

agenor 67

OPTIONS FOR THE LEFT

DUTCH RADICALS



IDEAS FOR EXPORT

dutch radicals

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This issue consists of an abbreviated version of the programme of the Dutch Radical Party (Politieke Partij Radikalen) for the elections in the Netherlands in May 1977. The PPR was a minority partner for the past four years in the left-centre coalition led by Labour prime minister Joop den Uyl and consisting of Catholics (KVP-Katholieke Volkspartij), Protestants (ARP-Anti-Revolutionaire Partij), Labour (PvdA-Partij van de Arbeid), D'66 (Democrats 1966), and PPR. In the 1972 elections the PPR won some 5% of the vote, but nearly 20% of the vote of those under 25. It held two ministerial posts and one secretary of state.

In the May elections, the PPR suffered heavy losses. Its share of the vote dropped to 1.69% and it won only 3 seats. This seems to have been due in part to a tactical error: a few months before the elections the party congress, against the advice of the leadership, voted against taking part in a new coalition with the CDA (Christian-democratic alliance). Votes lost, largely to the left of the Labour party, were those of people who valued PPR's influence within the government. (The other small left-wing party PSP--pacifist socialists--which refuses to go into government suffered similar losses.)

The PPR has concentrated its political efforts on a limited number of key issues--summed up in its programme under the headings: peace--power--environment--well-being. It has pressed hard for a more generous policy on development, and has campaigned for the abandonment of nuclear power, and a re-think of defence policy.

Its electoral base, and the influence it has exerted on the policies of its big social-democratic partner make it a far from negligible force in Dutch politics, and its programme more than a price of progressive wishful thinking.

It therefore seems worth bringing the situation and policies of the PPR to the knowledge of those in other countries who, if they were Dutch, might well find that its programme reflected their own priorities. Instead, in many cases, they may face the choice between membership of a large social-democratic party (SPD, Labour party in the UK...) in which their influence on precisely such issues as environment, nuclear power, development policy, or defence, is slighter than the PPR can exert, opting out of party political commitment in favour of action in other groups.

In publishing this text, the agenor group is pursuing its stated policy of contributing to the flow of information, and thus to better understanding and future cooperation, among the progressive left. It is not a question of endorsing the precise balance of priorities reflected in the programme, which fits into a given national context.

We are also looking to the broader, long-term perspective, and the possible emergence of a progressive socialist left at the European level. It has long been clear that it will be no easy matter for those who have common concerns, goals and commitments to find their natural partners across European political frontiers. The party labels do not correspond; nor is the political spectrum ever the same in any two countries. An identifiable political current does exist, concerned with the right of citizens to decide for themselves in matters that concern them, be it at the work-place, or where they live, or about the broader environment. But there has not been either a political framework within which contacts can take place, and alliances occur; nor issues around which cross-frontier cooperation can begin.

The coming "European elections" introduce a new factor. Their limited democratic value cannot be often enough emphasised: the powers of the body to be elected are ridiculously limited; there is no uniformity in the electoral systems; the campaigns will be little more than an extension of national politics; and the result threatens to be a comfortable "democratic" alibi for the uncontrolled exercise of power, or the semblance of it, in the Community framework. Nevertheless, they will take place.

As a result, the big parties with the same family names have already begun forming their alliances, and drafting programmes which are the lowest common denominator of agreement. Italian, German, British and Belgian Liberals, incredibly, have formed a federation. Christian-Democrats and Conservatives have linked up (with less difficulty); socialists and social-democrats are trying to reach a unified platform. The result will be insipid, conservative, cautious programmes, avoiding all controversial issues; and the electoral systems, plus the limited numbers of seats, will do the rest. The left-wings of the socialist parties are unlikely to get much say; and the small left-wing parties will be hard put to win one or two seats each.

Yet it would be a mistake for the progressive left to abandon the fight, or retreat into all-out condemnation of the Euro-elections. Tactically, the best way to present the European "Parliament" becoming an alibi for an undemocratic Community is to denounce its role from within--and to use it to the full as a platform for criticism of the Community as it is. Everything in the European dimension takes longer than it does nationally. It is important to look to the horizon of the successive European elections--probably with a proportional system adopted by the first, phoney Parliament, and the prospect of more seats for the left.

On that time-scale there are two possible developments--not mutually exclusive. The left-wing socialists within the social-democratic camp may link up, and assert their influence. Or a separate left-wing socialist party may emerge, at the European level, taking up the themes neglected by the major parties. Such a party could come to play at the European level the kind of role played by the PPR in relation to the PvdA in the Netherlands, or by the Radical Party in Italy.

Such cooperation cannot (and must not) ever be a substitute for joint action on practical issues, where that is possible. But it can be a useful stimulus to working together at the European level.

Because national situations and priorities are so different, the process of finding partners will be a complex

and difficult one. There will probably need to be a long stage of informal, tentative, personal contacts, which because of national constraints cannot be formalised. For any of these developments to occur, requires an initial basis of knowledge and understanding.

Despite the setback suffered by the PPR in the May elections, we feel that its electoral programme, published here, remains of interest to the progressive left elsewhere. We are not suggesting that it is a blue-print for a European programme; that is not at present a meaningful concept, and the balance of issues in such a programme, if it one day takes shape, will depend on those taking part. We see it rather as part of the basic information needed for the complex process of seeking political partners across frontiers.

Brussels, June 1977

To all our friends abroad

Many of us will realise that the magnitude of political problems has transcended national borders for quite some time already. There is a gap between the international political issues and the still nationally organised political systems.

There are many gaps in our knowledge of the political map of Europe let alone outside Europe and we suppose it is the same with you. These gaps should be filled before meaningful European elections can be held.

Particularly from a Dutch point of view we feel the need for international political relations pressing. Holland is a small country depending in almost every aspect on other parts of the world in particular on other European nations. It is a country with an historically intensive pattern of international relations, economically as well as culturally.

The emerging awareness of the fact that many problems are common to the people of Europe and the world urges us to stress the importance of international political cooperation.

This abbreviated version of our party program is composed especially for foreign readers. It contains short term proposals as well as longer term perspectives.

Throughout the piece we tried to keep the international dimension in mind. On issues therefore which are obviously of common interest like disarmament, the European Community, nuclear power and the pollution of international waters we are rather specific.

For practical purposes only, the programme presented here is divided into four main sections; peace, power, environment and well being. These sections however should not be seen in isolation. It is rather the relationship between these four main issues we want to stress.

This is the programme of a young party. In fact it is the first overall electoral platform since the party was founded in 1968. Inevitably therefore there are gaps here and there as well as parts which need further reflection.

Within the PPR people from different backgrounds merged to close cooperation.

Being a break away from the Catholic Peoples Party in 1968 to which progressive protestants joined a few years later some traits of radical progressive christian thinking are still present.

Additionally the PPR incorporated many elements from the anarchistically inclined Provo and Kabouter movements of the late sixties and early seventies.

There are quite some socialist and marxist elements as well.

Though the programme contains socialistic thinking on many issues, words like decentralisation, delegation and distribution occur rather frequently throughout the text. The accent is on a small scale perspective as opposed to the trend in many areas towards growth and centralisation.

This indicates that it is not centralised state power we are after but a considerably decentralised democratic society. Within a general framework determined by parliament and elaborated by the central government we want to retain—and in fact create—ample space for private decisions. The individual should have direct influence on her or his surroundings, be it her or his home, natural environment, working conditions or welfare facilities.

This publication tells you who we are. It is to be seen as a step towards intensified transnational cooperation.

We must confess that we encountered some difficulties in finding out our potential partners on the European scene. We tried to organise a federation of the rather small and diverse radical groups around Europe without much success, but for the future, who knows?

For reasons that should be obvious after reading this programme, we can not wholeheartedly ally ourselves with the existing conventional European federations, constructed as they are on historical tradition and a similarity of name rather than policies. Maybe international action on issues of common interest like nuclear power or the pollution of international waters offer a promising starting point for future cooperation.

We hope this programme will find its way to many political parties and youth organisations abroad. But it is not only to the parties that we address ourselves. We consider grass-root activities as equally important as parliamentary policy. This outline therefore is also written for those who are campaigning outside the official political system. It is also them whom we consider as potential partners.

This is a kind of invitation.

We hope that this outline will aid to international understanding and cross-frontier political relations in the future. May people around Europe be encouraged by our ideas and by the discovery that in another country politically organised people are also consistently striving for peace and well being, for the preservation of our natural environment and for power to the people.

Translation:

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PEACE

I. General

1. In foreign policy peace and security are the key-words. The aim of foreign policy is to diminish actual and potential threats. (This aim embraces much more than only the threat of armed conflict and war.)
2. The ultimate goal is a situation of positive peace. Positive peace indicates a world community which guarantees survival for the whole world population and which offers every human being the scope for individual development. Positive peace embraces much more than the absence of war because international tension and conflicts are rooted in poverty, exploitation, repression and disturbance of our natural environment. These sources of potential conflict therefore endanger the world society and block the right to human dignity.
3. Living for most people is inhuman. Elementary needs--food, clothing, housing, education, health, work and the right to have a say in conditions affecting their life--are denied to them. Attempts by the poor and deprived to obtain these rights are blocked by forces geared to maintaining the established structures. Human dignity therefore can not be separated from liberation. Liberation from repression and exploitation by interest groups stretching far beyond national frontiers.

Foreign policy must associate with this struggle for liberation. To that aim existing power structures have to be dismantled. The defence of human rights should be an integral part of foreign policy.

4. On a world-wide perspective we can draw up some fundamental points for foreign policy:
 - a. Fulfillment of the prerequisites for a democratically organised world community, especially through reinforcement of the United Nations.
 - b. Redistribution of knowledge, power, work and income in favour of deprived sections of the world's population.
 - c. The creation of a new vision of world-wide mutual dependence anticipating the creation of a new International Economic Order.

Growing consciousness enlarges the political basis for this transformation. The emerging awareness of the world wide relationship between poverty and prosperity, between security and the international order should be actively stimulated.

- d. The development of a security system for the whole of Europe as an alternative to the existing military alliances.
- e. To put pressure on countries where human rights are consistently and systemically violated.

Appropriate instruments to this end are diplomatic consultation, intervention in international organisations, discrimination in the use of economic aid, socio/economic and/or political boycott and ultimately suspension or severing diplomatic relations.

Southern Africa

The principal rejection of apartheid cannot but take shape in increasing international pressure on South Africa. Means to this end are:

- a. A weapon embargo and a general economic boycott of South Africa, preferably as broadly organised as possible.
- b. Severing cultural links with South Africa.

- c. Refusal to recognise the so-called "independent" bantustans.
- d. Material and moral support to liberation movements in Southern Africa.

Middle East

On the road to peace in the Middle East the following steps are necessary:

- a. Israeli withdrawal from territory occupied since 1967.
- b. Recognition of Israel's right to exist by the Arab countries and the Palestinians.
- c. Recognition by Israel of the rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to an independent nation.

In the short term special attention is needed for the population in the territories which have been occupied since 1967 as well as for the Jewish minorities in some Arab countries.

II. United Nations

- 1. The United Nations should embrace all nations.

Deprived minorities and populations should have the right to defend their case in the United Nations.

Preferably with other member-countries the Netherlands supports the transformation of the United Nations into an effective instrument to maintain peace, protect human rights, overcome poverty, wipe out imperialism, discrimination and (economic) colonialism and to preserve the natural environment.

- 2. The Netherlands should:

- a. Work towards the improvement of the organisation. The Netherlands will provide manpower and money for studies and elaborations.

- b. Execute all resolutions in favour of which it voted. Dutch abstention in voting should be an exception.
- c. Contribute to a permanent UN peace-keeping force directly supervised by the Security Council.
- d. Increase contributions to special UN-funds for the support of victims of racism, colonialism and dictatorship.
- e. Strive for the guaranteed fulfillment of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

When human rights are systemically violated, the principle of non-interference has to be dropped.

- f. Aiming at the creation of a High Commission on Human Rights.
- g. Work for the enlargement and strengthening of the role of the International Court of Justice.

III. European Community

1. The European Community should stimulate a fair distribution of knowledge, power, work, income and territory.

The main features of the Community should be:

- a. Democratic organisation, politically as well as economically.
- b. Mutual solidarity.
- c. Solidarity with the Third World.

To these features the economic development of the EEC should be subordinated. Selective growth must take the place of uncontrolled economic development.

2. The process of political integration must end up in an independent foreign policy and an active peace policy. The EEC should not continue however its

present position as a powerstructure which aims at the preservation of self interest.

Together with the emerging of super-national democratic institutions relatively autonomous regional councils have to be set up which are based on historical, cultural and economic identity. These units may well transcend existing national frontiers.

3. For us future cooperation to European integration will be subject to the following conditions:
 - a. A change of policy must be possible even when existing treaties have to be changed.
 - b. The appearance of actual solidarity with the Third World.
 - c. Dropping any possibilities of a European nuclear force.
 - d. Throughout the country a broad discussion should start about the future of the Community. The desirability of further integration; the direction; the purpose of European unification and its effects should be specifically debated.
 - e. Mutual support when a member state or a region is in serious social or economic trouble.
4. The directly elected European Parliament must obtain the power of legislation, budget control and supervision.

The composition of the European Commission should reflect a majority of the parliament. Competence should be transferred gradually from the Council of ministers to the European Commission and the European Parliament. As long as this process is not yet finished decisions by the Council of ministers can be taken by a majority vote.

5. A European Statute is needed to settle the position of migrant workers. It must protect them from economic exploitation, guarantee them political rights and sustain them in their cultural development.

6. Development cooperation of the EEC must be directed to all development countries.

Regional development cooperation--as in the Lomé Treaty--has to be subordinated to this principle. When the Lomé Treaty is renewed, such an extension has to be catered for. The main elements in development policy should be:

- a. Aimed at the poorest and deprived sections in developing countries.
- b. Extension of the general preference system (advantages for all third world countries).
- c. Restructuring of European industry, in order to increase the aid to developing countries, controlling multinational companies operating in Europe and exercising government supervision on the supply of raw materials.
- d. A more complete execution of decisions taken by the United Nations.

IV. Development cooperation

1. Liberating the poor and deprived in the world from poverty and suppression, that is the aim of development cooperation. Especially the poorest third-world countries need our help. By 1980 the budget for this purpose will have to be raised to 3% of Gross National Product. From 1980 onwards the aid will increase annually.

Development aid includes real aid only according to OECD definitions (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development).

Developing countries are entitled to aid. In the case of general cuts on the government budget therefore development aid must be excluded.

2. How the aid will be given depends on the possibilities of recipient countries.
--to embrace the mass of the population

- to create employment
- to improve the income distribution
- to implement adapted technology in order to reduce dependence on Western technical know-how.

3. Aid will be in the form of grants and interest free loans without any further obligations except redemption.

4. Food

Adequate food production in the world has to be guaranteed. Some means to this end are:

- a. An increase of food production in the developing countries primarily for internal consumption.

Buffer stocks have to be created in order to prevent famine and to meet abundance. These stocks should be financed by the rich communities including the European Community.

In general agricultural land may not be used to raise fodder. In order to attain a responsible pattern of food consumption in the rich countries information and instruction are indispensable.

The developing countries export many crops which contain much protein, and which are used for meat production in the industrial countries. To counter this wasteful exportation available meat in the Netherlands will be distributed fairly and the consumption of meat will be reduced. Agricultural products suited for human consumption may not be used to feed animals and to produce meat.

5. Monetary reform (debts)

The debts of the poorest countries (up to \$200 per capita) will be cancelled.

International monetary reform should especially serve the needs of the developing countries. Special Drawing Rights to be created by the International Monetary Fund should be transferred to the third world.

The influence of developing countries on IMF-decisions should be increased.

6. Raw materials and Trade

At the moment an improvement of their position of power by economic and political cooperation offers promising prospects for the developing countries.

Third world attempts to unite in order to put pressure on the rich countries will not be resisted by the Netherlands.

The Netherlands will advocate a trade policy for the European Economic Community which guarantees the developing countries an increased and stabilised output. To this end the prices of raw materials should be increased and linked up with the price level of finished products from industrial countries. A national and international system of buffer stocks must stabilise third world export receipts from raw materials on a reasonable level.

Taxes on imports from developing countries will be abolished. As long as such imports are still subject to taxes, the receipts will be used to increase development aid.

Natural resources in and below the international waters belong to the whole international community. Who is going to dispose eventually of these resources therefore in principle should not be decided by the accidental geographical location and the national governments. Until this situation is reached every country is entitled to expropriate the means of production and the natural resources. Compensation should be based on the economic history of the expropriated firm.

7. International division of production

At the moment the developing countries depend on Western technology. The transfer of technology should reduce this dependence. To this end technical devices adapted to the special circumstances of the developing countries should be developed.

In restructuring the Dutch economy the interest of the poorest sections in the developing countries must be kept in mind. The development budget may not be used to stimulate the Dutch industry.

Whenever natural products from developing countries are applicable the production of artificial substitutes should be phased out.

8. The Dutch population must be made aware of the necessity of development cooperation.
9. Before long the Dutch Antilles should receive independence.

V. Security policy

1. Security policy points to relaxation and disarmament (détente). The ultimate aim is a collective security system in Europe in which all European countries participate. This system is to be seen as a step towards a world wide system of treaties and guarantees within the framework of the United Nations. As a first step towards such a collective security system a permanent council for consultation and cooperation between the governments and parliaments of East and West European countries has to be set up. Within this council conflicts can be settled peacefully.
2. The very existence of NATO as well as of the Warsaw pact obstructs the attainment of lasting peace and security in Europe.

Besides that NATO defends the power position of the capitalistic economic system; it maintains social-economic injustice in the world.

The PPR therefore will exert influence for the Netherlands to leave NATO.

3. As long as the Netherlands is still a NATO-member, this membership must be directed toward the attainment of the following goals:

- a. Rejection of the "flexible response strategy."
- b. Détente must be the aim of the strategy. To this end the arsenal of conventional weapons should be changed to as defensive a composition as possible.
- c. The Netherlands will stand up for a "no first use declaration" by NATO (no first use of nuclear weapons).
- d. Nuclear free zones should be agreed upon in Europe.

Tactical nuclear weapons in Europe should be considerably thinned out before long.

Nuclear artillery shells and the first line nuclear air forces will be cut out.

Mini-nukes (small nuclear weapons) will not be purchased.

- e. The Netherlands will do away with the nuclear role of the armed forces.

Nuclear weapons will be removed from Dutch territory.

Transport of nuclear weapons on and above Dutch territory will be forbidden.

- f. Military security policy will directed actively to prevent the formation of a West European nuclear force in any form. Such a force conflicts with non-proliferation efforts.

The Netherlands therefore will attempt to persuade other EEC-members to drop the option to a federal European nuclear force.

A West European nuclear force may not come forth in any other (non-political) way.

This means for example:

--no further integration, standardisation and division of tasks within the NATO,

--no cooperation to multi-lateral military re-
search,

--Dutch withdrawal from the so-called "Eurogroup."

- g. No collaboration to the systematic enlargement (neither by replacement) of the military potential of the NATO.
- h. NATO's role as body of consultation for the governments has to be stressed. This being a way to exert influence on the international decision making process.
- i. Rejection of attempts to attribute other than strictly military tasks to the NATO.

Rejection of increase in membership of the NATO or enlargement of the treaty territory or the area over which it exerts influence.

4. Withdrawal of Dutch troops from abroad.

Removal of all US bases and military personnel from Dutch territory.

At the disarmament negotiations in Vienna (Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction) the Netherlands will actively strive for agreements about armament levels as low as possible and mutual reduction of prepared forces.

The Netherlands will actively strive for the success of SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks).

The Netherlands will work for a total prohibition of nuclear tests (including underground) and a ban on chemical and biological weapons.

The Netherlands will not export weapons. This will be fixed by law as well as the prerequisites for the exportation of non-weapon materials suited for military purposes.

The existence of army-industrial relations impedes an active peace policy. There will therefore be an inquiry into the military industrial complex.

5. Non-violent defence systems, as for example, various forms of civilian defence, will be prepared and introduced.

Research for military purposes by universities and firms should be controlled by parliament.

A National Commission for Safety problems will be founded to reduce the information and communication gap in this field.

VI. Defence

1. The defence budget must reflect the political will to ease tension between East and West.

Compared with other governmental tasks, defence must get a lower priority.

Continually a diminishing proportion of national income spent on defence should be under consideration.

This lower priority will be reflected in the dropping of defence tasks.

Combat troops of the Dutch army will be reduced.

2. Highest priority must be given to the democratisation and socialisation of the armed forces. The existing isolation must be broken.

Some implications:

- a. The self-perpetuating existing appointment system in which the military hierarchy itself fills vacancies must change.
- b. Training courses for volunteers will be accessible for non-military personnel.
- c. Tasks for which military personnel are not strictly needed should be performed by civilian personnel.
- d. Revision of military criminal and disciplinary law.

- e. Military personnel should have the right to strike. Generally, rules for civil servants should apply to military servants as well.
 - f. Freedom of speech, the right to distribute publications freely, the right of association and assembly, the right to demonstrate.
3. We reject the formation of an army consisting of professionals or volunteers.

Recruitment for professional and volunteer trainees should not appeal to undesirable qualities such as the urge for power, heroism and superiority.

Conscientious objections to personal fulfillment of military service will be recognised. Alternative service may not be used as a medium for punishment.

An investigation into the desirability of a general civilian service for men and women will be started. In such a system everyone should be able to choose between civil and military service.

As long as such a system does not exist the burdens should be distributed fairly among conscripts.

Some implications:

- a. Compulsory service will be shortened to twelve months.
- b. The conscription age will not be lowered.
- c. The social position of conscripts will be improved.

The total area in use for military training will be reduced. Display-like parades will be cut out.

PARTICIPATION

I. Economical Power

The existing economic order brought us material welfare but blocks further development in Europe and abroad. The existing economic system is to a high degree responsible for the inequalities in material welfare between the Netherlands (and Europe) and the developing countries. Ultimately the prevailing economic system undermines the basis of human existence.

The interests of the mass of the working population are subordinated to the interests of the economic organisations. In the prevailing economy work is unequally distributed so that not everyone can participate in the process of production.

The prevailing economic system also increases non-economic inequalities. The position of women in our society is undervalued, the same holds for children and old-aged, migrant workers are treated as inferior.

Economic policy should start from the following principles:

1. Production and consumption must be reorganised in order to
 - diminish the urge to continually increase production,
 - distribute economic power more evenly and improve supervision of it,
 - considerably reduce the differences in material welfare between the Netherlands (and Europe) and the Third World, and the differences within the Netherlands,

--halt the destruction and depletion of the natural environment.

2. In order to offer everyone the opportunity to work and develop her or himself, the available work in our community will be shared.
3. In the long run every adult should be guaranteed a minimum income sufficient for personal development.

Socialisation of production

In a socialised system the most important economic decisions on the national level are supervised by parliament.

With a socialised economy we do not imply however that all economic power is in the hands of the national government.

The decision-making power is to be decentralised considerably to the local communities and the neighbourhoods in the bigger towns.

Within the larger framework moreover consumers and producers can act freely.

The government provides a plan for the economic structure.

This plan is submitted to parliament for approval.

Instruments for governmental economic policy should include:

- a general regulation of investments offering the government the opportunity to test their effects on the environment; the use of energy and raw materials; employment and the foreign political implications.
- the power to allocate funds from banks, insurance companies and pension funds to the most urgent needs.
- governmental support for industrial renovation directed to small scale technological developments and the upkeep of meaningful employment.

Industrial democracy

Democratic principles should be applied to economic organisations.

In a democratically organised firm consultation takes the place of hierarchy. The decision power is considerably decentralised to the base of the economic organisation with subunits having a high degree of independence.

In a democratic organisation there is cooperation on the bases of equality and emancipation.

On the road to workers' control workers' councils should be given the following powers in the coming four years:

- Influence on investment decisions and the methods of production,
- Control of the organisation of the firm and a veto on the appointment of leading personnel, fusion or shut down,
- Appointment of at least half of the directors.
Management shall be responsible to the workers' council for their conduct.

Ultimately industrial democracy should end up in complete workers' control. Every firm shall be controlled by a directly elected workers' council.

Employment

We reject the practice of general monetary incentives as an instrument to attain full employment.

A general reduction in the working time combined with a slow down in wage increases is needed.

Work should be distributed more evenly among the population. The practice of shift system should be restricted.

In order to solve the problem of structural unemployment

the trend towards concentration of economic power and production into ever bigger units must be curbed. One of the implications is the preservation of smaller companies still existing in some branches like agriculture and trade.

Migrant workers to have the same rights as Dutch workers.

Income distribution

Prevailing economic structures are responsible for the continuing transfer of wealth from the developing countries to the industrial nations. Income distribution needs considerable reshuffling, nationally but especially internationally.

For the Netherlands we strive for a basic income for everyone.

All incomes should be public.

There should be a maximum income.

The rights of the workers should be guaranteed by law.

To these rights belong free access to information, freedom of speech and association, the freedom to reject work which conflicts with personal convictions, the right to strike and entitlement to education and training.

Women and men shall be equal.

Employees are entitled to working conditions worth of a human being.

Ownership

The ownership of the means of production including the soil and the right to dispose of these means belong to the community using them, that is the local community or the workers' community in most cases.

Knowledge is to be considered as the collective property of the whole (world) community which can never be subject to ownership.

Consumers

The packing of a product should indicate the price, composition and manufacturer.

Small scale retail trade should be maintained; the development of super-stores should be stopped.

The rights of consumers need protection.

Environment and energy

The growing use of energy is the inevitable consequence of unrestricted economic growth.

In order to stop the ongoing destruction and depletion of the natural environment a national and international redistribution of income and a fair distribution of work are equally needed.

In the long term energy use should be considerably reduced. The available energy can be used much more efficiently, e.g. by heat isolation and the use of cooling water from power stations.

In the short term coal can be used as an alternative to nuclear power. Ultimately the supply of energy should rely on non-expendable sources such as sun-, wind- and water power.

Nuclear power is unacceptable because:

- radioactive waste can not be stored safely,
- security in the nuclear industry--especially when fast breeder reactors are going to be used--cannot be guaranteed,
- fissionable material in various stages can be used for the production of atomic weapons,
- nuclear power is a highly centralised technology; from an ecological point of view a decentralisation of the energy supply system is desirable,
- the introduction of nuclear power on a large scale threatens civil liberties. Nuclear power brings with it elements which point towards a police state.

Therefore:

- existing nuclear power stations should be closed,

- nuclear research should be slowed down and the funds transferred to non-expendable energy sources,
- the Netherlands should drop all participation in international nuclear projects like Kalkar and the French Super Phoenix.

II. Political Power

The democratic system should be reorganised in such a way as to offer every citizen the opportunity to exert direct influence on her or his own living conditions.

Political power therefore should be considerably decentralised to regions, towns, quarters, and neighborhoods.

Besides that, however, there must be scope for direct social action to exercise influence on the decision making process.

The attitude towards civil disobedience needs a fundamental reconsideration.

The mayor should be elected by the town council (instead of appointed by the minister of internal affairs).

Membership in the town council should be considered as a job and therefore paid.

The first chamber should be abolished.

ENVIRONMENT

I. Main Features

The environmental basis of human existence is in a process of erosion. This process is caused by the rapid growth in world population but especially by the changing nature and continuing increase in production and consumption since the industrial revolution.

Ultimately the prevailing economic system geared to profit and expansion of production leads to depletion and destruction. A responsible use of territory and the preservation of our natural environment therefore are impossible without the community being able to control economic life.

The disturbance of our natural environment threatens the world community. Economic growth not only leads to environmental destruction in the industrial countries but world wide and it affects welfare and well being in the Third World.

Ultimately the situation can only be improved by an international environmental policy.

Besides changes in the economic system changes in human behaviour are equally necessary. A conscious restriction in consumption is necessary for the preservation of our natural environment.

II. Space planning and housing

Territory is scarce; it should therefore not be spoiled. One implication is that the allocation of the available territory should reflect a fair distribution.

The geographical spread of urbanisation has to be controlled and guided as much as possible. The character

of small towns and villages and the character of the Dutch landscape must be preserved.

Some implications:

- The ownership and control of the soil should be in the hands of the community,
- In urban areas residential, recreative and economic activities should be close to each other to reduce the necessity of traffic. To this end the instruments of town and country planning and the powers of (local) governments should be enlarged,
- Formation of protected natural areas (natural parks),
- The renovation of the cities needs high priority. Dwellings should be built to a high average density.

The shift away from the cities to the surrounding suburbs must be countered.

In renovating the cities the residential function has to be preserved, especially for the present inhabitants.

Small scale traders should retain a place.

Dwellings should be mixed with economic activities and public facilities.

Industrial complexes and barracks which do not fit in our cities any more should be relocated.

- There must be scope for experimental communities searching for a life style adapted to the environment.

Housing facilities for such groups should be enlarged.

In the long run self-contained living accommodation should be available to everyone from the age of 18 regardless of income.

The inhabitants should have primary control over the dwellings and the environment be they owners or tenants.

III. Traffic, transport, communication

Everybody is entitled to a safe, healthy and quiet environment. The necessity to move persons and commodities

should diminish. Everybody should have reasonable transport facilities at her disposal regardless of age or welfare.

The extension of the road network is only a superficial solution to our traffic problems. The expansion of traffic itself has to be stopped. Collective transport facilities have to be enlarged at the expense of private motor traffic.

Public transport should be free of charge.

Inside the cities the use of cars will be considerably restricted, and parking accomodation limited.

In residential areas especially cars will be almost banned, except essential services like fire, police, health and delivery.

Pedestrians and bicyclists to have the right of way. Facilities for these groups should be enlarged.

The maximum speed should be restricted to 20 kilometres.

At the fringe of the cities centres for transferring goods should be built in order to prevent heavy traffic from entering the town. From these centres commodities can be brought into the city with smaller delivery vehicles.

Experiments with the "Witkar" in Amsterdam deserve substantial government support.

In recreation areas cars should be--in principle--banned. Car and motor races in natural areas should be forbidden. The increase in aquatic recreation, especially motor boats should be curbed.

The increase in air transport especially on short distances should be curbed. Flights for commercial and sport purposes will be prohibited (except gliding).

Noise hindrances **should** be diminished by a decrease in traffic and technical measures.

In shipping unfair competition by using flags of convenience and dumping should be countered internationally.

Telecommunication should be stimulated as a partial alternative for business traffic.

IV. Agriculture

In the long run the European Community should be able to produce its own food. Self-sufficiency is also required, although to a lesser degree for regions within the Community. In this way the relation between the consumer and the producer of food could be strengthened.

Developing countries which strive for such a situation deserve our support.

- The production and the quality of food must be adequate for the population now and in the future.
- The distance between the producer and the consumer should be as small as possible, not only geographically but also economically and psychologically.
- Farmers and farm workers are entitled to an income comparable to that of industrial workers.

If the prices of the agricultural products do not provide an adequate income the farmers should be financially supported in order to stop the "farmers drain."

The trend towards mechanisation and enlargement of the scale of production must come to an end.

- Biological cultivation methods should be stimulated; the use of fossil fuels, artificial dung and insecticides should be reduced.

Bio-industry is unacceptable because of:

- the transformation of protein containing nourishment into meat is a wasteful activity,
- the unacceptable living conditions of the animals concerned,
- its environmental pollution.

Animal welfare in agriculture should be regulated by legislation.

In the long run only agricultural products not suited for human consumption should be used as fodder.

Fishing

Fishing must be brought in balance with the ecological limits of the sea.

If necessary, therefore, the quota-system will be expanded to include all kinds of fish and all seas.

If necessary, the total fishing fleet must be restricted preferably by taking out some of the larger vessels.

V. Pollution

Environmental policy should be geared to maintain a balance between the world population (and human behaviour) and the ecological limits of the earth.

All human activities affecting the environment in the short and the long run should therefore be acceptable from the point of view of their ecological effects.

All people affected by intrusions in their natural environment should have a substantial say in the plans under consideration.

--The social necessity of a commodity or a production process should determine the degree of acceptable pollution.

--Environmental pollution should be countered at the initial source.

--The producer must prove that a production process or a product does not pollute the environment (the reverse of the existing situation).

The Netherlands should actively pursue an international environmental policy under the following considerations:

--The Netherlands too is responsible for the maintenance of the world's natural environment.

--In particular, the Netherlands is responsible for trans-national environmental effects originating from this country.

--As a consequence of the Dutch geographical location the quality of the natural environment is determined

to a high degree by the environmental care in the surrounding countries.

Therefore the Netherlands in particular should strive for international reglementation of cross-frontier pollution.

The international rivers, the Rhine, Maas, Schelde and Eems and the location and effect of nuclear power installations deserve the highest priority.

As an essential prerequisite of effective international environmental consultation the Netherlands should start cleaning up the environment at home.

Without a strictly maintained environmental policy at home we can not morally call for a clean Rhine, pure air from our neighbour countries or beaches without oil.

In the next four years, the following measures should be taken:

- An inquiry into the relationship between human interventions in the natural environment and their effect on human society.
- Prohibition of irreparable environmental damage.
- Stimulation of re-use and recycling.
- The composition of a product should be printed on the packing.
- The use of sprays containing gases which might damage the atmosphere should be prohibited.
- Smoking in areas of public buildings accessible to the general public should be banned.

Topical issues

- The Waddensea, including the islands, will be a protected European natural area.
- The Oosterschelde will remain open.
- A second national airport will not be built. Schiphol will not be enlarged.
- No industrial island to be built in the North Sea.
- No expansion of the road network.
- Dumping of industrial waste and radioactive material should be forbidden.
- No supersonic flights over Dutch territory.
- 40 ton maximum weight for road freight carriers.

WELL-BEING

The care of the person.

A fundamental welfare policy only becomes possible when society as a whole is geared to achieving the well being of everyone. Many people today have no chance to develop in their work, in the cities they live in poor housing and suffer from too much traffic.

Education is judged by an unclear labour market and not by the child's development potentialities; health welfare tends to be curative rather than preventive; the handicapped, old aged and other vulnerable groups have little chance to develop in our society.

At the moment the function of welfare policy is to cover up the worst damage to human beings caused by the prevailing system.

Providing opportunities for the relaxation of tensions in order to neatly fit again into the system is not enough.

Welfare should offer people the opportunity to develop themselves to shape their own conditions. Welfare policy should be judged on how to get rid of obstructions and impediments; it should offer inspiration for improving society.

Health welfare and social institutions should be provided at a district and neighbourhood level that is close to the people. Though different bodies should be gathered together, centralisation should be avoided. Welfare provisions should be thickly spread to be available to everyone.

Those people with the worst housing, work or environment

need attention first.

Occupants of institutional homes (old aged pensions, handicapped, health institutions, orphanages) must have more say in the running of their home.

I. Education and social development

The goal of education and schooling policy is to give everyone at every moment of her or his life a chance to unfold along a self chosen pattern.

Good education is characterised by cooperation and solidarity. Attention should be given to the ideals of the pupils and what they want to make of their lives. Learning by experience should be central.

School must be a community where everyone can increase his knowledge and insight, where participants can develop their creativity and learn not only how the social system works, but also how it could be changed.

In the longer run we should grow towards two forms of education. "Fundamental education;" that is kindergarten, primary school and the first forms of secondary school. At this stage scholars can lay their own foundation for their later lives.

After this educational base the situation should radically be changed compared with the prevailing structures. We should get rid of the idea of a full day's education; this system should be replaced by an open school for everyone where learning can be done together.

For the first 16 years of life every human being should have the right to develop into an able bodied adult. After that age at various stages of life people should be entitled to training and development periods of half a year or more. During such periods a person should receive at least the minimum wage.

Whether compulsory education should be prolonged is open to serious doubt. Education should be free.

The responsibility for education facilities should be delegated as much as possible to the regional or municipal authorities.

Some measures for the coming four years:

- In order to strengthen the relationship between the school and its social environment cooperation between schools and other social institutions in the neighbourhood should be stimulated.
- The division into separate subjects should be broken; learning should start from a thematic base.
- The educationally deprived in society today should obtain special facilities.
- The social function of examinations as an 'objective' medium for comparison should be dropped.

II. Science

Scientific investigation and development by government, universities and enterprises alike should help to solve the burning social problems of our time and aid in the unfolding of a fairer and more human society.

The community therefore should be able to direct research effectively toward aims set after democratic consultation.

The central government should draw up a plan for scientific investigation and development which will be subject to parliamentary approval after consultation and advice from the scientists and scientific institutions concerned.

The workers' councils should have a say on the research policy of their firms.

Scientists should obtain the protected right to refuse particular kinds of work out of conviction or social considerations.

All scientific knowledge should be public.

III. Mental and physical health

An able bodied human being knows the limits to health and the symptoms to recognise on approaching these limits.

Disease is not the only cause of illness. Ill effects may occur after sudden dismissal; old people can wither away after retirement; housing and working conditions may cause nerve troubles and stomach ulcers.

Such fundamental causes of illness should receive more attention.

Prevention should have priority in health care. Besides the after care needs more attention; the gradual change from hospital to normal life.

Every person should be responsible for her or his own treatment. The patient therefore must know what will happen to her or him; she or he is entitled to information, especially on request, about the involvements of a treatment and about the composition of a remedy and its effects.

Death is to be regarded as an integral part of life. The accompaniment of the dying human being deserves special attention. Those who are dying or the next of kin should have the right to choose whether to die at home or in a hospital as well as to what should be administered to prolong biological life.

The main decisions in health policy should be supervised by the community at large. In health service institutions the principle of profits shall be ruled out. Health service should be socialised with decisions decentralised to the lower governmental bodies and a considerable influence from the health service workers and the clients.

Towards democratisation of the health service the following steps should be taken:

- Working towards a general health service for the whole population without discrimination between private and fund patients.
- All health service institutions should be democratised

and all workers should be enlisted.

--The central government only provides for an umbrella structure specifying the general requirements, the distribution of health service facilities and the prices of health services and remedies.

Implementation and elaboration of these general rules will be delegated to lower governmental bodies.

--Health service institutions will be supervised by local councils.

--Treatment of clients should be in or close to their residential location.

--The possibilities for alternative curative methods should be investigated.

--Abortion and birth regulation devices should be paid for by the health service.

--The rights of patients including psychiatric patients will be guaranteed by legislation.

Prevention is better than cure.

More research should be carried out to further prevention of sickness.

Peoples' housing and working conditions and their relation to illness should receive emphasis.

Education on health enlightenment should be improved.

Redundant medicine should not be sold any more; advertising shall be forbidden; in general the use of medicine should be restricted.

Commodities and meat inspection law should be based on the improvement of health. The use of meat should be restricted. Advertising for food and stimulants will be prohibited unless their harmlessness is beyond doubt.

The composition of food and medicine must be printed on the packing.

Additives will only be allowed if they do not damage the health.

Illness does not come out of the blue sky.

Attention must be paid to the relation between illness and the social situation.

The contribution of the social sciences to health service policy should be enlarged.

The relation between physical and mental health should be recognised.

Health service in trade and industry should be improved.

In the education of health service workers, more attention should be paid to the relation between illness and its social causes. The health service worker should learn to stimulate the client's responsibility for her or his own health.

Also in the health service sector a more equal distribution of incomes is called for. Opportunities for part time work should be considerably improved.

IV. Social unfolding, especially for the weaker

Welfare should be more than just patching up the victims of the existing structure.

Emancipation policy should receive much more governmental attention.

Permanent education should offer the opportunity for personal development and the abolishment of fear and prejudice.

Everyone should be able to be in contact with art.

Art policy should be directed to the stimulation of creativity.

Artists should devote part of their time to shaping and stimulating interest for which they should receive an income.

Artists should also be able to bear responsibility for the art policy.

Media

The variety of the press, radio, television, books and films should remain. Sometimes this aim requires special government support.

Cable T.V. should be democratically controlled.

Local T.V. and radio is above all a provision for the population.

Libraries are an important provision; experiments incorporating them with other socio-cultural institutions should be encouraged.

Advertising should be informative using accurate statements only. Advertising should be sober, not brash. Advertising should be restricted (especially radio, T.V. and sky); the time saved in this way to be used for consumer enlightenment.

Advertising should be subject to a severe legal code especially for medicine and stimulants.

Sport

As many people as possible should be able to participate in sports. In sport policy therefore the emphasis should be on amateur and recreational sport, geared toward eliminating fanaticism, dirty play and drug use.

Prestige sports should not be publically financed; we equally reject the financing by commercial sponsors.

Social work should be carried at the district, neighbourhood and village level. Social work should especially be directed to the deprived areas and vulnerable groups.

Everyone is entitled to good legal assistance. Centres should be created giving social and legal advice together to help people overcome the initial problem and see what possibilities legislation can offer.

Lawyers' collectives and experimental centres for legal aid should be stimulated.

Legal decisions should be announced to the public in clear and simple language.

Every private person should have the right to inspect all data compiled on her or him; data on private persons will not be available to anyone else. Mailing lists compiled by organisations should be severely supervised as well.

Functions for which an investigation by the internal security service is required should be drastically curtailed. Parliament shall determine the functions for which such an inquiry is still necessary.

Any applicant rejected on the grounds of a security report or on political or medical indications will be entitled to inspect that report and have the right of appeal. The same holds true for psychological investigation reports.

Equal rights

Discrimination on the grounds of life style, race, political beliefs, sex, sexual inclination will be prevented by law. Woman and man are on an equal footing in treatment in law and should have equal possibilities to participate in social life.

For children it should be possible to take the mother's name.

New forms of social grouping should be treated equally with the conventional family.

V. Dealing with the most vulnerable groups

Though it may be dangerous to categorise there are still some groups which need special attention.

Foreigners: The Netherlands can not be an immigration country. Nevertheless it should be a refuge for exiles fleeing from repression and persecution in their own country.

Refugees, family members of Dutch citizens and foreigners resident in the Netherlands for more than five years should obtain permanent residence rights.

Everyone expelled from Dutch territory should have the right to appeal and will not be expelled pending the decision. Nobody may be deported to a country which is potentially dangerous to her or him.

Foreigners should be assisted to become self-sufficient as quickly as possible through language courses, temporary financial assistance, provisional accomodation, etc.

Foreign workers

Investment policy, trade policy and development policy should be geared to stimulate employment in the countries of origin. Foreign workers should be able to maintain their own culture in our society.

Housing should be reglemented and improved under municipal supervision.

Political participation should be regulated and stimulated.

Youth and minors should have more opportunities to utilise their own development possibilities.

The general age of majority should be 18.

Minors' rights should be safeguarded.

Old aged are to be considered as an integral part of society and should be treated as such.

They should be able to lead as normal a life as possible and live in an environment of their own choosing, preferable independent.

In the old aged pensions the inhabitants should have a considerable say.

Telephone charges for the over-65's receiving only a minimum income should be free.

Caravan dwellers should have the same rights as those who live in 'normal' houses. The same holds true for living boats. Caravan parks should be decentralised and reduced in size.

The Surinam and Antillian population needs special attention starting from the proposition that many like to stay here. There must be room for their own culture and identity.

The same holds true for people from the Molukken.

The emancipation and integration of handicapped into the community needs stimulation; social isolation should be avoided. Adapted housing facilities should be provided scattered in the 'normal' residential areas.

Handicapped should be offered chances to be independent; they should be kept out of special institutions if at all possible. Obstacles need to be removed (facilities in public buildings and mediums of transport). Special work provisions for handicapped are needed.

In centres for revalidation, etc. the handicapped should obtain a considerable vote.

Social assistance recipients. Social assistance must remain tied to the minimum wage.

Drug use may no longer be a punishable offence. Hard drug dealers should be punished; registered addicts, however, to get their drugs from the state (allowing quality control and attacking the market mechanism).

Cannabis trade should be subject to the same regulations as alcohol and tobacco; 'house dealers' to be permitted in youth centres.

Prisoners whether on remand or convicted are members of the community and should be treated as such.

Imprisonment should be an ultimate resort.

Prisoners should not lose their political rights.

The reintegration into society, in particular the provision of employment opportunities, deserves special attention.

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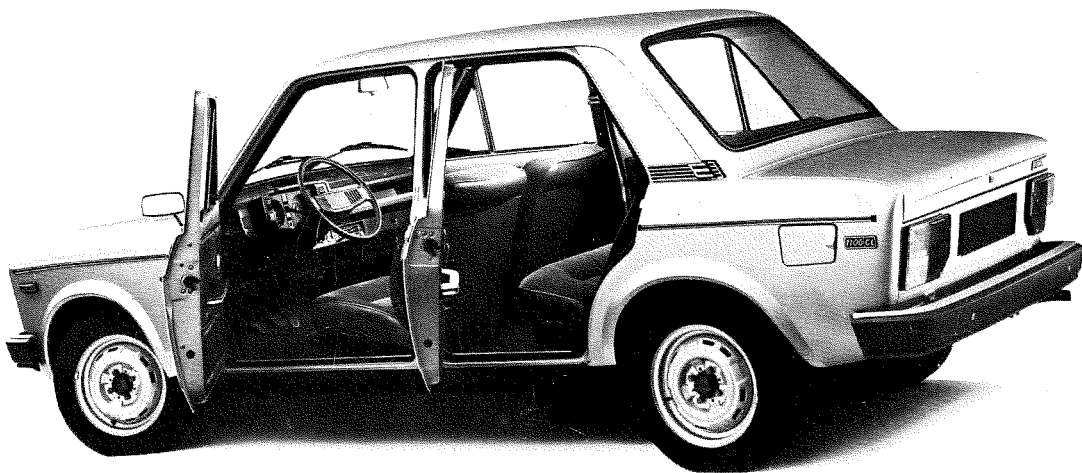
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