceptance of the common property perspective that should be flourishing amongst Greens. The Green movement should be holding a principle of personal and group character on par with its principles of ecological and social equity. A greater spirit of kindness and concern would bolster the Green movement. Indeed, individual Greens can serve as an example of what is

needed in order to achieve a psychologically healthy, politically inclusive, and socioecologically sustainable democracy. At the moment, there is a general inconsistency between personal and 'distancing' behaviours within the Green community. While the Green community may, on the whole, express a stronger care ethic than some urban, technocratic communities, I am nevertheless concerned that this ethic is being whittled away as Greens become forced (at times unconsciously so) into participating in what is fast becoming a hyper-corporatised, standardised, and internationalised bureaucratic order. Greens could match their call for social justice, selflessness and community responsibility (concepts which rest at the heart of many Green Party platforms) by demonstrating direct personal, social and financial support for their fellow activists. In essence, Greens might look at their own personal behaviour and consider finding ways in which they might be able to assist their fellow brothers and sisters in the Green movement. The labour movement has been at the forefront of building personalised solidarity networks, pointing to workers' rights and helping to uncover the fundamental causes of scarcity and destitution, global inequities, and sociopolitical oppression. Arguing that the right to organise is a fundamental human right, the movement has been successful, in large measure, due to the open-handed solidarity and unyielding collaboration between its members. As D'Arcy Martin, Canadian labour activist and educator, writes:

> I had the great luck to be hired into the steelworkers union
> where problem-posing education became a tool for putting
> the ``movement'' back into the labour movement. Members
> saw their union as a vehicle for individual and collective
> learning. When you work in a social movement instead of in
> the establishment, you deal with limited resources. You deal
> with a kind of catch-as-catch-can climate that can be
> frustrating at times for anybody with professional training.
> But the passion and selflessness that I have found inside the
> movement have made up for its limitations and have repaid a
> thousand times whatever efforts I may have put in.[1061]

The key word in the above quotation is selflessness; that is, recognising that one's own interests are intermeshed with the needs of others. The cycle of

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[1061] See "Interview with D'Arcy Martin" located at
<http://aurora.icaap.org/talks/martin.htm>.

reciprocity begins when individuals sacrifice their own wants for others'
needs and, ideally, includes a deep, informed commitment to democratic,
humanitarian and environmental justice. This is the basis of a caring, civil
and just society – a community of solidarity networks dedicated to
sustaining natural and social systems for posterity. As Marge Piercy,
internationally acclaimed novelist, essayist and poet writes:

> Two people can keep each other sane, can give support,
> conviction, love... Three people are a delegation, a committee,
> a wedge. With four you can play bridge and start an
> organisation. With six you can rent a whole house, eat pie for
> dinner with no seconds, and hold a fund raising party. A
> dozen make a demonstration. A hundred fill a hall. A
> thousand have solidarity and your own newsletter; ten
> thousand, power and your own paper; a hundred thousand,
> your own media; ten million, your own country.
>
> It goes on one at a time, it starts when you care to act, it starts
> when you do it again after they said no, it starts when you
> say 'We' and know who you mean, and each day you mean
> one more.[1062]

Accessibility

In relation to the previous section, I should add that during the
course of my data collection, it was quite a challenge to hear the views and
obtain information from key Greens. This was not a result of overt bias or
elitism. I have found that Greens (regardless of their position) are usually
keen on connecting with people from all walks of life. Rather, it is a result
of systemic constraint. Most Green leaders operate within the realm of
electoral politics, and accordingly, they risk being consumed by a dominant
government system (despite their subversive roots). Indeed, when
conventional politicians gain power, they do not fully respond to their
constituency. They become overwhelmed with responsibilities and are then
forced to prioritise interests, and this can come at the expense of a
grassroots agenda. Effectively, they learn to function according to a
hierarchy of interests divided relative to the power of those they represent,
and often this takes the form of a compromise between the public and those
that have influence or compete over their electorate. Accordingly, Green

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[1062] See "The Low Road" located at
<http://www.labournet.net/other/0104/lowroad.html>.

leaders should be extremely wary that their electoral pursuits do not become an all-encompassing venture. For example, they may wish to consider spending greater time with those who are not influenced by government, institutions and formal organisations (perhaps, as part of a larger weekly if not daily meditative and introspective project).

Education and Elections

To some, the primary purpose of the Green Party is political; it is to win elections in the interests of the common good. To others, it is to educate the public about socioenvironmental concerns and practices. I have met Greens who place more emphasis on the former than the latter, and vice versa. I remember attending a meeting of the British Columbia Greens (Victoria branch) in 1993 in which members fiercely questioned the position of one new member who argued in favour of a more election-oriented Green Party. The Party council believed that it was more important to develop a stronger internal network and act as an educational outlet than to seek election. Some even questioned whether the Party should even partake in elections. Interestingly, in recent years, the B.C. Green Party has become quite 'political.' It ran candidates in every constituency of the province and received over thirteen percent of the popular vote in the most recent provincial election.[1063] At present, they are making a concerted effort to replace the 'first past the post' system with proportional representation through a recall process which, if successful, would lead to a province-wide referendum on the issue.[1064] If the public were to vote in favour of proportional representation, Greens would almost certainly be elected to the province's legislature. But, there is no point in the Party gaining legislative success if it were to come at the cost of a wider public project to impart the principles and actions of socioenvironmentalism. It is important to support a winning candidate, but it is also critical to impart the values of the Party. As I discussed in earlier sections of the dissertation, there is the

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[1063] Investigate "Green Party Council Strikes Down Possible Coalition, Lays Groundwork for Role as Unofficial Opposition" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca/newsroom/prelease/archive/press_release_June_10_2001.htm>.

[1064] Investigate "Proportional Representation Initiative Launch" located at <http://www.greenparty.bc.ca/newsroom/prelease/archive/press_release_%20November_26_2001.htm>.

danger of a political party becoming so engrossed in the effort to achieve electoral success that it loses sight or even compromises Green Party principles and practices in order to achieve this objective. Green parties are more than vehicles for propelling candidates into positions of power. They should be principled educational outlets that also, for instance, partake in grassroots demonstrations and monitor the activities of exploitative corporate and government entities. Thus, Greens would be wise to ensure that they divide their time between these two objectives. To do otherwise would be to repeat the errors of conventional candidates who practice what might be referred to as 'brokerage politics.' Brokerage politicians place pledges first and principles second, softening their outlooks, developing election platforms based on opinion polling, and moderating their positions as they seek greater support in the so-called political mainstream.[1065]

Political Compromise

The Greens will become irrelevant if they hold to unprincipled positions, and are driven by dominant ideas and values. There are Greens I have met who seem to advocate policy positions of the more moderate left-wing Labor party in Australia or the N.D.P. in Canada – they have become an extension of other parties to the point that I wonder why they are a member or supporter of the Green Party. The Greens should not be advocates of nuance or compromise, but rather advocates of clarity and focus i.e. that it is wrong to kill another human being regardless of the circumstances; that it is unquestionably immoral to allow suffering either through destitution or sickness in human and non-human beings when such pain can and should be relieved; that it is utterly unethical to cut-down old-growth forests; that violence is unacceptable; and that any war is an unjust war. I am not suggesting that Greens should reject compromises that have some moral relevance if they see no other options in the short-term. However, in such circumstances, they can explicitly say that they have only reached part of their goal and that more is needed, rather than coming at an issue from the opposite angle: accepting what is unjust to try and squeeze in a just perspective. Greens need to stand up and call a spade

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[1065] See Boyer, P. (1992). *The People's Mandate, Referendums and a More Democratic Canada.* Toronto, ON: Dundurn Press.

a spade. A truly complex response lies with an uncompromising premise. Environmental leaders like Australia's Bob Brown or Canada's Vicki Husband did not rouse their respective countries into action and help change the world for that matter by mincing their words with compromised discourse and vision.

Closing Commentary

The overwhelming conclusion that can be drawn from the preceding paragraphs is that the Greens of Canada and Australia should form greater personal ties with each other and their communities, and avoid succumbing to traditional political distancing. As Greens in Canada and Australia become ever more rooted in their respective political landscapes, they run the risk of falling victim to the very system that they oppose: the present political mainstream. Even with their generally progressive and activist nature, Greens (and in particular, the more moderate Greens) face the risk of neglecting local, public interests and succumbing to party loyalty and the day-to-day demands of electoral politics. It is inherent in the dominant political game. Moreover, they also run the risk of being co-opted by a corporatised, technocratic and bureaucratic ideology as they attempt to replace conventional ideas and activities with Green praxis. The trick is to avoid the entrapments of the modern system, and in particular, to identify, question and, in the more serious cases, resist so-called 'sound' or 'balanced' views emanating from the 'backsliders' of the Green movement – those who demonstrate concepts, views or practices that are consistent with dominant ideology. Accordingly, Greens can: a) ensure that their campaigns and strategies are unfailingly diverse and creative, but sensitive to public perceptions and socioenvironmental principles; b) avoid commonplace political routines by clearly demonstrating to the public the differences between the hypocrisy of mainstream politics and the Greens' politics of meaning; and c) utilise 'culture-jamming' as part of an overall vision and strategy against dominant powers.[1066]

[1066] "Culture-jamming takes that latent desire within a loosed media fragment, reprograms it, and sends it back into circulation. Forensically analysed and judged, a reworked image often transmits more than it intends. Culture Jamming releases meanings from pieces of the media puzzle and re-transmits them into new contexts where they can run free. It removes from the scene of the crime a film, literary, video or sound work. Lifted from its once fixed intended socio-cultural place and time the culture jammed media particle is

If the Green parties of Canada and Australia hold to their progressive activist roots, I think the future will identify Greens, not as marginal opponents of mainstream culture, but as the primary purveyors of peace, ecological sustainability, social welfare, and compassionate economics. Despite the resistance to Green ideas and actions from dominant forces, it is clear that where grassroot Greens have revolted against governments and industries such as in Tasmania and British Columbia, there has been an increased awareness of socioenvironmental praxis and a build-up of popular support for the Greens in general.[1067] Consequently, when the public witnesses ordinary but passionate activists identifying injustices and voicing their opinions against the powers that be, they will respond by electing a greater number of such valiant citizens into positions of governance. As the dominant system's uncompromising grip on society becomes ever more inflexible, Greens can show a kinder, more gentler hand and offer guidance to a modern culture so desperately seeking fulfilment in the empty voids of consumer culture and corporatised paternity.

made to throw its voice from the past into the present. Secrets can be explicitly revealed, hidden stories uncovered." See "Culture Jamming" located at <http://users.rcn.com/abrupt/CJ/CJ.html>.

[1067] See "The Roots of the Network: A Thirty Year Retrospective" located at <http://www.bcen.bc.ca/bcerart/Vol10/theroots.htm>, and "The Strange and Verdant Politics of a Strange and Verdant Island" (by Dr. Peter Hay, University of Tasmania) located at <http://www.upei.ca/%7Eiis/hay.html>.

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