

Beginselfprogramma

Platform of Principles

Grundsatz~programm

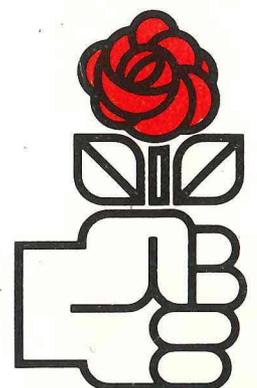
Projet Politique

Partij van de Arbeid

Dutch Labour Party

Partei der Arbeit

Parti Socialiste de Pays Bas



The Partij van de Arbeid:

Platform of principles

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Part I

The social background

1. In order to survive

For the first time in history the human race is confronted by a number of crucial problems which must be solved if it is to survive.

At the same time:

- knowledge, labour, capital and raw materials are unequally distributed;
- there are no guarantees of sufficient production and, above all, fair distribution of food for the rapidly growing world population;
- the gap between rich and poor in the world is widening;
- increasing production and consumption in the rich countries has unacceptable effects on the natural and human environment and leads to the exhaustion of raw materials;
- to meet their ever-increasing needs, the rich countries are turning to nuclear energy, the dangers of which have been insufficiently investigated and which puts at risk both the present and future generations;
- the arms race continues, both between the Eastern and Western power blocs and elsewhere, despite the fact that existing armaments are enough to destroy life on earth many times over;
- exploitation, lack of freedom and discrimination occur in large parts of the world.

Not all of these problems threaten the future of the human race, but most of them are interrelated. Moreover, it is the quality of life which is at stake. A society in which many lead a life deprived of human dignity is unacceptable.

These developments, which are world-wide, are relatively new and hard to control because for many years an unlimited faith in the beneficial effects of economic growth prevailed.

Both socialists and liberals long regarded such growth as the perfect remedy for practically every problem. Nowadays, however, we are beginning to realize that economic growth cannot solve the problems of the distribution of wealth and welfare and indeed creates new problems. In this context it is no exaggeration to speak of a new crisis in capitalism.

2. Western capitalism

The beneficial effect of economic growth was always one of the basic tenets of capitalism. At first it was also thought that growth would be best stimulated by giving economic processes a free rein: the less one interfered, the better things would be. Free competition in a free market was the slogan.

Problems of general concern did not need immediate attention because free competition would bring progress. Society would be best served by the unhindered working of the law of supply and demand. Why should the interests of different groups in society be weighed and balanced in a process of political decision-making? Economic processes would take care of that.

The effect in practice, however, was that the only ones to benefit were those who, because of what they owned, were able to participate in competitive free enterprise. So the capitalist system has always been characterized by the following:

- private ownership and control of the means of production;
 - the existence of classes with opposing interests;
 - decisions affecting the running of businesses, for example investment, being in the hands of a small group of investors and managers;
 - a management policy which gives higher priority to the profit on capital
- 4.

invested than to the social value of the goods produced, the consequences for society at large, or the welfare of employees.

- distribution of goods according to supply and demand, regardless of need.

Thanks to the growth of trade union organizations and socialist parties changes in this system have been made. In a long hard struggle the government and the owning classes have been forced step by step to concede various rights. Dire poverty and serious material deprivation have been conquered - at least in this country. Several countries in the West have built up an elaborate system of social security, and government involvement in the economy has greatly increased. Capitalism has assumed the characteristics of a mixed economy, in which the government attempts to guide and correct the operations of free enterprise with the aid of a whole range of measures. As a result the traditional division into two classes has also changed considerably.

In time however it became apparent that it was more difficult to control the production process than many, including democratic socialists, had assumed. The expectation that the drawbacks of capitalism could be compensated for by combining it with a system of social security and redistribution was disappointed. The capitalist system of production continued to be based on the efforts of individual enterprises to increase their profits and investments.

In addition, there were new developments after the Second World War. Advances in technology led to a vast increase in the scale of operations accompanied by the concentration of economic power in a small number of gigantic concerns which have outgrown national frontiers.

By the nature of its involvement with the economy, the government also shares the responsibility for this tendency towards concentration in ever larger units. Government policy was often general in character, and this was reflected in general measures. It is only in recent years that it has become increasingly clear that policy should be selective and specific, in other words a policy which intervenes in the operations of free competition.

The multinational companies control world markets and have at their disposal a large share of the available technical and scientific knowledge. They can evade control by national governments and trade unions are powerless against them. They have their own resources to finance investment and this only adds to their lack of accountability. Furthermore, they often work closely with multinational banking concerns, which in turn have a great influence on many multinationals, take decisions affecting national economies, and carry on their operations aimed at profit and expansion without any form of public accountability.

The result of all these developments is that the system of free competition which even today is still admired by some, no longer in fact exist. There is only a limited amount of competition and the law of supply and demand does not work unimpeded. What was formerly a theory which in practice turned out to be false is now little more than a defence of the interests of the large companies.

What are the characteristic features of the present economic situation?

- By their domination of world markets, the multinational concerns can fix their own prices for their products, create their own markets, and put pressure on governments. Their primary concern is to safeguard their own continued existence and growth, by doing which they contribute to inflation.

- Consumption of energy and raw materials is stimulated and no account is taken of the fact that they may soon be exhausted.
- It is the affluent countries which are the main beneficiaries of this growth; new forms of colonial exploitation are created. Labour-intensive industries are transferred to the poorer countries, not to aid their development but to take advantage of lower wages.
- The profit resulting from the enlarged scale of economic operations does not lead to increased employment because workers are continually being replaced by machines.
- The large production units are gigantic and anonymous in character. Mechanization and mass production mean that work now bears little relation to the individual employee's talents or ambitions. The level of education continues to rise but the available work gets more and more soul-destroying and there is no question of industrial democracy or participation. The result is more alienation than ever; people have no sense of involvement with their work and this is reflected in the rising numbers taking sick-leaves or becoming unfit for work.
- The tendency towards concentration in ever larger units is also seen in the news media and in cultural and recreational activities. This can easily lead to cultural erosion and impoverishment.
- The traditional small and medium-size businesses cannot compete with the efficiency and productive capacity of large companies. Some of the former are threatened with extinction and others have become largely dependent on the large companies and banks.
- Economic growth depends on excessive consumption. This is encouraged by constant changes of products offered (which are often little or no different from those previously available) and by reduced durability and advertising which exploits the traditional role of women.
- The combination of all these factors makes it inevitable that the realization of the political ideals of democratic socialism will take time. The strong still enjoy advantages over the weak and the individual still has virtually no opportunities for self development and expression. There is hardly any attempt to strike a balance between the interests of different groups in society; the influence of the consumer is limited, while production and consumption are not related to the limits to growth, let alone to a more just distribution of welfare and well being in the world.

3. Old and new class conflict

These developments within the capitalist system have had a significant effect on the traditional division of society into classes. The distinction between capital and labour is still valid as regards dividing the fruits of production, who runs the business and the consequences of company policy for society at large. It is still the case that capital employs labour, instead of vice versa. But distinguishing between capital and labour is clearly an inadequate method of obtaining an accurate picture of the structure of society. Those who divide the world into capitalists and workers are left with many groups who do not fit into either category. Moreover, there are differences within the group which provides the capital and within that which provides labour which manifest themselves in ever-changing ways.

Take the example of a businessman. He may be a shopkeeper or the head of a multinational, and there is a world of difference between the two.

Many supposedly independent enterprises have in fact been forced by competition to give up their independence. The running of their businesses is in many ways decided by the major suppliers and banks. Small shopkeepers and farmers are often among the lowest paid.

At the same time the situation as regards big business is not entirely straightforward. The cartoon showing a fat boss with a cigar confronting the clenched fist of the worker has an effect on us, just because it reflects a bygone age. In a company it is no longer exclusively the "owner" who calls the tune. A new group of managers has come into being who run day to day business.

This is not of course to say that there has been any fundamental change in the aims of the business, but it does mean that those who own the capital are no longer the only ones with an interest in upholding these aims.

In industry and commerce, and in the civil service, there are large groups of highly educated people who can be regarded as forming a new élite. They are often university graduates and have good salaries. While they do not have the final decision they are involved in the decision-making process. They remain wage-earners of course and often have no more say in their working situation than an unskilled worker. Nonetheless, this new élite, with their comfortable incomes, often work in much more pleasant conditions and thus have an interest in maintaining the existing system.

So all wage-earners cannot be regarded as belonging in all respects to the same group. As the role of science and technology continues to grow, level of education becomes increasingly important. The social contrast between those who have had the privilege of higher education and those who have not is very great, and only sharpened by far-reaching systems of salary differences and small privileges.

A sharp line divides the economically active from the non-active regardless of class or status. Yet there can be no question of a real conflict of interests between the two groups, if only because no one can be certain of his continued ability to work and very few have absolute job security. More and more people are finding themselves without a job. The causes are increases in the tempo and intensity of work, take-overs and reorganizations, and the replacement of people by machines. Consequently many people are dependent on redundancy payments or other allowances the costs of which must be borne by a steadily shrinking working population. In almost every case the allowance means a lower income, and, much worse, a loss of social contacts. This is because of the tendency in our society to value people for their economic contributions almost to the exclusion of all else.

People who have been thrown out of work often quickly get the feeling that they no longer "belong"; they lose their self respect. This leads to the threat of conflict arising between the economically active and the non-active.

A full wage packet and freedom from want are not the only important things. Not all society's problems derive from the economic system and the roles that people have in it. Within groups which form a social-economic unit a whole range of unfair differences can be found. The fact that people are treated differently depending on their race, sex, nationality or beliefs cannot be blamed simply and solely on the economic system, although it is true that within capitalism these differences do take on a particular importance. The position of women in society is an obvious example.

The subjugation of woman is apparent in the norms and attitudes which determine her role and which are not easily changed. Their influence is generally hidden, but occasionally quite open, as in social legislation. It is not generally accepted that a woman should choose to combine a career with having children, or prefer not to have any for the sake of her career. The main purpose of her life is still thought to be looking after others either inside or outside the family. People find it hard to 7.

imagine that a woman might be able to do some things (e.g. be a manager) better than a man. She is supposed to lack qualities required. Women are thought to be emotional and intuitive, in contrast to men, who are said to arrive at their decisions rationally and display self-control and toughness.

The effects of these norms and attitudes are not of course restricted to an isolated area outside the economy. The economic system reinforces and exploits the traditional allocation of roles within the family. The man is able to go out to work partly of discrimination against women, since his wife provides unpaid care and attention for him.

Nonetheless, this situation cannot be fully understood if it is viewed only in terms of economics. All kinds of human relations also play a role, and can in turn affect the economic process.

So, while economic measures such as equal pay and a fair division of labour between men and women are necessary, they are not in themselves enough to put an end to the exploitation of women.

Radical changes are needed in the norms and values which both women and men associate with certain roles. In our society pride of place is given to supposedly male virtues (rationality, initiative, achievement, competitiveness) supposedly female virtues (intuition, caring and kind-heartedness) are lauded but valued less highly. The women's movement is a fight against not only material neglect and discrimination but also the imposition of stereotyped roles. Men will have to surrender their ascendancy, but at the same time they will be free of the limitations imposed in turn by their traditional role. The women's movement has helped democratic socialism towards the rediscovery that the struggle for a better society is at once a economic and a cultural struggle.

While the traditional idea of two opposing classes may fail to explain all inequality and discrimination, there is still plenty of class struggle to be waged. The alliance between socialism and organized labour will continue to be relevant as long as capital and labour are on different sides. However, the effects of our economic system, the major aims of which are still more profit and larger markets, are less and less restricted to the production process itself. As a result of the growth of ever larger economic units, they are felt in almost every sector of society. The natural environment, education and culture, people are all affected. So the struggle for socialism is not limited to the traditional working classes, but is valid for all who are aware of or experience the harmful effects of our socio-economic system. The aim is a democratic system of production and provision of services and the abolition of all forms of inequality, subjugation and discrimination.

The decision to take part in this struggle is no longer based solely on the individual's economic situation. Increasingly his or her political stance is in part determined by new attitudes to international solidarity, diminishing natural resources, and the attempt to humanize relationships at home and at work. Many people whose own economic position is not threatened choose to take an active part in the new class struggle against the established powers. This can be seen in the women's movement, environmental action groups and radical movements within the churches. The battle for a more just society is being fought on several fronts at once.

4. North-South and East-West relations

Democratic socialists are not only concerned with a more just society in their own country. From its origins socialism has been an international movement and one of its aims has always been to change relations in society on a world scale. Otherwise, the concerns of socialism would quickly be reduced to a kind of self-defence of the rich countries in the West.

It is particularly in these countries that democratic socialist ideas have found acceptance and a high level of affluence has gradually been reached, thanks in part to and at the expense of the poorer countries.

The widening gap between the rich and poor countries has given the relation between North and South more political significance in comparison with East-West relations. The rich countries have the knowledge and the know-how, the power and the arms, the capital and the affluence, the trade contacts and the means of distribution. They take advantage of a lead over others built up over centuries and are guided by their own interests.

It is true that these days there is a greater understanding of the situation of developing countries. But the help offered in various ways remains totally inadequate. To make matters worse, this help often does not reach those most in need of it - the poorest groups in the poor countries. This is partly due to the fact that in these countries élite groups who are barely subject to any form of control use development aid to strengthen their own positions. At the same time multinationals exploit the cheap labour while siphoning off the profits from the poor countries.

The only countries who can do anything to improve their plight are either those who possess valuable raw materials and can join forces (OPEC), or those who are big and strong enough to go it alone (China). The outlook for the others is so bleak that acts of desperation are quite conceivable. Those with nothing to lose can afford to take large risks.

Both Russia and America belong to the rich countries of the world, and both the East and West try to protect their wealth, although this common concern has not put an end to the political confrontation between them. East-West relations have for years been marked by the growth of blocs and a senseless arms race. Within the Eastern bloc this leads to the continued denial of freedom in all kinds of ways and to Russian domination. Within the Western bloc undemocratic regimes are supported and democratic governments overthrown in the name of defending freedom, and the power politics of the United States are accepted without criticism.

The nature of the East-West relation makes impossible a common approach to the major world problems. Both East and West even use the poor countries as a place to extend their politics of confrontation by other means. In this way the most urgent problem facing humanity remains unsolved; not even the most elementary principles of the just society are satisfied.

Part II

Principles

1. Equality and solidarity

Democratic socialists condemn the existing inequality in the world. It is unacceptable to them that there are rich and poor countries and that within the same country there are great differences in standards of living. They proceed from the idea that human beings are all equal and so their aim is equality between countries, between groups and between people. The struggle for equality is a socialist principle.

Inequality takes many forms. The political programme of socialists is directed towards the eradication of all forms of inequality in society. For example, democratic socialists aim to put an end to:

- the concentration of economic power in the hands of a "happy" few;
- material and cultural class barriers which determine the kind of life a large majority of people lead from the cradle to the grave;
- the lack of equality in the rights of men and women;
- a situation in which people are continually exploited to serve commercial interests instead of being offered an opportunity to develop a sense of independence and social responsibility.

There are people who accept inequality because they regard it as natural or inevitable or because they profit by it. Others condemn inequality but do not believe that it will ever be possible to create a new society. Democratic socialists believe that it is possible to change the economic and social situation. Socialism would never have existed without this belief and it is what unites socialists.

Socialists aim to bring the play of social forces under control. If these forces are left unchecked, the strong will get stronger and the weak weaker. These forces are at work in the economy, but also in other fields such as the use of natural resources and health care systems. The theory of socialism helps us to understand the nature of these forces and gives us a strategy and a method for controlling them.

The changes we desire will not come automatically; they will have to be fought for. The fight will be directed against the present situation and against each individual's tendency to perpetuate it. The principle of equality and insight into the possibility of change only begins to offer the prospect of a new society when there is clearly a readiness to make sacrifices.

Without solidarity the principle of equality is worth no more than the paper on which it is written and the possibility of change is no more than a theory. In concrete terms solidarity means that democratic socialists commit their efforts to the removal of the barriers wherever they are found which are the cause in practice of inequality between people.

2. The goal of the struggle

The aim of democratic socialism is a redistribution of knowledge, labour, income and power in such a way that everyone is given the chance for independent and free self-development. Democratic socialists are committed to achieving a society in which the quality of life is equal for all.

Socialists believe that such a society will encourage the development of those qualities which unite people. The climate will favour solidarity between people instead of competition in the form of envy and attempts to gain advantages on the part of individuals or groups while others suffer deprivation. At present society could in no way be described as a democratic socialist one, and certainly not in the world at large. If a serious effort is to be made to achieve such a society it is essential that there be solidarity with and between the oppressed and the underprivileged in our country and elsewhere.11.

Socialists, who reject capitalism as firmly as state socialism, will have to be especially careful not to allow the freedom and prosperity of a few, particular groups or nationalities, to grow at the expense of those of others. The principles of democratic socialism must not be turned into a sort of ideological defence of the existing balance of power or the present privileged position of the affluent West.

We are thus faced with a number of difficult choices. Redistribution of knowledge, labour, income and power will involve radical changes. Even if for the time being we limit the aims of redistribution to ensuring that all the world's population is able to enjoy the basic necessities of life, sacrifices will have to be made by everyone in our country. Our freedom (to consume more and more, for example) will have to be subordinated to the effort to achieve greater equality in the world as a whole. As far as democratic socialists are concerned, there is no point in talking about freedom, unless by that we genuinely mean the freedom of everyone. On this point freedom, equality and solidarity are bound together inextricably.

3. Natural resources are not inexhaustible

Democratic socialism's call for solidarity applies not only to those suffering oppression at the present time. Increasingly we will have to take into account the interests of those whose voices are not yet heard: the future generations. It is they who are threatened by continued economic growth in the present form, which has too heavy an impact on the natural world and so reduces humanity's chances of survival.

Here again we may be presented with difficult choices. Our responsibility to the future and the policy resulting from our awareness of it may conflict with traditional socialist ideals. It is possible that a conflict might arise, for example, if the people in a worker-controlled factory felt that their interests were threatened by decisions taken centrally for the protection of the environment.

4. Power and democratization

In addition to redistribution of knowledge, labour and income, the aims of democratic socialism include redistribution of power. It calls for reform in such a way that people can freely decide what the structure of society shall be and can be free of fear and guilt in their behaviour towards each other. When people are equal and independent in their relations with each other, they will have more opportunities to show solidarity.

- In the past some socialists thought that public ownership of the means of production would be enough to make possible the decisive step towards a new society. Others put their faith in universal suffrage and parliamentary democracy. We know now that neither alternative is sufficient. Redistribution of power requires democratization at all levels.

- The parliamentary system, with an elected head of state, should be extended and strengthened.

- The inequality in how much control people have over economic factors, which resulted from capitalism and industrialization, must be removed: the demand for democracy and humanization in industry, business and government service has never been more relevant.

- At the same time the call for fundamental democracy also applies to human

relations. The hierarchical and élitist relationships which are maintained and reinforced by capitalism have no justification. In this connection the movement for equal rights for women is a socialist movement.

Humanization and democratization are prerequisites for the creation of a society in which each individual has a proper share of responsibility.

We must beware of creating new inequalities in power as a result of socialist measures.

5. A just devision of labour

Work is an irreplaceable part of human life. By means of work the individual contributes to the growth and structure of society. In a system of production dominated by the urge for profit and continually expanding markets labour is unfairly allocated, both as regards its quantity and nature. Some are overburdened, while others are thrown out of the labour market against their will. Still others are condemned for ever to do work which does more to hinder the development of their talents than to encourage it.

The various kinds of work must be fairly divided among those who are able to work. Everyone should receive his or her share of unpaid work and of work which, though generally regarded as unpleasant, is socially necessary. In return for this everyone should also have the opportunity to do work which provides personal fulfillment and an independent income. Within these limits personal preference and natural ability should be taken into account.

Part III

Political programme

1. The system of production

a. Starting point

The gap between rich and poor in the world is widening; there is more hunger, poverty and illiteracy than ever before. The contrast between the want suffered by two-thirds of humanity and the relative wealth of the remainder is becoming more and more pronounced.

But the rich countries are also facing mounting problems: the level of unemployment is unacceptably high; pollution of the environment increases and there is the threat of natural resources running out.

Yet it is the poor countries which suffer most from rising unemployment and price increases. As the supply of raw materials dries up, there is a danger that the development of these countries will come to a halt.

We cannot tolerate a situation in which the poorer countries and the future generations are the victims. This is why a new national and international economic order must be established to guarantee a better future for humanity. Greater equality in international affairs must go hand in hand with greater equality and democracy within national frontiers.

b. Objectives

In order to bring real change in the present situation, the PvdA is committed to establishing a new economic order, internationally as well as nationally, in which:

- hunger, illiteracy and exploitation are banished;
- production is primarily aimed to meet social needs;
- labour is fairly shared and humanely organized, based on a new attitude to labour;
- incomes are distributed more equally and wealth more fairly;
- the equilibrium between man and nature is safeguarded.

c. Programme points

To bring about a fair redistribution world wide the PvdA advocates:

- increased food production, especially in developing countries, and distribution of food according to need;
- the implementation of an active population policy as part of a balanced development programme;
- guarantees of the right of everyone in the world to exist, if necessary at the expense of economic growth in the rich countries;
- development aid designed to put an end to all forms of colonialism and exploitation without negatively affecting the position of women;
- giving developing countries the opportunity to concentrate on producing, processing and transporting their own natural resources and to make their own decisions as to the structure of their socio-economic systems;
- a fairer division of the proceeds by means of international agreements on natural resources;
- the establishment of international control over the development and supply of energy sources;
- the setting of limits to the consumption of raw materials and energy in the rich countries and acceptance of limits to consumption;
- making multinational corporations accountable to the democratic political process;
- a gradual change from armament-producing industry to production for peaceful ends.

To achieve a situation in which production is primarily intended to fulfill social needs the PvdA sets as its aims:

- public ownership of basic industries, banks, pension funds, insurance companies, the pharmaceutical and armaments industries and other enterprises to the extent that they stand in the way of the objectives listed above;
- government support and development of industry in sectors and areas where there is a social need for the product and private enterprise is no longer able or willing to undertake production;
- a coordinated policy towards industrial production, investment and location based on a democratically determined development plan;
- democratic control of production and distribution to ensure the achievement of the goals put forward;
- active involvement of the consumer in establishing the aims of production and encouragement for consumer organizations.

We recognize everyone's right to work. To divide labour more fairly and organize it with greater respect for human dignity the PvdA calls for:

- regional distribution of industry and services;
- sharing of the available work between the men and women who are able to work; a gradual shortening of the working day and afterwards of the working week; the creation of part-time jobs; voluntary early retirement;
- recognition of household and voluntary work as productive and socially valuable labour;
- the creation of conditions in which the members of the household can share housework;
- the integration of women in the labour force under the same conditions as men, and with paid maternity leave;
- the right to paid leave for those who have to look after another member of the household who is ill;
- allocation of unpleasant work in such a way that no one has to do it for very long;
- expansion of vocational training and retraining, especially for women;
- application of those forms of technology which offer people the best opportunity to develop their abilities and increase their enjoyment of work;
- incentives and support for small business and services;
- self-determination in the private and public sectors within the limits of planning laid down by parliament.

To achieve greater equality in incomes and a fairer distribution of wealth the PvdA is in favour of:

- making all incomes a matter of public knowledge;
- far-reaching reductions in the differences between salaries to be achieved by establishing a minimum basic income which could only be exceeded on the basis of additional allowances up to a stipulated maximum according to specific criteria (e.g. unpleasant work, long working hours);
- the establishment of a maximum level for private wealth or at the least fair redistribution by means of tax and a levy on excess profits;
- control of the large incomes and capital resources of a few and their resulting power by a coherent incomes policy and social integration and democratizing of capital and industry;
- tax and social benefits to be based on the individual instead of the family, so that the widow's pension, for example, would be replaced by an allowance for the person left to care for a family alone.

To safeguard a proper balance between man and nature the PvdA sets as its aims:

- to encourage a way of life which is more careful and more economical in its use of nature, raw materials and energy;
- the production of goods which are durable and not damaging to the environment;
- recycling of raw materials and the development of alternative sources of energy;
- to stop further expansion of the use of nuclear energy until all danger to present and future generations can be prevented;
- a proper balance in each region between economic development, the quality of life and conservation of the natural environment;
- explicit recognition of the importance of agriculture for balanced and livable natural surroundings;
- an agricultural policy which offers farmers a good living and decent working conditions as the producers of food, raw materials, and luxury and decorative products, and ensures that land and other resources are used economically and that the growth of the bio-industry is halted.

2. International relations

a. Starting point

Besides being unjust, the world is unsafe and certain to remain so as long as no new economic order is established. The rich are strong, the poor weak, and conflicts can be found everywhere. Raw materials, knowledge, capital and labour are unfairly distributed. This can be the cause of both small and major wars, one of the most striking examples being the cruel war waged by America in Vietnam.

Despite certain interests in common the affluent nations are divided among themselves: on one side the (neo)capitalistic systems in the West, and on the other the state bureaucracies in the East. Both camps protect themselves by using military and economic power politics and compete in an ever-accelerating arms race. This brings the danger of war, which may involve nuclear weapons.

The strategy of deterrence has led to the creation of a stockpile of armaments sufficient to destroy humanity many times over. This applies particularly to nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. The use of such weapons either for attack or defence would be unacceptable and pointless. They offer no protection to friend or foe. Every threat of war and every outbreak of fighting presents a danger to the continued existence of the human race because of the risk of escalation.

For this reason the strategy of deterrence has been obsolete for years. From now on for the sake of the preservation of humanity non-military means of achieving aims, such as negotiation, and political and economic action, will have to be further developed.

b. Objectives

To change this situation the PvdA has as its goal a new international order in which:

- the world is no longer divided into the economically strong and the weak;
- man's fundamental political, social and economic rights are respected in full everywhere;
- there is an end to colonialism, dictatorship, racism. discrimination and exploitation;
- a stable situation of peace and security is created and the obsolete system

of mutual deterrence is replaced by one in which all states cooperate on a basis of equality and proceed to disarm;

- the easing of tension between states also applies to relations between nations and between the people in any one country.

c. Programme points

To realize these objectives the PvdA calls for the following in relation to international organizations:

- the according of democratically controlled, supranational powers to the United Nations so that this organization will be the primary means of ensuring peace, security and social justice;
- the disbanding of military power blocs such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact and their replacement by a comprehensive security system not employing nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, and, in the mean time, gradual reductions in armaments;
- European cooperation and reform of the economic system in a socialist sense, for example, strengthening of the anti-cartel policy of the EEC to prevent multinational companies from acquiring control of their markets; development aid without strings from the EEC countries to diminish the influence of Western business concerns on developing nations; the closest coordination within the EEC of environmental measures, subsidies, tax arrangements and help for development areas to prevent multinationals from playing off one national government against another.

As regards the attitude taken by the Netherlands to international organizations, this means that:

- the tasks and powers of European institutions can only be expanded if democratic participation and control within the EEC is guaranteed;
- within international organizations the Netherlands will cooperate with countries with similar aims so that together they can act as a group with common aspirations;
- organized cooperation with all underprivileged groups, peoples and countries regardless of power blocs will be strengthened.

As regards development aid by the Netherlands, the PvdA takes the view that:

- in the first place aid must be directed at the poorest groups in the population of the Third World, in the form of both relieving immediate need and promoting a structural improvement in their position;
- secondly, development aid should be designed to enable the recipient countries to become independent;
- in our own country we must set in motion a process whereby everyone will be made aware of the consequences which a new international economic order will have for his or her actions;
- campaigns against exploitation and oppression of the Third World should be supported; exchanges of information and culture with all countries of the world, particularly with those of the Third World, on an equal basis should be promoted.

As far as the activities of the PvdA as a political party are concerned, the above leads to an unequivocal choice for:

- strengthening of the Socialist International so that a programme for a new world order can be drawn up;
- close cooperation with parties and movements working for socialist forms

of society;

- support for the formation of a socialist party at the European level and for a programme embodying the objectives formulated here;
- commitment to the fight, together with the international trade union movement, against the powers which stand in the way of a just sharing of prosperity and welfare in the world.

3. The citizen and his government

a. Starting point

There is a high degree of alienation between the citizen and the government. Government bodies are seen as impersonal powers confronting people rather than as the providers of services and institutions in which they have some say.

Enormous international bureaucracies (e.g. the EEC) have come into being which are subject to inadequate or negligible democratic controls. At the national level it is also increasingly difficult to exercise such control. The term 'the fourth power in the state' is used to refer to the influence which the civil service has on the decisions of the executive and legislative powers, i.e. those who bear the political responsibility. We are even seeing the emergence of a 'fifth power' constituted by the maze of advisory bodies which are acquiring a firm grip on government policy.

These factors combine to thwart democratic control of government. Moreover, the representative bodies are not properly equipped to provide responsible opposition. The parties and other political organizations can only cope with these problems to a limited extent, partly because very few people actively participate in their activities.

This situation faces democratic socialism with a difficult dilemma. Democratic socialists strive to correct the existing unequal distribution of power, for example in the economy. The most important instrument available to the community for this purpose is the government. More control by the community on the economic balance of power thus involves strengthening the power of government bodies. However, this may result in a still wider gap between the citizen and government and in the undermining in practice of the goal of democratization.

The state is never a goal in itself. In a changed society the government would still be subject to the law.

b. Objectives

In view of this situation the aim of the PvdA is to structure the government of the state in such a way that:

- administrative powers are conferred on the lowest possible level of administration which is both closest to the citizen and capable of fulfilling the resulting tasks;
- all citizens have an equal and as large as possible say in the organization of society with respect shown for the rights of minorities;
- the government derives its authority from the citizens alone and thus
 - involves them as directly as possible in the decision-making and executive processes, without excluding forms of direct democracy;
 - is accountable in all aspects to their elected representatives;
- everyone can make active use of the rights of freedom of speech, freedom of association and assembly, freedom of education and other fundamental rights;
- every form of discrimination, including that on the grounds of belief, sex, race, age, nationality or profession, are opposed;
- new safeguards are provided for the democratic and social administration of

justice.

c. Programme points

In order to give the citizen greater direct influence on government policy, the PvdA calls for:

- an electoral system which gives the voter a decisive influence on the nature and composition of the government to be installed after the elections. This can be achieved by ensuring that the parties who wish to form a coalition government publish the main points of their joint programme and describe the essence of their proposed administration before the elections. There should be no question of changes in the government without prior elections;
- abolition of the First Chamber and election of mayors and the Queen's Commissioners (Kommissarissen der Koningin) by municipal councils and the provincial assemblies respectively;
- abolition of the social and material obstacles to membership of representative bodies;
- active participation by citizens in political parties, neighbourhood or community organizations, and pressure and action groups;
- a government guarantee of the right of information and participation;
- adjusting the level at which decisions are made to the interests affected by the decisions so that, for example, decisions affecting housing and local planning can be taken at local and district levels;
- strengthening of the political influence of the regional and municipal authorities on socio-economic policy;
- democratization and rationalization of government services so that civil servants are more accountable and are themselves given a voice;
- according government employees the same democratic rights as employees in the private sector, with due regard for political responsibility.

To increase the influence of elected representatives the PvdA regards it as necessary that:

- they be adequately equipped to fulfill in practice their task of supervising the executive power;
- official documents be written in comprehensible language and in principle be made public, exceptions being made if, for example, personal matters or commercial interests are at stake;
- reports by advisory bodies be presented to the government and to parliament at the same time, including those to provincial, regional and municipal bodies.

To provide the best possible safeguards for the freedom of every citizen the PvdA calls for:

- respect for freedom of conscience and for diversity of belief and political conviction;
- government encouragement of those types of private organizations resulting from private initiative in which the members and not just the executives are involved in deciding policy;
- free and diverse information media; permanent exclusion of commercial influence on radio and television;
- protection of the citizen from arbitrary actions and abuse of power by government bodies, in particular those responsible for upholding the law;
- protection of personal privacy; public control and influence, together with control by those concerned, on the compilation and use of personal data;
- increased democratic control of the police and armed forces and social integration of these forces, which rules out the formation of a volunteer

army;

- a policy, particularly as regards penal law, which locates and combats the causes of law-breaking originating in the social structure and is at the same time aimed at more functional penalties through:
 - reducing the number of prison sentences
 - making the sentence also serve the purpose of successful rehabilitation and a new chance in society
 - penalties in forms which enable the convicted to make good as far as possible the suffering or damage caused
 - psychological and financial support for the victims of offences against the law
 - opposition to discrimination against those who have run foul of the law.
- government recognition of the right of everyone to decide for her- of himself as regards her or his own body and life, which thus means:
 - abolition of legal penalties in respect of the termination of pregnancies; legalized euthanasia at the request of the person concerned;
- support for the growing independence of minors by gradually granting rights to them according to age, and lowering of the age of majority to 18 years.
- a system of legal assistance equally available to everyone without financial or other restrictions.

4. Environmental planning and housing

a. Starting point

The free play of forces in society is decisive in determining where and how we live. One only has to look around to see to a large extent that what is built, and how and where, is decided by those with economic power. Through a range of measures (which could be better applied) the government can exert some influence on housing and the shape of the environment, but most economic activity escape all control from above. The government's lack of grip on both building and housing allocation policy also contributes to the process whereby open spaces are being filled for the benefit of those who are well off.

The result is that population, job opportunities and facilities are very unevenly distributed. People often have to make long journeys to and from their work and almost always have to travel some distance for recreation or to find a quiet spot. In the cities, the outskirts are dominated by buildings on too large a scale, while in the inner cities and the districts built in the 19th century living conditions are often primitive.

The policies of the various authorities are inadequately coordinated. Hardly anyone understands the process by which decisions are made. Not only do most of the users of an area have no say in its design, but they generally have little influence on its management. It is still the case that low income often goes together with poor housing conditions and a lack of facilities in the immediate surroundings. Furthermore, the low-income groups spend a larger part of their income on housing than the high-income groups.

Housing is a cultural factor of the first importance. Cramped living conditions prevent people from benefiting from education, material prosperity, and opportunities for self-development in the widest sense of the word, particularly for the housewife. Lack of space produces aggression. To date more attention has been paid to this phenomenon in relation to animals than to man, but it applies to both.

b. Objectives

To change this situation the PvdA sets as its aims:

- to lessen the influence of the economically powerful on the shape of the physical environment;
- to ensure that the lower paid also have decent housing;
- to coordinate the provision of the facilities essential for everyday life so that they are within reach of all;
- to conserve and restore both the natural environment and, in relation to it, the city as a residential area and centre of social and cultural life alongside the smaller communities;
- to harmonize planning policy and administrative organization at different levels;
- to guarantee the citizen a say in the design and management of his immediate living environment;
- to give all those aged 18 or over an equal right to self-contained housing which is adapted to meet their individual needs and which they can afford.

c. Programme points

To realize these aims the PvdA is in favour of bringing into being regions of equal importance by means of planning at the national level.

In these regions:

- social and cultural links would be taken into account, and population, employment opportunities and facilities would be coordinated so as to limit the need for relocation;
- wide diversity would be ensured because localities inside each region would vary in population structure, and the employment and facilities available;
- particular attention would be paid to the needs of social minorities, e.g. jobs for school-leavers and married women, and the provision of services for the aged, those living alone and the low paid;
- mobility and migration could be limited;
- care is taken to preserve both areas of natural beauty and old cultivated areas as well as buildings of cultural or historical value in old city areas.

As regards government policy, the PvdA calls for:

- bringing land into public ownership;
- care to be taken in dealing with what land is left in the Netherlands, and for land use to serve the needs of environmental policy;
- an end to the renting of housing for profit;
- local authorities to assume the task of allocating housing whether it is for purchase or for rent;
- encouragement for the establishment and continuation of small businesses and a diversified system of distribution;
- a national policy on location of businesses in which proposals would be judged in the first place according to the environmental aspects and then on their suitability to the physical setting, economic viability and so forth;
- aid for public transport, which should be improved and made free of charge; support for pedestrian and bicycle traffic and the introduction of a more selective use of cars in metropolitan areas;
- more opportunities in thinly populated areas for essential selective use of cars in addition to public transport for people who do not drive;
- control on the basis of a system of long-term planning of the location and scale of all building; this planning would closely relate environmental

policy and housing policy; the role of builders, private investors and development companies would be restricted to that of simply carrying out work; the users and the public authority would have the role of commissioning work.

To achieve these objectives the PvdA argues that:

- the management of housing and living surroundings should be changed so that management bodies are created at the district and neighbourhood level. In these bodies the inhabitants together with the government can control the shaping of their immediate environment, and from them make their contribution to planning policy at higher administrative levels;
- the legal rights of tenants and owner-occupiers of houses should be strengthened and as far as possible made equal;
- in addition to building houses to be rented and bought, new forms of cooperative ownership and management should be encouraged;
- the costs of housing should be fairly shared.

5. Education and culture

a. Starting point

Not everyone gets an equal share of the benefits of education and culture; there is a great inequality in this field. The children of the well off still have a better chance of receiving higher education than those from poorer backgrounds. Girls still suffer from greater disadvantages than boys.

Many forms of culture only benefit the groups which already enjoy a privileged position. Little is done in the way of cultivating artistic sensibility and active participation in the arts receives hardly any encouragement.

Education is too one-sidedly aimed at developing specialist technical and intellectual capabilities. Many whose talents lie in other directions never get a chance. The present system promotes rivalry and competitiveness, in other words those qualities which enable the pupils to succeed on the labour market. Too little attention is paid to developing feelings of solidarity, toleration, originality and a critical attitude. Pupils are insufficiently prepared for life in society at large. The interaction between education and society is neglected, as is the role which education can play in social change.

b. Objectives

To change this situation the PvdA sets itself the following objectives:

- to give priority in educational and cultural policy to measures to improve the situation of those groups which are underprivileged and disadvantaged;
- to promote social and political education in schools with the emphasis on the possibilities of changing social conditions;
- to develop critical attitudes, a sense of responsibility and political awareness in the course of which pupils are familiarized with social questions such as the problems of the environment and diminishing resources, the importance of efforts to achieve peace, and relations with the Third World;
- to ensure in educational and cultural policy that intellectual and emotional development go hand in hand, with the aim among other things of breaking down the traditional allocation of roles;
- to no longer make a distinction in education up to the age of 16 between training for manual and other kinds of work to avoid one-side development and a premature choice of options;

- to democratize administrative bodies in the educational and cultural fields;
- to encourage solidarity, toleration and contacts between people and groups and oppose all forms of censorship;
- to adapt education to meet individual differences in interests, ability, experience and phase of development;
- to respect the principles on which state and private forms of education are founded.

c. Programme points

In the field of educational and cultural policy the PvdA wants the state to:

- make education and training contribute to self-expression and democratization
- create facilities for critical appreciation of traditional and contemporary culture and for contact and dialogue between people of varying beliefs and ways of life;
- safeguard the right to freedom of expression for all, including minors;
- oppose commercial influence on education, the media, sport, culture and recreation;

. adopt an education policy in which:

- priority is given to measures specifically designed to help the disadvantaged, to primary education, to further education for school-leavers, to special education, and to the development of day nurseries and kindergartens;
- in education up to the age of 16 the emphasis is shifted from one-sided intellectual development and competitiveness to personal development and the acquiring of a social conscience and a sense of mutual respect and solidarity;
- all pupils are taught a few simple household and technical skills;
- conditions are created which guarantee and encourage the continued existence of schools using unorthodox syllabuses and methods;
- parents' right to a free choice of school is safeguarded and a place is made for schools which give full scope to cooperation between people of different beliefs and convictions;
- democratic management of every school is ensured so that no individual or group is assigned an inferior position on the grounds of sex, race, belief or nationality;
- the system of education is continually evaluated and adapted according to changes in society and advances in educational knowledge, with special attention paid to the training and education of teachers;

. provide a system of education consisting of:

- primary education for 4- to 12-year-olds;
- a ('middle') school aiming at general development for all 12- to 16-year-olds in which everyone is given a full opportunity to develop her or his abilities and make a responsible choice of career and appropriate further education;
- a coherent system of vocational and sixth-form education from the age of 16 with a wide diversity of facilities and choices according to ability and interest and which takes into account possible changes in professional life and attitudes to it;
- higher education incorporating university and professional education and offering a wide range of programmes of study;
- a system of permanent education open to all who have left school regardless of age or previous education based on educational leave legally provided for

- which would not involve giving up one's job and be made possible by practical facilities such as grants and day care centres for children;
- a school-leaving age of 18 (or at least 17), including trial work periods, with a subsequent right to at least 3 (or 4) years of full-time education which could be exercised at any time desired without involving financial loss to the person concerned.

As regards science the PvdA is in favour of a policy by which:

- legalisation is enacted to bring all provision of finance under democratic control;
- both pure and applied research are promoted;
- scientists are encouraged to seek solutions to the problems confronting humanity;
- research results, including those of industrial research, are made public;
- research is coordinated and controlled in a democratic way;
- legal provision is made to give researchers a say in the organization, carrying out and application of scientific research.

In the arts the PvdA is in favour of a policy by which:

- as much as possible of the artistic heritage is preserved;
- opportunities are offered for experiments and amateur participation in the arts;
- special attention is paid to art which is socially relevant (e.g. involving artists in designing the environments in which we live and work and in education);
- the gap between the arts and the public at large is closed as far as possible;
- the arts are made accessible to as many people as possible.

The PvdA is in favour of a media policy directed towards:

- a free flow of information from all sides to stimulate the growth of independent opinion;
- radio and television which contribute to democratization of culture and to education and general development, including that of school-leavers and adults.

6. Well-being and welfare

a. Starting point

It is easy to grant everyone the right to well-being or welfare on paper. In practice, however, many conditions have to be met before we can truly speak of well-being. Health is a prerequisite; satisfactory relationships with others are essential, as are self-respect and respect for others. There is also a need for a say in determining the circumstances under which we live.

If all these requirements must be met before we can speak of well-being, the conclusion is obvious: there is still a great deal wrong with the well-being of people in this so-called welfare state.

On the one hand it can be argued that every society will have its shortcomings as regards welfare. The fact is that every society tends to encourage certain developments and to obstruct others. Moreover, there will always be some groups in every society who need help, such as the aged and the ill.

On the other hand, some shortcomings can clearly be attributed to capitalist society with its many forms of inequality. Countless people suffer disadvantages because of social circumstances and have hardly any opportunities for self-development.

Many companies are so large that employees feel that they are just numbers. The government comes into people's lives not as a servant but as the form to be filled in or the counter to be queued at. Relations between people are sometimes strained because of the general atmosphere of competition and fear of losing one's job.

Of course every measure proposed in a socialist statement of principles is designed to add to the welfare of the people. In what follows the term "welfare work" refers particularly to mental and physical health care, legal assistance, social services, and all forms of social and cultural work.

b. Objectives

In view of the present situation in society the PvdA is in favour of a welfare policy in which:

- people become aware of their own situation and that of others;
- the opportunities for making contact with others are improved;
- people are given a chance to take an active part in the structure and design of society;
- people are able if they wish to make changes in their situation;

and at the same time:

- the best possible system of physical and mental health care is achieved with the aid of preventive and curative measures which are included in the general welfare policy;
- a range of basic facilities is available and accessible to all so that the situation of the underprivileged is improved.

c. Programme points

In relation to the structure and organization of welfare work as a whole the PvdA advocates:

- a government guarantee of the right to information in all areas of decision-making so that every participant can come to a proper judgement;
- that those who are not what society calls "normal" participate as much as possible in society so that their life has human dignity and they are given every opportunity to continue living in their own environment;
- democratization of the existing organizations in the field, which have often resulted from private initiative; the staff as well as the management should share responsibility for the organization and carrying out of the work; suitably adapted ways of giving the recipients of care a say in management should be found;
- that decisions affecting the broad outlines of welfare policy should be political decisions to be taken by the representative bodies; the role of the management boards of organizations and the councils incorporating them should be limited to advising, providing background information and implementing policy;
- that front-line welfare work, so to speak, should be in the immediate vicinity and thus available and easily accessible to all;
- the establishment of centres offering people all the various kinds of services (social, medical, cultural, legal) on a basis of equality.

In relation to health care in particular the PvdA calls for:

- an end to all forms of profit-making;
- the incorporation of all forms of health care into publicly managed services including at the regional level, with the personnel employed by the government;

- the enactment of legislation to define the legal position of the patient or client which would give him or her the right to refuse or demand certain forms of treatment or intervention;
- the periodical carrying out of large scale preventive medical examinations;
- the active involvement of health care in preventing and combatting environmental pollution.

In connection with sporting activities for recreation and exercise the PvdA calls for:

- the provision of adequate and reasonably priced facilities so that these forms of welfare are available to all.

Part IV

The long road

1. Statements of principles and practical politics

A party's statement of principles generally has little influence on its everyday political practice. Once it has been formulated, it often only serves as a form of window-dressing. It is useful in public relations but of no importance as a guide in the conduct of affairs.

This danger of having no effect in practice is just as great with this statement of principles as with any other. Indeed it may even be greater in the present case where world solidarity is put first and foremost and the necessity of setting limits to economic growth is repeatedly emphasized. Because socialist ideals demand a radical transformation of society, there is a real risk of getting no further than resounding phrases and banner-waving. This is increased by the fact that everyone clearly realizes that this kind of plan cannot be fulfilled from one day to the next.

To underline the binding nature of the statement of principles it should be taken as a criterion in the following situations:

- drawing up of election manifestos;
- the stand taken by party organs and members on current issues, both in and outside parliament;
- accepting and exercising administrative responsibility.

In all these cases the central question is whether the objectives of the party will be brought closer to being achieved.

This does not mean that compromise should necessarily always be rejected; compromise is acceptable provided that the made concessions are expressly indicated. No possible interest is served by trying to hide concessions made behind the scenes or presenting them as if they were what had always been desired. The result of blowing small steps up into major achievements is a loss of trust and political apathy on the part of the voters.

There is no need to disguise the fact that given the social conditions in our part of the world democratic socialists can only progress by small steps. The democratic socialist alternative to capitalism, which at present does not exist anywhere, cannot be realized in one giant step through one radical upheaval. Even the tools required to achieve equality on a world-wide scale have still to be developed stage by stage.

With each new step, however, there will have to be renewed political discussion on the basis of the statement of principles. This discussion will be concerned with whether a particular step furthers the realization of the objectives of democratic socialism or, as all too easily happens, serves only to perpetuate or even strengthen the system. Democratic socialists must never allow themselves to be used to clear up the mess created by capitalism.

2. Political priorities

The economic growth in the past industrial period led to optimism among democratic socialists as well as others. They expected to be able to eliminate the disadvantages of capitalism by combining it with a system of social security and redistribution of wealth. In this way growth would also benefit those who had no control over the means of production.

In recent years new ideas have emerged: rapid economic growth, which is mainly directed towards increasing individual material prosperity, must make way for selective growth with the emphasis on collective provisions and the widest possible use of technology which does not harm the environment. Selective growth is necessary:

- to ensure freedom from noise and a clean environment, not least for the sake of future generations' prospect of life;
- because a contribution must be made to reducing the gap between rich and

poor in the world;

- because the sources of raw materials and energy are not endless.

If we are not content to sit back and wait for the approaching crises, a start must be made now with implementing a policy with long-term aims. Steps must be taken now towards solving problems which as yet seem to be a long way off. It must be remembered that the time available to us is limited. The ever-increasing pace at which society changes and natural resources are becoming exhausted puts a time limit on action. Those who imagine that the present pace of political activity will permit us to avoid the crises threatening us in the future are labouring under a delusion.

In view of the limited time available, we need a plan for political activity and the strategy to be followed. This plan must indicate time limits for realizing the objectives and taking various measures. In drawing up this plan scientifically based projections about the future which indicate the developments to be expected (e.g. as regards population and energy) can be of great value. An essential condition is however that several alternatives be offered in connection with each aspect so that political choices remain and people can be involved in problems which appear far off but in fact directly impinge on every individual's way of life.

This new situation means that democratic socialists must carefully balance their priorities. This can take place against the background of the four points which are central to this statement of principles:

- solidarity with the population of the Third World;
- solidarity with the oppressed and underprivileged in our own society;
- solidarity with the future generations;
- a society in which freedom and equality are ensured.

Consequently, the imposition of limits to growth and prosperity will have to be accompanied by:

- greater equality: limits are only acceptable if there is an improvement in the situation of those who are worst off, greater sacrifices on the part of the well off, and a fair division of labour;
- greater democracy, so that people have a greater say in the aims of production and real progress is made towards self-determination in industry and services.
- wider opportunities to be involved in education, culture and the shaping of society.

This does not mean that democratic socialism will no longer face painful dilemmas; the conflicting demands of employment opportunities and environmental considerations, to name just one example, are all too well known. What remains, however, is the necessity on principle for a policy in which limits to growth and fundamental social reform in a socialist sense go together.

3. The Partij van de Arbeid: a democratic socialist party

The rejection of capitalist society, the conviction that by positive action a socialist society can be established, the recognition that to this end it is necessary to acquire political power, and the readiness to commit their efforts to reforming society are what unites people in the Netherlands regardless of belief or social position in the PvdA, a democratic and socialist party.

The PvdA is democratic because it seeks political power within a democratic system which observes human rights. In relation to this democratic system:

- the party regards the parliamentary system as the most effective and durable means of giving the greatest possible number of people a say in the nature of society;

30. the party supports an elected European parliament, with real powers, because

more and more decisions affecting the Netherlands are taken at international levels; one of this parliament's important tasks will be to exercise control of organizations and enterprises where national governments cannot or can no longer do so;

- democratic socialism must aim therefore not only at influencing government policy in parliament, but also at uniting and strengthening the forces in society which are engaged in the struggle against capitalism in practice, e.g. trade unions, cooperatives, the women's movement, environmental action groups and communication media; in this context the PvdA recognizes the right to strike;
- the party can decide to initiate action and mobilize its members to support parliamentary work or be active in a socialist way in social situations.

The PvdA is socialist because it is based - as part of an international movement - on the principles of equality, freedom and solidarity, which it regards as inseparably united. The PvdA expresses this by:

- continually working towards international cooperation, both with democratic socialist parties and other parties and movements, wherever they may be, which have similar aims; such cooperation is of value in forming a political counter-balance to the international network of business and industry and provides a practical opportunity for promoting solidarity between the industrialized countries and the Third World.

Part V

Closing remarks

Socialism was always intended to be a movement which made people aware and roused them to action. It aims to bring together the anti-capitalist forces at all levels of society and this is only possible if people can be persuaded to actually unite in social organizations and stand up for equality, freedom and solidarity.

How these concepts are interpreted within the bounds of the available political opportunities depends in part on people's attitudes and beliefs. Democratic socialism therefore welcomes people of diverse views and asks them to help create the conditions for a society in which freedom, equality and solidarity are manifest. These are values which in principle appeal to all, but in many they are swept aside by other motives such as self-interest and the urge to compete. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that people lose interest in politics.

It would be a mistake to moralize about this situation and blame it on the people themselves. The socialist parties have also often fallen short as regards stimulating interest in politics and establishing intensive training and educational programmes. Moreover, virtually nothing is done in the way of retraining those who are currently engaged in politics on a full-time basis. There is a great gap between the conduct of politics and people's everyday experience of the world; for one half of the population who are traditionally left out of things - women - the gap is even wider.

Indifference to politics can only be overcome if politicians succeed in demonstrating the relation between personal and political behaviour, and removing all kinds of artificial distinctions between what is rational and what is emotional.

Politics must be brought within reach of the people: on the shop-floor, in the neighbourhood, in organizations in the social and cultural fields. Since politics is concerned with both women and men, they must both be given the chance to actively participate in the home as well as outside it.

The job of the PvdA is to bring politics to the doorstep and make it recognizable and stimulating for everyone. Thus the party itself must be a model of a movement of active and emancipated people who, despite differences of opinion, work in solidarity and mutual respect towards a democratic socialist society. The equality of all, men and women, should be made manifest in everyday political practice.