

ELECTI ON P R O G R A M 1977 - 1981

NOT BY BREAD ALONE

CDA christen
democratisch
appèl

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THE BASES FOR BEGINNING

(Platform of Starting Points)

In response to the world-wide call of the Gospel to serve God and fellowman, and in readiness to submit to the continual critique of that Gospel, the CDA declares its commitment to the following general starting points:

1. The kind of society for which we strive is one:
 - in which human responsibility and partnership, in all their multicolored patterns, can flourish to their full advantage;
 - in which basic recognition is given to the fundamental equality of all people, without prejudging them because of their basic beliefs or convictions, race, gender, parentage, or economic standing;
 - in which people recognize the unique place and responsibility of marriage and family life;
 - in which people can form institutions and govern them in a way that is compatible with the scale and responsibility of the ordinary person;
 - in which people share power evenly with each other and people in positions of power remain accountable to those who depend upon the exercise of that power for their well-being;
 - in which people are careful to guard against the subordination of human responsibilities to arbitrary political power, economic interest, or the control of technology and science;
 - in which the safety of citizens is guaranteed, the causes of violence are removed wherever possible, and unavoidable violence is countered in a purposeful manner.

Human Life

2. By virtue of its task, government has the calling to serve society with all the justice at its disposal. Among other things, such service includes protecting the rights of the weak, the oppressed, and the displaced; punishing injustice; respecting freedom of conscience and personal privacy; and in general fostering whatever conditions are proper and necessary for a society of responsible people.
3. The recognition that human life is a gift of God, commands that we extend to it the protection of public law. This holds especially for those who are disabled, and in an even greater measure for the unborn and those who are approaching the end of their life.

Constitutional State

4. Parliamentary democracy is of essential importance in the smooth functioning of a constitutional state; and the reverse is also true. Such democratic government ought to be founded upon respect for minority groups, and provide protection against all forms of assault - whether that be from other countries, particular interest groups, or small groups of saboteurs.
5. The existing structuration of society justly deserves continual criticism. But it should be renewed - also through government action - from inside-out, and not overthrown by means of violence.
6. A government can maintain its own legal task and still follow a line of action which includes

consultation and cooperation. The government should respect the different world and life views from which privately formed organizations and institutions stem. Tensions among people which are based on differences in social position should be resolved and eliminated wherever possible - especially out of concern for those responsibilities in a society which can only be exercised in a shared manner. Likewise, we must reject as a matter of principle all attempts to sharpen such tensions, as well as every attempt to divide society up into separate groups on the basis of race or belief.

Human Growth and Development

7. Government policy regarding education and culture should serve to support personal growth and self-development through the provision of well integrated facilities. The government should therefore respect the responsibility of parents (for the nurture and education of their children), and promote the viability of those groups of people in society who foster its cultural development.

Socio-economic Policy

8. Since labor is of such vital importance, not only for the healthy functioning of society, but also for individual growth and development, the fostering of meaningful labor (both as a means of self-fulfilment and a way of earning an income) deserves a central place in the government's socio-economic policy.

9. All socio-economic policy should be based on governmental respect and (where necessary) support for the citizens' own particular responsibilities (whether as groups or as individual persons). With respect to the business enterprise we begin with the basic norm that the employee should be considered a full partner in the company and that this partnership should express itself in the exercising of shared responsibility.
10. Economic life ought to be guided by a responsible stewardship of the creation. For that reason the continuous growth of wealth and technology should not be allowed to dominate the development of society. The only acceptable forms of economic and technological expansion are those which do not alienate people from their responsibility, do not reap benefits at the expense of the poor and weak in the world, and which respect the predetermined conditions for the maintenance of a healthy natural environment.

The International Community

11. Unrestricted armament, which is readily apparent in the so-called arms race, calls for a safeguard policy in which the control of arms and disarmament are of vital importance for international safety.
The defense effort of the Netherlands should be geared to a level that has been mutually determined by its allies (NATO). That requires us to show serious concern over the present trend towards the perfection of weaponry which threatens the whole creation. It also increases the need for a world-wide reflection about the limits of permissible weapon usage by governments.

12. The Netherlands should become recognized within the international society of peoples, because of its solidarity with the poor and unprotected, and because of its conscientious observance of those principles of international justice which serve the peaceful coexistence of all peoples. In this context high priority ought to be given to matters of cooperative development. These principles of our international policy should be given particular form in our support of the proposed further integration of Europe; and this integration must be seen as going hand in hand with the further democratization of European institutions.

CONSIDERATIONS

In keeping with the contents of art. 3 in the CDA-articles of incorporation, the following considerations precede the CDA work program:

- a. the common point of unity and identification is to be found in our political strategy, action program, and policy, as our continual response to the call of the Gospel;
- b. the CDA accepts the Gospel as our rule of conduct for political activity;
- c. the CDA wants to work for a society in which Biblical justice is given greater recognition, the human person is better able to experience his or her freedom and responsibility, and the well-being of all is served;
- d. the CDA wants to appeal to the whole Dutch people, without discrimination on the basis of belief or social class.

The theme: NOT BY BREAD ALONE

A Christian-democratic political action - what is that really?

This program is an attempt to give an answer to that question in a way that is applicable to the situation of today - a situation that is certainly not very comforting. Just to outline all the problems that we must face up to politically in this day and age is in itself most disquieting.

1. In the last few years we have witnessed a steady growth in our standard of living, but unfortunately this has been accompanied by rising unemployment of the most chronic sort. Meanwhile inflationary trends seem to push relentlessly onward and upward towards ever new heights. With understandable concern we have begun to ask ourselves whether or not we have actually built our growth and standard of living on sinking foundations. Energy and natural resources are becoming increasingly scarce; our life-milieu has suffered heavy damage on many fronts; and the conditions in many of the poorest countries of the world have hardly seen any improvement.

2. Human relationships have hardened in more than just a few ways. People today are suffering persecution on account of their faith and oppression because of their race. And even in our own country people are becoming ever more deeply entrenched in defensive positions over against each other.

3. In addition to all of this many people are experiencing deeper loneliness, and feeling more and more insecure and threatened on every side. Others simply feel increasingly helpless over against the overwhelming power of modern science, all-controlling technology, and nearly magical forces of economics.

And now what kind of a position is the CDA going to take in the face of such towering problems?

Do you think that all these problems are just the symptoms of a sick society which can best be cleared up with a strong antidote of government intervention? Or is the real cause of all this misery to be found in an excess of government interference in our lives - for which the best medicine available is a return to the free play of socio-economic forces?

The CDA is convinced that whoever has deeply immersed themselves in the complex nature of such problems can only come to the conclusion that the cause of the trouble lies much deeper: it has to do with the direction of our society as a whole, and the nature of the compass it is using to chart its course.

The CDA is a christian-democratic appeal - which means that it willingly submits itself to the critique of the Gospel of Jesus Christ - and from that position issues its appeal to contemporary society. In view of our present situation this entails the need to underline two important points:

In the first place, it is our conviction that many problems lead back to the fact that our society has failed to show and still lacks the marks of a truly responsible society: one which recognizes the responsibility we bear in relation to God for the maintenance of His creation; and a society in which people know how to be responsible for each other and share responsibility with each other.

Our appeal to contemporary society therefore is this: yield the right of way to this responsibility, even if it means that the price we must pay is a slowing down in the growth of our material happiness. We make this appeal because we believe that man cannot live by bread alone.

In the second place we want to underline our conviction that the government - in its own particular way - must help make it possible for our society to act in a responsible and salutary manner. The government cannot answer for or on behalf of society as a whole. Nor should it try to do so either. What the government may and must try to do is clear the way and remove impediments which have been hindering our society from realizing its own multicolored responsibilities. (As the political system in which the government can best develop her policy the CDA prefers a democratic constitutional state with a parliamentary character; specifically: a constitutional monarchy under the House of Orange).

It is along these lines then that we want to shape government policy in the coming years. Since now more than ever before, government policy will have to seek to open up the pathways to our fellowman, this forms our line of approach in part 1 of this program: "people living together".

In addition, more emphasis must be given to the response that is required in the area of our economic development; and that provides us with our line of attack in part 2: "growth within bounds".

Finally then, the same approach is further developed in parts 3 and 4 with respect to the need for a "serviceable government" and our "responsibility for the world" respectively.

1. PEOPLE LIVING TOGETHER

1a. : Undivided Attention for the Other

General

1.

Continuous inquiry is required into the causes of specific needs in society.

2.

Serving one's fellowman with undivided attention means more opportunities for voluntary labor. The specialization of relief work should be held in check, and where necessary even reduced.

3.

The family is an indispensable pillar of our society. It provides the most appropriate climate for nurturing children and furnishes the necessary basis for legal regulation. Equal opportunity for men and women; against this background an efficient development of the emancipation policy is called for. Social services and family care should be accessible to people.

4.

In addition we ask special attention for the various kinds of independent people such as the unmarried, widows, widowers, divorcees, for all those with or without children, whether living with a family or not, and for those living together in other forms of association.

To the extent that other forms of association - such as households - become recognized, this should not only be applied to their beneficial side (housekeeping), but also to their detriments (study grants, and social expenditures, for example).

The sick and handicapped

5.

The position and rights of the patient should be recognized by law.

6.

The psycho-social aspects of public health deserve more attention in medical training and research.

7.

The privacy of physically and mentally handicapped people living in nursing homes requires better protection; and there should be a great deal of attention and care given to the therapy of psychiatric patients.

8.

The policy respecting the handicapped requires an inter-departmental approach in which central attention is given to the housing, work opportunities, education facilities, sports accommodations and transportation facilities of this group.

The elderly

9.

a. The elderly should be allowed and encouraged to remain living independently in different living situations for as long as possible. The responsibility of children with respect to their parents should also be taken into consideration.

b. Inquiry must be made into the possibility of much more flexible and voluntary retirement programs - in both government and industry.

- c. The building of retirement homes, nursing homes and special care facilities on the one hand, as well as the various forms of services for the elderly on the other, should be better coordinated with each other. The need for these facilities should be determined by locally and regionally established criteria.
- d. There should be a Council on the Elderly.
- e. University programs in geriatrics should be broadened.
- f. The elderly living in nursing homes and special care facilities should be given co-responsibility in development of their policies.

Youth Policy

10.

Youth work, including boys clubs and homes, should be especially characterized by:

- a. special attention for those who lag behind because of poor training or circumstances;
- b. the integration of the youth welfare policy between and within the relevant departments;
- c. room for organizations based on a particular view of life, as well as room for different world-and-life-view within public bodies and between cooperating organizations;
- d. a development of policy in which the youth themselves can make a real contribution.

11.

The following holds with respect to the future of child protection:

- a. child protection laws may only be enforced after other means of helping the child and the family have failed;

b. the length of time a child remains in an institution should be kept to an absolute minimum; and a child should be placed as closely as possible within the immediately surrounding area.

12.

The rights of under-aged workers should be spelled out in a youth ordinance.

Mental health care

13.

Special attention should be given to all who need psychiatric help in any way - especially the lonely, mentally handicapped, families with mentally handicapped, and families with marital problems or problems of child-rearing.

Measures are in order against the increasing use of stimulants, tranquillizers, and sedatives - which is nothing but a threat to mental health.

More research and information is called for on living, drinking, and eating habits, and the use of alcohol, tobacco and drugs.

Alcohol and drug addiction demands the increasing concern and attention of government and society.

The attitude toward soft drugs, while taking into consideration the existing international treaties, should concentrate on punishing not the user but the dealer..Likewise with respect to hard drugs, investigations and prosecution should not be aimed at the users but at the dealers and those in possession of a considerable quantity.

We must continually think of how our treatment of addicts in special clinics can be improved.

Minority groups.

14.

The illegal recruitment of foreign workers should be opposed. In the event of illegal employment or misuse of work permits, the employer shall be considered punishable.

15.

Foreign workers should be able to ask for and receive information about job opportunities and working conditions. The employment policy must take in to account their deficiencies in training, language ability, etc.

16.

Foreign workers should be allowed the choice of staying longer in our country; and they should be afforded equal treatment with Dutch workers.

17.

Existing Dutch organizations should be incorporated as much as possible in the provision of services to minority groups. The Dutch public should become informed about the culture, life-style, and habits of those minority groups involved in our society; this includes foreign workers, Dutch Surinamers, and South-Moluccans.

Rights of assylum for refugees

18.

The Dutch government should follow a broad interpretation of the rights of assylum with respect to all those outside our borders who are being prosecuted contrary to the rights of man or are heavily discriminated against.

1b. : Co-responsible

Shared government

19.

A general statutory arrangement should be developed with respect to all the government related procedures of discussion and dialogue.

20.

Municipal and provincial executive councils should be as representative as possible and based on broad cooperation and programs. No party would be excluded from these councils in advance.

21.

There should be more opportunities developed within public and private educational institutions for the participation of all parties concerned. As far as public education is concerned this should be done with the assistance of governing commissions in accordance with article 61 f. of the Municipal Act. Private schools should, on their own initiative, involve parents, teachers, non-teaching staff, and students - depending upon their age - in the governing of the school.

22.

The "crown's members" (Kroonleden) in the Socio-Economic Council (SER) should maintain their important position. In addition those groups which represent (under acceptable conditions) employers or employees should be admitted to the decision-making process.

23.

With a view to the preparation and development of the

long-range (non cyclical) economic policy, consulting bodies should be formed in each sector of the economy. These should contain an equal number of employers and employees. In cooperation with the government they should draw up general guidelines for corporations to follow in the development of their social, investment, consumer, and environment policies.

Responsibility in the business enterprise and other institutions

24.

Decision made within the business enterprise and other institutions, concerning matters in which representatives of the employees have the legal right to participate, should not be made until after there has been joint consultation between the directors of the corporation and the representatives of the employees.

25.

A legal arrangement should be developed that will foster the labor deliberations and treatment of complaints in the enterprise. This arrangement should have the character of a mandate to the entrepreneur to make rules in consultation with the staff representatives.

26.

Suitable forms of participatory (industrial) democracy should be developed for small enterprises (i.e. those which, as a rule, have less than 100 employees). An inquiry should be set up to look into the possibility of legalizing experiments with different corporate structures.

27.

Taking into account the forthcoming advice from the Socio-Economic Council (SER), as well as the experience gained from the so-called "Structure Act" (structuurwet), the coming term of office will see an attempt to change the composition of the boards of directors.

In order to underline the idea of cooperation, direct elections will be held in which 1/3 of the directors will be elected by the employees of the enterprise, 1/3 by the capital investors, and the remaining 1/3 will be elected by the previous 2/3. A similar regulation will be made concerning government enterprises.

1c. : A Human Scale

Governing bodies

28.

The organization of the government ought to serve the citizen. Central to this is concern for the environment in a broad sense.

29.

As the smallest unit within the system of government, the municipality should be large enough to maintain the basic facilities, determine for itself what those are to be, and what sort of form they are to have.

30.

Many tasks can be taken care of by the local administration. Starting points for this policy are :

a. the development of guidelines in which the task can be clearly delimited and minimum norms eventually developed;

- b. the assignment of responsibilities and qualifications (according to construction) from the bottom up;
- c. allocation of finances with regards to the priorities of the bodies concerned;
- d. a better coordination of the different procedures involved in the licencing policy;
- e. diverting the emphasis upon repressive supervision towards preventive supervision, and limiting repressive supervision at the same time.

The means of production

31.

A central element in the overall government policy is the fostering of the vitality of the small scale - in the intermediate and small enterprise.

32.

Despite the standards of an industrial economy, if social considerations so indicate, then the services of smaller units ought to be encouraged.

33.

The formation of funds within an enterprise for the introduction of small scale production or labor intensive methods should be financially supported on the basis of clearly prescribed criteria.

34.

The establishment and maintenance of small scale industrial units should be supported, among other ways, by dismembering financial and social regimes and regulations - in order to give the smaller enterprises at least an equal opportunity.

35.

In relation to the larger enterprises - in a national and European context - measures should be taken against the detrimental consequences of increasing mergers - especially where this leads to an imbalance in the market. Mergers should be approached preventively and in accordance with the relevant SER-advice.

ld. : Nurturing Responsibility

36.

The freedom of education (in direction, institution, and foundations) should be maintained uncurtailed.

37.

The stimulation of "cooperative" schools (i.e. schools jointly run by church-affiliated and non-affiliated people) is not the task of the government.

38.

Further legal arrangements are necessary in the area of education for advice and consultation, welfare services, and the provision of extra facilities on a permanent basis.

39.

The encouragement of expertise within the school is desirable. In this context:

a. Inquiry is called for into the way in which such a strengthening can be realized within the composition of the staff - especially in the primary and secondary levels of education.

b. Primary schools need guidance-counselling services. The point of departure here should be the responsibility needs, and world-and-life-view character of the individual school.

Wherever such services arise on the basis of cooperation between public and private, parochial, or denominational schools, the only acceptable form of government is one based on private law. The legally stipulated subsidy should be paid in part through the schools.

c. Facilities for the guidance-counselling in the secondary schools should be controlled as much as possible by the composition of the staff.

d. Refresher and extension courses should be gradually introduced for teachers. At the primary level a system should be maintained in which the teachers are generally assigned a full weeks work. At the secondary level an inquiry should be conducted into the advantages and disadvantages of a differentiated weekly schedule for the teachers.

e. Because of their world-and-life-view value, the national pedagogical centers should be expanded. At the same time this expansion must support the renewal of education and the coordination and development of guidance-counselling.

f. The understanding and expertise of the teachers should be fostered with respect to emancipation, male and female roles and their relation to the selection of a course of study.

40.

Special attention is required for infant schools and elementary education.

a. integration should be fostered.

b. The Foundation for Curriculum Development (SLO) should also direct its attention to the development of a play-curriculum.

c. A new program ought to be developed for the education of 4 to 11 or 12 year olds which is based on the integration of infant and primary education. For teachers who have already been trained there should be ample opportunity for additional study.

- d. By shifting educational priorities, class sizes should be gradually reduced to 30.
- e. The minimum requirements in the subject matter of primary education should be fixed.
- f. Legislation should be developed for the financing of religious education (catechism).
- g. Wherever possible primary schools should receive their own guidance-counselling facilities.

41

In addition to the existing experiments, others are needed with a three-year secondary school (as a form of foundational education for 11 to 13 or 14 year olds) in order to form a reliable opinion about the future of the secondary school. The policy should not try to anticipate the outcome of these experiments. The chief goal should be the continuity of every pupil after the secondary school. The minimum content of the subject matter should be maintained.

42.

Secondary education, as it has been established in the law governing secondary education should be maintained with an eye toward linking it to the experimental secondary school. The development of secondary education within the existing structures should be able to count on continued government support.

The legislation governing secondary education should be carefully examined, especially with regard to the following points :

- a) continuity, b) the choice of vocational areas, c) the fading of vocational or functional training, d) broad associated schools (general education and primary vocational education, for example).

43.

After the eventual introduction of the secondary school, vocational training should follow in its own right after the secondary school. If at all possible, this training should begin with the 14th year. Necessary for the development of vocational education therefore is : an inquiry into the possibilities of a continued-vocational education after the primary vocational education - whether that be as special schools of continued vocational education or as different levels within a broad secondary vocational school.

Craftmanship should be encouraged.

44.

Desirable is a gradual replacement of the education and training of working youths through work-study-programs in existing vocational training schools, among other things by cooperation and integration where possible, of social-skills education, vocational counselling, and vocational education. It should be determined how and to which forms of vocational education the method of work-study education is applicable. There should be room in vocational education for education with respect to matters that fall outside of the future occupation. As long as work-study programs are incomplete, the labor agreements of those concerned should be exchanged for teaching agreements - under the pedagogical responsibility of a competent authority and with equal probationary compensation for everyone.

45.

Higher vocational education and scholarship, while keeping their own peculiar character, should be mutually attuned to each other. In higher vocational education the choice of study programs should be broadened by the introduction of new programs and the adjustment of educational priorities.

46.

Scholarly education requires the complete adoption, elaboration, and where necessary the re-evaluation of the restructuration act and the act governing the reformation of university governments.

Scholarly and higher vocational education requires the introduction and re-evaluation of a planning system which is directed towards an even distribution according to area and world-and-life-view. As soon as we have gained sufficient experience from this, we should begin to prepare a new higher education act.

47.

Research and experimentation in the area of "recontinued" education is another requirement. The goal should be that everyone who is suited for it should be given the opportunity of receiving additional education and refresher courses after they have finished their initial program. This includes evening schools and open schools. We should experiment with showing preference to those groups of people who have had fewer educational opportunities. This requires further development of the right to "recontinued" education and the closely related matter of leaves of absence for study purposes. In this context there should be no lengthening of compulsory education requirements.

48.

The development of a special statutory arrangement for the training of teachers should take place without delay. The retraining and advanced study of teachers should be handled by those institutions which have been delegated this responsibility.

49.

Present differences in the manner of financing studies (child allowances, grants and parental contributions) would be reduced by the introduction of a clear and simple system of study financing for all students of 18 years and older, according to the type of education. The financial independence of students should be increased by giving students the financial means to meet the cost of living and making guaranteed loans available to them.

1e. : Protection of the Oppressed Person

The protection of life and safety

50.

Continuous inquiry is needed into the causes of crime. The possibility of imposing suspended sentences should be increased. The possibility should also be broadened for the imposition of punishment or penalties other than imprisonment and fines. The possibility of realizing suspended punishment should also be increased.

51.

Government policy should yield preference to the improvement and strengthening of the police. There should be more care given to the victims of offences.

52.

The policy of improving the counselling of prisoners and the essential facilities of the prisons should be continued; in this regard the position of prison staff deserves careful attention. Means should be sought to include prisoners themselves in the internal governing of the prison. There should also be a

more flexible application - also in the government attitude - with respect to the probation of former prisoners.

53.

More reflection is needed with respect to the prevention and countering of large-scale illegal activities.

54.

For the protection of individual interests, we should experiment with allowing organizations to conduct civil suits, especially with respect to the economic legislation.

55.

The promotion and unrequested door to door mailing, delivery, or distribution of pornography should remain the subject of a strict legal prohibition.

The protection of human life and society

56.

On the basis of the specified norm, the ARP and KVP parties in the Lower House introduced a private member's bill with respect to abortion. This bill was later withdrawn but stated that abortion may not be performed by a doctor unless:

- a. the continuance of the pregnancy constitutes a serious threat to the physical or emotional health of the woman, and
- b. this threat can be prevented by no other means than to interrupt the pregnancy.

More facilities than are presently available must be created to help and counsel the woman - both before as

well as after the decision to have or not to have an abortion.

The opportunities for adopting children - especially "unwanted" children - must be greatly simplified and increased.

57.

A good response to the problem of abortion is the provision of better information about contraception.

58.

Additional legal regulations can make possible a responsible handling of passive euthanasia. The same holds for organ-transplants and medical experiments in general. What must be prevented in any case is an attack upon man and his dignity by the forces of medicine.

The protection against excessive pressure

59.

A legal regulation is needed to protect citizens from misleading advertising. Appropriate here is a prohibition of particularly those advertising techniques which are directly geared to influencing the human subconsciousness.

lf. : Culture, Recreation, and Communication

Culture

60.

The policy of every department should evidence a concern for culture.

A broad and active participation in artistic expression should be fostered by :

- a. the encouragement of artistic sensitivity and practice by amateurs;
- b. the involvement of artists in the design and construction of public buildings;
- c. the mutual adjustment of subsidy money by the different sectors of the arts.

61.

Regional culture should be recognized in its special character by the government - and special recognition should be given in this regard to the special place of the Frisian culture.

62.

International cultural relations should be strengthened, among other things, exchange programs among youth groups. Special attention should be given to the strengthening of cultural relations within Western Europe and this should take place by means of exchange programs as well as head on attention in education.

63.

The museum policy should seek to achieve a better involvement of the disadvantaged through a better distribution of museums and the exhibition of antiquities. More attention should be given to the place and function of the monument in relation to its environment.

Sports

64.

- a. Everyone should be able to participate in some athletic activity, and for that reason the development of recreational sports activities is highly desirable.

b. athletic activity and its organization is the task of private athletic organizations.

c. a national consulting organization for sports should be created.

65.

In consultation with the organizations concerned, the government should actively oppose the commercialization and brutalization of sports.

Media policy

66.

The government is co-responsible for the maintenance of a diversified press. It ought to oppose the formation of monopolies. It should therefore lend support to those press organizations which run into economic difficulties and whose survival in a variegated information industry cannot be ignored. Such support can be provided by means of economic funds for the press according to public, previously recognized criteria.

67.

The diversity of broadcasting should be given programmatic expression in proportion to the size of the audience and the variegation in the free broadcasting companies. In this regard the number of hours that the NOS is made available as the endorsed transmitter should be reduced in favor of the networks. In as much as they are able, broadcasters should avoid a lot of splitting up as well as excessive concentration.

68.

As far as regional and local broadcasting is concerned, the task of the national government is to encourage. Such broadcasting should be financed with regional and local means and use no advertising.

69.

The further development of cable television should be critically followed and where necessary should lead to a policy of detention. No commercial users should be permitted in cable television.

1 : PEOPLE LIVING TOGETHER

x

1a: Undivided attention for the other

"By virtue of its task, government has the calling to serve society with all the justice at its disposal. Among other things, such service includes protecting the rights of the weak, the oppressed, and the displaced; punishing injustice; respecting freedom of conscience and personal privacy; and in general fostering whatever conditions are proper and necessary for a society of responsible people."

(Art.2, Starting Points)

If it is possible to handle people like "things" then many social problems can be easily dispatched: elderly invalides can be smoothly ushered into nursing homes at the expense of the community, troublesome drug addicts hauled straight to the judge, and unemployed foreign laborers trundled quickly back over the border. But such treatment - in which people are simply handled like "cases" - leaves disfiguring scars on the human face of society. Any government therefore which wants to restore the human face of society has a much more difficult task. For in our society there are thousands of people whose problems do not disappear with sound investments, dietary candy or newer detergents. The government should direct its concern, above all else, toward those people who do not fit into such a one-dimensional television picture. Our living together must open up anew to the humanity of the hungry and outcast, the sick and the lonely. In order to recognize the needs of men within and behind the needs of society we must learn to "decipher anew the codes of human need" (as Georg Picht has put it). The first step in such a direction requires a continuous inquiry into the actual causes of such need.

The Handicapped

One of those groups of people who are most in need of our undivided attention are the handicapped and those who are ill (whether temporarily or permanently). The government

x

"Gerichte aandacht" is a kind of care or concern which is neither anonymous or impersonal, but suggests the kind of personal, undivided attention that is often accompanied by "good eye contact."

must recognize the rights of handicapped people to accessible shelter and transportation facilities adapted to meet their needs. They deserve the greatest possible chance to live as full members of our society. People who are sick have a legitimate right to personal treatment and privacy. More attention must be given to the fact that an increasing usage of medicine and medical facilities is not always the best solution for human tensions, which have often been caused by personal and societal problems.

The Elderly

On the level of simple human decency alone there are obvious shortcomings in the government policy with respect to the aged. For all too long the "code" for determining the needs of old people has been sought in the level of their financial support without taking into account their physical difficulties and psychic problems. Elderly people must retain the right to live on their own for as long as they are able, and their housing accommodations require special facilities which meet their particular needs. Voluntary experiments with flexible retirement schedules also deserve support in industry as well as from the government.

The Youth

Policy respecting children involves more than questions of treatment facilities and group homes, or adequate education. It also touches upon matters of juvenile law and - in close cooperation with the regulation of private institutions - childcare. The flight of large numbers of young people into alcohol abuse requires frankness of information about the dangers of alcoholism. In addition the underlying causes of such abuse must be exposed even when they appear to be of a societal nature.

Working youths (especially 16-20 yr. olds who have opted out of school earlier than usual) in our society may not be disadvantaged in comparison with their peers who remain in school. They should be allowed to continue their education in what ever school they feel most at home. Little is ever accomplished by punishing those who are addicted to drugs; they would benefit more from psychic an emotional counselling or therapy. On the other hand a strong policy of prosecution against narcotics dealers should be applied since they are little more than murderers in time.

Minority Groups

Minority groups should also be able to participate 100% in our society. The particular identity of these groups is to be acknowledged. The same organization which provides services to the general public should broaden those services with respect to minority groups. Separate organizations should also be expanded even if they only provide the minimally necessary services for which minority groups have a special need.

Out undivided concern should emerge in the openhearted grantin of assylum to refugees, and it has an equally right-ful place in the policy respecting different economically weaker groups of people. It should be especially apparent in the manner in which these groups (especially the smaller more independent ones) are helped to overcome their problems. Undivided attention should also characterize the way in which we attempt to reintegrate the unemployed into society. And finally, such concern is simply indispensable whenever decisions must be made in our society regarding life and death - as is the case with abortion. This also implies that everything possible should be done for the woman to eliminate the necessity of having to resort to this procedure. A government can never completely personalize her policy of course, but especially in the area of her care for the public order and public morality she should pay particular attention to the special place and particular

needs of people and human relationships - even if this means paying less attention to other meaningful activities of placing fewer services at their disposal.

1b: Co-responsible

"The kind of society for which we strive is one... in which human responsibility and partnership, in all their multicolored patterns are given their just due... tensions among people which are based on differences in social position should be resolved and eliminated wherever possible - especially out of concern for those responsibilities in a society which can only be exercised in a share manner. Likewise, we must reject as a matter of principle, all attempts to sharpen such tensions, as well as every attempt to divide society up into separate groups on the basis of race or belief."

A paternalistic government is very attached to the idea of "personalizing" government policy. Yet that is probably the last thing that allows a mature adult realize his or her full potential. For father always wants to decide what is reasonable and just for his children, and answers are only expected when father asks for them. But genuine living together requires that people execute their own responsibilities, and that there be a ready openness to the possibility of exercising responsibility together in a share manner. The fact that "private enterprise" has become a dirty word should not stop us from insisting that the bearing of one's own responsibility deserves strong encouragement; for every step in the direction of a more responsible society must also maintain or create sufficient room for individual responsibility. Yet neither should we forget that in a society which is dedicated to material progress, the awareness of shared responsibility is especially susceptible to becoming blurred - as the game of dividing power like marbles pushes people ever farther apart into hostile camps.

Responsibility however is a good bonding agent. Therefore regulations and methods must be developed which make the divestment of responsibility to others even more possible than has been the case in the past; and sufficient platforms must be made available for the exercise of shared

responsability. Such platforms are a special priority in the area of international policy; but they are also necessary on a national level, with respect to the administration of our national affairs, as well as on the level at which dutchmen spend most of their time: in their daily work - whether inside or outside of the economy.

Share Government

We consider the conservation of the channels of public participation in the government of municipalities and provinces to be especially important. Hence all parties represented in municipal councils and provincial legislatures should not be excluded in principle from the executive committees or the daily government.

Likewise, there should be more opportunities developed within the government bodies of public and private schools, hospitals, and nursing homes for the participation of all parties concerned.

Central consultation in and with the business enterprise is indispensable, nor should this stand in the way of an optimal participation in the boards of directors. So also, new forms of consultation ought to arise between the social partners in the various branches of industry - especially when the long-range economic policy takes effect.

There is much to be said for the councils on manpower which will be composed of (an equal number of) employers and employees plus representatives of the government. In this way the employment policy should become increasingly a matter of mutual concern. The government must constantly ask itself the question of where it wants to share administrative decision making with employers, employees, and their organizations, and in what areas it will leave such decision making up to the employers, employees, and organizations themselves.

As an employer itself, the government should set an example with respect to responsibility and cooperation within the civil service. It should also experiment more with different forms of cooperation.

Business Enterprise

Responsibilities in the business enterprise should also be allocated in a shared manner. No decision making on essential policy matters should be executed without the management and employees concerned having been given the opportunity, directly or indirectly, to make their contribution. The consequences of this precept do not only apply to the particular working conditions within the enterprise but also to its managerial leadership; and they are especially relevant for the large limited liability companies.

The idea of cooperation shall be emphasized where ever a number of members of the Board of Directors has been chosen by the union. Advice from the Socio-economic Council is still to be expected on this matter. We begin with the assumption that when one-third (1/3) of the directors is chosen by the employees, one-third (1/3) by the capital investors, and the remaining one-third (1/3) by the previous two-thirds (so chosen), then the board of directors will not only adequately represent those people who are most closely involved with the enterprise, but it will also be in the best position to make balanced decisions which are in the best interest of the enterprise. The directors are not to be seen as representatives of the different groups, but as those who are responsible for the enterprise as a whole. As far as the smaller economic parties are concerned, other alternative should be sought in order to give them proper legal recognition as well.

le : Human Scale

"The kind of society for which we strive is one... in which people can form institutions and govern them in a way that is compatible with the scale and responsibility of the ordinary person." (Article 1, Starting Points)

More focus attention upon the human person in society, and the mutual sharing and bearing of responsibility - these are two points which have been discussed in previous sections. But now we must face that fact that our society contains such gigantic organizational bodies that they often seem to resist every form of human control. The bureaucracies of government and enterprise, public services, and housing developments have slowly out grown and superseded a human scale. The "little person" feels excluded. He cannot grasp what is happening; he cannot get a view of the whole; nor can he accept responsibility for it.

The present longing for the primitive, plain and simple is no virtue in and by itself; and the rejection of each and every increase in the scale of things may not be turned into an absolute. For growth and development are built into the nature of things. A big city will never have the atmosphere of a convent, and supertankers will never be built in the local sheetmetal shop. Without technical resources, land and people would be almost unmanageable, and (for this reason) we gladly support the growth of European tasks and responsibilities.

Governing bodies

We are not dealing here with the romantic, but with hard reality: just about the only criteria which have been used to determine the plan and furnishing of our society are those of efficiency and expansion. And it is scarcely recognized that human contact and responsibility alike are among the first to suffer under such treatment.

In the formation of governing bodies, priority must once again be given to the human scale of things. Powers and responsibilities which could be left to lower levels of government - such as the municipalities - should not be absorbed into the federal bureaucracy. Municipalities should be able to balance costs and benefits for themselves once again. Territory, task and responsibility should be made compatible with its means and powers. The municipality, and sometimes the ward or district is the smallest unit of government which is directed to indicating the wishes of the citizens and assimilating and honoring those wishes in as far as they are locally limited.

A municipality should facilitate and transmit the concerns of society with respect to government actions. Local democracy does not only require the chiefly local orientation of government services, but it also requires that those decisions which are of most importance for the local municipality be given the most local form possible.

The Means of Production

A human scale should also remain visible in the productive sector of our national economy. In many cases automation can be good and useful, but something is wrong when the consequences for human society are not taken into account. The larger that enterprises and government agencies become, the more necessary it also becomes to distribute the responsibility for their use and consequences. In a national as well as an international context we take a critical attitude over against concentrations of economic power which control a preponderant share of the market. More insight should be obtained into the structure of these large corporations.

The road to achievement of a responsible policy concerning the scale of things is a long one. Inquiry is needed into the advantage- and disadvantages of large scale and small scale concerns. A few policy measures are certainly in order.

ld : Nuturing Responsibility

"Government policy regarding education and culture should serve to support personal growth and self-development through the provision of well-integrated facilities. The government should therefore respect the responsibility of parents (for the nurture and education of their children), and promote the viability of those groups of people in a society who foster its cultural development."

(Art. 7, Starting Points)

Lets be honest: whoever thinks that the real costs of adulthood always boil down to dollars and cents will understandably want to posit that the real purpose of schooling and all education is to obtain a well paying job. It should be clear that this kind of reasoning does not rhyme with what has been said in earlier sections about "a responsible society."

(It is even becoming materially more doubtful). It is our conviction that education must also be directed toward the bearing of typical responsibility in and service-ability for society.

The Essential Task of the Family

To begin with we must recognize the typical responsibility of the parents. Nurture and education can never be completely delegated to the school or university. The family retains an essential and inalienable task. Nurture and education are not simply a matter of increasing knowledge, but they have to do with the person and his or her responsibilities - which encompass much more than the correct execution of specific functions. Nurture and education should be linked to the variegated multi-dimensionality of talents and interests which people exhibit.

Precisely because education has to do with mankind and human responsibility, its typical world and life view basis deserves full protection.

Education should be so designed as to allow for the best possible development of individual potential. Social and creative training should be given equal attention next to intellectual training. Education ought to be "up to date" since there is a close connection between the development of a society and the condition of its educational services. They ought to serve each other in mutual support rather than in one sided domination.

Especially those people who had little opportunity for education when they were younger, ought to be given more chances to improve their education. In this respect the participation of such groups as the so-called "older woman" should be encouraged.

Private Education

Everyone should be given a chance to receive an education that agrees with his or her disposition and over which he or she can exert a responsible influence.

Competent authorities in the private schools should also be given a chance to live up to their financial responsibilities. It is therefore necessary that public and private education alike be integrated with, among other things, educational institutions and consulting services.

le : Protection of the oppressed person

"The kind of society for which we strive is one... in which people are careful to guard against the suppression human responsibilities to arbitrary political power, economic interest, or the control of technology and science; in which the safety of citizens is guaranteed, the causes of violence are removed wherever possible, and unavoidable is countered in a purposeful manner."

"Based on the recognition that human life is a gift from God, we are impelled to extend to it the protection of public law. This holds especially for those who were disabled, and in an even greater measure for the unborn and those who are approaching the end of their life." (Art.1 and 3, Starting Points)

In our time humanity is being threatened on many sides, and a society which is oriented towards the exercise of responsibility cannot be without protection. Where there are hands reaching out toward the rights of others, stronger hands must be ready for protection. In the language of the bible, justice must not be allowed to stumble in the street. Yet neither may it be forced into stumbling by social interaction or commerce.

The most important mandate of government has always been to protect the rights of all people (among other things by means of the maintenance of an independent administration of justice).

The protection of citizens begins close to home, but that is where it often goes wrong. People in the city used to shudder over the unsafe conditions of people living in isolated farm houses. Now people in the countryside are kept awake nights by the problems of people in the big cities. There are various urban areas (and they are not all in the west of Holland) which cannot be visited at night anymore without fear or robbery or assault. This kind of ordinary safety will be a priority for us.

The fight against crime is meeting up with increasing difficulties. Not only because bureaus of investigation are lacking in strength, but also because the punishment often comes much too long after the crime. Long waiting lists of those who are eligible for legal judgment are unacceptable - both with respect to the protection of people's rights and on behalf of the transgressors.

More than ever before, the right to one's living space must be guarded against invasions of privacy.

Here too should be mentioned the disturbing forms of violence in and around the sports field.

Because of the increasing use of motorized traffic, pedestrians (as well as people on bicycles, etc.) - who are easily the most vulnerable - are begin robbed of more and more room in which they can safely move from place to place.

Respect for and protection of human life must be present in a constitutional state. It is not human for a person to take either his own or another person's life in his hands. We therefore reject in principle the so-called "active" euthanasia. Just as inhuman is the use of medical-technical means which prevent a person from dying in a human manner.

Finally it must not escape government attention that in contemporary society the application of certain methods and techniques of opinionforming represent a real invasion of typical human responsibility.

The legal protection of the law must therefore keep pace with the enormouw growth of opportunities to influence and manipulate people - especially in a power hungry society that is dominated by technology and economic interests.

If : Culture, Recreation, and Communication

"The kind of society for which we strive is one... in which human responsibility and partnership, in all their multicolored patterns, are given their just due."

"Policy regarding culture should serve to support personel growth. (Art. 1 and 7, Starting Points)

The fostering of cooperation, is one of our stated political objectives which we have already applied to various policy areas in this program. But it is all relevant to the seemingly so different area of culture, sports, and recreation, for here too inter-human relationships are at stake. A small number of highly skilled, professional football players performing with great gusto in front of a million viewers does not constitute an athletic society. Likewise, a thoughtful trip through a museum,

or a quiet visit to the concert hall - no matter how important - do not in themselves constitute real artistic activity. In a truly harmonious society culture and recreational relaxation should be available to everyone - both their active as well as passive forms.

It is precisely in this day and age that relaxation is of such great value. Living spaces and residential areas should be so designed as to provide adequate means for relaxation and recreation. Recreation in residential areas should be stimulated so as to make possible safer and healthier means of transportation such as bicycling and walking.

In this connection it is important that concern for culture does not get limited to the task of one department, but that it become a part of the policy in every department. In addition the government may be expected to encourage the actual practice of arts and sports by guarding against domination of art and sport by alien motives. The practice of art, including professional art, deserves to be free commercial pressure and orientation.

Radio, television, and the press have achieved a key position in cultural life. It is therefore of vital importance for the health of society that they not be denatured to extensions of commerce and interest groups, but that they be actual vehicles of culture.

It is therefore desirable to restrict the growth of cable television and in general to remain vigilant for any tendency toward a decimation in the diversity of information facilities. The freedom of the press should be protected as a pluralistic phenomenon in a pluralistic society.

2. GROWTH WITHIN BOUNDS

70.

Our economic order ought to be based upon a responsible, and societally acceptable, businesslike organization of products and services, in which the available power is spread and responsibility shared among the diversity of businesses and business sectors. In a general sense the organization of every Dutch enterprise should be serviceable to:

- the production of goods and services;
- the maintenance of a work community in which a healthy work climate offers meaningful work;
- good teamwork between management, workers and investors;
- a meaningful and efficient use of raw materials, energy, and space;
- a responsible conduct with respect to consumer, immediate surroundings, and the environment.

One essential condition is the expectation of reasonable returns.

2a: What Comes First

Environment policy

71.

Basic requirements are:

- a. The establishment, in the most European context possible, of limit-conditions for business investments which may not be exceeded under any circumstances.
- b. The acceptance of a regional "moratorium-principle" with respect to the evaluation of government and corporate investment projects.

- c. The design and execution, with as much European consultation as possible, of a policy for cleaning up the Dutch environment - with special attention to the problems of the Rhine - within the next 10 to 15 years, and including special attention for the employment factors.
- d. A sharply pointed licencing policy in the context of the existing environmental legislation. Effective measures should be taken against those who continue their activities without sufficient licencing. Deserving high priority are the streamlining of licencing procedures and the shortening of the timespan.
- e. Reinforcement of the policy for encouraging environmental improvement and the application of techniques friendly to the environment.
- f. A stronger approach towards the matter of international cooperation relating to the environment policy. Here we should effectively foster harmonization, and mutual adjustment for the instrumentation in the Common Market context; in any case the Dutch policy should take into account what ever has been developed by the Common Market when it seeks to develop its own norms and instrumentation.
- g. A more intensive inquiry into the side-effects of changes in and pollution of the environment. In addition we should pay special attention to the development of more systematic techniques for the detection and measuring of actions harmful to the environment.
- h. Next to the international coordination that has been advocated there stands the stipulation of a national and clearly functional coordination between the different departments and levels of government.

72.

Information regarding a responsible environmental policy should be improved with the help of the mass-media, efficient information for groups of people, and various educational forms.

73.

The laws regarding water and air-pollution should be applied just like the food and drug act and the insecticide-pesticide act.

With an eye to the coordination and harmonization of legislation, and its application, we should soon develop a general environmental management act which would include laws regarding noise pollution and soil pollution.

74.

The minister responsible for the environment should also be involved with the general legislation affecting buildings, traffic and water. Residential buildings should be made to comply with stringent norms regarding noise pollution and sound insulation.

75.

The production methods of intensive cattle raising should take into consideration the basic demands of a responsible treatment of the existing cattle and poultry populations. Here there should also be some relation to the Common Market regulations.

76.

The National Income is an insufficient measure of economic growth.

Initiatives taken to develop other standards for economic growth, as well as the so-called social indicators, deserve strong support.

Maintenance of nature and landscape

77.

Within the whole context of balancing societal interests and establishing political priorities, recognition should be given to the extreme importance of maintaining and developing the natural environment and landscape. This should be expressed with adequate legislation and an optimal organizational structure within government policy.

The financial means have to be found within the whole of the national budget. This should include the enlistment of private enterprise, especially the private agricultural, conservation, and environmental protection organizations. Under a balanced weighing of the interests, especially those of the farmers, efforts should be directed towards:

- a. intensifying the safety of - basically all - natural areas and creating national parks;
- b. the preservation of valuable cultural sites, in part by involving and honoring the agricultural business in the management of the landscape, and partially by establishing reserves, and conformable accounting relationships between agriculture and management of the nature and landscape;
- c. maintenance of the natural systems and resources of the North Sea and estuaries; preserving the Wadden-sea as a natural area of international importance;
- d. the creation of binding international regulations for the preservation and care of different types of plants and animals;
- e. intensification of educational activities concerning stewardship of nature and landscape.

Consumer policy

78.

A mark of quality for industrial products should be introduced, in a European context if possible, in order to indicate the level of safety, the degree of environmental damage, and/or the level of energy use. In cases where the negative aspects accumulate, it should be possible to deny access to the market.

79.

The government should support the work of the independent consumer organizations - especially where they are geared to improving not only the quality of products but also the social and environmental consciousness of consumers. There should also be pointed consumer information broadcast over the radio and television with the involvement of the consumer organizations.

80.

The food and drug act should be expanded into an active instrument of consumer policy and honesty in the shops and stores. This has to do with accurate indication of quantities, dating, contents, and informative labelling. The use of chemical and/or synthetic additives in foods should be severely restricted.

81.

The government should oppose misleading and aggressive commercials.

With respect to the STER (television commercial method) we plead for:

- a. no expansion nor intensification of the STER and never on Sunday;

- b. in the interests of public health certain types of commercials - especially those for alcohol - should be banned very soon;
- c. commercial time-periods should be moved to a less conspicuous time;
- d. an inquiry into the necessity of the STER commercials in general.

Energy and raw materials policy

82.

The development of our energy and raw materials policy should take the following factors into consideration: the expected scarcity, our responsibility for developing countries and future generations, and the position of the Netherlands geographically and with respect to its high degree of well-being and knowledge.

83.

The policy on the use of raw materials and energy in our country should be directed towards continual saving. Among other things this should include:

- a. the fostering of techniques whereby raw materials are reused and measures which foster the technical life-span of products;
- b. fostering the use of marginal heat in urban heating systems wherever that is possible;
- c. limiting the production of the so-called throw-away articles;
- d. encouraging the insulation of buildings and homes;
- e. land use planning which restricts the growth of traffic.

84.

Forms of rationing raw materials and energy might be necessary in the future. Whenever this occurs it should be done in an European context and in a mutually agreeable manner.

85.

As far as the application of nuclear energy is concerned, the risks and long term effects involved - many of which are still unforeseeable - require the utmost caution and hesistancy. For these reasons this policy ought to attempt to reduce the annual increase in the demand for energy in our country, and increase the possibilities of raising the energy supply through the development of conventional as well as new energy sources (such as wind, sun, and geothermal energy).

The products of developing countries

86.

The products of developing countries should be given more room than they have been for a free entrance into the European market, especially with the application of general and not mandatory preferences.

Developing countries should be encouraged to process their own raw materials.

Restructuring the Dutch economy

87.

Raking into account the international and European context, we should develop an restructuration (long-range, non-cyclical) policy for the Dutch economy: the goal of this policy would be an much

better overall structure to the Dutch economy

in which:

- a. it becomes possible to build up, over the long term, a sufficient endurance within the economy, and thereby provide meaningful employment for the Dutch working population;
- b. the economic development of our country is able to respond more obediently to the call for healthy economic growth, typified by: a strict adherence to the demands of environmental stewardship, careful handling of raw materials and energy, and sufficient openness to the requirements of an international division of labor, especially with respect to the developing countries. For our economy these requirements constitute veritable border conditions whose observance must be strenuously fought for in an European context as well;
- c. the specific problems of border areas could be tackled in a much more disciplined manner.

88.

The government should consult with its social partners about the future shape and plan of the economic structuration policy. The government has sufficient policy instruments from which the possibility of temporary government participation should not be excluded.

The establishment of consulting bodies of employers and employees should be encouraged - especially in those branches of industry which are of importance to the so-called spearhead and bottleneck policy. After consultations with the government, these consulting bodies should formulate globale directives for the desired course of investment, social, environmental, and consumer policy in the various branches of industry - all within the framework of the desired global planning of Dutch economic life.

89.

The government's (long range, non-cyclical) economic policy should contain general and objective rules and norms.

Regional Policy

90.

High priority must be given to the strong encouragement of regional development wherever this lags behind the average. Successful treatment of the all too prevalent structural (non-cyclical) unemployment demands the use of a differentiated means of encouraging regional industry in particular. The regional policy should contribute to the positive development of the areas concerned, while the specific problems of the border areas can be tackled in a more disciplined manner.

91.

One of the means which the government has at its disposal is an active policy with respect to the distribution of government services. This includes new services as well as the expansion of existing ones.

Agriculture, horticulture, fisheries, and small and medium industry

92.

The means and objectives of the collective agricultural policy of the Common Market should serve as the basis and starting point for maintaining, improving and strengthening the agricultural policy.

93.

The general policy should take into account the differences between independents and their employees. It should be aimed at social security and an income development which is the same as the employees.

94.

The financial policy for independent business men should be geared to the three functions of the business income: consumption, investment and reserves.

95.

It could be necessary to link the extra income allowance to the gradual phasing-out of an industry.

96.

Also in a Common Market context, the structural (long-range, non-cyclical) policy regarding agriculture should be directed towards:

- a. the maintenance of the competitive strength of the Dutch agricultural industries;
- b. an active re-establishment policy for rural areas, with careful attention to the needs and interests of the agriculture, nature, environment and landscape;
- c. effective management regulations in the most important rural areas.

97.

Again, within a Common Market context, the structural policy on the fisheries should be aimed at the maintenance of the competitive strength of the Dutch fisheries and allied industries. We must guard against every form of spurious competition between the Common Market members.

98.

The policy on small and intermediate industry should also include:

- a. expansion of the possibilities for advice, research and industrial development aid;
- b. increasing the opportunities for credit guarantees and transitional financing during difficult periods;
- c. systematic and where necessary repeated policy research and review according to sector and region,

with adequate restructuration help;

d. the establishment of regional service centers for primary reception and social guidance concerning the task of regional advice for local government.

99.

Business alliances and concentrations of economic power should be kept under close surveillance. For that reason business alliances for the purpose of defense and cooperation between small industries should be allowed in principle and eventually governed by a simple procedure. After consulting with the consulting organizations in relevant branches of industry, the government should have the competence to prescribe minimum prices. Price discrimination (fixing?) must be opposed.

100.

In order to counter overcapacity in the various sectors of the economy, the government should have the competence to guide the restructuring processes with temporary intervention.

A comparable competence must be developed with respect to the service sector, as laid down in the industrial licencing act for industry.

2b. Meaningful Labor

Employment

101.

Everyone, young and old, man and women alike should be able to support themselves with work that is in keeping with their personality as well as social needs and possibilities. The contribution of the government should be the harmonization of work opportunities on the one hand, and education, training and schooling on the other.

It is the fundamentally structural (i.e. chronic, on-cyclical) nature of youth unemployment which makes such an approach necessary. In addition to an intensification of the guidance counselling services, inquiry should also be made into whether or not the capacity of higher education and vocational training should be geared to the anticipated opportunities in the labor market.

102.

The government should lend active support to experiments with parttime work, twin-jobs, societally acceptable forms of voluntary retirement, and sabbaticals in which people are paid but freed from the obligation to perform their work. A married couple should be able to choose whether the man or the woman will be the primary wage-earner.

103.

In future public works projects, the right of way should be given to those projects which make a positive contribution to the national programs of environmental protection, energy saving, and the recycling of non-renewable resources. In this context urban renewal also has an important role to play.

104.

A national labor-market policy deserves the support of suitable training, re-training, and refresher course opportunities. A closer relationship ought to be established between the definition of "suitable labor" and the opportunity to accept or reject certain re-training or refresher courses. The concept "suitable labor" should not be too narrowly defined.

105.

The policy should be directed to the elimination of all forms of boring or spirit-stifling work. If as far as this is not entirely possible, then the working conditions should foster mechanization of those jobs which are generally considered demeaning or unacceptable.

106.

The government should also encourage the formation of funds for the creation of more satisfying and meaningful work in industry.

2c: A Just Distribution of the Burden

Fighting Inflation

107.

The main points of our (and our Common Market partners') fight against inflation ought to be:

- a. further refinement of the cost of living index so that none of the collective costs are overlooked;
- b. after consulting with its social partners, the government should propose regulations governing the distribution of the available revenue for private expenditures, government expenditures, and the social security costs;
- c. development of wage-costs should be initially geared to the changes in the macro-economic productivity;
- d. price-controls should coincide with an acceptable fluctuation in the prices;
- e. the Dutch Bank should pay more attention than it has up to now to those decisions and developments which foster inflation in our society. It should clearly indicate what its policy is regarding the expansion of the money supply;

- f. after consultation with the social partners, the government should prepare an act of legislation which gives it the competence to prescribe a general modification of the price compensation with appropriate maximizations.

Income Policy

108.

A comprehensive income policy should protect as much as possible the position of the incomes of the lowest wage-earners.

109.

An inquiry in which Common Market relations are also taken into account, should form the basis for an acceptable difference in incomes. A Council on income policy should be created which would develop norms for the creation of income, and among other things, would draw up concrete proposals for the public disclosure of professional fees and other forms of remuneration. In this context there should also be a broad system of labor value appraisal along with the publication of a scale of labor value per unit of work time.

110.

Proposals with respect to capital gains should give more attention to the formation of decentralized funds and individual participation in the distribution of wealth (within a particular industry or branch of industry).

111.

The family allowance and tax rebate should be taken into consideration in any reflection upon a fair distribution of incomes. Any changes must not

threaten the responsibility of the family for the education of its children. The family allowance for each child should therefore reflect the normal minimum costs of living for the child. The tax exemption for each child could also be adjusted according to the age and number of children in the family. No consideration need be given to the size of the parents income. Changes in the family allowance regulations should not lead to a general compensation according to reported incomes.

The income tax rebates for children can be abolished.

112.

The government should open up discussions with civil service organizations regarding the salaries and pensions of civil servants in order to review them in relation to the general income policy and especially the regulation of job requirements for comparable groups. This should not necessarily exclude re-adjustments.

Social security

113.

Any adjustments to the system of social security should guarantee that the weakest people in society are taken care of first of all.

114.

In order to avoid mis-use and abuse of our social security system, we should make sure that no undeserved benefits are enjoyed as a result of changes in the circumstances of the qualified beneficiaries, nor that any more than the deserved number of benefits are enjoyed, or that a full benefit is given out on the basis of part-time or temporary work.

115.

Social security payments should at least guarantee compensation against the consequences of monetary devaluation, without always necessarily following the general improvements of the working population. Thought should be given to the possibility of linking them to the cost of living with open possibility for periodic adjustments. Thought should also be given to the extent to which the social security system can be disconnected from the automatic increases in the minimum wage.

Neither should the level of benefits be directly linked to the amount of individual income that was being earned immediately prior to becoming eligible for the benefits. Nor should the establishment of the benefits always take into account the most recent additional claims or extra earnings as a result of overtime work, etc.

116.

Determination of the level of benefits throughout the whole system of social security, requires that consideration be given to whether or not the person who qualifies for benefits is the only income-earner. The non-earner has a right to receive 70% of amount that the income-earner qualifies for. This regulation should help guard against benefit qualifiers receiving higher benefits than under the present system.

117.

In order to make the whole package of substitute-income regulations more understandable and hence manageable, they should be divided into regulations which grant benefits for a maximum of $\frac{1}{2}$ year, and those which grant benefits for a longer period of time.

The execution of all these regulations should be

governed by one law and the exceptions determined by the minister of Social Affairs. Local or regional consultations should be conducted at which everyone can obtain full information as to the rights and duties of social security.

118.

More than ever before we should determine what unique contributions people who qualify for social security could make.

This should also be considered in the area of health care.

Taxes

119.

A simplification of the taxation system is necessary. Once the Hofstra-study has been completed, proposals should be made to coordinate the taxation system with the consequences of inflation - both with respect to profits (hidden profits) and personal income (interest income, etc.).

120.

The government should establish a thorough-going inquiry into the source and extent of illegally obtained money ("black-money"). Right of way should be yielded to what ever statutory regulations such a study deems necessary. By means of an appropriately democratic investigative machinery, the so-called "black-money" should be tracked down and its creation prevented in a decisive manner.

121.

A study should be made of how indirect taxation could be used to influence the demand for raw materials and energy and to improve public health. This could also be a reason to shift a part of the tax pressure

from the direct to the indirect taxes.

On account of the proposed Common Market harmonization an increase in the number of BTW (tax-inclusive) fees should be restricted.

122.

Personal home ownership should also receive monetary support; the tax-deduction for interest on the mortgage, along with other forms of interest payments, should also be maintained.

123.

To encourage individual home ownership, the government should also provide tax deductions for maintenance costs. This deduction could eventually be tied to definite limits by virtue of practical feasibility. The decrease in tax revenue should be compensated for by increasing the tax upon rental income. An additional factor to be taken into account here would be the increase in tax revenue that results from the elimination of illegal work (dabbling) and by the positive effect upon the building industry.

124.

More attention should be given to the financial situation of the married woman who works at home with regard to the matter of personal income taxes. The same holds true for the especially difficult situations of broken or parentless families.

125.

It should become possible to save a part of ones personal income without being taxed for it. In addition, the amount saved should be protected from the dangers of monetary devaluation.

126.

As many bottlenecks as possible should be removed in the regulation of old-age or retirement reserves - especially with respect to the calculation of the so-called monetary claims at the age of 65.

127.

Taking into account the effects of inflation, the tax-free minimum for income taxes should be raised. The following special exemptions are required:

- a. for the capital assets of the independent business man, and when an enterprise is ended;
- b. for those who possess certain assets, but little or no pension-benefits or rights.

128.

A taxation of capital earnings (possibly accounting for capital losses is acceptable in principle, provided that the revenues are greater than the costs.

129.

The exemptions under gifts and inheritance taxes should be raised for the immediate family, whenever all the taxes in every other category are adjusted upwards. The possibilities of the so-called third bracket should be locked into. Inheritance taxes should take into account the interests of the heirs in independent family enterprises and family partnerships. Inheritance taxes for long term cohabitants should be given the same treatment as inheritance taxes for collateral relatives.

2 : GROWTH WITHIN BOUNDS

2 a: What Comes First?

"All socio-economic policy should be based on governmental respect and (where necessary) support for the citizens' own particular responsibilities (whether as groups or as individual persons)."

(Art. 9, Starting Points).

This program has thus far primarily been dealing with the "priceless" things of society : with the sharing of responsibility and with a more undivided attention for our fellow man and his real needs.

Since we now begin to focus our attention on economic life which has to do with all the money and goods this society is churning out, it may seem that the question of purpose and responsibility can be left out of the picture. This purpose of economic activity after all seems to be to obtain as many products as possible, and responsibility does not seem to extend much further than concern for adequate wages and earnings -- both now and in the future.

Economic Expansion

To a large extent, western society is what it now is thanks to its continuous economic growth. Various social improvements for example have been made possible by such growth. Yet it has become increasingly clear in our day and age that unlimited economic expansion does not have a monopoly on wisdom. We might even begin to ask ourselves whether it makes any sense at all, considering the state we are in.

We have indeed become so attached to continual growth in our income and production levels that now we feel dependent upon it. We have looked upon such growth as if it were a solid, self-evident given. All institutions in our society -- including the government, business enterprises, and trade unions -- have oriented themselves towards continuous growth.

Everything appeared and still appears to be dependent upon that growth : employment, our rising incomes, our system of social security, as well as development-aid and the rising costs of environmental protection.

But our calculations have clearly come up with negative results and the towering problems we face have become unavoidable. We have had to face rising unemployment, soaring inflation, increasing tension between rich countries and poor countries, and the threatening collapse of our handsome system of social security.

When everything is added up together the price seems too high to pay. The unemployment percentage must be drastically reduced while an inflation rate of anything more than 5% is simply unacceptable.

Scarce Resources

Economic growth is apparently similar to the growth of cells in human tissue : it can either be healthy or it can be malignant. It is an illusion therefore to think that whenever economic expansion is guaranteed, everything else will turn out well. For economic growth is only healthy within the framework of norms and responsibilities. That is to say that we must so choose our technical and economic opportunities (before-hand!) that they serve the conservation

of nature, continue to make meaningful work possible, remain serviceable to a careful stewardship of scarce resources, and are also serviceable to the economic opportunities of poor countries. The economy must stand in the service of our stewardship over God's creation.

That is at the same time (the beginning of) an answer to the question of the right direction for human responsibility in economic life.

Bearers of Economic Responsibilities.

It is not nearly so much a matter of whether or not the government is prepared to bind economic development to particular conditions as it is more importantly a question of whether those who bear responsibility and co-responsibility are prepared to come to grips with the most effective "answer" that is called for. Business enterprises for example, will be called upon to become more than just institutions whose concern is to pour forth a steady stream of products and earnings into society. The government must also remind enterprises of their own particular responsibility for the quality of their environment, for a frugal management of materials and energy, for the possibility of creating meaningful jobs, for the creation of space in which developing countries can find room to develop themselves, and also for the provision of qualitatively improved services to society. It is not the task of government to take over the responsibilities of the business community, but it can certainly fall to her task to hold the business community to its broader areas of responsibility -- by building fences, closing loopholes, and by stimulating business to take seriously their call to stewardship. Only in this way can the mutual sharing of responsibility by employees and directors alike in business firms take on actual meaning and living relief.

2 b : Meaningful Labor

"Since labor is of such vital importance, not only for the healthy functioning of society, but also for individual growth and development, the fostering of meaningful labor (both as a means of self-fulfilment and a way of earning an income) deserves a central place in the government's socio-economic policy".

(Art. 8, Starting Points).

Fighting Unemployment

In the next term of office the fight against unemployment will receive much emphasis.

Yet here we seem to face a contradiction : Earlier in this program we said that the expansion of our production must remain within certain limits if we do not want it to smother our society; yet in this section of our program we are concerned with the preservation of meaningful labor and insist that measures be taken to fight unemployment. Would it not be better to temporarily forget about those "limits" to growth and yield the entire right of way to growth in our national product? After all, every percentage point increase in production ultimately represents work for many people. To begin with we want to clearly posit that the fight against unemployment must certainly be given primary emphasis in government policy during the coming years. For the many thousands of people who are without work all the water in the sea cannot wash away the sence of being shunted aside, the feeling of being rejected by a society which no longer needs their services. Such a situation cannot be corrected by words alone. It is our belief that there is an intimate connection between being human and the performance of meaningful labor.

But whenever it comes to doing battle with the perennial evil of unemployment, additional factors have to be taken into consideration -- precisely because they explain why placing all the emphasis on achieving the greatest possible increase in production cannot provide us with a complete solution.

For by so doing and thinking we only push the real problem of structural unemployment (i.e. non-cyclical forms of unemployment such as those due to technological change) a few more years ahead of us into the future. Can a vigorous growth in production after all, really resist the replacement of workers by machines? No, in order to struggle with this problem in a fundamental way, we will have to deal with it at a deeper level -- even if that means that the solutions will be unavoidably painful.

Measures

Let us begin by listing in a rather concise manner the available measures which, if enacted, could either lessen, ease, or combat unemployment at its roots.

1. Youth Unemployment

The bitter feeling of being shunted aside is all the more painful and unacceptable if it comes before you have even begun to "play your role" in society. The structural unemployment of the youth is an evil that must be fought with strength and persistence and by the removal of its causes. Hence more guidance is required, along with a better coordination of supply and demand in the labor market, reschooling, and perhaps also a decrease in the pressure of the youth minimum wage increases on the total cost of wages.

2. Better Division of Labor

Measures are needed to foster a better distribution of existing work opportunities. In themselves such measures would not really counteract unemployment so much as they would eliminate some of its sharper edges. In this connection we must, among other things, re-examine more closely the possibility of earlier voluntary retirements, the application of "twin-jobs", etc.

3. Public Works

By means of public works projects and the support of certain forms of private investment, the government can do much to combat the immediate problems of unemployment, even though such action definitely does not get at the deeper causes. Therefore care must be taken that any such public works projects which are undertaken remain in harmony with a government policy that is directed towards healthy growth.

4. Education

Those government measures which at least partially come to grips with some of the cause of the present unemployment problem are those which improve the balance between supply and demand in the labor market through such means as improvements in (re)education and other forms of vocational guidance.

5. Pressure on Wage Costs

The same holds true for those government measures which seek to remove the pressure of social security premiums from the wage costs of the business enterprise. This is a pressure which has grown stronger in the last five years and has contributed to the tendency of business to install expensive machines rather than rely on the increasingly more expensive cost of labor. In such a context there is no easy escape. In the coming term of office we will not be able to avoid trying to create more breathing room by performing rather drastic surgery on the whole package of social security.

In this way we can at least prevent the pressure of increasing social security premiums on the cost of labor from pricing anymore of the labor force out of the market.

6. Labor Intensive Production

One measure which may not be forgotten under any circumstances is one in which we can all participate as Dutchmen and which, more than anything else, effectively attacks the problem of severely increasing structural unemployment at its roots. This has to do with the question of why people are so easily replaced by machines. The obvious answer is that every slightly newer machine is often looked upon as just a little bit more efficient in terms of its net costs than people; and the common opinion is that here again efficiency and productivity have the right of way. But why should they be given such priority? It is in fact only because we have systematically grown accustomed to evaluating labor and production by the degree in which they enable us to extract the highest possible earnings (in wages and profits).

It is all too little recognized that these earnings can be used to support forms of production that use more labor and also make work more attractive. The replacement of people by machines is not motivated by some sort of necessity. It is a phenomenon for which we are responsible and should therefore be able to actively resist. But then we must also find the proper means of doing so. One such method is the formation of funds which could be invested in meaningful and labor-intensive forms of production. In these funds could be deposited money which would otherwise have been paid out to employees as wages or capital gains but would now be available to them for labor producing investments. It is obvious that the government should do its part to strongly encourage (also financially) every attempt to move in this direction.

7. Voluntary Labor

Those forms of employment which do not involve the acquisition of an income ought to be recognized as being of equal value with those more traditionally recognized forms. Ways must be found to remove those hindrances to the greater coordination of volunteers.

8. Contract Wages

Finally, it may not go unmentioned that in the coming years there will exist a direct relationship between the changes in unemployment and the wages of collective agreements. The painful conclusion is inescapable that every real increase in union negotiated wages during the next three years will have an unacceptably detrimental effect on the national rate of unemployment. But this brings us directly up against the need for a just distribution of costs and benefits.

2 c : A Just Distribution of the Burden

Allocation of Space in the Economy as A Whole

In calculating the "price" of stimulating a healthy economic development in our country -- i.e. one which unfolds within the bounds of responsible stewardship and is directed towards the creation of more meaningful work opportunities -- we must keep in mind that Dutch economic life is not set on an island. The Dutch market is a smaller part of the European market which in turn moves with the ebb and flow of the whole world economy. Of great importance then for the development of the Dutch economy during the next four years will be the conduct of the "world economy". Also of great importance is the degree to which the member states of the European Common Market are prepared to fight unemployment and inflation together, and if they are willing to maintain a consistent unified approach in the fight against environmental pollution and in their cooperation with developing countries.

Calculating the Union Wages

Even the simple picture we get from the "figures" on the Dutch economy in the next four years is not a pleasant one. Of importance are the following factors:

- a. The total structural growth of the National Income (NI) -- taking into account all the demands previously mentioned (in the areas of environmental management, energy conservation, etc.) -- will probably not come out higher than 3.5% or 3.75% per year. Should a so-called clean selective growth of more than 3.5% prove possible, then this economic space should be used first of all to drive down the budget deficits for the sake of renewing employment and fighting inflation.
- b. Allowing the public sector (government expenditures and costs of social services) to maintain its present portion of the NI means that at least half of the growth (1.9%) is already directly allocated to this sector.
- c. In line with the 1% maximum increase in the pressure of the public burden (in taxes and premiums), which was used by the existing (Den Uyl) cabinet, another 1% extra would be allowed for the public sector -- leaving it with a growth rate which would still require a program of substantial restraint.
- d. By this calculation then, a mere .6% is all that is left for the annual increase in the real disposable incomes of wage earners and people in other income brackets (including the retained earnings of corporations). This .6% scarcely covers the so-called incidental wage increases which constitute at least .5% of the NI; and it is certainly inadequate if we take into account the need for a recovery from the sharply declining returns in the business sector -- a recovery that is required for the benefit of the employment situation.

e. The inescapable conclusion follows then that according to this calculation, and given the needed recovery of employment, there is simply nothing left for increases in union wages during the next four years.

This calculation clearly illustrates how serious the situation has become economically speaking, in our country. For all too long we -- including the government -- have tactily assumed that in the long run sufficient means would arise out of our continuous economic growth to allow us to pay for all of its plans and initiatives, including those of our comprehensive social security programs.

Inflation Policy

In such a predicament, any attempt to avoid the unpopular solution of putting a general limit on incomes seems to leave us with no other option than to continue along the road of inflation. But it is just that option which we emphatically reject -- because inflation is not only a form of self-deception, but also only a symptom of the real difficulties. But even more importantly, inflation is in fact little more than a large-scale and extremely vicious process of redistributing incomes. The strongest groups of people -- those who can shift the burden to someone else -- are able to duck out and escape, while the weaker persons (such as pensioners and small businessmen) take all the heaviest blows. As a consequence inflation leads to the discouragement of thrift among the population, increasingly easy shifting of the cost burdens to others, and to an undermining of the opportunities for private initiative. Especially in the so-called welfare sections more and more people find the available facilities too costly. There is also clearly a close connection between inflation and unemployment. In the open Dutch economy inflation can even be looked upon as the mother of unemployment. Quickly rising prices and costs threaten our competitive position and thus our employment situation as well.

A Package of Measures

If we really want to take the struggle against inflation and unemployment seriously therefore, we really have no other choice than to follow a hard and uncomfortable line; and this brings us to the following stiff package of policy measures.

A Stiff Income Policy

After consultations with employers and employees, the government must proceed to the formulation and establishment of a stiff income policy for the coming years. This shall be done as much as possible on the basis of a report from the Socio-Economic Council concerning the distribution of the available economic space during the coming years.

a. As far as the development of wages is concerned, this policy will try to maintain union wages close to their existing levels, while those of the average (or model) employee (including the so-called incidental wages, inkeeping with the 1% per year real wage increase) will at least be linked to a yet to be determined maximum price-compensation. In order to effect this policy an increase in the influence of the federal government within the whole of the collective bargaining process throughout society is unavoidable. And after holding consultations with the business community, the government should also propose changes in the wage legislation.

b. Any policy the government chooses to follow with respect to wage trends in society will have its inexorable consequences for whatever policy it intends to follow with respect to other income groups. It is not fair for the government to place restrictions on laborers while

allowing other income groups complete freedom in the determination of their income brackets. What is required therefore is a very sharp policy regarding the development of these other expendable incomes : at least a zero-average is imperative. For these reasons the Committee on Income Policy should be given an immediate mandate.

Austerity in the Government Sector

As far as her own sector (of public expenditures) is concerned the government must strive for a stricter austerity policy than the above mentioned norm of 1%. The growth in the public sector (of government expenditures and social benefits) should at least show a definite relation to the measure in which the National Income itself increases. For the coming term of office, with a responsible growth in the National Income of 3.5% or 3.75% per year, the public sector should be allowed an increase of no more than .6% or .7%.

This cannot be realized immediately of course, since there are limits to what can be achieved -- even with great effort -- in a short period of time (just like the speed of supertankers cannot be reduced to zero in a few seconds). In any case however, this norm should be achieved by 1980 or 1981.

As far as the government austerity measures themselves are concerned, we have the following measures in mind :

- a. the establishment of a study group composed of independent experts to study all budget categories, with the aim of reporting on alternative economy measures and the changes they have effected in the social situation, subsequent to a particular piece of legislation or the initiation of an action, whether it be less efficient, or of only temporary improvement; etc.;
- b. a nominal freeze on the total amount of government subsidies which are not of an immediate income character;
- c. limiting the increase in the number of government officials to 1% per year.

Social Security

Whenever vigorous austerity measures need to be introduced even in the welfare sector, care must be taken to maintain the real essence of our whole system of social security -- namely the demonstration of solidarity with all those whose incomes are not enough to pay, either partially or at all, for the basic necessities of life.

We must be as careful as possible that our cutting back on waste does not cut into living flesh, and we must maintain our respect for (and with) those who are truly weak. Systematic changes in our whole system of welfare legislation are sorely needed. But with those changes for the sake of a better coordination of the diversity of laws, those who are sick, or out of work, or incapacitated, shall not be made to suffer as a result. The insurance, controllers, and accompaniment shall be more actively concerned than at present with the restoration of working ability, or employment, and certainly with the adaptation of work situations to the changed circumstances of the employee.

By changing the system of linking the system of social security to the minimum wage, serious consideration can be given to making changes in the minimum wage law, introducing a minimum welfare income, or a less direct linking. In addition, the necessary attention must be given to the specific circumstances of those groups qualified to receive benefits.

Tax Legislation

The tax levy will also have to be adapted to the special situation in which we now find ourselves, and in an indirect way this must open up ways of renewing employment and fighting inflation.

In principle the legal inflation-measure of income tax tariffs must be applied, although this may be departed from by means of legal measures, where necessary.

3. A SERVICEABLE ADMINISTRATION

3. a : A Serviceable Order

Civil service

130.

The public administration should be democratic and functional. This implies that:

- a. All citizens should be able to influence the decision making process, especially through responsible organizations;
- b. openness and publicity are of great value;
- c. the establishment and operation of the administration should be understandable and accessible to the citizens;
- d. the administration should be effective and efficient.

131.

The administrative branches and powers of the nation, provinces, and municipalities should be redistributed so as to bring them as close as possible to the citizen. In the short run an active start should be made at the decentralization of federal offices.

132.

Regional and district divisions of provinces and municipalities should be in better touch with the areas in which the social and physical problems exist. A guideline for this is : a bigger scale where necessary, but smaller scale if possible. In such a context we desire to see:

- a. an appropriate subdivision of municipalities and a simplification of their procedures. Smaller municipalities which can be more viably maintained;
- b. inter-municipal decentralization within the large cities;
- c. development of a statutory regulations for complementary administration.

133.

Appointment of the Queen's Commissioners should take place after consultation with the provincial legislatures. Appointment of the mayors by the Crown, after consultation with the municipal councils.

134.

Municipalities and provinces should be able to perform their respective tasks in mutual cooperation, and weigh the gains and losses of their decisions. Therefore:

- a. coordination the federal contributions to the different kinds of provincial and municipal functions;
- b. limiting the number of Article-12 and other needy municipalities;
- c. wherever possible replace extra-ordinary expenditures by a system of general expenditures.

135.

The scope and equipment of the police system demands special attention. The different federal and municipal police departments should be unified into a single Dutch police network, structured around provincial units and a number of national services.

136.

An act of general legislation should be written to foster a balanced policy in the area of social and cultural welfare. The basis for this act should be determined by :

- a. the planning of the various facilities and services;
 - b. the place of private enterprise and its role in the preparation of policy;
 - c. the division of tasks between nation, province and municipality;
 - d. the supervision of operation of facilities;
 - e. the possibility of appealing government decisions in this area and the procedures for participation.
- The policy shall provide room within the facilities provided

by the offices of welfare, education and recreation, for world-and-life-view based institutions.

The act of general legislation should not have the effect of limiting the existing ministry of CRM (Culture, Recreation, and Social Welfare). This act should also cover whatever policy areas in the ministries of Justice, Public Health, and Education are concerned with the matters of welfare, education, and recreation.

The cabinet and departments

137.

To the extent necessary, a procedure should be established during the coming cabinet formation which will govern the decisions needing to be taken regarding the departmental subdivisions, the work-method of the cabinet, and the number of ministers.

In any case, the next cabinet-formation must find a solution for the most important bottlenecks in the present departmental division of responsibilities (environment, education and schools, general relief law, and the superintendence of the police).

Policy issues with respect to the liberation of womens should be coordinated on the ministerial level.

Land use planning

138.

Wherever possible all statements concerning land use policy as well as the structural outlines and diagrams should flow into decisions on a national level. These decisions should then be translated into regional plans for the provinces and land use desgins for the municipalities. The key planning decisions are of such importance that they should come under the national policy. The law should contain a procedure that provides for participation

in the formulation of the key planning decisions. Whatever conclusions flow out of the key planning decisions should give direction to the overall housing of the population at the regional and local levels.

139.

Land use planning (on the local or regional level) should strongly determine the relationships in the medium sized and small industry. Planning, land distribution, and licencing policy should be based on careful research and the period of uncertainty during the formulation or drafting of the plans should be as limited as possible.

Urban rehabilitation

140.

A breakthrough in administrative, organizational, and financial supervision is needed for the benefit of urban rehabilitation; this includes the need for rights of preference which are adapted to the context of urban rehabilitation. In this way the function of the city as a regional center of social, cultural, and economic activities will be reaffirmed.

Systematic treatment and strong administrative coordination should be given attention in a new Urban Rehabilitation Act. In this context the following should be given special attention:

- a. a functional relationship between rehabilitation and innercity construction;
- b. the suitability of traffic facilities;
- c. the intensification of public transportation;
- d. the economic location of care and welfare facilities and social-cultural institutions;
- e. air and noise pollution.

141.

A helpful regulation should come to the aid of enterprises that are involved with transitional problems in areas of urban rehabilitation.

Traffic and transportation

142.

Legislation is needed that will foster traffic safety. Traffic education -- in which emphasis is placed on being able to deal with every traffic situation -- should stand central here.

The development of this legislation should take into consideration our high population density and the need to protect natural landscapes and inner cities. Hence:

- a. traffic education should be fitted into as many time schedules as possible;
- b. more attention must be given to the pedestrian and cyclist;
- c. the concept of residential "yards" must be quickly introduced in many residential areas for the sake of liveability, and the auto should likewise be adapted (by abolition of the auto's right of way, and the introduction of very low speed limits, etc.);
- d. a multi-year plan for traffic safety is needed in which safety measures are stipulated with regard to the person (traffic education, driving and riding skills and conduct), the auto (inspection requirements), as well as the roads (separation of the different kinds of traffic and the removal of dangerous bottlenecks);
- e. the maintenance of maximum speed limits, even on the expressways;

- f. rights of way for public transit in large population centers; and support for no-auto zones in the inner city of large cities -- with access for people and goods;
- g. a roughly woven network of roads giving preference to the improvement of existing ones over the construction of new ones; construction of more bicycle paths;
- h. a parking policy which stacks autos before people;
- i. increasing train stations in the suburbs;
- j. optimizing, where necessary, traffic facilities for children, elderly people and the handicapped.

143.

The traffic and transportation policy should investigate how the different modes of transportation can be used to achieve the smoothest traffic flow. This requires, among other things:

- a. one piece of legislation covering the whole public transit system;
- b. greater transfer possibilities between automobile and public transit -- by means of better and more attractive parking places on the edge of the city and close to transit stations;
- c. experimenting, especially in the smaller centers, with making taxis more easily obtainable and affordable for the public;
- d. modern public transit with reliable schedules, good service, a uniform fare system, and more rights of way (or free lanes) on the heavily travelled routes;
- e. more attention to the connections with the countryside.

144.

A coherent policy should be fostered for the national and regional airports, in which, among other things, a speedy decision is made about whether or not we should have a second national airport. Any expansion of Schiphol airport must not increase the sound levels.

145.

The policy with respect to the wholesale shipping traffic should be directed towards strenghtening competition. With respect to inland shipping the policy should aim at eliminating overcapacity and obsolescence by means of an appropriate breaking-up and salvage regulation. Likewise, the introduction of a responsible work-and-rest-times regulation would be of great importance in the improvement of the competitive position.

146.

With respect to goods-carrying traffic we should fight on both a national as well as an European level for the introduction of an equitable opportunity and competition situation - both within each of the areas of rail, road and water transport, as well as between them.

147.

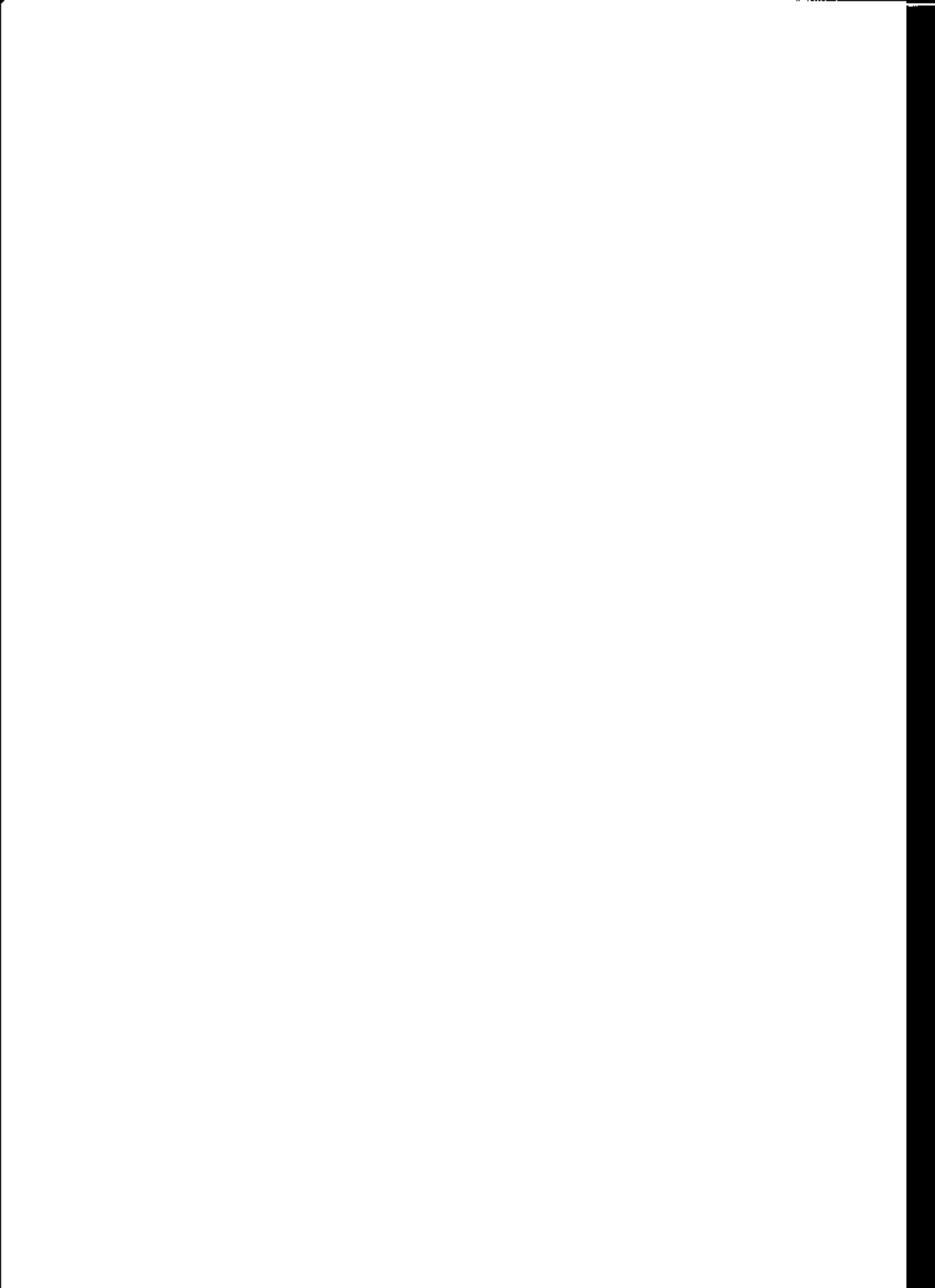
Better job conditions must be created for employees in the transportation industry - at least until they are comparable with those of satisfied workers in other industries.

Public Health

148.

In the policy of the coming period a central place should be given to prevention and especially health information and education. This means special attention for:

- a. the physical, social and psychological improvement of society which fosters healthy living (by fighting high-rise neuroses and noise pollution, while fostering smaller-scale living and working communities, playgrounds, and privacy). Scientific research in this area should also be stepped up,



and as much as possible in an international context as well;

- b. vigorously fighting serious sicknesses such as heart and vascular diseases, cancer, rheumatism. Primary weapons are good information and early detection with regular health check-ups for the entire population.
- c. scientific research.

149.

- a. The right to assistance in general, but especially in health care should be broadened. A basic principle for this is the availability, affordability, and accessibility of help for everyone.
- b. The individual patient has a right to the greatest possible choice of facilities, to attention, consultation regarding treatment and nursing procedures, and even the opportunity to make decisions. Those who refuse help to someone in need of help should be handled in accordance with this principle. In this way people should be treated as unique entities. In addition to the mechanical-medical aspects of health care, the psycho-social deserve more attention. The rights of a patient should be set forth in a legal statute.
- c. The established power of medicine has no right to become in or anti-human. It is not human, for example, other than in situations of great need, to end one's own or another person's life - by suicide, passive euthenasia, or abortion. Just as inhuman however is an extremely refined medical technology which hinders people from dying in a dignified human manner.

150.

A better administration and direction of health care is needed on the basis of a mutual cooperation and coordination between the different facilities (cf. the Memo on the Structure of Health care). This requires improvement of front-line health care, including the cooperation of various experts out of various disciplines.

The poly-clinic functions of the hospital should be encouraged with, among other things, a more appropriate financial structure. For the sake of a balanced distribution of facilities an energetic effort must be made in the direction of a genuine regionalization. Uncomplicated structure, true regional responsibility, and the participation of all those concerned are essential conditions. Plenty of room should be given to private enterprise and a domineering role on the part of government should be avoided.

Up to date democratic structures should be developed (also within private enterprise) in which workers and staff can participate in the establishment of policy, and the administration of the institution. The creation and execution of a development plan is required for the sake of preventive and ordinary dentistry.

151.

Mental health deserves special attention. Priority must be given to the removal of the backlog in new building and the modernization of existing institutions, without jeopardization by the increasing cost of health care. Sufficient privacy and respect for individual rights - especially for the elderly - should be carefully guarded.

Front-line health care should give special attention to the ambulatory mentally ill.

152.

The costs of health care must be firmly controlled, at least in part by restraining the demand for and use of services. For that purpose stringent norms must be established for the identification of health facilities and the incorporation of private relief workers.

Controlled, cost-conscious medical treatments and medicine supplies should be encouraged.

Taxation in the whole area of health care should be controlled.

Solid financing should be offered to subsidized health care facilities, by means of the AWBZ, or a general act of legislation.

153.

More than ever before, the training of medical, para-medical and nursing personnel should be directed towards the desired strengthening of the front-line health care and the treatment of psycho-social factors. Medical training should take place in general hospitals and other health care facilities. Also desirable is a better regulation of the training of medical specialists, which requires greater government responsibility.

Housing

154.

Good and affordable housing for the financially weakest and handicapped should receive top priority. Special attention is also needed for singles and foreign workers.

155.

It should be seen to that (semi)public buildings and transportation facilities are adapted as quickly as possible to the use of handicapped people and those with baby-carriages.

156.

The rent policy should be based on a comprehensible system of rents and rent subsidies. The starting point should be that all who are able should supply the costs of their own housing. Rent subsidies for all other housing that does not fall into the categories of special tenants should be treated individually.

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157.

Personal home ownership should be stimulated. It is necessary to increase the number of individually owned homes within the total housing stock.

158.

Housing construction should be geared to regionally set up and maintained program of "requirements-research."

159.

The financing of housing and urban rehabilitation should be supported by:

- a. the accelerated transition to a mixed system of individual rentsubsidies and specific-objective subsidies;
- b. attracting the support of institutional investors by offering guaranteed yields over a longer term;
- c. restricting costs;
- d. raising the rent levels of many who can afford to pay more - the introduction of individual home ownership should be geared to this policy of raising the rent level.

160.

It is urgent that the time of administrative decision making on the level of the housing policy be shortened. The concern for welfare must be incorporated into the construction of large housing projects at a much earlier date.

Land development policy

161.

A land development policy is needed in order to maintain the livability and viability of a limited amount of space. Proper stewardship of the land is primary, and ownership secondary. Compensation should be made for use limitations.

162.

The municipal government has a right to enjoy preferences in the purchase of real estate. This preferential position should be linked to an allotment of territory on the basis of final-use plans; for such areas, regulation of the purchasing duty of municipalities at the request of those concerned is necessary.

163.

Preference should be given to land transfers by means of sale. Land transfers by means of sale and lease should be regulated by administrative law in which clarity and orderliness are foremost.

164.

The possibility of statutory regulation with respect to municipal reallocation should be looked into - for the sake of urban rehabilitation as well as urban expansion.

165.

Whenever the government acquires land, the price paid should be as fair for the seller or expropriated owner as it is for the community. That means that speculation and government investment should be eliminated in the determination of the price.

166.

The following holds with respect to the agricultural land policy:

a. the land bank must offer the possibility of taking over, under reasonable conditions (such as selling back) and at lease value, the property of a factory or farm from any farmer or business man with a viable enterprise who wants to voluntarily lease or rent such property;

b. the successor to a deceased owner or proprietor of an enterprise should be extended, under certain conditions, rights of preference in the form of taking over the ownership at lease value or by leasing.

3b.: Unique freedom - unique sacrifices

167.

An increase in the contribution of citizens is generally reasonable and desirable on the level of:

- a. individual housing;
- b. sport activities;
- c. social security and public health;
- d. participation in recreational, social-cultural and sports facilities.

3. A SERVICEABLE ADMINISTRATION

"By virtue of its task, government has the calling to serve society with justice. Among other things such service includes protecting the rights of the weak, the oppressed, and the displaced ; punishing injustice ; respecting freedom of conscience and personal privacy ; and in general fostering whatever conditions are proper and necessary for a society of responsible people".

"Parliamentary democracy is of essential importance in the smooth functioning of a constitutional government.

Such democratic government ought to be founded upon respect for minority groups and provide protection against all forms of assault - whether that be from other countries, particular interest groups, or small groups of saboteurs.

(Art. 2 and 4, Starting Points).

That society ought to become opened up in a much more humane and social way was the emphasis in the first section of this program. That a more normative development of the economy and technology is necessary was the point of the second section.

In this section we will draw out the consequences for the way in which the government should be setting its own house in order during the next several years - consequences involving the arrangement of space, the shape of cities and suburbs, the provision of housing, and the organization of transportation facilities. In all these subsections of the policy area typified by the words "planning" and "regulation", the watch-words of our view are serviceability and quality of life.

Serviceability

"Serviceability" contains a hint of protest against every government organization and regulation which has become (or threatens to become) a goal in itself - organizations and ordinances which would much sooner shove and push people around than serve them, and in which there is little evidence of flexibility and a willingness to retreat if necessary, but only the rigid application of the existing rules to every case. Instead of "politicizing"

people we should humanize our body politic. People must experience their "own" government first hand, and they must know how and where to find it. That is the top priority for a society which wants to open itself up in a more humane direction.

Quality of Life

"Quality of life" means that people are able to feel at home in their environment. Therefore both city and countryside must be given a shape which fosters spontaneous human contact. We are seeking more of a human culture than a "space-capsule" culture ; and we assert that the small-scale is of greater value than the large-scale.

3a : A Serviceable Administration

If we follow these same lines of thought into the area of the civil service, we come to the conclusion that the construction of an administration out of people should take the place of conditioning people to the system. Branches and channels of government power ought to be redistributed so as to bring them as close as possible to the citizen. In principle the citizen should be able to influence every form of government decision making.

More decisions should be made in the municipalities since they are closest to the daily life of each resident ; in keeping with this view is our objective of expanding municipal taxation. Citizens of municipalities ought to have greater opportunity in their neighborhood and municipal councils to independently weigh their facilities and services over against the offices they require. Similarly, subsidiation must become less of a federal and more of a free municipal task.

It would seem useful to establish a permanent advisory council at a national (federal - provinces, municipalities) and a provincial (province and municipalities) level, to determine the most efficient division of labor between the different levels of government which must deal with the issue of government subsidies.

The government machinery is still far from being efficient. That also applies to the assignment of duties and work-methods within the cabinet. These subjects must be restudied.

Land Use Planning

Land use planning exists for the sake of society; not the other way around. It finds its basis in societal needs. Good land use planning demands international cooperation and national consistency - whether that has to do with airports and other large projects or with problems of environmental protection, traffic, and the like. Land use planning must be coordinated with social and economic planning. These three large policy areas are mutually interdependent.

Good teamwork between federal, provincial, and municipal governments is also a necessity. They should supply each other with good advice, and whether the issue is growth-centers or regional development for example, they should be able to agree on the basis of plan and execution without trying to take over each other's responsibilities.

Along side of principal decisions, opportunity must be given for participation in practical projects. And there should be room for initiatives from the people such as investments by entrepreneurs and the designing of landscape or environment by the residents themselves.

Building Policy

A clear building policy, supported by good evidence is necessary. The good evidence should be provided by good inquiry. There are often various options to be weighed - having to do with the inner city, environment, employment, or the public's preference, for example. A balanced presentation of

these options is always in order, and a clear decision must be taken. Such a decision must be actually feasible in terms of financial control, practical procedures, willingness to consult, and capital needs. Matters such as urban renewal, small centers, growing cities, the distribution of federal services, etc. are otherwise not given attention in a policy. A practical land use regulation requires intensive cooperation between the government and societal institutions. The government should not feel that it stand above all this. Add if it makes sure that its own drawings are sound, it needn't feel threatened either.

Government and economic life for example need each other, with respect to land use planning the government must also take care that "better" does not become the enemy of "good". That can especially come into play when something seems "better" in time.

All too time consuming are the procedures of destination plans(?). Here is where acceleration is needed - by lessening the Crown's opportunities to object, by only allowing the Crown to speak to points of appeal, and by the application (all along the line) of limited terms.

Urban Renewal

Land use planning should also contain a special emphasis on urban renewal. The older cities especially often contain unlivable areas with terrible deterioration. This touches upon one of the few policy areas in which we clearly need an expansion of present facilities and services. More attention must be paid to the conditions for authentic experience and real community. This also involves the issue of public health when we consider the serious problems of noise pollution, high-rise neuroses, and shortages of privacy and playground space for children.

Bundled de-concentration is an integral part of this policy: emphasis must be given to the formation of small and viable living centers.

Transportation Policy

The transportation policy should not give nearly so much attention to the construction of new roads as it should to the improvement of the existing ones. Maximum speed limits are to be maintained; and traffic safety should be given the right of way.

Health Care Policy

The expression "prevention is the best medicine" will be given strong emphasis in this policy. This also justifies placing a strong emphasis on information services. Increased control over the distribution and quality of health care facilities and services is one of our objectives.

Housing

Adaquate housing for those who can least afford it occupies a central place in this policy. Here we must especially remember the needs of the foreign workers and their families. Careful considerations must be made so that "public" housing benefits those for whom it was intended; with the system of individual rent subsidies having a definite contribution to make in this regard.

Land Development

Fair land development is central to any land-management policies, and this included the questions of property rights. The government should be given rights of priority with respect to the acquisition of land. It must be able to purchase land at a price which is uninfected by speculation, or by actual or planned government investment. We reject expropriation at bare use value as an all too defective and hence frequently unjust compensation for the previous owner.

Regional Policy

A regional policy is of real importance in the struggle for livable land. It is both unjust and unrealistic to strive to achieve equality between the mean income levels of various areas. A proper starting point is rather to let each

region realize its own full potential - culturally as well as socially and economically. A pointed policy is needed in order to prevent or counteract regionally determined centers of structural unemployment.

3 b: Unique Freedom Unique Sacrifices

As was already apparent in the previous section, the financing of all these activities remains a point of concern. A special contribution by the Dutch citizen towards the defrayment of the expenses of those programs which are of special importance to him or her, can always help in this context, and can make thing possible which would otherwise be impossible or unaffordable.

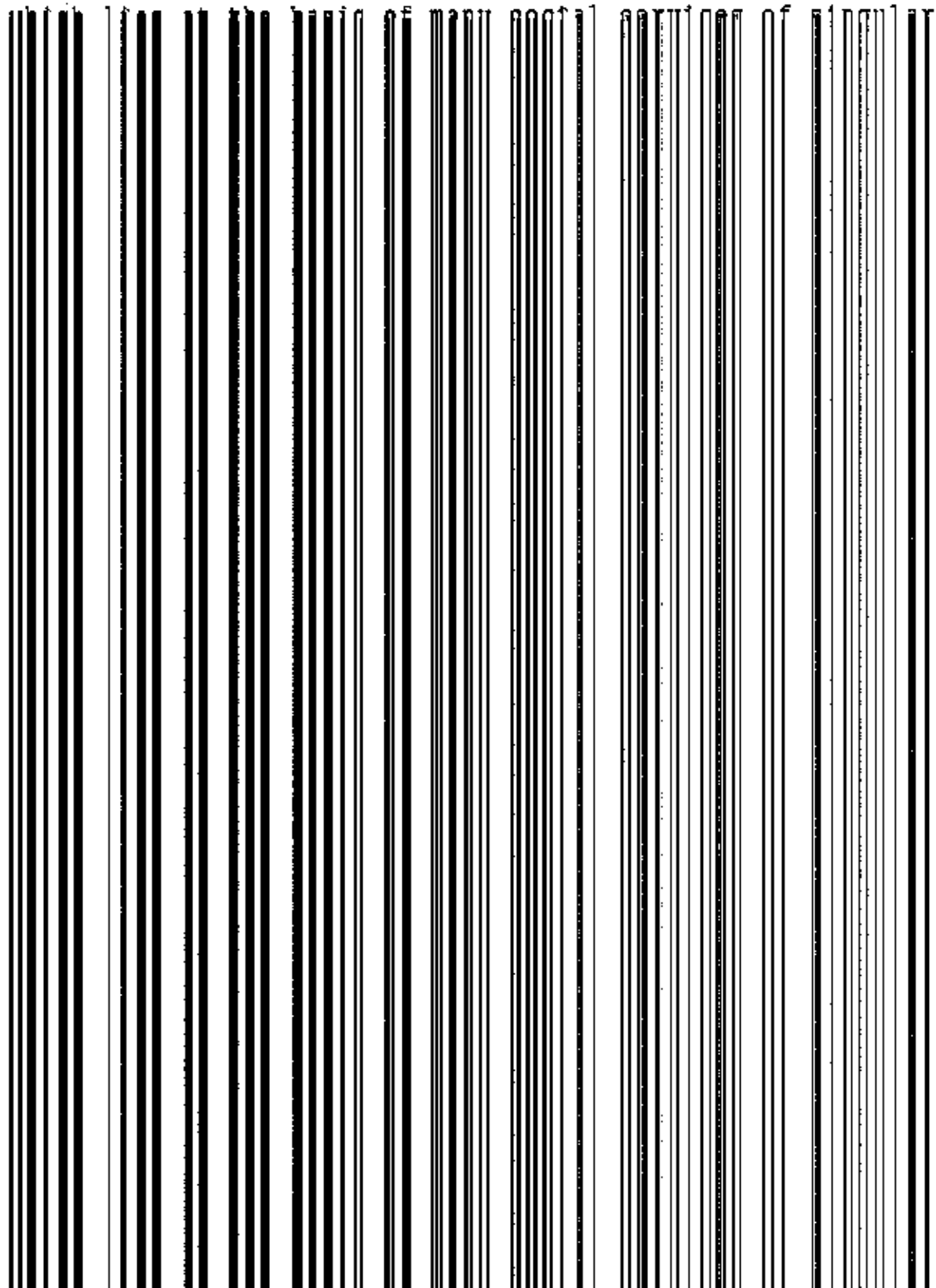
Yet this reason is not the only reason, and certainly not the main reason for calling attention in this program to the theme "unique freedom - unique sacrifices." The main reason is embedded in the especially heavy emphasis given in this whole program to typical human responsibility.

In a society where freedoms do not open up to the service of others, but only represent room for men to do (and allow each other to do) what they please, the allusion to unique contributions is only a contamination of unique freedoms and hence something to be avoided at all costs. But the situation is entirely different if we are dealing with a society which is typified by the exercise of variegated responsibilities. Responsibility binds together particular freedom and particular commitment. A government may expect of mature citizens that they are prepared to make a direct contribution toward defraying the costs of those programs which are most specifically directed to the furtherance of their own unfolding, their own comfort, or their own "living space."

That is why we think it no more than fair that the majority of Dutch citizens - i.e. those who enjoy a good income - pay for the complete cost of their own housing.

Particular contributions ought to definitely be maintained for educational facilities - with the exception of compulsory elementary education. As long as it does not concern any elementary facilities, particular contributions or assumption of partial risk in the financing of social programs and programs of a cultural nature ought not to be simply rejected out of hand.

Similarly we find the maintenance of the insurance character



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Similarly we find the maintenance of the insurance character which lies at the basis of many social services of singular importance. As an expression of societal responsibility for each other, the idea of solidarity contained in such programs is of such importance to us that for those reasons alone we have no desire to support the systematic transfer of the premium costs into the tax costs (the elimination of individual premium payments through absorption into the general tax revenue).

4. RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WORLD

United Nations

168.

Because it is the only world-wide organisation which can create an international legal order, give shape to the growing mutual dependence of lands and peoples, and counter-act increasing nationalism, the United Nations deserves continued support and strengthening (despite the fact that the way it functions is a cause of concern)

169.

The universality of the UN should be maintained. No one should be deprived of membership rights in a manner contrary to the Charter.

170.

Special attention should be given to the functions of peace-protection and encouragement. Greater use should be made of the different possibilities for settling differences in a peaceful manner - including submission to the International Court of Justice.

171.

Methods for protecting human rights ought to be strengthened - such as the establishment of a Council of Commission for the Rights of Man.

the fundamental equality of all people must be emphasized, and every form of discrimination rejected; nor should these matters be slighted when dealing with totalitarian and non-democratic governments.

Arms control and Disarmament

172.

There should be an active devotion - especially through membership in the Geneva Disarmament Commission and participation in the SALT(?) (or MBFR) talks - to the establishment of effective measures for controlling

and reducing arms, especially the weapons of mass destruction. That means, among other things:

- a. a more stringent accent against the (threatened) use of nuclear weapons in the defense strategies so as to guard against the erosion of safety as a consequence of an imbalance in conventional weaponry;
- b. halting the qualitative nuclear arms race by the introduction of a complete ban on of all nuclear testing;
- c. active support for the introduction of nuclear weapon - free zones beginning with those areas where nuclear weapons have not yet made their entrance;
- d. strengthening the safeguard system of the International Atomic Energy Agency in order to stop the spread of nuclear weapons;
- e. fighting for an agreement to ban the possession of chemical weapons;
- f. supporting any measures seeking to establish global regulations restricting and controlling the development of new weapons systems.

The east-west relationship

173.

There should be a strenuous endorsement of the objectives of the Accord of the Conference on European Safety and Cooperation. This Accord is of one piece and thus forms a solid basis for the normalization of relationships in Europe; it requires agreement about and observance of not only the relationships between countries, but also their economic cooperation and contact between people and nations.

174.

Normalization should also come to expression in a reduction of military confrontation by means of agreement with the MBFR (SALT?) talks concerning a lower level of globally equalized weaponry.

175.

Since there is still no real normalization of relation-

ships in Europe ,NATO remains indispensable for the sake of the maintenance of peace and safety, the prevention of war through respect for the strategy of reciprocal response, and for the protection of the democratic principles and values that obtain in our society. The democratic character of the alliance should be stressed.

Europe

176.

The whole Dutch policy should continuously take a European point of view which would lead to the policy being based in an increasing way upon reciprocity between the European partners.

The Dutch policy should specifically express the fact that inflation and unemployment are together only solvable in a European context.

177.

The Dutch christian democrats bestow special attention on the formulation of a joint policy between all the European christian-democrats. The main lines should be a democratic Europe that is closer to its citizens and strengthens the political cohesion in western Europe. Another priority should be the successful direct election of a European Parliament..

178.

As the Belgian christian-democrat Tindemans has suggested, it is of great importance for the sake of the European Union that the policies of the member states accept mutual obligations with respect to:

- a. the internal monetary policy: controlling the money supply;
- b. the budget policy: containing and financing shortages;
- c. political adjustment of the market trends (business cycle);
- d. the fight against inflation;

e. the principles of a social and environmental policy.

Care must be taken not to cut the heart out of potentially effective communal achievements. National powers must be turned over to communal bodies. At the same-time the European Parliament should be equipped with effective powers of control and enforcement.

179.

In the context of the increasing scale of structural problems, the Netherlands should work for a European social policy that leads to a jointly acceptable basis in the areas of both employment and participatory democracy in the member countries; in addition there should be a European industry, energy, and environment policy with a coordinated competition system both within the member countries as well as between them. European solidarity should be expressed in an active regional policy, which shows concern for the detrimental structural developments in certain regions resulting from the advancing international distribution of labor.

180.

In the area of foreign policy there should come an expansion of our cooperation and our ability to speak to the world with one voice. Such cooperation should serve the exercise of Europe's special tasks in the world, such as protecting human rights, fostering development cooperation, the creation of new economic structures, and contributing to the resolution of conflict elsewhere in the world.

181.

Portugal, Greece, and Spain should receive special attention; and support should be given to those developments which reflect the maintenance, growth and development of democratic influences.

182.

European cooperation with respect to the production

and normalization of conventional weaponry and logistics should be fostered within a NATO context. There should be no European nuclear power. In this context is imperative that the British and French nuclear powers be finished.

Energy facilities

183.

With respect to the issue of raw materials, the securing of energy supplies at a reasonable price is of great importance for both Europe and the Netherlands. This must also play a role in the North-South dialogue regarding the formulation of starting points for new structures in the world economy and trade.

By means of the International Energy Agency, the Netherlands should foster the development of alternative energy sources - also for the benefit of the developing countries.

High on the agenda for the dialogue between the Common Market countries and the Arab states should be the transfer of knowledge and technology to the oil countries in exchange for energy guarantees.

The Middle East

184.

A resolution of the conflict in the Middle East demands that Israel and its Arab neighbors be able to exist within safe, recognized boundaries, that occupied territory be relinquished, and that the position of the Palestinians be given legal, political recognition.

South Africa

185.

Apartheid policy in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia must be rejected. Unqualified support should be given to arms embargo and economic sanctions

of the Security Council of the United Nations. Contributions must be made to any and all possible solutions that lie along the path of peace.

Dutch Antillies

186.

We should cooperate in every way with the struggle of the Dutch Antillies for independence. In agreement with the internal self-reliance of the Dutch Antillies, it is not desirable to predetermine a specific date for independence. Holland should take an active part in the drafting and implementation of an internal development plan for all the islands, and should offer help with the decentralization and rationalization of the administrative machinery, as well as foster the ordering of the Dutch Antillies according to regions.

Development cooperation

187.

There is presently a movement towards a new international economic order. It is to be hoped that this will lead to equality among all the countries who share in the economic process, and to a real recognition of the independence of developing countries and developed countries.

In this context we plead that this new economic order:

- a. should give form and content to the rightful interests of the participating countries, especially the developing countries;
- b. should be oriented towards a more just arrangement of world trade, international monetary matters, and industrial production;
- c. should determine fair prices for the raw materials that the developed countries want to purchase from the developing countries;

The Dutch development effort should not be allowed to fall back below the 1% of the Gross National Product. The policy with respect to the role of the woman in society ought to be included in the selection, description, administration

and evaluation of development cooperation projects. This demands special care.

188.

- a. Greater attention must be paid to the quality of the help which must be offered to the poorest by governments and organisations which are concerned to eliminate corruption and depoliticize its aid.
- b. The information activities with respect to the international solidarity of the Netherlands should adequately meet the demands of efficiency and take place in connection with the work of private organizations.
- c. The world food policy should eliminate the food surplus in Europe.
- d. Attention should be given to the important interface issues of public housing and care for the elderly in developing countries for the sake of a healthy demographic, social and cultural development.

189.

The help should be concentrated for those countries which place a high priority on improving the conditions of the very poorest, which have a relatively low per capita income, and which show serious respect for human rights. It is in the interests of the recipient lands for the help not to be bound to spending in the donor country. For this reason there should be an international agreement about the erosion of help.

190.

Upon determination that a country has intervened in another militarily, the offering of development aid ought to be reconsidered.

191.

The consequences of a better international distribution of employment for particular branches of industry should be compensated for as much as possible by adjustments and specialization in those sectors. For this reason the international distribution of employment should also be taken into consideration in the industrial policy measures of the government.

192.

The drafting of an international code of behavior is necessary with respect to the private investment of multinational corporations in developing countries. In addition, a set of international laws are needed to cover the nationalization of foreign assets and the settling of differences in this area. The investment of enterprises smaller than the multinationals deserves encouragement.

193.

Although large scale projects in developing countries are unavoidable, the Dutch development policy should give special attention to small scale projects, especially those in the area of missions. Well equipped private organizations should be included in this.

194.

This policy should recognize the special value of private organizations such as missions. Jointly financed projects should only meet general policy standards.

195.

The Netherlands desires a communally drafted development policy for the Common Market. The agreement which the Common Market has concluded with the African, Pacific, and Caribbean countries should be carried out in letter and spirit and gradually brought into harmony with the demands of a comprehensive world-policy.

Defense

196.

The Dutch defensive effort in the context of NATO should remain directed toward the prevention of war, the control of crises, and the protection of democratic and societal values operative in our society. Our armed forces contribute to stable relationships within Europe.

197.

The size of the Dutch contribution to NATO is dependent on the state of international safety. In negotiations with our NATO partners concerning the further division of duties, specialization and

standardization, we should start from the position that the material defense effort (as spelled out in the Defense Accord of 1974) is maintained at a steady level of quality. Changes in the internationally accepted obligations should only come after joint consultation.

198.

Allocation of tasks, standardization and integration within NATO should be strongly supported. We should study whether or not one or more of our military subdivisions could be integrated with one or more of our neighbors. More of a mutual dependence among the European allies should be acceptable, provided that monopolistic positions are avoided.

199.

Due emphasis should be given to quick readiness of the military forces. The (military) organization should be streamlined and operating costs held down. For that purpose the military departments should cooperate closely with each other.

200.

The creation of a contemporary material and formal, criminal and disciplinary law should be fostered in which the peace-time trials of military personnel for punishable offenses should be conducted in special chambers of the regular judiciary.

4. RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WORLD

"The Netherlands should become recognized within the international society of peoples because of its solidarity with the poor and unprotected, and because of its conscientious observance of those principles of international justice which serve the peaceful coexistence of all peoples. In this context high priority ought to be given to matters of cooperative development. These principles of our international policy should be given particular form in our support of the proposed further integration of Europe, and this integration must be seen as going hand in hand with the further democratization of European institutions."

"Unrestricted armament, which is readily apparent in the so-called arms race, calls for a safeguard policy in which the control of arms and disarmament are of vital importance for international safety. The defense effort of the Netherlands should be geared to a level that has been mutually determined by its (NATO) allies.

That requires us to show serious concern over the present trend towards the perfections of weaponry which threatens the whole creation. It also increases the need for a world-wide reflection about the limits of permissible weapon usage by governments."

(Art. 12 and 11, Starting Points)

It would make no sense to invent fire engines which could - like fire itself - destroy a whole city. Such a monstrosity is never used and no fire chief would ever accept responsibility for one. His duty is to put out fires, even though he cannot always avoid damage to the adjacent properties. There is no such limitation of human responsibility for the invention of weapons however. As fast as science and technology can invent more lethal weapons and more thorough and complete means of destruction, they are made. Weapons technology only recognizes technological limits, and such boundaries have been so expanded that we can now speak of an "overkill" capacity. That means that there are already more than enough vicious weapons in the world than would be necessary to kill off all of humanity.

Where weapon technology has become such an independent power which is not limited or bound by any single norm, the government must - now more than ever before - reflect seriously reflect about the use of its available weapons. We accept as valid the position that an appropriate defense effort is unavoidable in our present world. A unilateral disarmament could make the temptation for possible opponents too great and mean a shortage of legitimate protection for others. But for every government there must certainly be some correlation between the size of the force of injustice which she expects to face with her weapons, and the size of her military response.

With a modern arms technology which sometimes even threatens the whole creation, that relationship has been fundamentally lost.

NATO

As a small country which can hardly even boast of one modern weapon industry, the Netherlands, in our judgment, ought to take the initiative in convening an international conference at which scientists and politicians of the broadest possible composition would attempt to reach a common agreement with respect to this development which is rapidly getting out of hand.

This is an initiative for which we plead with the strongest possible intensity; the present situation is far too serious for us to be able to afford to overlook any possibilities.

Such an initiative should be closely connected to the continual support of every other initiative toward further multi-lateral disarmament. Our necessarily critical attitude with respect to the development of modern weapon-technology and usage must also have certain consequences with respect to the use of military possibilities within NATO.

The Netherlands should propose to NATO that it look into the possibility of issuing a non-first use declaration in conjunction with the Warsaw-pact countries. A condition for this would be that there be a global balance on a conventional level between NATO and the Warsaw -pact.

Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of Holland should, in our judgment, be typified as a whole by two basic features:

- a. the establishment and strengthening of an international legal order;
- b. solidarity with people who are being oppressed, suffer under poverty, or are in any other way being forced into a corner.

The same "undivided attention" which we request as part of our domestic policies on behalf of needy people and minority groups, should also be considered valid for countries, people, and groups elsewhere in the world, in other words.

That holds for Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the communist countries. Every country, without exception, must realize that we will stand up for the oppressed and suppressed. This must also determine our standpoint with respect to the problems caused in the world by South Africa and the Middle East.

We mention these areas by name because the situation there constitutes a threat to international peace and safety.

Those "forums for shared responsibility" for which we pleaded in the first part of this program should also be given a chance here as well. The United Nations is already an institution which provides just such a forum. Although not always completely workable, neither should it be disbanded.

The European Economic Community (EEC) is also such a forum and one which already seems to work quite effectively. NATO is no less dispensable, and can and should stimulate the development of new and more flexible foreign policy platforms.

Europe

As far as Europe is concerned, various tasks of the Dutch government can clearly be exercised only on a supra-national level. The struggle against inflation and unemployment and the attempt to open up new opportunities for developing countries in the world market can only be carried on and executed effectively in an EEC context. In Europe social partners (labor unions and entrepreneurs) should also seek to open channels of discussion and consultation in face to face meetings, especially with respect to the activities of multinational corporations in the member states.

The establishment of the European Union deserves positive support from the Netherlands.

In as far as this union gets coupled with any real extension of authority within the framework of the formation of an economic unity, it should:

- a. be assured that democratic control over the exercise of these powers by a European Parliament is actually possible; and
- b. have established - through the EEC protocol agreement - that in the Europe of tomorrow, social and economic development deserves to be attuned to the demands of a genuine openness toward the poor countries of the world, just as much as to the responsibilities of its own internal social and environmental policies.

Development Cooperation

In today's world we should recognize our co-responsibility for fair relationships the whole world over. For us that is the deepest ground for the pursuit of cooperative development. Developing countries deserve special assistance through a system of general preferences, and they should have in principle free access to the common market. We should not pretend to be at peace with the fact that cooperative development plays such a little role in the thought of many Dutchmen. Thus many activities which are directed towards raising our consciousness deserves continual government support.

FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

The drafting of financially responsible election platform for the coming term of office is a difficult job. It is a reality which cannot be talked away, and it is one which -- especially on account of the urgent necessity to restore employment and the investments it requires in our economy -- requires that limits be placed upon the rising share of the "collective" or "public" sector of the economy. For the more that the government itself spends (through the social security and welfare system) or stimulates spending, the more it eats into the space needed to restore employment over the long term. In addition it is becoming increasingly clear that there are definite limits as to how much taxation a population such as ours can bear.

In previous years the collective sector's share of the national income has been increasing so fast -- at a rate of nearly 2% per year now -- that even if we would keep this down to a 1% increase we will encounter large problems; and every step further along this same path not only becomes more difficult and painful, but threatens the life of more and more vital policies and programs.

This platform chooses for a treatment therefore, in which the collective sector's level in the national income will be maintained at a figure which is clearly less than 1% -- all for the sake of the employment situation. At the projected growth rate of 3½ % to 3¾ % per year in the national income during the next term of office, the collective sector's share should not increase by more than .6% or .7% of the national income.

It is not possible to realize this immediately of course, since there are limits to what can be reached by bending and stretching farther -- just like a supertanker cannot suddenly stop on a dime. In any case, however, we must reach the norm by 1980 or 1981.

This norm for the collective sector must be taken utterly seriously; and any escape by means of deficit spending or increasing the national debt is unacceptable. To make it even stronger: by 1980/81, this revenue shortage should be reduced to about 4% of the national income.

This platform also meets the demand for a responsible anti-inflation policy by assuming that the rise in real disposable income can be held to 1%. This of course means that not only the government, but also her citizens will have to exercise severe restraint during the next few years. The goal however, of increasing employment, should appeal to people's sense of responsibility. This will require a freeze on incomes, little adjustment in the position of civil servants, regaining control over our social security and welfare system, and the restriction of particular subsidies. Above all this platform firmly insists that our special care and concern must be extended first of all to those people in our society who are the economically weak among us. No matter how much this platform has emphasized the need for sacrifice in many sectors of our society in order to insure a better outlook for the future, even that has its limits, and so we reiterate that not every point in this platform comes under the hand of restraint. With the following we must continue to push ahead: with protection for the weak and oppressed, with the encouragement of development cooperation, with the improvement of education on a number of fronts, and with a stronger environment policy.