

LOOKING AHEAD

program of

GROEN LINKS



LOOKING AHEAD

The reasonable person adjusts, the unreasonable one tries to adapt the world to himself. Therefore all progress depends on unreasonable people.

G. B. Shaw

Let us look further than the short sightedness. The 80's will go into history as the period of missed opportunities: the environmental pollution has passed the alarmphase, unemployment remains disruptively high, obedience is characteristic of the country's international position, the field of education is in a mess and the new poverty a cynical fact. Even the book keeping - which it was all about - they can't get right. The worst is the lack of solidarity. And the short sightedness.

Not being able to think that a stupid cut-back will come later two fold. Bad education will get us behindhand later. A caved in quay wall costs more money to get repaired than to maintain it now. Avoiding poison-belts is many times cheaper than having to clean them later on.

Writing off people - which is already morally unacceptable - you will find later in the cost of social security and the public health services.

Not being able to set free from the NATO-cramp. Fainthearted confusion against constructive proposals from Gorbatsjov. The "enemy" offers himself as a good neighbour and the West can cook up nothing better than the ritual of old phrases. Who is against the modernization of nuclear weapons, is blamed of letting the NATO fall apart. Just wait and see, NATO will wreck itself. In what way an alliance directed at peace? The gentlemen are on view. Without their toys they are unsettled.

Not being able to feel what arrogance brings about. How bitter people become who don't count anymore. How cynic you become if you have to keep looking for a job, that is not there. How humiliating because of the tougher rules in the social security. How discouraging if you sink deeper and deeper in the spiral of no chances and less and less money. How frightening not to be recognized as a refugee. How hurtled by all those succesful people hurrying along without even noticing you.

And above all how mad you become if not a damn thing changes.

Arrogance was in power. Everything was arranged behind closed doors. The coalition agreement between CDA (christian-deomocrats) and VVD (conservative liberals) was sacred and parliament just missed out, even when it rained reports and alternatives and the Binnenhof was occupied every week by a lot of people who would not stand for it. Students, farmers, trade unions, teachers, nursing professionals, police, they were allowed to use their freedom of speech up to a maximum. You may well say so! But most of it was put into the waste-paper basket.

Police found a little bit of response.

And the business community of course.

And the people that were well-off anyway.

The vision on the world shriveled up into a slavish imitation. The merchant chased the preacher away: a cowardly point of view on the boycott of South Africa, not daring to stir a finger when the colleagues in Europe have a different opinion, linking development aid to the services of our companies, a refugee policy as tough as nails instead of a big-hearted hospitality, letting Nicaragua down as a partner. At this rate you can forget a self-conscious and independent foreign policy.

Those were expensive years.

Democratically and morally a lot was handed in.

Politics, that put large groups of the community offside, are untenable. You can't enter the future with only a part of the whole. That will finish in a long lasting disruption.

A real democracy can not permit itself to keep so many people, so much brain-power and creativity outside of the discussion and decision-making. Indeed we can't allow that a society becomes lost of short term politics and the safeguarding of the interests of groups who live on the right side of the track anyway. We simply can't continue to push our problems on to the next generation.

Certainly, the budget deficit must stay within reasonable limits. However what means reasonableness if you let the low income people pay for it? If you stop up the undirected state subsidies, bring back the ample profits of companies to reasonable levels, and lower considerably the defence ceiling, then you have achieved the same in a much more honest way.

And why a cut in taxes for the people who do not need really? A little bit more of spendable income certainly doesnot off set the caring for a solidary community, good education and a healthy environment?

If the next generation was allowed to choose now between paying a little bit more, instead of perish in our mess, the outcome was rapidly decided upon. When het ozon layer disappears completely, we are finished. Thence no tax cut.

We need a broader vision and more creativity than the monologue of a budget deficit and tax deductions.

Not the attainable of today, but making tomorrow possible is at stake. That requests guts. The political courage to choose for far reaching changes. The guts to tell the electorate that we can't continue in the same way any longer. That you shall be asked later why you didn't do anything now. That a clean and humane society is worth it: redistribution of work and income, stops on undirected grow, curb the consumer's urge, not waiting a day longer with the application and maintenance of much tighter environment laws, putting a tax on environment polluting products.

The time is ripe for it. We see a good change to pursue a policy aimed at human rights and the environment. The new environmental awareness can mobilize people at all levels of society.

Change is in the air. You can smell it. You can notice it around you. People and groups are moving and see again perspectives. This is the moment to put a step forward, also in politics.

GROEN LINKS is called the political formation, who after 6th September will fight strongly the slowness and short sightedness of the settled political parties. If the environment policy has to go further than vague plans or nagging about travel forfeits, if democracy wants to strife past arrogance, if really something must be done about the creation of paid jobs and the redistribution of work and income, and speeding up steps toward an ecological economy then Parliament can not be without a skilled, stiff 'critical factor'.

GROEN LINKS becomes that. The new political formation in which PPR, PSP, CPN and EVP, each from their own sources of inspiration, bring together their strong sides with the expertise of independent people from important social movements. With enthousiasm, renewed zeal and inventiveness GROEN LINKS will accept the confrontation and fight with tenacity for a passable road to the future.

The crux of our position is renewal of the solidarity.

Solidarity with the earth and her future population. Environmental pollution has to stop, not tomorrow but today.

Solidarity with people that are going to the wall, who do not share in the prosperity, who have nothing to say in changing their own situation.

Solidarity with the other world, far from our bed, where the fight for survival is fought each day again.

Solidarity with people who are trying to escape from being in the black book

of unequal treatment, discrimination, the prejudice of middle-class morality or the grip that bureaucracy has on their private life.

Starting from our point of view on a solidary society of independent people, GROEN LINKS chooses respect for human dignity and the preservation of the earth as the heart of their politics.

Human dignity means: liberation of dependent situations, feminization and democratization of the society, recognition of everybody's equality, equal opportunities in self development and safeguarding individual privacy.

The preservation of the earth, as under discussion at the moment in the conciliar process, means: a disarming world, recognition of the right of self-determination of everybody and each nation, fight against oppression and fascism, no exploitation of people and environment, an ecologic economy.

A SUSTAINABLE ECONOMY

The present economic growth is threatening the earth and as such human existence. GROEN LINKS votes for the transformation of the economic system into a responsible, sustainable cycle economy.

The existing way of production is characterized by concentrations of power and possession, undirected growth, waste, compulsive buying and exploitation of people en environment. That must fundamentally be changed. That can be changed. By a change in mentality, by legislation and social engagement. GROEN LINKS handles a new definition of economic growth: growth which contributes to prosperity without harm to the environment or growth which contributes to the recovery of the environment. Only this kind of growth is for us acceptable, yes even desired. A lot of what is mentioned in this program costs money. Coupled to the growth which it accompanies, the economic factors have to be used in a ecologic responsible way however. The latter applies to the factor labour that because of too high contributions on labour remains underutilised. This is applicable to the factor capital (investment), which is now untaxed and therefore helps to expel labour. That also is applicable to the factor of natural resources, which are now being consumed, dirtied and destroyed without the producer paying for the social cost.

Prevention of the continuing destruction of the environment, repair of what has been destroyed, a revolution in the usage of rare goods such as energy and some raw materials, strict environment legislation, a production prohibition for harmful and not necessary products, introduction of an environment tax (greentax) on environmental harmful products, stimulation of ecologically sound products and energy saving production, shifting the tax burden from labour to capital, a much greater say of employees in the companies and institutions and recognition of the right of paid jobs and an independent income for everybody.

Those are the pillars of a sustainable economy.

A SOLIDARY SOCIETY

Who doesn't dare to take instant action in the area of work, income and renewal of solidarity, puts up with a jammed jobmarket and a dichotomy in which groups of people are written off.

GROEN LINKS wants that the newly encountered poverty under the cabinets of Minister Lubbers is undone. The social security allowances have to be linked to the income development and we need an overtaking manoeuvre to remove the run up arrears. To make the redistribution of work really possible for the underprivileged groups a purposeful program of training, formation and additional schooling is needed, linked to a decent prospect of work.

Each and every person has the right to work. That's why unemployment has to be rolled back. In order to reach that, it is necessary to shorten the working hours drastically and to share the paid and unpaid jobs honestly.

Additionally substantial investments are needed to create meaningful work,

education and training. Only then you can give everybody a real chance to get a paid job.

Every human being, whether he works for pay or not, has the right of a humane income. A certain unlinking of work and income is for very large groups in our society already a fact. It would be a sign of a renewing solidarity if a step was taken towards the abolition of the obligation to apply for jobs, breaking off stigmatization, complete individualization and abolishment of the breadwinner's principle. Then we would be a long way on the road to a further going solidarity, which in the long term can get shaped; a guaranteed income for everybody, linked to the right of paid work and a cut in working hours, with the preservation of social security.

In this context GROEN LINKS wants a well prepared, broad social discussion about the basic income.

Solidarity also means standing up for the rights of minorities, migrants and refugees. This is even more important now their position in several countries in Europe has become pressurized. Equality is of vital importance and must go together with active fighting against racism, fascism and anti-semitism.

A DISARMING WORLD

For a new perspective on disarmament another way of looking at it is necessary. Also for the international relations.

While the Soviet Union surprises the world with drastic steps towards disarmament and change, NATO stiffens visibly at every new proposal of Gorbatsjov. They repeat the old phrases and don't know to define a constructive position.

Nobody asks himself what keeps NATO still together. The enemy from the 50's that doesn't exist anymore? All energy gets spent in keeping the NATO family together. In the meantime they don't have the time to design a new common security concept.

For the time being it seems that the military industry and a slow moving arms bureaucracy strain every nerve to stop the new developments.

GROEN LINKS thinks that undigestable.

It is high time for new initiatives, rather especially from the West. Big steps towards disarmament are now possible and necessary: declination of modernization of nuclear weapons, not any nuclear weapons in the Netherlands, support for and responding to proposals of a decrease of nuclear weapon systems, nuclear weapon free zones, consistent decrease of the conventional arms. Budgets have to be created for the cooperation between East-West. CDA/VVD cabinet has left nothing untried to reunite the NATO. Its time could have been used in a better way. You can't crawl away behind your gates when the rest of the world is beginning to move. Who sees that his allies do not want to leave the old route of armouring and confrontation, shouldn't cry but look for new friends: cooperate with neutral and non-aligned countries.

THE ROLL OF THE STATE

GROEN LINKS has no confidence in a society that leaves everything up to the free play of market mechanism. Neither do we see something in a society that is dominated and controlled by the state to the farthest corners.

The government should leave as much as possible to the people themselves and create conditions and legal framework for it.

Not a peeping but a managing state. Less centralised power, less bureaucracy, less faultfinding. More decentralisation, more say for the citizens. More legal frames for far reaching democratization of the economic and social relations. The state must offer guarantees for individual constitutional rights: equal rights and equal treatment, housing, education, health care and a humane, independent income for everybody.

But also an active peace policy, decreasing the gap of the Third World, a sound ecological production and consumption and a greater influence of society on economic decisions belong to the working field of the government.

GROEN LINKS IN EUROPE

Everywhere in Europe a new way of thinking lifts its head. With sharp analysis and a high quality of argumentation and sayingspower is indefatigably demonstrated that an ecologically sound economic system not only keeps nature undamaged, but also has positive effects on the employment. Redistribution of work and income, as well as the say-in, and better international relations are indispensable. The people who represent this ecological line of thought you find in environment movements, amongst technological innovators, in organisations and political parties.

Innovating processes are also visible within the left wing: the unions, the female movement and the workers movements and political movements that are linked up with them.

Everywhere green ecological brainwork comes into contact with left wing ideas about solidarity, say, redistribution, civil rights, disarmament, it produces important visions for towards the future directed, renewing policies. Green and left form a tandem that will put you on the road.

The new formation GROEN LINKS in the Netherlands is part of a development that becomes manifest everywhere, in het European Parliament as well.

In this election program for the coming parliamentary term GROEN LINKS will elaborate on the consequences of the above mentioned orientation. That doesn't mean that we can give a fitting answer to every question. Some matters ask for further investigation and brainwork. A few topics have not yet been thoroughly enough discussed by the participants of this new political formation; an open formulated text is the preliminary result.

Nevertheless the principles and fundamentals are cristal clear. The parliamentary section will have later no difficulties to provide in practical politics a striking sound and strong alternatives. With it, it is important to have a good relationship with progressive social movements. They form the basis from which the by us desired social changes will be realized.

On the basis of this program GROEN LINKS will take part in parliamentary discussions. And should there be a disagreement, the exchange of arguments and persuasiveness are more important than to enforce party discipline.

These in this program formulated standpoints lay down a firm ground for the challenging parliamentary action. A strong GROEN LINKS section in number and quality will enter parliament. And that they shall notice.

Other choices, new alternatives, fundamental criticism. Able bodied we shall force the other parties into discussions and taking stands. The political agenda is no longer exclusively in the hands of CDA and VVD. With a strong section of GROEN LINKS a lot of doings will go around at the Buildings of Parliament.

And one thing should be clear: if a progressive government should become in existence with a for us sufficient recognizable program, then GROEN LINKS will exercise its influence to the utmost for its realization.

How amazing it is
how amazing it is
all is not the sum
of all things
seprately.

Martinus Nijhoff

ENVIRONMENT

A clean environment and a balanced out nature are basic conditions for the existence and well-being of people. Animals get their rights granted too. Therefore, they are the preconditions of our political position as well in all areas. This has far reaching consequences for our vision on the direction of the economy: production and consumption are to be transformed in such a way what justice will be done to the necessity of durability. Herewith we mean an economy that is frugal with energy and raw materials and doesn't pollute the environment any further (cycle economy). The time that our natural habitat was subjected to the pursuit of gain will, if it would be left to GROEN LINKS, soon belong to the past.

The report 'Zorgen voor morgen' (Caring for tomorrow) that appeared in November 1988 clearly indicates in our opinion how far Holland has passed the ecological limit. Moreover it indicates that the Netherlands have a responsibility towards the recovery of the world ecology and the special environmental problems that have to be dealt with concerning the Third World. This report indicates concretely on wich scale the discharge of acidifying materials, chemicals, heavy metals, manures and CO2 (principal cause of the hothouse effect) must be pushed back. GROEN LINKS takes this assignment as the starting point of its policy. Technological adjustments are not sufficient, as inidcated also by "Zorgen voor morgen". Besides the prohibition of harmful production, which can be replaced or missed in a number of areas, a policy of volume decreasement will be executed, such as in air- and roadtraffic, agriculture and stock, the import of tropical hardwood etc. Herewith we must draw the conclusion that the in the report expected economic growth, expressing the growth of the consumption of energy and raw materials, must be prevented.

GROEN LINKS SEES IT LIKE THIS:

* The environmental problems are international. That's why international agreements should be put forward for environment measures, environment norms and the methods linked to them for control and sanctions. Well-known examples of threats to the environment for which such agreements are necessary: the effect on the ozonlayer, the hothouse effect, the acid rain, the pollution of the ocean, the international trade in waste, the demolition of the tropical forests.

The existence or not of such agreements may not constitute an argument to leave out these environment measure ourselves.

An efficient environment policy tied in with the Common Market should be aimed at. The realization of this policy may however never delay a national policy that runs ahead of things. The Netherlands should demand the right to go further than the EC agreements and also respect that right for other countries.

* The pollution must be dealt with at the source. A chemical cycle production must be realized in the chemical indystry by means of regulations and prohibitions in a short a term as possible. Striving for production processes that don't leave unusable chemical waste. Within shortly a waste book-keeping should be kept and handed in for the unusable harmful products which are left over from chemical processes. Products are to be composed in such a way that after a recyclingsprocess they can be used again as raw materials. For production processes that need a lot of water alternatives will be looked into for completely purified drinking water. The licence policy should be geared to this goal. Further more the government will grant structural support to a Centre for Chemical Technological Innovation, founded and controlled by the environment movement.

* Environment sound production processes and investigations are to be

subsidized.

* Production and consumption of a number of clearly environment threatening materials and products should be prohibited or drastically limited, such as (products that are composed with) mercury, cadmium, CF-hydrocarbons and certain pesticides. The discharge of CO₂, nitrogen and sulphur-compounds are to be forced back to for the environment acceptable norms.

* The use and sale of new chemicals is only allowed after the concerned company has proved that it doesn't have harmful environmental effects or clearly less than products that should be replaced by them. Moreover, products will be prohibited that are causing a waste tax and/or pose a threat to health and have no significant social usefulness or can be replaced by other products, such as not-natural products that are added solely for the smell, taste or colouring of foods and throw away packings for drinks, namely plastic and tin wrappings. Separate collection of waste is to be stimulated. By using returnable packaging and deposit money systems for bottles and durable goods the waste mountain will be fought at the same time. The waste disposal should be in the hand of public enterprises.

* Introducing a mark for environment sound products. The introduction of a label system that warns for harmful environmental effects of the purchased product.

* On products that tax the environment, - either at the manufacturing or with or after usage - and upon which a prohibition is not a real possibility, ecological taxes (greentax) will be imposed. With the introduction of them GROEN LINKS aims at a fundamental change of production and consumption patterns in an environment friendly way. At the same time the social costs of pollution becomes on-charged to the price of the polluting product.

A purposeful application of the ecological taxes, which only work if it involves large percentages, promotes the flee to cleaner alternatives. The benefits will be applied amongst others to decrease or even abolish the VAT (value added tax) on some products.

By means of a purposeful decrease in tax and social contributions on wages (as well for employers as for employees) sound ecological and labour intensive activities can be made cheaper.

* Nature development and the creation of ecological infrastructures will be given high priority.

The nature areas in Holland that are internationally important for the preservation of plants and animals should be safeguarded by the government by means of purchases and the application of the Nature Protection Act. The Netherlands give of their best in international frames (bilateral, EG, UN etc.) for the preservation and development of ecosystems that are of international importance.

All "wetlands" in Holland should be shown als wetlands in the frame of the European directive in the forthcoming government term.

The draft of the bill to protect nature and the draft of the flora and fauna bill, which will be offered the coming government term, should be directed towards het preservation of the above mentioned areas and endangered species. Hunting, presently regulated by the Hunting Bill, must be limited to hunting that is only necessary for the maintenance of a natural ecosystem and the prevention of a too large a damage to crops.

* Car traffic should be minimized because it absorbs too much energy, raw materials and space and because of the accompanying air, ground and waterpollution. In order to achieve this the variable car cost (gasoline) should be increased in particular. Simultaneous public transport has to be improved and refined. Beside it car possession should be pushed back. Anticipating a complete prohibition, car advertising should be limited and

bound to strict rules.

* Existing railconnections are improved by higher frequencies, more materials, comfort and staff. No railway-lines are getting eliminated. The railway track Amsterdam - Lelystad should be continued via Drachten to Groningen. In addition to the railwaynetwork a good system of other public transport will be realized (tram, underground, busses, call up bus service, local busses): frequent and low in price and easily accessible for older and disabled people. Service and information supply will be improved. This means a.o. more free buslanes, usage for the busses of the hard shoulder, extra rush hour busses. The financial treshold of frequent use of public transport can be taken away by a drastic decrease in the price of an annual season ticket, by cutting the price half of other tickets and finally free public transport. Abolishing the zone partition in cities.

* In order to limit the airtraffic drastically Holland needs to be connected to the European network of high speed railway tracks, preferably along existing railway facilities, but anyway in a landscaping acceptable way.

* The maximum speed for cars is decreased from 120 km/h to 100 km/h, in residential quarters from 50 to 30 km/h.

* Infrastructural measures should discourage the use of the car, and promote alternatives, so as using bicycles. We think of e.g. residential quarters (designed to slow down traffic), speed limiting measures, road narrowings (locally), not extending the road network (on a national/provincial level) and to set up again a budget for bicycles paths for the lower government levels.

* Cargo freight per ship and train will be promoted strongly at the expense of road and airfreight. This applies namely for cargo of bulkgoods over large distances. The introduction of a greentax on dieseloil could speed up a switch over to sound environment forms of cargo transport. Airtraffic occasions a lot of air pollution and noise pollution. Advertising flights will be prohibited. Air force practices are limited to the absolute minimum.

* Energy saving programs will become alive again. Investigation and promotion of the use of non-fossil energy sources will be dealt with energetically (a.o. sun and wind energy, heat-power-linking). Home heating with sun energy will be stimulated. Isolation of houses should be taken in hand with renewed strength. The standing charges in energy tariffs for households will be abolished.

* Nuclear energy is declined for reasons that include the safe guarding of a sound environment. The existing nuclear plants will be closed down, as also the ultra-centrifuge centre in Almelo. Export of nuclear and chemical waste is prohibited.

* Voluntary agreements between government and companies may never replace legislations, prohibitions or norms.

* Depositing waste and the burning of it on the North Sea is prohibited, together with the dumping of the environmental harmful wastematerials in the rivers. The Netherlands will do their best to achieve far reaching international agreements in order to cleanse the rivers as soon as possible. We favour international environment liability so that foreign companies, as well, can be taken to court for illegal dumping.

* Environment delicts are to be punished much more severely than right now is happening. The sanction on violation of the environment bills should be much higher than the cost of a clean production process. To the maintenance of the

legislation a high priority is given. Employees, who report environment delicts of their employers, will be given legal protection.

- * The realization of a priority program for soil clearance as supported by us and directed towards a definite cleansing; removal of the polluted soil and the cleansing of it. By consequence a lot more money for soil clearance must be made available. By established pollution, the culprit will be tracked and held liable. Priority gets the tackling of poisoned residential quarters.

- * The Waddenzee becomes a protected nature reserve. All local military activities will be stopped immediately.

- * Nature and environment education will be integrated on schools. In the vocational training ecologically well-considered working will be introduced in the syllabus and examprograms.

AGRICULTURE

- * Extensify and decrease the cost of labour (through burdenshifting) should give the employment a positive impetus.

- * Structural surplusses of agricultural products could be prevented by extensifying, and where possible in combination with a quota system.

- * Notably for small farmers, the market gives insufficiently security. In addition to the quota system extra income allowances will be provided, which can complete the income from the sale of products, if and when necessary.

- * In a longer term a different, more justified and responsible policy for the agricultural and food sector will be achieved by an integrated introduction of differentiating prices for the agriculture, linked to production ceilings per company and per product. That's how overproduction is reduced and the farmer can count on reasonable rewards for his work.

- * For the off-shore fishing a quota system is introduced as well. By consequence overfishing is limiting and the position of small fishermen protected.

- * After the introduction of the fifth EEC-directive equal treatment for men and women, in which the position of working spouses is regulated, measures are to be taken for its compliance, so that woman farmers also really get their rights.

- * Ecologic and integrated agriculture (less or no fertilizers and pesticides at all, a lower produce per ha, but also lower costs) should be stimulated, instead of fallow of the poorest grounds and a still intensiver use of good soil. Therefore a tax on fertilizers, pesticides and concentrate is introduced.

A fund will become available for farmers that wish to switch over to environment sound agriculture. Investigation, education and information will spend more attention to environment sound culture-methods such as prevention, biological and integrated combat.

The arable farming needs to be reviewed. The market directed policy of price decreases must be replaced by cost-effective prices, linked to a production limitation.

- * The intensive cattle breeding should be bound to drastic lowered norms for the numbers of pigs, calves and chickens per square meter.

- * The application of biotechnologic innovations in favour of the agriculture

should be linked to a strict licence system. Very strict directives will be issued against the, by means of genetical manipulation, degeneration and degradation of animals. The first five years no open-field experiments are to be held with plants whose genes are manipulated. Patenting on gene-manipulated life is unacceptable. The ancient plant breeders' right should be maintained.

* Animal experiments are limited to these experiments that are indispensable for the public health. They only take place under restricted conditions. For every experiment a licence has to be obtained. The use of animals for experiments will be forced back through international agreements of the recognition of the investigation data. The breeding of experiment animals should be solely done by public enterprises; they are not to be exported.

* A better law for the well-being of animals is necessary. A policy for the admission of new production-systems is needed. Batteries, keeping boxed calves, the breeding of fur animals, putting sows on chains, hunting for pleasure and other forms of animal maltreatment become prohibited. The (inter)national transport of animals (for slaughtering) should be subjected to strict rules and limited as much as possible. Import of fodder from the Third World countries will be pushed back. Herefor farmers and women farmers in the Third World are compensated, creating the possibility of growing food for their own population. Local grain and gras vegetation will be used as fodder.

* The Netherlands should stimulate the production of wood and fibre varieties within de EC. The import of tropical hardwood will be forbidden, unless it is absolutely irreplaceable.

PEACE, SECURITY, DEVELOPMENT AND SOLIDARITY

Armscontrol, armslimitation and disarmament are essential conditions for peace and security. These also create the conditions for social-economic justice and and promote a sound environment (stop nuclear tests and limiting the waste of energy and raw materials). The combat of the worldwide declination of the environment and reducing the wide gap between the rich countries and the developping countries is just as necessary, so as we can speak about peace. The Brundtlandreport "Our common future" of the United Nations has emphasized patently obvious the connetion between all these points.

The policy regarding peace and security has been put too often till today in the light of "military defence". In passing by the positive developments in Eastern Europe (diffentiation, democratization, armsreduction) the West still continues its old pattern. Against the alternatives and the resistance of the paecemovement NATO takes the lead in a new arms round: the modernization of short range nuclear weapons. GROEN LINKS oppposes this development forcefully: the "Cold War" is definitely finished!

We argue for taking measures that enlarge the basis for detente and close relations. Initiatives for East-West cooperation in the fields of economy, culture, environment and strenghtening human rights. Initiatives directed towards further going democratization in East- and West-Europe and aimed at the termination of a divided Europe, on basis of the agreements of Helsinki. Common security must be grafted on a social and not on a military basis. Dutch politics should aim at the elimination of both of the military power blocks: NATO and Warsaw Pact. Therefore we look for close relations with East-European countries.

Foreign policy should be directed towards the cooperation with neutral, non-aligned countries, followed by the withdrawal of NATO and WEU as its consequence.

The army as it is today does not fit in with the security policy of GROEN LINKS. It will have to be transformed into an organisation with assignments that really contribute to peace and security on a national, European and world wide level. Examples of such assignments are UN-peace-missions and bringing the army into action at calamities.

GROEN LINKS wants on top of it:

- * A systematic decrease in the budget of defence.
- * Formation of peace funds.
- * No modernization of the nuclear short range weapons, no replacement for the Lance-rockets.
- * Dutch effort for the total removal of all nuclear weapons in the world.
- * The disposition of nuclear assignments for the Dutch Army, all nuclear weapons outof the Neteherlands.
- * Not any new ("conventional") weaponsystems but a drastic decrease in the existing conventional armament.
- * Putting a stop to the production of arms and export of arms and a change over to civil production. Prohibition of production, possession and export of nuclear, bacteriologic and chemical weapons.
- * The combat of initiatives directed towards European nuclear power or other forms of integrated Westeuropean defence.
- * Not any participation in foreign military interventions and practices (NATO

and WEU), or granting facilities to that extent.

* No training of foreign military staff in Holland and vice versa. The withdrawal of Dutch troops from West Germany. The withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Netherlands.

* Not any expansion of military practice areas; change existing military practice areas into large units of scenery and/or national parks.

* A prohibition for Dutch investigation centres to investigate in the military scope (a.o. SDI).

* Resumption of -recently stopped- research of social defence. Forms of social defence should be experimented into practice.

* Duration of replacing military service is just as long as compulsory military service. Every appeal to the Act Conscientious Objectors should be granted.

* Not any propaganda and recruiting for the army and no military shows.

* Full rehabilitation for the conscientious objectors during the Dutch military intervention in the formerly Dutch Indies.

* Structural policies for men and women to encounter sexual harassment in the army, in cooperation with the Foundation Army and Homosexuality and other organisations working in the field.

EUROPE

The economic integration, which is still limited to the countries of West Europe, will have to be better than it is till today in order to satisfy the demands for justice and democracy. Besides, the economic unification will have to be directed towards broadening, towards East-European countries as well. In this way the European Community can contribute considerably to easing off the political and military confrontation between East and West, and to the elaboration of the agreements of Helsinki.

Therefore we should prevent that the European unification develops into a West-European military block. The EEC gets no competences in the defence field and the WEU is not reanimated. Furthermore only those policy fields that need an European approach will be tilted to EEC level. This leaves the authorities room to take quicker and better measures on a national level. The European Parliament should get as soon as possible legislating and checking competences. As long this is not the case Dutch Ministers should refuse to renounce their competences. Solving the problems of the environment, the development of an European social policy, limiting the overproduction in the agriculture and the expansion of economic, social and cultural agreements with the East-European countries should take first priorities for the EEC according to us.

The cooperation between East and West will not only be formed on a political level: information contacts too amongst civilians and organisations from both blocks constitute an important contribution to the process of detente and demolition of "enemy-thinking". That is why such contacts have to be promoted and stimulated.

The loss of internal borders may not lead to a tightening up of the immigration policy at the external borders for immigrants. The agreement of Schengen in regard to the limitation of immigrants will not be signed. Instead the Netherlands will work for an ample admittance policy.

DEVELOPMENT AID

The situation in many of the so-called developing countries is explosive. Many countries - situated in Africa, Central and South America - struggle with sky high inflation and debt problems. Where the IMF and Worldbank offer help a high price has to be paid for this aid: an economical policy which often leads to the abolishment of social security for the poor, more unemployment and cuts in the education field and health services. Simultaneously by means of import limitations, taxes and quota, the borders of the western market are almost closed for finished products (such as textile and leather goods) and agricultural products of the poor. The structural inequality on world-scale is posing a threat to peace and security. On a national scale as well we find large structural inequalities in developing countries. In numerous countries the situation is deteriorating because of the extravagance and corruption of the upper ten. Their priority - building a modern economy with expensive technologies - fits the cap of the multinationals very well, but benefits mainly the high society themselves.

Not only the industrialised countries are presented with the bill of the pollution of the environment, the Third World countries are victimised as well. They are being used as a dumping place for chemical and nuclear waste by the North. Yet another threat poses the big scale erosion, caused by deforestation and the wrong use of the soil. So, in the foreign policy and development aid the recovery of a sound environment should have high priority.

Development aid should be directed towards breaking down the differences in the economic power between countries. They should be aiming at the needs of the people and strengthen the democracy and human rights, at a common approach of the world wide environment problems and at the improvement of the position of women.

Often one gets the impression that there is nothing but misery in the Third World countries. In spite of the poverty a lot of initiatives bloom. They don't stand apathetic aside but they take more and more often their fate into their own hands. So the Third World countries gain room to discern their own priorities and execute their own economic and social programs. Development aid should support them in this. However, without structural changes development aid is no more than a drop on a hot plate.

Therefore Groen Links desires:

- * A structural decrease in the debts of the developing countries through a combination of measures:
 - support for the UNCTAD proposal to acquit the existing debt with at least 30 % to begin with for a number of countries in debt;
 - less regide plans of redemption;
 - decrease in interest;
 - indexing repayments to export income;
 - tax benefits for banks that write off faster the debts of developing countries;
 - improvement of the second hand dealing in bonds;
 - the change over of IOU's into programs of nature preservation.
- * First of all development aid should be directed at the development and improvement of a sustainable, self containing agriculture, processing their own raw materials and crops and to combat poverty. Financial and economic support aiming at the real needs and possibilities of the poor population in particular. Systematic enlargement of the active involvement of women in the development process is in the frontline.

* Reducing the roll of IMF and Worldbank in favour of (new) UN organisations in which the developing countries have more say. Decision making should start from the principle of parity. All countries have an equal vote. The conditions for the developing countries should be relaxed.

* Within GATT plead for a stop of the dumping of agriculture produce from the North on the markets of the developing countries.

* Limiting the power of the multinational corporations by means of investment agreements and a UN behaviour code for multinationals. Namely, agreements about working conditions, reinvestment of profits, sharing technologic know how and the international vote of employees councils.

* The Netherlands will increase their budget for development aid to 2 % of the BNP. The budget will be cleared of items that do not count as development aid. This aid is not bound. In view of the desirability of directing the aid towards the basis, the participation of non-governmental organisations such as Novib, Icco, Cebemo and Hivos will be increased.

* The Netherlands argue for the realization of raw material agreements so as to strengthen the position of the developing countries.

* Environment, peace and development policies are to be carried through the base of society. To local and provincial authorities should be given much more room in order to realize the awakening and direct involvement. In order to achieve that more money should be made available.

* Western economies have to be changed. Therefore information and formation concerning the prevailing economic conditions and a new economic world order should be stimulated. NCO (Dutch Commission on Development-cooperation) should receive therefore a considerable increase in means and should have more independent policy making power.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

In their foreign policies the Netherlands will have to promote recovery or strengthening of both the social and political basic rights of people. When possible within organisations as the UN, but also independently if and when it is necessary.

Liberation movements and opposition groups, that are directed towards stopping suppression and exploitation and the creation of a society characterized by democracy, justice and respect for human rights, the Netherlands should support with deeds.

Important priorities for Groen Links:

* Groen Links supports world wide abolishment of capital punishment.

* Apartheid in South Africa we reject sharply. We support the ANC and UDF. On our own initiative and - whenever possible - in the frame of international organisations we argue for an economic, social and cultural boycott of the apartheid-regime, such as termination of the aviation agreement, a coal boycott and a boycott of companies with investments in South Africa. South African conscious objectors should be able to count on support of the Dutch Embassy; Dutchmen that enter the South African Army should taken away their Dutch nationality from them.

* Support the frontline states and the battle of Swapo for a democratic and independent Namibia.

- * The Netherlands must recognize the Palestinian State, as proclaimed by the PLO. We argue for an international conference in which all involved will participate, the PLO inclusive as representative of the Palestinian people. The purpose of this conference should be a peace agreement, which leads, on the basis of the recognition of the right of existence of both states, to secured and recognised borders for Israel and the future Palestinian State.
- * The entry of Turkey to the EEC we reject because of the continuation of the violation of human rights in that country.
- * Groen Links opposes the oppression of the Kurds in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. The Kurdian people must decide themselves about their future.
- * Owing to the long years of violation of human rights in Indonesia we argue for postponement of the development aid to that country in the frame of IGGI. We are for independency for East-Timor and Irian Jaya.
- * Resume recovery payments to Suriname via non-governmental organisations. No development aid as long as the roll of the army has not been repressed.
- * Recognition of the right of the Dutch Antillen and Aruba to decide about their own future. Support for their social, economic, culture and political development in the perspective of their independency.
- * Abolishment of the visum duty and residence limitation of Surinamers.
- * The Sandinistic Government of Nicaragua is now under heavy pressure of the U.S.A. in particular. The peace negotiations of the Contadora Group in Central America should powerfully be supported. The people of Nicaragua deserve our solidarity. Military interventions, openly or covertly, as well as economic punitive measurements are sharply to be rejected.

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