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SECTION 3

AN OUTLINE OF AN
ATLANTIC COMMUNITY EXTENSION SERVICE
(A C E S)

THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY EXTENSION SERVICE

The Atlantic Community plans to extend its activities in cultural and social fields according to the following outline, whose principal features include the establishment of seven functional organizations and a network of Community Development Projects to be called Atlantic Community Extension Service (ACES)

Functional Organization

The proposed functional organizations will serve the following principal purposes :

- a) To unite and organize existing technical and cultural forces in terms of functional criteria;
- b) To train new cadres to meet the complex needs of a modern society with competence and responsibility;
- c) To focus the highest national skill on local needs and problems;
- d) To introduce a spirit of free and enlightened collaboration in the same spheres where anti-democratic forces are operating openly or surreptitiously to advance narrow or sinister interests;
- e) To channel democratic forces into socially significant activities.

Since the organization of a modern state requires specialized but closely related functions, the seven proposed institutes will complement each other and form an organic whole. Each will be organized on the broadest democratic basis, membership being open to all persons of recognized technical competence and moral responsibility.

The proposed functional organizations are :Institute for Economic Development and Industrial Relations ; Institute for Local Administration; Institute for Workers' Education; Institute for Urban and Rural Redevelopment; Association for Social Workers; Institute for Social and Cultural Centers.

Evidently, wherever in the Atlantic Community similar functional organizations already exist, ACES's task will simply be to assist them and to help creating new ones only in case of necessity.

I - INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

1. Establishing new standards for industrial relations ;
2. Gauging the reciprocal influence between a factory or industrial concern and the economic, social, and political structure of the surrounding community ;
3. The training of new industrial leaders for production system and the study of business administration as a profession;
4. The cooperation with the European Productivity Agency for the establishment of consulting services for small and medium-sized business concerns to increase in-plant productivity ;
5. The circulation of advanced ideas in industrial relations through educational films, publications , lectures etc. ;
6. The popularization of town planning research in industrial areas as a means of improving the community's living standard ;
7. The establishment of an advisory service on town planning and industrial architecture, which will operate on a cost-reimbursement basis;
8. The study of farsighted industrial practices, such as profit-sharing plans, community participation plans, industrial foundations etc..
9. The study of economic organization in Community Development Projects .

Membership in the Institute will be open to business executives, professors of engineering and economics , social scientists, industrial architects , industrial psychologists , and economists and advisers of independent labor organizations .

II - INSTITUTE OF FEDERAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The Institute's main aims will be to promote the study of the political and administrative sciences in relation to local government and the Federal State ; to train groups of experts in these sciences, to assist competent persons, loyal to democratic principles, in finding employment in local government , public and private organizations .

- A. To achieve these aims the Institute will:
1. Supplement the operations of public schools and other institutes, by assisting in the establishment of courses and seminars dealing with the problems of self-government, federalism and international relations ;
 2. Promote the publication of textbooks, efficient exchange of teachers and students, and extension services for public education in self-government, federalism and regional government.
- B. In particular the Institute will make its services available to any public and private agency or organization that requests its cooperation in the training of specialized personnel , or in the handling of special advisory and research activities.
- C. On the local level, and in accordance with local needs, the Institute will promote special activities by request of the Institute for Social and Cultural Centers.
- D. Lastly, on an international level, the Institute will promote the exchange of information and experience among various countries.

Membership in the Institute will be open to all those who are interested in the theory and practice of the political and administrative sciences.

III - INSTITUTE FOR WORKERS' EDUCATION

The Institute's purposes will be to stimulate and satisfy the workers' desire for education, and, in general, to work toward an educational system which will provide full opportunity for individual and social development of all gifted children, adolescents and adults .

To achieve its purposes the Institute will :

- A. Promote and co-ordinate educational activities among working-class groups ;
- B. Stimulate workers' interest in education and public support of educational programs ;
- C. Study workers' educational needs and interest public and educational authorities in these needs ;
- D. Provide classrooms and other school facilities, either directly or in conjunction with workers' and educational organizations;

- E. Furnish independent labor unions with teachers and experts in education ;
- F. Promote studies in history of labor movements and in modern trends in unionism.

IV - INSTITUTE FOR RURAL AND URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

The Institute's purpose will be to promote studies of city and country planning , as well as studies of housing problems , and to co-operate with agencies concerned with the solution of these problems .

In particular, the Institute will study and develop plans for the coordination of individual communities or community groups. Plans will be aimed at improving social and economic conditions, and raising the communities' living standards , particularly in the depressed areas. These activities will be conducted in close co-operation with the Institute for Economic Development and Industrial Relations (I) .

The Institute will establish the necessary organizations and facilities for the implementation of such plans.

The Institute will make its services available to the government and to public agencies, whenever its participation is required for effective implementation of projects designed to meet social needs .

- A. The specific function of the Institute will be to study and carry out projects concerning :
 - 1 . Self-contained residential units designed to achieve urban decentralization ;
 - 2 . New villages and settlements in connection with agricultural developments in under developed areas ;
 - 3 . Redevelopment and community planning for low-cost housing and slum-clearance projects ;
 - 4 . Planning for the development of tourist areas , and for landscape conservation ;
 - 5 . Localities selected for new housing developments or for factories of special importance .
- B . The Institute will assist small communities in obtaining the necessary areas for urban development .

In studying the execution of projects , the Institute will give special attention to the social and human element and will stimulate a sense of solidarity in the communities , making adequate provision for educational cultural and recreational facilities .

The Institute , when not acting directly , will encourage individuals , communities , agencies , companies and housing co-operatives in their efforts to solve developmental problems .

V - HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENSE ORGANIZATION

The Organization's purpose will be the disinterested defense, in principle and in practice , of human rights :

A . On a national level , the Organization will :

- 1 . Promote general knowledge of human rights ;
- 2 . Attempt to eliminate conditions limiting the enjoyment of such rights by militating against legislative and executive measures directly or indirectly affecting the enjoyment of human rights ;
- 3 . Conduct organizational and educational activities aimed at achieving these objectives.

B . On a local level , the Organization will :

- 1 . Attempt to eliminate local conditions limiting the enjoyment of human rights , by adequately reporting them on the national level and recommending remedial measures ;
- 2 . Support direct action in defense of human rights , such as legislation against abuses ;
- 3 . And , in particular :
 - a) attempt to alleviate inhuman conditions in prisons ;
 - b) help persons released from prison to readjust to normal life ;
 - c) re-educate juvenile delinquents ;
 - d) study more human forms for protecting society against unsocial and criminal elements .

VI - ASSOCIATION FOR SOCIAL WORKERS

The Association will be open to persons interested in problems of social welfare whose chief activity is in this field .

A . The Association's main purposes will be to :

- 1 . Extend the range of the social worker' activities , and broaden the meaning of social assistance ;

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- 2 . Train groups of social workers in up-to-date scientific methods .
- B . Toward the achievement of these goals the Association will promote:
- 1 . The organization of advanced studies and seminars for social workers;
 - 2 . Public discussion of social work and ways and means of improving social service ;
 - 3 . Organise direct social work Services in the Community Projects Areas.

The Association will make its services available to any agency or organization , public or private , that requests its advice and organizational assistance .

We have described, along broad lines, (under section 1) the theoretical functions of a modern State. We then proceeded to examine the Institutions which are to be established in a free Society in order to strengthen from outside the functions of the State.

Finally we have been dealing with ACES (Atlantic Community Extension Service), the unitary organ of coordination of all efforts undertaken in the cultural field meant to transform them into effective contributions to social progress. In short, we advocate a type of activity capable of giving to all men of learning a field action within the very social reality; otherwise the dissociation between culture and society, which is one of the most evident aspects in the crisis of contemporary society, will perpetuate itself, and all our efforts towards re-organization will once again have been vain.

The organizational means of all these functions should intervene on two different levels :

A - REGIONAL LEVEL

The Institute for Social and Cultural Centers will provide for the organization of regional cultural centers. These centers will advise, assist and cooperate with the district Social Centers (under b) and will house the regional research offices of functional divisions. The establishment of Cultural Centers on the level of regional units, that is territorial units large enough to be in touch with the Universities and the big cities where nowadays the liveliest forms of associated life are concentrated. In Italy this order of dimension is represented by regions such as Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, etc., (having more than 3 million inhabitants) and by groups of regions (in the case of smaller regions) forming altogether from 7 to 13 regional cultural centers. The 19 regional units envisaged by the Italian Constitution of 1948 are too many for our present organizational capacities.

B - DISTRICT LEVEL

In small areas (with no more than 100.000 inhabitants) of the above - mentioned regions, the Institute for Social and Cultural Centers will have to undertake one or more community development projects. In order to carry out such projects, the Centers will avail themselves of all functional Institutions which, by so being put in touch with the social reality, will eventually take the leadership for the progress of the selected Communities.

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Although Community projects are presumably well known, it will perhaps be worth giving here a brief account of their implications (appendix 3).

Let us also point out the originality implied by the system of insertion into the social reality: it consists in providing activities of a complementary nature to those undertaken by Governments and local authorities in the aim of :

- 1) stimulating the authorities's work ,
- 2) providing alternatives ,
- 3) carrying out , as far as possible, what the State and other independent agencies have not succeeded in doing for the Community's economic and social progress .

Community projects are not to be considered as means of action to be employed in underdeveloped countries only (India , Pakistan, etc.) but as powerful means apt to invigorate the present western democracy , tired and obsolete , through the formation of a new élite of town-planners , sociologists, social workers, industrial managers.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ACES

The problem presents itself now of setting up, should it not already exist, an efficient and independent national body for carrying out an organic plan of Social and Cultural Centers for the working of the new Institutions. In order that such plan should not transform itself into a new source of privilege and political favouritism leading to stagnation in political life, the primary nucleus, which is to give rise to the above-mentioned associations, must be formed according to all precautions suggested by experience.

The primary nucleus must effectively:

- 1°) represent a balance between the forces: labour-democracy-culture, a balance which present experience indicates as an essentially progressive formula;
- 2°) succeed in making its action adequate to its task, in other words act efficiently;
- 3°) possess to a considerable degree all true scientific, cultural, educational, aesthetic values.

Each country will have to start from the existing situation, that is to utilize the groups which already have an institutional functions. Applying a restrictive criterion organized culture should remain exclusively in the hands of the Universities; if however a broader principle is accepted, some other Institutions of recognized cultural authority might also be called upon to join in the task.

TENTATIVE PROPOSAL FOR A NATIONAL COUNCIL

- a) Secretary appointed by the National Body
- b) President elected by the Council

THE ITALIAN CASE

1st Group : Representatives appointed by the National Government (10) among terms proposed by the Ministry of Education chosen from University Professors of the following branches: Political Science (3), Law (1), Labour Legislation (1), Social Medicine (1), Sociology (1), Psychology (1), Town and Country Planning (1), Economics (1).

2nd Group : Representatives of the Free Unions among their Research Offices (5), Representatives of the National Cooperative Associations (5).

3rd Group : Representatives of Cultural Institutions of high authority (10). Amongst the Institutions which may be entered in the list we should tentatively suggest:

- 1 - ISE - Istituto Studi Economici - Milano
- 2 - Fondazione Umanitaria - Milano
- 3 - INU - Istituto Nazionale Urbanistica - Roma
- 4 - Accademia dei Lincei (Classe Scienze Morali) - Roma
- 5 - Federazione Italiana dei Centri Sociali - Roma
- 6 - Associazione Italiana Scienze Sociali - Roma
- 7 - Lega dei Comuni d'Europa - Roma

4th Group : Experts appointed by the Atlantic Community Council (10).

ESTIMATED ANNUAL BUDGET FOR A NATIONAL EXTENSION SERVICE

FUNDS APPROPRIATION

We think that it would be extremely difficult to persuade Governments to make the funds appropriation required by such an organization especially in the case of heavily "in the red" budgets such as those of Italy and France .

Yet it seems to us that it would be sensible to suggest that the funds should be drawn, according to a federative principle, from the military budgets of the NATO Nations, in quotas proportional to the budgets themselves.

- 1) Military budgets are in relation to the economic power of each Country;
- 2) The decision could be made by NATO itself which would thus make it easier to obtain the approval of the various Countries .

ESTIMATED ANNUAL BUDGET FOR A NATIONAL EXTENSION SERVICE

The approximate cost of a <u>functional organisation</u> is	\$.	100.000.-
" " " " " <u>Regional Center</u>	"	100.000.-
" " " " " <u>Community Project</u>	"	100.000.-

Therefore for countries like France , Germany , Italy , it will be suggested :

1st stage (experimental)

5 Functional Organizations	\$	500.000.-
5 Regional Centers	"	500.000.-
7 Community Projects	"	700.000.-
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Total Expenses	\$	1.700.000.-

2nd stage (middle-operation)

7 Functional Organizations	\$	700.000.-
7 Regional Centers (optimum)	"	700.000.-
14 Community Projects	"	1.400.000.-
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Total Expenses	\$	2.800.000.-

3rd stage (good type operation)

7 Functional Organizations	\$	700.000.-
7 Regional Centers	"	700.000.-
21 Community Projects	"	2.100.000.-
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Total Expenses	\$	3.500.000.-

APPENDIX 1

THE PROBLEM OF FREEDOM IN A POST-COMMUNIST STATE

The problem of freedom in a post-communist state is a complex one, involving the transition from a system of total control to one of democratic governance. This process is not merely a change of leadership, but a fundamental restructuring of the state's institutions and the society it governs. The challenge lies in ensuring that the new system is not only democratic but also effective, capable of addressing the needs of its citizens and maintaining stability during a period of significant social and economic change.

We must have the courage to admit that possibly it was the lack of a homogeneous constructive ideal on the part of the revolutionaries - who through acting in the name of liberty failed to formulate clearly the kind of government they would have substituted for the existing Communist regime - which precipitated the tragedy of 1956 in Poland and 1957 in Hungary. The Nagy regime, most have assumed Khrushchev's in 1956, presented a political alternative destined to last in government for the rest of violent anti-Communist. It might have been NATO or the Danish. Well aware of these possibilities, various circles in the U.S. began studying the feasibility of creating a national front from the

An essay on the problem of transition from dictatorship to democracy.

The new political problems besetting the Communist regimes sprang up with the end of Stalinism, and for a year have determined the policy both of the U.S.S.R.'s Praesidium and of the Western governments, while assuming their most evident and dramatic form in Poland and Hungary.

From Moscow, the internal evolution of Russian Communism, through proclamation of the end of the cold war, the Krushchev report and the other remarkable - in a sense, liberating - manifestations, kindled among men of good will throughout the world hopes that still today appear to be not entirely unfounded; since only an internal democratization of the Soviet system can provide guarantees of world peace.

Although this process was gravely interrupted by the tragic events in Hungary, prudence and objectivity call for a thorough study of the situation, and an attempt to discover how the process could be encouraged to continue. We believe that civil liberties have their roots so deep in man's conscience that they must inevitably find expression again in Russia and in the countries still under dictatorship. The surge toward freedom has already manifested itself in various forms:

- a) in Yugoslav national Communism, in which the emphasis on decentralization and autonomy, on coordination between local agencies and productive activity, is quite clear, though these are still in a developmental phase;
- b) in the Polish regime, recent hints of national Socialism, still too underfined, however, to permit a grasp of their real meaning;
- c) in the Hungarian regime, where no mediating forces between the Communist regime and possible forms of Socialist democracy found expression and sanguinary crisis ensued.

We must have the courage to admit that primarily it was the lack of a homogeneous constructive ideal on the part of the revolutionaries - who though acting in the name of liberty failed to formulate clearly the kind of government they would have substituted for the orthodox Communist regime - which prompted the Kremlin to resort to steel and fire. The Nagy regime must have seemed like Kerensky's in reverse: a political confusion destined sooner or later to gravitate into the orbit of violent anti-Communism. It might have meant NATO on the Danube. Well aware of these possibilities, various circles in the U.S. began studying the feasibility of creating a neutral belt from the

Baltic to the Black Sea. The Kremlin, in the present state of international politics, can tolerate Socialist democracies on its borders, but could not accept any other sort of regime mortgaged to anti-Communism.

The West's primary concern, within Atlantic policy, must be peace founded on freedom. Whatever form the social system of a given State may take, guarantees of peace, the end of the cold war, and ultimately the definitive, necessary step toward disarmament and the transformation of the UN into a world federation-all depend on the internal democracy of the various states. Consequently, it is the problem of Socialist democracy that lies at the root of the situation, and it is this unsolved problem that must be faced, analyzed and resolved.

We of the Community Movement have been concerned with the theoretical aspects of this question for more than ten years. In fact, the first edition of The Political Order of the Communities ("L'Ordine Politico delle Comunità"), printed in Engadine, Switzerland, during the war and released in 1945, bore the subtitle: "Guarantees of Freedom in a Socialist State".

There is no need in this first essay to go into the constitutional problems raised by our thesis, but we should like to submit to the attention of the most broad-minded Marxist theoreticians the following fundamental questions:

- 1) Does the Soviet regime intend to facilitate a gradual return to the fundamental freedoms of speech, press, assembly ?
- 2) Has a technique been prepared for the process of democratization ?
- 3) Is there a possibility of organizing freedom in new forms, appropriate to a Socialist Democratic State, so as to avoid a return to types of seeming democracy, founded on economic privilege and the predominance of monopolistic groups, which would compromise the slender hopes for peace ?

The problems of Socialist democracy we intend to discuss are :

- a) the problem of freedom of the press ;
- b) the problem of freedom of assembly, which is identified with the problem of political parties ;
- c) the problem of a new federal constitution .

a) Organizing the Freedom of the Press

Our discussion on freedom of the press concerns primarily those countries where, through historical circumstances, the newspapers and periodicals are at present controlled by a single-party regime, and where the distinction between State and party is not yet operative.

Men in public life steeped in traditionalism have no hesitations: regardless of the means let freedom of the press be re-established. And we recognize that in a society or a State where freedom of the press is lacking, one of the fundamental conditions or attributes of freedom is lacking. Italians have had a thorough, in many respects negative, experience of the problem. In 1945 we passed from dictatorship by a single party to a regime of traditional democracy. But can we truly say that we have real freedom of the press?

The newspapers printed in every large city, almost in every regional center, certainly play a considerable part in forming public opinion. A daily newspaper by its nature must offer: 1) news coverage embracing not only the national territory but also foreign countries; 2) classified advertisements concerning employment, dwellings and commercial exchanges, and general ads for products, sales, etc. These functions cannot be filled by party organs or by opinion publications.

The big daily newspapers, and it could not be otherwise, also represent the interests of the groups that own them. In Italy, it is common knowledge that the big newspapers are owned by industrial groups, which are for the most part monopolistic. For any one that may pursue a progressive policy, there are too many others that have become hidebound in the defence of outmoded positions which do not in any way serve the true interests of the nation. Though the newspaper business is a money maker, competition is minimal. Created in large part by the habits and needs of the readers, the privileged position of the big Italian dailies could be challenged only by the investment of tens of millions of dollars, and even then the success of a new venture would be doubtful. It must of course be recognized that the Italian situation, after ten years of post-Fascism, has maintained until now a broad margin of freedom and democracy. But when freedom and democracy hung in the balance in 1953, when the electorate was asked to pass a law placing the fate of the country in the hands of a single party, which intended to become a one-party regime, the largest national newspaper without exception supported this anti-democratic maneuver. Italian democracy was saved by a majority of 50,000 in the national vote .

Democracy must be defended by a strong and stable press of its own. Neither Poland nor Hungary, nor Russia tomorrow could permit the substitution of the present party journalism by a journalism supported by mono-

polistic financial power. The real concern should be that of placing truth at the service of man. In every region, wherever there are large concentrations of people, steps should be taken:

- a) to set up a supervisory and controlling press and information organization;
- b) to create an independent and autonomous technical and organizational system (presses, warehouses, business offices, news rooms, distribution offices, etc.), under the supervisory and controlling organization mentioned above.

To expand the range of the free press, the technical press organization may be extended to serve groups of associations desiring to establish newspapers or periodicals which for technical reason they might otherwise have to forego. At the beginning of the Liberation in Italy we had this kind of situation, when the press equipment belonging to the Fascist regime was handed over to a multiplicity of political parties. But with each party following its own program of indiscriminate expansion, the country as a whole remained without that objective freedom of speech - through the press - which was one of the aims for which the parties had come into being.

Various solutions of the problem have been attempted in different countries. In England, for instance, while the management of The Times is private, controlling shares of its stock cannot be transferred to new owners without the consent of a committee including: the Lord Chief Justice of England; the Warden of All Souls College, Oxford; the President of the Royal Society; the President of the Institute of Chartered Accountants, the Governor of the Bank of England and other members, all serving ex officio. Though worth while, the influence of this board is very weak, for its supervisory powers are limited mainly to preventing The Times from falling into "unworthy hands" through change of ownership. A broader formula was adopted in the organization of the Italian weekly, L'Espresso, where the board of trustees, whose members cannot be changed during four years of service, has full control over editorial policy and even the power to dismiss the editor. In the case of The Time, the right of discharging the editor belongs solely to the owners, while the board has only the right of veto.

The problem of a free press is fundamental to the question of a new regime, and such a regime, with continuing possibilities for renewal, must be based on an authority that reflects a new political and social balance. Without this statement of principle, no program capable of enlisting the workers and intellectuals of the East can be formulated. The type of regime we propose can in fact be accepted both by the Socialist masses and intellectuals and by the Christian masses and intellectuals, whether Catholic or belonging to the various eastern churches. Unless both Socialist and Christian needs are satisfied, for they represent a historic necessity, no permanent, stable solution can be achieved. The yardstick of the new newspapers will be the safeguarding and advancement of the truth. To this end they will protect the objectivity of their staff and of the information they print. It is obvious, however, that homogeneously organized groups cannot be depended upon to defend free expression.

Such groups inevitably reflect their own sectional interests, whether they are parties, associations or trade unions. It is unnecessary to elaborate this point, which has been covered in wellknown studies in the philosophy of law concerning the value of pluralism in many aspects of organized society.

As an empirical solution for a plural organization in defence of the Truth, as common or, better, communitarian, expression of groups complementing and balancing one another, perhaps the following will serve as an acceptable example:

- 1) a group representing the juridical authority;
- 2) a group representing labor organizations ;
- 3) a group representing the universities and other educational institutions;
- 4) a group representing cultural associations and organizations ;
- 5) a group representing autonomous local authorities ;
- 6) a group representing cooperative organizations .

A possibility to which we attach the highest positive value is that of the participation of religious groups , through representation of one or more religious organizations, depending on the number of large religious minorities.

Although many solutions are feasible, to be acceptable they must effectively :

- a) guarantee respect for human life , the rights and dignity of the person; habeas corpus ;
- b) ensure reliability of information (editors and reporters responsible for false or erroneous news should be dismissed);
- c) respect the independence of scientific thought and artistic activities;
- d) represent a balance between the forces: labor-democracy-culture, a balance which present experience indicates as an essentially progressive formula.

Practical contingencies lead us to the subject of economic development and planning of cities, particularly the search for a new and satisfactory equilibrium between city and country, which is one of the major problems in every country. Accordingly, an outstanding representation of economic thought and territorial planning would have a place among the cultural groups mentioned. Furthermore, background and education in the great problems of international relations, peace and disarmament should be provided by general and specialized forms of university education.

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The political group providing the leadership would see to it that each of the groups represented had effective organization for internal democracy, and that the universities and courts of law functioned according to modern democratic statutes. It will be evident, given the present state of affairs, that the formula proposed could be put into effect only gradually, as freedom speeds its course in every manifestation of society and the State.

Yet the initial control group organized according to our composite formula and set up over the newspapers and press, would already reflect the points of view of the group composing it, and would replace the political party in directing the organs of information. Whether these should be the existing newspapers or new ones, is an important specific question which need not be examined here, but is a matter of eventual policy. We are faced with the classical problem of which comes first, the chicken or the egg. The man of good faith can only answer: by all means begin with the chick, even if it is bare of feathers, so long as it is full of life. The vitality of the effort will lie in the will, the honesty and moral impetus of the men carried to power on the new winds of freedom.

b) Freedom of Assembly and Political Parties

It has been pointed out before that democratic Socialism or Socialist democracy appear to be the historical heirs to the Communist parties. Yet the ideological void of democratic Socialism following the crisis of the Second International at the beginning of the century, and after the recent tragic crisis of Stalin's Leninism, presents dramatic aspects, and it would be worth struggling to fill that void.

In attempting to give systematic character to new solutions, it is necessary to start from several fundamental propositions, which will be familiar to those who have followed communitarian theory.

If we accept that civilization is a synthesis of material, moral and spiritual values, and if the political order is organized according to functions that have in themselves a definite spiritual root, society as a consequence will develop automatically toward an authentic civilization.

In our theoretical discussion of the change-over from dictatorship to a free State, the restoration of the freedom of the press and of freedom of assembly will be considered as equally important. Accordingly, in connection with the latter, we shall attempt to outline the problem of political parties.

Freedom of assembly, like freedom of the press, is a vital necessity in a democratic system, and must be considered in connection with the problem of the political parties.

The first question that arises is whether we ought to propose that the countries which are emerging or hoping to emerge from the murky fogs of the one-party regimes should take as their model the parliamentary system, the party system as it exists in continental Europe. The answer must be no, for such a system would have to be rejected by peoples who have suffered, who have struggled for an illusion of absolute justice. A return to the order that immediately preceded totalitarianism could not satisfy the new generations. Let us then have the courage to point the way to a new order; a truly new order, leaving behind us the parliamentary system in its classical European form.

For this way of thinking, the terrain has been sufficiently prepared by the generations that have recently come to political maturity; we are all aware by now of the grave defects of party rule, even if the remedies are not clearly known.

I have discussed the decadence of the parliamentary system

in my book, Society, State, Community. But here, starting from the central ideas of Simone Weil's passionate and prophetic writings, we can arrive more quickly at an examination of the lines of action which could lead to a new situation, a new State.

There can be no doubt that the suppression of political parties is an illiberal act resulting from a defectively functioning parliamentary democracy. This definitive alienation of freedom of assembly is a necessary condition of the totalitarian regimes. But whether we are dealing with the evolutionary transformation of a totalitarian government toward social democracy, or with the development of an apparently democratic regime toward new solutions, dependence on the party system offers no hope for the future.

At this point it would be well to ask at once: what institutions will be the heirs of the political parties in the future and will preserve freedom and democracy? The reply: functional political associations. Subordinately, can the political parties survive? They can, if they transform themselves into a federation of associations, the statutes and functioning of which are subject to control by the national body of legal opinion. But without lingering over the ins and outs of the future of the parties - which would be the business of prophets and not of students of political institutions and forms - let it suffice what we have indicated, under Sect.2 (On Political Functions) as to be the main lines of what we understand by functional political associations.

In a post-Communist Socialist regime, political power obviously no longer has the task of destroying the old social order, which has already been eliminated. Yet it would be naive to expect the renewal of a party system - in the name of freedom and democracy - in which those parties would be restored that advocate an economic system founded on the exaltation of sacred egoism and the holy thirst for gold.

Moreover, economic planning, introduced into countries already having a developed capitalism, like Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, etc., has demonstrated its failure and the necessity rapidly to reach more or less obvious liberal reforms. The small businessmen, artisans and farmers could form the vital competitive tissue of an economy in transition. Yet this class traditionally represents a burdensome conservative lien on the progress of the State, among other reason because it normally succeeds in apportioning to itself a share of political power disproportionate to its own effective numbers. The political wisdom of the Labour Party has found in its trade-union membership the proper balance. This is why a Democratic Socialist constitution will have to correct the ordinary kind of democracy that issues from universal suffrage, adding to it the representation of the labor unions.

In conclusion, it is our opinion that whenever countries having a moderate totalitarian regime, like Poland and Yugoslavia, intend seriously to develop a democratic Socialism, they must freely admit functional associations of the type described. The simplest way of bringing into being such functional associations is to have the constituent group formed in the beginning as follows: one-third elected by the local Councils, one-third by the University institutes, and one-third by the central power that has taken the initiative. The refinement of the system is entrusted to the implementation of a suitable Constitution, to the independent functioning of the local government administrations, and to intensive cultural development at every level.

Such associations, within the framework of a new federal constitution reflecting their value, could give rise to a new and more felicitous type of State, in which the guiding party would gradually dwindle and disappear. This would obviate any attempt immediately to restore the rule of the political parties, as occurred in Budapest in the terrible and flaming days of the revolution. Without a guide, without an élite aware of the grave responsibilities involved, society wavering between the old and the new fell back into the Stalin type of dictatorship. Against this the remedy of the parliamentary republic does not serve, but the hope of a Democratic, Federalist communitarian republic begins to appear on the horizon.

Concerning Italy, whose past and present point leftward a great democratic and progressive coalition of forces, there is only one road toward the construction of a State having its origin in the mold of civilization: utilization of parliamentary democracy and the Constitution in force to transform the Republican State into a new type of democracy.

APPENDIX 2

THE AUTONOMOUS FOUNDATION AS A SOLUTION FOR OWNERSHIP IN LARGE SCALE MONOPOLISTIC ENTREPRISES

Brief essay on large-scale Enterprises ruled by a Foundation

The common feature of the European economy, so far as large scale industry is concerned, is the survival, under various forms, of monopolistic, nationalistic and autarchic phenomena. The monopolistic character of industry is obvious under the present empirical economic regime in Italy, where the corporative structure has remained practically unchanged. The French dirigist regime also lends itself inevitably to a protectionist and nationalistic policy. Finally, the policy of the British Governments is quite openly autarchic. The deduction is easily drawn: in the internal economy of every European State, the competitive system may be considered as having been definitely abandoned in large scale industry.

A free market economy can be revived only on the wider scale of exchanges in a new Federal European State.

This situation has come about as the product of empirical and heterogeneous forces - (political regimes and the needs of war) - which were not directly concerned with the ends of a free market economy, as well as of pressure by great capitalist and trade-union interests. We are therefore in the presence of a new and heterogeneous system, the negative factors of which are weighty and obvious, and the positive aspects quite imperceptible.

The question of the property of monopolistic industries interests today everybody theoretically or practically involved in the solution of the problems of contemporary economy, particularly in connection with the overcoming of the traditional dichotomy: private property - nationalization.

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All of the homogeneous or unilateral solutions of the problem of ownership (ownership by the trade unions, by the state, by the Commune) cause irresolvable conflicts, or present defects that are difficult to overcome. In themselves, these solutions cannot even guarantee a satisfactory resolution of the fundamental problem for industry, that of competent management.

Every important business concern, because of its technical problems and the needs of its employees, creates conflicts of interest within the environment in which it exists:

- a) availability of ground area in relation to rational technical development;
- b) organic town-planning solutions for workers' housing, creation of decentralized community centres, transportation networks;
- c) coordination with professional training at the high school level;
- d) hiring of man-power;
- e) coordination with the general plan for hygiene and social welfare.

The difficulty of satisfactory solutions for these problems, which only apparently are of a technical nature, derives from the fact that industry is a complex centre of many social and economic interests, which are often conflicting but which must be reconciled into a final unity.

In fact, the common good in industry is a complex function of:

- a) individual and direct interests of those participating in the work;
- b) indirect spiritual and social interests of solidarity among the participants;
- c) interests of the immediate environment, which finds its reason of being and developing in the progress of industry;
- d) interests of the immediately adjoining territory.

Contemporary historical experience confirms the limitations of nationalization: a process that by not making possible any identification with the State-owner maintains the separation between worker and enterprise as well as the gap between the State and the small community to which the worker belongs.

On the other hand private property cannot be fully responsible

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from a social point of view, even when the shares are in the hands of small shareholders or of workers-shareholders, who cannot have a real control on the enterprise (with the additional possibility of losing shares through massive purchases by big financial groups). Therefore the balance of interests is not achieved on a fruitful and constructive basis.

It is our opinion that the problem must be more thoroughly studied and that recognition of the various forces and interests centering around the enterprise cannot but demonstrate that only an integrated structure can solve the problem.

The enterprise must be a real community, a centre of cooperation and participation for all those who are concerned with it in one way or another and who have the same ultimate purpose: the free and harmonious growth of the factory and of the community in such a way that the every day work will serve a noble interest. Thus material and spiritual aims will be conciliated .

To this end ownership and control in the company must be committed to a concurring partnership of all the living forces of Society, that is to say to a representation of the administrative and political organizations, of culture, of industry.

The legal form can be chosen amongst various alternatives: probably that of a foundation is the best. Property however should be entrusted to a mixed body within which the representatives of the Federal State, of the State (Land), of the District, of the Universities, of the workers could have a joint participation according to their social function.

The participation of the political bodies which, by their democratic nature, represent all the people, should be dictated by the sphere of influence of the enterprise: in the companies, whose activity covers the whole country, also the Federal State should be present.

The presence of the Universities points to the integration of cultural forces as a guarantee for an enlightened management towards scientific progress: special regard should be given to representatives of the engineering schools, particularly of the departments of mechanics, of schools of industrial engineering, industrial town-planning, adult education: such relationship would be of importance both for its local and immediate effects and for linking the action of the company with the best trends in technical, sociological, economic thought and practice. The representatives of the workers (in the form of a cooperative or of another type of association that may be called factory community) should also include members of the technical

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staff and of the management, both to ensure the necessary contribution of technical knowledge and the actual participation of the personnel.

Our efforts will endeavour to enucleate and create a number of separate bodies, each with a specific task, from whose integration it will be possible to give life to the factory Community:

- a) the division for economic affairs of the political community, viz. a body of people with economic and technical experience appointed for 1/3 by the department of Industry of the "Bezirk" for 1/3 by the Minister of Industry of the Land and for 1/3 by the Federal Minister of Industry or Economy.
- b) the division for local town and country planning, having the responsibility for the social aspects and the cultural life of the community; a body staffed by experts in town planning, social work and education appointed by the Ministry of education, of labour of the Land and of the Federal State (the experts in town planning should eventually be appointed with the cooperation of the National Association of Architects or other democratic, free, competent bodies).
- c) a cooperative or an association of executives, technicians and workers of the plant.
- d) a body created for promoting progress of management and scientific research.

The company general policy should be determined by this composite body, while practical decisions concerning the activity of the enterprise within the community could be made by a smaller body reflecting in structure the larger and more general one. This smaller body should be responsible for determining the specific goals of the company as well as for appointing the executives for the ordinary business administration.

The solution which I have sketched, on the basis of our studies, seems to be more advanced and socially more complete than the one adopted by the Zeiss Foundation and by the Régie Renault. It assumes a new and fuller form of integration within which the political institutions, the progressive forces of culture and labour, consciously participating in the same goals, go beyond the limits of the traditional institutions of property, (either private or nationalized or socialized property) to create a new structure, based on the idea of the community.

N O T E

The pattern of an autonomous industry was put into practice in the large and modern Zeiss Factories of Jena.

An instrument for technical and Social progress, there existed since many years a Foundation based on the ideals we have outlined: democracy, labour, culture. This Foundation established in 1900, secured fifty years of economic progress to this independent industry which belonged neither to the State nor to the managers.

The town and the Community of Jena represented within the Foundation the democratic order, which controlled both the University and the Factory, prevented stagnation as well as particularism and allowed for the free circulation of men and ideas.

The University fostered, through the scientific laboratories of optic, the technical progress of this optical industry.

Technicians and workers represented the force of labour: a force socially alert, responsible guardian of its own interests, seen however in the wider context of the interests and the general progress of the surrounding Community.

Thus the town profited of the work of the factory, the factory supported the University and the University helped the factory.

There was here a continuous and fruitful growth, a mutual help, the meaning of which is authentically revolutionary: for along this path only will labour be redeemed from slavery, since, if not devoted to a noble end, it can only be a source of pain for the soul.

Preliminary remarks :

To speak about a Community Development project means :

1. To guide the development (as school acts for the child) ;

APPENDIX 3

2. To improve the development (which is the case of regions grown up in a colonial system or having suffered from an excess of it-landless) ;

3. To impose the development (under-developed countries) ;

Implications :

In the three cases (to guide, to improve or to impose) a Community Development project involves :

REMARKS ON COMMUNITY PROJECTS

a) the planning (determining different stages in the process of development) ;

b) the intervention (by a body given from outside, these regions being generally too poor, or far as financial means and they are self-sufficient, or secure themselves their own development) ;

d) the project (integrated but detachable) ;

Questions to be discussed about :

a) the study

- to choose the region ;
- to analyse the situation (theoretical and field studies) ;
- to know ; to know

b) the planning

- to choose the time to achieve ;
- to establish the sequence of the various interventions ;
- to establish the available means (from a human and a financial point of view) ;
- to choose the right work ;
- to establish the different levels of intervention ;

Preliminary remarks :

To speak about a Community Development project means:

- 1 . To guide the development (as school acts for the child) ,
or
- 2 . To harmonize the development (which is the case of regions grown up in a colonial status or having suffered from an excess of liberalism) ,
or
- 3 . To hasten the development (under-developed countries) .

Implications :

In the three cases (to guide, to harmonize or to hasten) a Community Development project implies :

- a) the field study (in order to foster interventions aware of the situation) ;
- b) the planning (foreseeing different stages in the process of development) ;
- c) the intervention (by a help given from outside, these regions being generally too poor, as far as financial means and men are concerned, to secure themselves their own development) ;
- d) the control (unfrequent but desirable) .

Questions to be discussed about :

- a) the study
 - to choose the region ;
 - to analyse the situation (historical and field studies) ;in a word : to know
- b) the planning
 - to choose the aims to achieve;
 - to establish the urgency of the various interventions;
 - to establish the available means (from a human and a financial point of view) ;
 - to choose the right men ;
 - to establish the different levels of intervention ;

- to establish the duration of the intervention ;
- to coordinate the interventions with those promoted by other agencies ;

in a word : to foresee

c) the intervention

- efficiency ;
- respect of the freedom of those who are helped ;
- human or structural resistances to deal with ;
- coordination between the different sectors of intervention ;
- participation by those who are helped ;
- democracy in the process of intervention ;

in a word : to act

d) the control

- who has actually taken advantage from the intervention ?
- what progresses were really achieved ?

in a word : to evaluate

Elements for a definition

A Community Development project is :

- a) a set of conscious , interdependent , coordinated and controlled interventions ;
- b) operating in a region accurately defined and for a limited period of time ;
- c) in order to guide , harmonize or hasten its development .

To this point the definition fits to any development project , even to projects decided and run in an authoritarian way. But for us , who want to defend the western culture values , this definition requires three more points :

- d) the intervention has to deal simultaneously with all aspects (economic, social, cultural) of the life of the inhabitants ;
- e) for the benefit of everybody and not for a small group of privileged people ;
- f) and with the respect of the individual freedom .

BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Villa d'Este Conference

2, 3 and 4 April 1965

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

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Honorary Secretary General for Europe

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SCHILLER, Karl Senator for Economic Affairs in West Berlin	Germany
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WARBURG, Siegmund Banker, Chairman S.G. Warburg & Co.Ltd.	United Kingdom
WOLFF von AMERONGEN, Otto Senior Partner Otto Wolff Köln	Germany

In Attendance

H.R.H. Princess Beatrix	Netherlands
BRAAM HOUCKGEEST, A. Egbert van	Netherlands
CESI, Marchese Jean Gaspare CITTADINI	Italy
CHIUSANO, Vittorino	Italy
ROY, Bertie le	Netherlands
VERNEDE, Edwin	Netherlands

DOCUMENTS INSIDE



BILDERBERG MEETINGS

THE HAGUE, March 1969.
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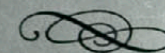
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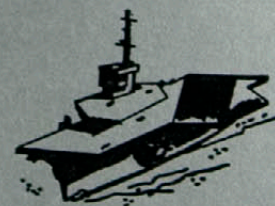
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NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL



12 April 1969
Norfolk, Virginia

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VILLA D'ESTE - ITALIA
2-4 Aprile 1965