

PAN-DECOLONIAL REPARATIONS MANIFESTO

**Towards reparatory justice for the
Global South and the dismantling of
Dutch(neo-) colonialism**



ARALEZ



Background to the Manifesto and Aralez:

Since 2023 Aralez has been organising a yearly conference on reparations. During this conference community organizers and activists are invited to go into dialogue, formulate demands and think of actions aimed at repairing colonial damage towards the Global South and to help break the cycle of western and Dutch neo-colonial and imperialist domination. This manifesto is an outcome of these yearly conferences and serves as a living document for movement conversation.

The yearly conference intentionally take place in April, to be aligned in the spirit of the Bandung conference which took place from April 18-24 in 1955 in Bandung, Indonesia. It was the first conference that united former colonized countries from Africa and Asia to develop a strategy and vision for a new decolonial world civilization against the backdrop of imperialism and neo-colonial domination.

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Actions Speak Louder
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***APOLOGIES
WITHOUT
REPARATIONS?***

INTRODUCTION

The year 2023 marked the 150th anniversary of the abolishment of Dutch Trans-Atlantic Slavery in the Western half of the Dutch Empire, which was abolished three years after the 1860 abolishment of slavery in the Dutch Indies. In 2023 the Dutch King Willem Alexander apologized on behalf of the Dutch state on July 1st. This was a follow-up after both the apologies of the Dutch prime minister Mark Rutte in 2022 and several municipalities such as Amsterdam who have given their official apologies in the previous years. Although these symbolic acts of recognition after the centuries-long crimes against humanity are valuable victories won by pressure of social movements, the question of reparations remains unrecognized. On the contrary, our prime-minister explicitly stated¹ it is not going to implement reparatory measures in relation to these state apologies. The state did, however, put in place some cultural subsidies, whilst ignoring the 10-point plan for reparations of CARICOM, addressed towards the Netherlands, France and the UK. In our manifesto, we understand that without reparatory justice none of the ongoing colonial structures of economic, social and cultural domination can be undone. In fact, without reparations, global inequalities will continue to grow, climate destruction will intensify, and many cultural identities and languages will continue to disappear.

The reason it took the Dutch State 150 years to finally apologize for and recognize slavery as a crime against humanity should not come as a surprise. During the abolition period slave owners in both Dutch Indies and Dutch Caribbean were compensated for their 'loss' in property, while the enslaved were not given any form of reparations. In Surinam, the military was sent to

make sure no rebellion would occur, the Winti religion became forbidden for a century and on top of this Christianity and the Dutch language and education were enforced through 'civilizing' missions. The goal was to make sure to 'emancipate' the enslaved according to Dutch values and 'civilisation' of superiority and assimilate the former enslaved into the Dutch system, where they could be super-exploited as labourers. True liberation from colonial oppression and capitalist exploitation never followed the abolition of slavery. Lastly, we have not even begun to recognize that the colonial plantation system was built on Indigenous lands that were acquired through genocide, exterminating 98 percent of the population².

Immediately after the abolishment of slavery, we see the indentured labor system being put in place to make sure the plantation economy could continue to flourish. These examples illustrate that in every single policy surrounding the abolition that was made, only the interest of the Dutch economy and master enslavers were taken into account. Finally, the enslaved in Surinam were obliged to work for 10 more years for the master enslavers as a 'transition' period. Finally, the 'reparations' for the Dutch enslavers who lost their 'property' were paid for by the colonized in Indonesia, who were subjugated to a deepened system of exploitation through the 'Cultuurstelsel'. Slavery was, in other words, abolished in a repressive and racist way. This is why racism continued after abolishment through human zoos, apartheid, labor exploitation, state-sponsored blackfacing, lynchings, police brutality and colonial rule. After the abolishment of slavery the Netherlands still participated in the Berlin Conference in 1884, which carved up Africa among the colonial powers to safeguard its capitalist interests.

Not only was slavery abolished in a racist and colonial way, but the decolonization process also happened in a highly racist and colonial fashion. A striking example is that Indonesia was forced to wage an anti-colonial liberation war against the Dutch occupier between 1945 and 1949. After its victory over the Dutch, Indonesia had to pay the Netherlands 4.5 billion guilders³ in 'reparations' money for the Netherlands, again for the Dutch supposed "'loss" in property. This colonial debt of Indonesia to the Netherlands was only repaid by 2003. This is a similar reverse form of reparations that Haiti had to pay France for nearly 150 years after gaining its independence in 1804. We see that Western states, including the Dutch after the Second World War tried to maintain their colonial dominance against anti-colonial and socialist governments through coups, sanctions, military invasions, arms trade, proxy wars, colonial trade organizations and debt traps. This is why inequality has grown⁴ since the end of formal colonialism, from 1:31 between the richest and poorest countries in 1960, to 1:118 in 2010, according to UN figures.

We observe that in every instance at the UN level and international level, the Dutch state continues to operate without any regard or morality towards the colonized peoples of the world. Whether it is voting on a new global economic order at the UN, voting for Israel to stop its genocide, making trade agreements with colonial regimes in Brazil under Bolsonaro, or undermining climate justice at the UNFCCC negotiations. The Dutch state and institutions remain a colonial, capitalist-captured and racist entity that continues to profit from plunder and exploitation in the Global South.

One of the greatest illusions of the late 20th and early 21st century is the belief that, with the (flag) independence that countries gained after anti-colonial independence wars, colonialism had ended. Just as we are speaking about institutionalized racism, we are also facing institutionalized colonialism, capitalism and imperialism that continue to reproduce global inequality, super-exploitation, environmental destruction, wars and genocide. This is why global economic inequality has grown multi-fold since the end of WW2, why we see a continuation of ecocide against all life in the Global South, the mass exploitation of the Southern proletariat and the mass land theft of the Southern peasantry, as well as the disappearance of Indigenous and non-western languages and cultures through assimilatory, genocidal and racist infrastructures that have been built over 500 years of colonialism and European forms of Nation-state building.

As a country deeply intertwined in global value chains, the Netherlands is particularly invested in the capitalist-imperialist system that ensures unequal exchange between the Global North and the Global South. Studies have shown⁵ that the Global South lost \$152 trillion between 1960 and 2017 due to unequal trade. The Netherlands, as a small country with 17 million inhabitants, is the 4th largest beneficiary of the plundering of the Global South in the neo-colonial era, coming only after the United States, Japan and Germany. Furthermore, the Dutch capitalist class is deeply intertwined with US-led imperialism⁶, as the majority of the shareholders market in the Netherlands is owned by foreign investors⁷, particularly⁸ from the United States and the United Kingdom. It is, therefore, logical that the US Ambassador considered the Netherlands a vital ally⁹ in the European Union, as it supported the invasion

of Iraq, the occupation of Afghanistan, the invasion of Yemen, the genocide in Gaza, and the sanctions against Venezuela, amongst others. Nor is it a surprise that the Netherlands is amongst the top 10 largest arms traders¹⁰ in the world during the postwar era, exporting to genocidal settler colonies such as the United States and Israel, as well as neo-colonial dictatorial states, from Suharto's Indonesia back then to Saudi Arabia today. The Netherlands simultaneously enables the transnational capitalist class to evade their taxes as the 4th largest tax haven¹¹ in the world, lobbies for the perpetuation of racist debt traps¹² that shackle countries in neoliberal austerity cycles, and refuses to budge on harsh patent laws¹³ on crucial medication, creating a 'structural genocide'¹⁴ in the Global South that is killing millions every single year. As such, the Netherlands has always been amongst the most reactionary and imperialist states on the European mainland. The recent election of the far-right leader Geert Wilders is not so much a break from the Dutch past, but rather a colonial boomerang coming home to roost.

We observe that the memory of social movements in the Dutch and European context has forgotten the importance of international solidarity and decolonization efforts due to neoliberalism and the increasing individualization of our societies. We observe this by the fact that most social movements in the Netherlands that use the word decolonization, anti-racism and equality have no vision, demands, actions or focus on international questions of solidarity whilst the term decolonization comes from the Global South. A lot of this has to do with the collapse and criminalization of communist and socialist, anti-imperialist movements that also had in their centre of political vision the global struggle for social justice and inequality.

Currently, most social movements in the Dutch context are focused on the betterment of people inside the Dutch nation-state and have no vision or answers to provide for growing global inequalities and forms of violence. Although we acknowledge that every generation needs to find its own language and solutions that are not simple and reproducible from other geographic locations or times in history, we do stand on the shoulders of movements that have come before us.



STAND UP, FIGHT B

DOWN V

TRUM



***KEY TERMS
&
POSITIONING
OF OUR
MANIFESTO***

POSITIONING DECOLONIZATION IN RELATION TO THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Decolonization is a word widely used in the Netherlands today; you could even say, it has become a bit of a buzzword. However the concept is still rarely understood properly. We understand decolonization as a term that came from the global south and social movements striving for liberation from western colonialism in all dimensions, including political, economic, social, cultural, spiritual and military domination. We thus aim to Decolonize the system, not diversify colonialism by gaining a seat at the master's table by making it inclusive to people of color. Strategies of gaining more representation and diversity from 'within' are rather a means towards ending global injustice, genocide, economic apartheid and ecocide. Our main aim is a world without exploitation, oppression and violence, where a diversity of alternative systems, beings, and cultures can flourish and be respected, instead of being forced to assimilate into monocultural, capitalist and colonial systems of domination. We recognize that the nation state and its institutions continue to reproduce colonial structures globally and need decolonization. However, they are also strategic sites of struggle for social movements to take over and use as a vehicle for overcoming colonial-capitalist domination. In our article "Make decolonization about decolonization again"¹⁵ you can read more about our reflection of the potential eurocentric co-optation of the term decolonization in the European context.

UNDERSTANDING HOLISTIC REPARATIONS: RESTORING SELF-DETERMINATION

Reparations are not about money, although they will cost money. We understand it as a process of repairing as much of the consequences of colonialism as possible in all of the domains from social, cultural, economic, environmental and spiritual legacies. This means restoring the right to land, self-determination, food sovereignty, cultural identity, and making sure access to basic human needs such as housing, health, education, food, a healthy environment, and dignity are provided. Reparations can not happen before the existing repressive structures have been dismantled and mechanisms are in place that make sure there is a non-repetition of colonial crimes, domination and dependency. Reparations also focus on the healing and restoration aspect of colonized communities and the restoration of nature parallel to the decolonization process of westernized institutions. It is about transforming the current colonial world order, and constructing a new one on its ashes. The demands in this manifesto help to identify demands we can focus on and campaign for in the Netherlands, together with the diversity of social movements. The goal is collective liberation, where the diversity of people can regain their right to self-determination and dignity in harmony with Mother Earth.

UNDOING THE WHITE SAVIOR PARADIGM: FROM CHARITY TO REPARATIONS.

We believe that it is crucial to make sure our solidarity does not reproduce white savior narratives of ‘development aid’. This means that when we do solidarity work, we need to take into account different historical, political and power dynamics to ensure we support local movements and cultural identities with dignity, stop reproducing denigrating stereotypes of communities being ‘underdeveloped’ and to make sure we liberate people from oppressive colonial structures, without contributing to further assimilation practices or making people dependant on aid. Below is a table to contrast charity work with decolonial reparation frameworks.

Decolonial Reparations	Colonial Charity & ‘Development’ Aid
Historical: gives recognition for past crimes and its impact on present-day and future injustices	A-historical: Takes for granted current outcomes and hierarchical positions of who gets to ‘help’ and ‘develop’ who
Political: explicitly challenges local and international power relations and policies, seeks structural and material solutions, and considers political context. It is about solidarity over aid.	A-political: focuses on relief of symptoms and creates material dependency without solving root causes or looking at the international political context. Decides what happens and how.
Social & cultural dignity: promotes social movements for justice and self-organized groups, creates dignity and strengthens local identity and movements, recognizes there is a diversity of knowledge systems.	Racist representation: Reproduces stereotypes of BIPOC communities living in poverty and ‘underdeveloped’ states who are victims of ‘corrupt’ and undemocratic systems in need of Western help without taking into account the imperialist context.
Goal is Liberation: Removing systems of exploitation and oppression and promoting autonomy and the right of self-determination and human dignity.	Goal is Emancipation: Goes for reform within the system through assimilation practices, in order to co-opt movements and make them dependent collaborators to imperialism and capitalism.

REPARATIONS FRAMEWORK: SOME GUIDING PRINCIPLES

Below are some of the guiding principles highlighted from international law¹⁶ that constitute reparations for crimes against humanity that can help guide the process of repair.

1. **Recognition:** public recognition and apologies, educational programs and truth finding research should be conducted to raise awareness about the crimes committed and the lessons drawn
2. **Restitution:** stolen land, goods or facilities should be returned and destroyed properties, rebuild and ecosystems restored
3. **Compensation:** a form of financial compensation given to the victims
4. **Rehabilitation:** victims must be supported in healing from direct or intergenerational trauma
5. **Satisfaction:** victims should be involved and consulted in the process of reparations and be satisfied with the proposed repertory measures.
6. **Non-repetition:** laws, monitoring and policy mechanisms should be in place to prevent the crime from ever repeating itself.

POSITIONING OF THE PAN-DECOLONIAL REPARATIONS MANIFESTO

We use the word 'Pan' in the manifesto to indicate the global character of colonization to emphasize the need for solidarity and decolonization from different backgrounds and histories. There are different trajectories of decolonization depending on a people's specific history or location, but we try to see the connection and commonalities of the different struggles actively. 'Pan' implies the union of all branches of a group, coming originally from the Greek word panacea meaning "all," and referring to the attempts to unify different movements such as pan-Africanism and pan-Arabism. Here, we use the word 'pan' to indicate the global character for the need for decolonization, building on older traditions of global south solidarity such as the tricontinental and the non-alignment movement.

We aim to be a pan-decolonial movement because a lot of social movements are organized separately on their own domains such as climate, social, feminist, anti-racist and peace movements. But also we see the different communities are organized separately, such as black, asian, Indigenous and migrant organizations. The goal is to form an umbrella movement around the manifesto that campaigns towards collective demands across movements and communities. Our manifesto will specifically focus on global south reparations including former and present-day Dutch colonies, because that constitutes the largest movement gap within the Netherlands at this moment.

Of course, we do not aim to compete with local movements inside the Netherlands who have put the domestic fight for social justice on the political and

institutional agenda inside the Netherlands. We are supportive of all social movements fighting against racial inequality and legacies of colonialism inside the Netherlands, such as the Black Manifesto¹⁷ and their advisory report on reparations¹⁸, the manifest against Islamophobia¹⁹, the manifest for strengthening policy against anti-Asian racism²⁰, the Move Manifesto²¹ and the petition²² of Afrikaanse Vluchtelingen Collectief for migrant and refugee rights. Next to these, we support the umbrella organization of Comité 21st of March which organizes conferences and reports where they map demands and issues of grassroots organizations in the Netherlands such as their agenda on racism and discrimination²³ in 2021. A lot of these social movements can be found on the webpage²⁴ of the Together against racism coalition. Furthermore, as our manifesto will make increasingly clear, the anti-capitalist struggle for and by the Dutch working class will be a vital part of realizing an international, decolonization program as well. We, therefore, also wholly support broader domestic movements and demands, such as the Living Manifesto²⁵, the Food Different Manifesto²⁶, and The Movement Manifesto²⁷. We hope our manifesto movements become an addition to the existing social movements, deepening our common struggle from a global perspective.

Our manifesto is a living document that will be revisited yearly during our reparations conference in April, a way to spark and keep moving our conversation between different social movements in the Netherlands, Europe and globally. The manifesto can be used to spark conversations in your own social movement, political party, or organization and serve as an educational tool to help formulate demands in whatever sector or field you are situated.

EXISTING REPARATORY DEMANDS AND MOVEMENTS FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH

We recognize that we stand on the shoulders of many struggles, movements, organizations, both historical and current, that have paved the way for anti-colonial struggles. We recognize the crucial role of Indigenous thinkers in developing notions of freedom and equality in the modern world, as well as the crucial role of the Haitian revolution in claiming these rights for the colonized majority. We recognize that the first truly global anti-colonial movement was carried by communist and socialist movements. In 1955, Indonesian president Sukarno opened the Afro-Asian Bandung Conference²⁸ with a tribute to its predecessor, in 1927: "I recall in this connection the conference of the "League against imperialism and colonialism," held in Brussels almost thirty years ago. At that conference, many of the esteemed delegates present here today met and found new strength in their struggle for independence." So in Brussels, in the heart of a colonial empire, influential future anti-colonial leaders met each other for the first time, such as Mohammed Hatta from Indonesia, Messali Hadj from Algeria, Josiah Tshangana Gumede from South Africa and Jawaharlal Nehru from India, under the chairmanship of the Jewish scientist and socialist Albert Einstein²⁹. The League Against Imperialism was funded by the Communist International, whose members were obligated to struggle against colonialism, in word and deed, as laid out in its founding documents. The pre-history of Bandung, then, is also a history of international solidarity. Even here, in the heart of the empire.

The Bandung conference later gave birth to the non-alignment movement, which was founded by

four socialist and one communist leader, Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah and Indonesian President Sukarno. From the non-alignment movement emerged initiatives that aimed to create a just world order, with resolutions for a New International Economic Order and a New International Communications Order, for example. However, the most radical wing of the non-alignment movement had its headquarters in Havana, Cuba, organizing under the banner of the Tricontinental Conference and OSPAAAL. We recognize our profound debt to the tradition of national liberation Marxism as the cutting edge of the anti-colonial struggle in the 20th century. This manifesto, too, draws inspiration from the work of their political descendants, such as ALBA-TCP, the Tricontinental Institute and the Simón Bolívar Institute for Peace and Solidarity Among Peoples, which published their extensive demands under A Plan to Save the Planet³⁰. Other important recent documents emerging from the colonized world include the People's Agreement of Cochabamba³¹, which was drafted in socialist Indigenous Bolivia, the manifesto of Via Campesina³², the largest radical farmers movement on a global scale, the UN Declaration for the Rights for Indigenous People's³³, the CARICOM ten-point plan³⁴ on reparations for trans-atlantic slavery and genocide on Indigenous People's, Stop the Maangamizi: We Charge Genocide/Ecocide³⁵ campaign and The Red Deal³⁶. This manifesto should not be considered a replacement, but rather as a tool to place the reparatory justice demands of the Global South specifically within the Dutch context, so that they can be picked up easily and coherently by movements operating here, within the belly of the beast.



IF YOU ARE
NEUTRAL
IN SITUATIONS
OF INJUSTICE
YOU HAVE CHOSEN
THE SIDE OF THE
OPPRESSOR.

***RELEVANCE OF
DECOLONIAL
REPARATIONS
FOR SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS***

ANTI-RACIST MOVEMENT

The International Day against Racism was founded on the 21st of March, to honor the Sharpeville Massacre, when apartheid police murdered 69 black protesters on March 21, 1960. Less famous, however, is the more recent Marikana Massacre in 2012, when 34 black South African striking miners were murdered by black police officers, all for the interests of a white British multinational company. Colonialism has always had its willing collaborators. Then, decolonization is not about having more managers and police officers of colour. Decolonization is about the end of racial capitalism and imperialism, and the end of hunger, poverty, murder and ecocide on a global scale.

Over one in five³⁷ Dutch people of colour live in poverty. It is a shockingly high percentage for a country living in obscene wealth, with more than a million millionaires³⁸. Yet it's worth emphasizing: if we extend that same poverty line to our brothers and sisters in the Global South, more than 90 percent³⁹ live in poverty there. According to a recent study, the Netherlands is among the top five countries⁴⁰ that benefit most from unequal trade with low- and middle-income countries. Since 1960, the Netherlands robbed \$4.4 trillion from the Global South. That is more than four times our Gross National Product.

In addition, it is crucial to realize that imperialism works like a boomerang. The racism we feel today is directly linked to 500 years of colonial exploitation abroad. It is no coincidence that far-right leaders in the Netherlands - Geert Wilders, Thierry Baudet, Annabel Nanninga, among others - come disproportionately from the former colonizer/collaborator class

in Indonesia, the most populous Muslim majority country in the world. But racism is also linked to the imperial wars that continue to this day. Is it a coincidence that we saw a huge rise in islamophobia right after the start of the War on Terror which, according to Nafeez Ahmed's conservative figures, killed six million Muslims?⁴¹ Is it a coincidence that far-right leader Geert Wilders had his coming of age on a kibbutz in the occupied West Bank? Or that we saw a huge rise in anti-Asian racism⁴² in recent years, right at the time when China was being declared by the West as its great geopolitical enemy?

We already know that Western media effectively function as propaganda outlets in geopolitical conflicts, from books like *Manufacturing Consent*⁴³ and *The Dutch Media Monopoly*⁴⁴. That same geo-political propaganda, read day in and day out in the press, directly affects racist tendencies in the Netherlands. So the rise of Geert Wilders, Thierry Baudet and Donald Trump are also about the wars and invasions of Jan Peter Balkenende, Mark Rutte, George Bush and Barack Obama. As anti-colonial writers have warned us⁴⁵ for nearly a century now, fascism is a colonial boomerang.

SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Today, more than one million⁴⁶ Dutch people live in poverty. Half of the Dutch in poverty have a migrant background⁴⁷, while representing only a quarter of the population. Specifically, it is Dutch people of colour who are disproportionately pushed into poverty, due to institutional racism in the labor market, the housing market, in education, health care, throughout the criminal justice system⁴⁸, from the police to the courts. So anti-racism is crucial for any movement in

the Netherlands that wants to do something for the poorest in society.

Yet this is only the tip of the iceberg. Because the majority of full-time workers for the Dutch economy do not actually live in the Netherlands at all. There are 14 million people working full-time⁴⁹ in the Global South, for extremely low wages, in dangerous working conditions, throughout the Dutch value chain, working for Dutch consumption, investments or corporate profits. This is the neo-colonial reality of racial capitalism today. The majority of people oppressed by Dutch capital do not live in the Netherlands.

Third, anti-racism is crucial to any social movement, whether in social housing or healthcare, because the neoliberal elite misuses racist sentiments as a lightning rod to deflect public anger, scapegoat politics. To cite just one example. Since the 1990s, all subsidies for social housing have been removed while the state loses billions of euros⁵⁰ through the mortgage interest deduction (hypotheekrenteaftrek), a subsidy for homeowners. The fact that in Amsterdam there is now a waiting time of over 13 years⁵¹ within the social housing sector, instead of the 3 years it took in the early 1980s, that is the result of structural policy. Yet we see parties, from the VVD to the PVV, blaming asylum seekers for the few percent⁵² of social housing they take up each year. We can tell the same story about healthcare and the social safety net. Everything gets demolished from the top down and people of color get blamed. Any socialist movement will have to pierce through that racist smokescreen to do something for the poorest in our society.

Conversely, it is also true that the anti-racism struggle has much to gain from an alliance with socialists. This is evident in some of the early communist support for the anti-colonial struggle in the 20's and 30's. But it is

also a fact that the decolonization struggle in the 40s, 50s, 60s and 70s was supported by socialist countries such as the Soviet Union⁵³, China and Cuba⁵⁴. That the civil rights movement in the U.S. had its roots within communist and socialist movements⁵⁵. Let us not forget that many popular anti-racist parties and leaders, such as the Black Panther Party in the U.S. or Thomas Sankara in Burkina Faso, were explicitly communist. Even in the Netherlands, only the Communist Party of the Netherlands and the Communist Trade Union opposed the colonial invasion⁵⁶ of Indonesia after World War II. Imperialism and capitalism have always been deeply intertwined⁵⁷, and resistance to one always requires resistance against the other as well.

ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

While the western propaganda only focuses on the military aggressions of geopolitical enemies, such as the Russian invasion of Ukraine, we need to make sure to oppose the military aggressions of our own governments. This is why we focus, amongst others, on the 400,000 victims in Yemen, most of them children, killed with Western weapons since 2015. This aggression culminated into an overt Western military bombing campaign against Yemen in 2024, which aims to repress the brave humanitarian intervention of the Yemeni people in solidarity with Gaza.

We believe, furthermore, that Western imperialism is worse than just hypocritical. The double standards between Ukraine and Gaza defy every single objective factor. The invasion of Ukraine entailed military aggression, but not genocide. Military casualties have far outweighed civilian casualties, and adults and men have far outweighed children and women casualties,

whilst in Gaza the opposite pattern is visible. As of January 18th 2023, there were over 10.000 children killed in the Gaza strip (in a little over 100 days on a child population of a little over 1 million), compared to over 500 children in Ukraine (in nearly two years in a child population of 8 million). The number of children, UN workers and journalists killed in Gaza has already surpassed all records of conflicts in the 21st century. And all that on a tiny territory that is about the size of Apeldoorn. None of this has made an iota of difference for the Western ruling class, which has supported the genocide against Gaza hook, line and sinker.

Racism causes some victims to be seen as worthy, others as unworthy. Tabe Bergman's phd research⁵⁸ on the Dutch press shows that Iraqi civilian deaths were a non-issue for major Dutch newspapers during the invasion of Iraq, despite the fact that our best estimates come to at least a million dead⁵⁹. When it comes to refugees of wars, how differently is the war in Ukraine portrayed? And how differently are Ukrainian refugees received here? After tens of thousands of refugees from Africa and Asia drowned in the Mediterranean, suddenly, there was room for Ukrainians. Many Western journalists literally stated⁶⁰ that they would be "more like us" or were "civilized and European." And to this day, refugees of colour are kept out, sentenced to death in the Sahara or the Mediterranean, or put in camps and pushed into complete rightlessness.

Besides focusing on our military aggression and ruthlessness it is essential to recognize that the US-led imperialist bloc is responsible for about 75 percent of worldwide military spending, therefore being the primary driver of the global arms race and military competition. The Netherlands plays an outsized role, not

only as a top-10 global arms trader since WW2 but also as a crucial tax haven for most of the top 100 global arms manufacturers, including US behemoths such as Lockheed Martin and Boeing. The Netherlands, the European Union and the wider US-led imperialist bloc continue to trade weapons with dictators and neo-colonial regimes to make sure profit continues to flow our way. The military-industrial complex provides security for multinationals and is used to arm ally puppet regimes to fight against leftist governments and social movements. This must be stopped.

FEMINIST & QUEER MOVEMENT

We understand that colonialism was a fundamentally patriarchal system repressive of both Women and Queer communities. Women workers in high-income countries are paid less than men, with an average pay gap⁶¹ of 16%. Combined with the ratio of paid-unpaid work⁶², women are actually paid 52% less than men for every hour of work in high-income countries. In the Netherlands, the situation is even worse, with an effective gender pay gap (including unpaid work hours) of 55 per cent. Clearly, any socialist movement advancing the interests of the working people of the Netherlands should address the enormous reproductive labour that is carried out primarily by unpaid or underpaid care work, which in turn is mainly carried out by women.

Nevertheless, any feminist movement that ignores the Global South will perpetuate the super-exploitation and oppression of the world majority. It is well known that women of colour are vastly overrepresented in the sweatshops supplying international export chains, which offer excruciatingly long hours, little pay or worker rights. Even within domestic borders, care work

is increasingly outsourced through a 'global care chain,' in which women from the East and South increasingly perform the care work of the Global North, including taking care of children, cleaning and nursery. On a global level, the effective gender pay gap is about 57 per cent, slightly higher than the Global North. This comes on top of extreme inequalities between North and South, with wage differentials⁶³ of a whopping 500 per cent, or even 630 per cent with the Netherlands. Clearly, focusing exclusively on women within the Netherlands would miss the mark entirely.

Although we have less detailed research available on queer communities, the data we do have consistently show that queer communities suffer higher rates of poverty - both within the Global North⁶⁴ and the Global South⁶⁵ - especially if they are trans. The latter community tends to be pushed in the most precarious forms of informal care work where they are often murdered on the job. And these inequalities, too, are compounded by the vast North-South divide in wages - that overshadow any internal differences within the Global North - but also in the precarity of labour markets in the Global South, that have huge informal work sectors, as Western imperialism has slowly created a 'planet of slums'⁶⁶.

This hardly means that women or queer people in the Global South need saving. White feminism has consistently allied with imperialism and racism throughout history, using the demonization of men of colour to legitimize imperialist invasions, genocide, slavery and apartheid. A crucial part of Jim Crow ideology and lynchings, for example, was about the supposed threat of black men to white women. Some recent examples are the genocide in Gaza⁶⁷, the invasion of Libya⁶⁸ and the

subsequent lynching of Black Libyans⁶⁹, which were both legitimized with patently false propaganda about mass and systemic rape. In many cases, white feminists even argued for white women's rights as a complementary force for colonial rule over people of colour, similar to the racially segregated conservative wing of the US labour movement in the Jim Crow era. These divide-and-rule policies should be firmly rejected.

We have seen a similar dynamic arising in the 21st century within white gay movements, that have legitimized imperial invasions and occupations in the Global South in the name of 'gay rights'. These orientalist claims ignore the fact that homophobia was introduced in large swaths of the world by Western colonialism, where much freer forms of both gender identities and sexual relations were the norm before forced christianization. Many anti-Gay laws were literally enacted by the British colonizers and have remained on the books long after they have left. To this day, white evangelicals from the United States continue to promote⁷⁰ anti-gay and anti-queer propaganda throughout Africa, backed by large funding from right-wing American oligarchs, who are attacking the same rights within the United States. The wrongful framing of a 'progressive' west and the 'backwards' rest often whitewashes genuine problems with queer-hatred in the Global North, as well as ongoing divisions within the LGBTQIA+ community here, especially against trans people. As queer scholar Rahul Rao rightly points out⁷¹, if we map the frequency of trans murder on the map "the whole world turns red."

Women of colour and queer communities of colour often suffer the harshest forms of violence and oppression because of imperialism. Whilst Israel uses false propaganda about the rape of Israeli women - claims that

are re-produced by openly genocidal⁷² journalists in the West - Palestinian women continue to be raped in Israeli prisons⁷³, while 70 per cent of the victims of the Gaza genocide are women and children. Furthermore, whilst Israel portrays itself as a bastion of gay rights in a 'backwards' region of homophobes, the voices of LGBTQIA+ Palestinian organization such as Al-Qaws⁷⁴ are completely ignored, as they emphasize their primary struggle for liberation against zionist occupation, which kills Palestinian women and queer people just the same. In fact, Israël specifically targets queer Palestinians⁷⁵, threatening to out them if they do not become collaborators, as a form of blackmail.

It is no secret, either, that the Afghan Mujahideen, which later gave rise to the Taliban, was sponsored by the CIA and Saudi Arabia to topple the communist government of Afghanistan. Saudi Arabia, a creature of British and American imperialism, has been the centre of promoting gender apartheid and queerphobia throughout the region. Latin America, on the other hand, has been the worldwide center⁷⁶ of trans murder, driven by an overwhelmingly white, settler far-right⁷⁷ that is helped into power by US-backed coups Brasil Wire (2021) "Lava Jato: The CIA's Poisoned Gift to Brazil"⁷⁸. Some of the largest cases of mass rape as a weapon of war, on the other hand, happened in the east of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, by the Western-backed invasion forces of Rwanda and Uganda. The war that was started in 1994 led to the deaths of at least 6 million Congolese people, whilst 48 women per hour⁷⁹ are raped in the DRC. At the same time, the coltan that is mined from the region powers the global technology industry, which undercuts Western economic and military power. Clearly, any feminist and queer struggle needs to incorporate anti-imperialism as a central terrain of their struggle.

CLIMATE MOVEMENT

It is well known that rich countries have emitted by far the most CO₂, and that at the same time the biggest impact of global warming will hit the Global South. This is commonly called climate racism. According to a recent study in *The Lancet*, 92 percent⁸⁰ of the climate catastrophe has been caused by the Global North. In fact, they should have reached 0 emissions not by 2050, or 2030, but literally decades ago. If you were to convert the Global North's gigantic surplus of CO₂ emissions into the costs of an accelerated green transition in the Global South, we are talking trillions of dollars. Set against the paltry climate finance being paid now, the colonial climate debt won't be paid off for over 4,000 years⁸¹.

The majority of the excessive consumption of resources in the Global North are extracted directly⁸² from the Global South. That looting and plundering is so great that from it we could build the infrastructure for basic housing, health care and education for 6.5 billion people⁸³. Not to mention outsourcing polluting industries, placing Western factories in China or Vietnam to pay low wages. Based on consumption figures, Dutch emissions have not dropped at all since 1990. They have increased by as much as 12 percent⁸⁴. That is the real, hidden and colonial climate policy of the Netherlands. In other words, when we talk about reducing resource consumption and emissions in the context of the Netherlands, we are in fact talking about decolonizing our exploitation of the rest of the world. After all, where do raw materials come from? Land theft is one of the primary ways through which resources from the Global South are plundered. According to Oxfam Novib 86% of land sold⁸⁵ in the global south is done without consultation of the local people. Only 10 percent⁸⁶ of

communal, ancestral lands are legally recognized as formal land owners by the capitalist legal system. This imperialist plunder is accompanied by wars. Wars that in turn produce enormous emissions. The military climate footprint is about 6 percent⁸⁷ of global emissions, comparable to two entire continents combined, Africa and South America. This arms race is driven by NATO countries, which together spend⁸⁸ about 17 times more on the military than Russia's alliance, the CSTO. And that militarism also colonizes our priorities. The richest countries spend 30 times more⁸⁹ on the military than on climate finance for the Global South. Prominent media report more on Russia⁹⁰ in one month than the climate catastrophe is covered in a year. And our military is preparing not for a successful green transition, but for a dystopian world of resource wars and increased refugee flows, which they intend to crush.

While the global north consumes and plunders the majority of resources for colonial consumption and profit extraction, the global south has to suffer the majority of its consequences. For example, 9 million people⁹¹ die every year due to environmental pollution, 92%⁹² of which are from the Global South. Western green imperialism wants to create an exclusive right to clean water, air and land for the ruling classes of the global north, while huge piles of toxic waste are dumped in colonized lands⁹³, which serve as sacrifice zones. Closer to home, the Netherlands practices environmental racism and class warfare in Curaçao, where black workers are living closer to the pollution⁹⁴ from the Shell oil refinery; in the way that waste is being dumped⁹⁵ in living areas of Sinti and Roma communities in Europe, and in the cancer epidemic⁹⁶ among Dutch workers at the Tata Steel factory.

CONCLUDING: OUR STRUGGLES ARE CONNECTED:

In this way the struggles are connected as the climate challenge is fundamentally linked to neo-colonialism, racism and war. But also with capitalism and patriarchy. To stop depending on imperialist plunder and unpaid care work, our society will have to change fundamentally. No longer shaped around the endless growth of corporate profits, but based on the core needs of our people and planet: health care, education, housing, community and reciprocity. Policy will have to be shaped around the universal declaration of human rights, which is not only about political rights, but also about basic cultural, social and economic rights. The right to a dignified existence.

And so we bring it full circle: from socialism, anti-racism, feminism and anti-militarism to the struggle to protect Mother Earth. All these struggles are essentially a struggle for decolonization.

**BETTER SOCIALISM
THAN COOPERATE
IMPERIALISM
IN AFRICA**

**749-8076 U.A.N.M.
FREE AFRICA NOW**

***ANYTHING
IS POSSIBLE:
BUILDING THE
MOVEMENT
WE NEED***

ANYTHING IS POSSIBLE: BUILDING THE MOVEMENT WE NEED

Reparations is something that will benefit everyone, not just people from the Global South. In the short-term, we aim to pay for reparations not through taxing the working and middle class of Dutch and European society but by reclaiming the wealth and possessions of the rich. In the long-term, we aim to overhaul the entire capitalist system, an incredibly wasteful economy that includes the mass production of weapons, planned obsolescence, inefficient private housing, health and transport systems, among others. The ravaging of ecosystems and burning of fossil fuels for the endless accumulation of corporate profits will impact the Global South first and hardest, but the Global North will not be spared either. If we think in seven generations, the omnicidal nature of racial capitalism too is existential for everyone.

The neoliberal doctrine, too, was first imposed on Chile under the Western-backed fascist dictatorship of general Pinochet, only to return to Europe with a vengeance a decade later, as social housing, healthcare and education budgets were slashed. By basing our economy on the needs of people and planet - housing, healthcare, education, ecology - better lives can be created for the vast majority of European and Dutch people without imperialist superprofits. Reparatory justice will benefit the Dutch working class as well as people in the global south. The demands for the global south reparations will also therefore reflect demands in the Dutch context. This is a movement for safeguarding the health of the entire planet and humanity. That rapid advances can be made in people's struggles with a determined movement has been proven again and again throughout history. Just three examples

from Asia, Africa and Latin-America suffice to illustrate this point. China was, in 1949, among the poorest countries in the world (if not the poorest), after a century of imperialist invasions, unequal treaties, indentured servitude, opium wars and warlordism. After the communist revolution, from 1949 to 1978, the country experienced⁹⁷ “one of the fastest sustained increases [in life expectancy] in recorded global history.” By 1981, China had left not only India far behind itself, but also Brazil, which had been much more prosperous than China in 1949. It also left far behind other major countries in the Global South such as India, Mexico, Brazil and Indonesia in terms of average years of schooling and doctors and hospital beds per capita. China’s life expectancy in 1981 was almost 20 years longer than countries with comparable economies. By 1981, extreme poverty in China – measured as the lack of basic needs such as housing, clothing and food – had virtually disappeared⁹⁸.

We also see the same pattern⁹⁹ of communist prosperity in Latin America and Africa. Cuba’s life expectancy in 1955, shortly before the Cuban Revolution, was 59.5 years, lower than Paraguay (62), Argentina (62) and Uruguay (66), the countries with the highest life expectancy in Latin America. By 1985, Cuba’s life expectancy had shot up to 75 years, higher than any country on the continent. It also towered over the continent in literacy (96%) and employment (97%). In Burkina Faso, under the popular leader of Thomas Sankara¹⁰⁰, the country vaccinated 2,5 million children for the first time against meningitis, yellow fever and measles in a matter of weeks. Sankara started a national literacy campaign, with the literacy rate rising from 13% in 1983 to 73% in 1987. In a country of just 7,5 million people, the Burkinabé people planted more than 10,5 million trees¹⁰¹ in 15 months to

prevent desertification, whilst building new roads and a railroad to connect the nation, without foreign aid. Sankara redistributed land from the feudal landlords and gave it directly to the peasants, which boosted wheat production by 200%. Sankara appointed women to high government positions, encouraged them to work, recruited them into the army and granted maternity leave during their training. The country banned female genital mutilation, forced marriage and polygamy in support of women's rights.

Closer to home, it is clear that the Soviet Union outperformed¹⁰² every comparable country (the Russian empire, before WW1, had an economy and life expectancy comparable to Brazil) in nearly every major socio-economic indicator, from life-expectancy, housing, education and women's rights to anti-colonial solidarity. Within Western-Europe, the best health and social welfare performances were accomplished¹⁰³ by social-democratic governments, even if their anti-colonial solidarity was mostly lacking. We imagine a world should be possible beyond colonial capitalism where money decides who gets to live and who gets to be sacrificed for profits. Anything that can be physically organized can be done. It is up to us to do it.

Besides different results that have been achieved through national liberation struggles in the Global South - through capturing state power - different forms of reparatory justice have also been achieved in different contexts, surrounding land rights, genocide and crimes against humanity. Plenty of examples of smaller victories are listed in the article "Reparations and A New Global Order: A Comparative Overview"¹⁰⁴ by Professor Chinweizu in 1993. More recent examples include the recent apologies and preparatory measures in Aotearoa (New Zealand¹⁰⁵) and Northern Turtle

Island (Canada¹⁰⁶) towards its Indigenous Peoples. Although these initiatives, by themselves, are often unsatisfactory, they contribute to building and strengthening our extra-parliamentary movement that has the power to demand much more, which can create a new global order beyond capitalism and imperialism. Indeed, some if not most of the demands in this manifesto will seem like an incredible long shot in the current political context. However, as Nelson Mandela once said during the anti-apartheid struggle, 'It always seems impossible until it's done.' Or, in the words of Vladimir Lenin, 'there are decades where nothing happens; and there are weeks where decades happen.' Neither the Russian revolution nor the fall of apartheid was predicted by the vast majority of analysts at the time. Opportunities can open up sooner rather than later, and at that time, it is crucial that we will be ready. Only by demanding the world we really need can we make the first step to a decolonized horizon. Nothing less will do.

The manifesto does contain more moderate 'immediate' demands, such as fulfilling our pre-existing obligations regarding 'development aid' and climate funding, or obeying the rulings of the International Court of Justice. These are not revolutionary but reformist demands. Nevertheless, that is exactly why a more radical manifesto and list of demands is crucial. We can fight for more 'realistic' demands within the current political context, while framing them within a larger revolutionary program. As such, when we win some demands, the energy will not dissipate, but rather be fuel for more to come. A step for building the movement infrastructure needed to implement revolutionary change when the opportunity arises. This is the idea of 'non-reformist reforms'.



CLIMATE REPARATIONS

***THE
DECOLONIAL
REPARATIONS
DEMANDS***

REPARATIONS FOR THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

The imperialist world has continued to exert military, legal, financial and political power over countries in the Global South, long after official flag independence was achieved. The demands below aim to address these imperialist dynamics to restore real independence to the colonized world.

1. The Dutch government will not support any military missions, coups or economic sanctions that are not approved by a two-third majority of the UN general assembly, taking into account both number of countries' and the size of their respective populations.
2. The Dutch government will abolish the Dutch arms industry, all arms exports and reduce Dutch per capita military expenditure to the average per capita military expenditure of the Global South. Dutch institutions, including government, banks, universities, pension funds and all other institutions, should completely divest from all military industries worldwide.
3. The Dutch government will withdraw from NATO and instead become a member of the Group of Friends in Defense of the Charter of the United Nations. The government will advocate regional diplomacy instead of warfare and sanctions, strengthening inclusive regional organizations such as CELAC in Latin America & the Caribbean and the OSCE in Europe.
4. The Dutch government will advocate for the global

abolishing of nuclear weapons and will safely dismantle and eliminate the US nuclear weapons currently stationed in Vonkel, without compensation.

5. The Dutch government will advocate for democratizing the United Nations, which includes the abolishment of the UN security council, transferring its responsibilities to the UN general assembly, where a population-weighted voting system should be implemented without veto powers. All funding for UN institutions, such as WHO and UNRWA, will be unconditional and irrevocable.
6. In the interim, the Dutch government will support any proposals for fully expelling the UK and France from the UN security council and for expanding the permanent membership to major countries or continental organizations from the Global South.
7. All reparations, aid and other funding from the Dutch government and institutions to the Global South will be given unconditionally. Using any form of aid for political trading, such as migration controls or fishing rights, will be made illegal.
8. The Dutch government will refrain from funding any Western-controlled political or media operations - either independently or through multilateral organizations such as the EU - that influence the internal political landscape of countries' in the global south.
9. The Dutch government will support any international initiatives that advocate a democratization of the global informational order, such as the New World Information and Communication Order.

10. The Dutch government will institutionalize education on colonialism, imperialism and international law for all of its staff, including within public media and public education. A clear guideline should be introduced for ethical reporting and teaching, which centers the voices of the oppressed. Within that context, funding for public media and education should be increased.
11. The Dutch government will advocate against - and enforce against within its borders - any censorship or algorithmic manipulation of social media based on political agendas, in particular the revolving door between Western intelligence agencies and platforms like Facebook, X, Instagram and Tiktok.
12. The Dutch government will advocate for protecting all public and personal data from being exploited by transnational corporations, investing in the building of participatory systems for computational analysis and for the control and use of big data for public purposes.
13. The Dutch government and other institutions will advocate for abandoning discourses and abolishing legal systems surrounding 'terrorism' of non-state actors, which is used by states and corporations to criminalize legitimate forms of (armed) resistance against land theft and/or corporate extractivism. That includes the almost daily¹⁰⁷ murder of Indigenous People, land and water defenders worldwide, the criminalization of the Palestinian resistance against colonization, or the Iraqi and Yemeni armed resistance against American-led invasions. Even Nelson Mandela was on the US terrorist list until 2008. Dutch institutions will therefore

commend the UN declaration¹⁰⁸ RES/45/130, which “reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial domination, apartheid and foreign occupation by all available means, including armed struggle.”

14. The Dutch government and other institutions will also re-affirm the self-determination of Indigenous Peoples or ‘First Nations’ that defy colonial nation-state categorization, as well as their collective rights and representation within international bodies. We also advocate for plurinational states where appropriate, to guarantee the recognition and influence of first nations within the nation state system.
15. The Dutch government must go into consultation with the ABC SSS islands of the Dutch Kingdom to strengthen their political autonomy, by giving them more authority to determine policy locally. As long as they would like to be part of the Dutch kingdom, the islands should have permanent seats of representation in the Second House of Chamber so they can influence Dutch policy that is about them, that is now made without them. Also they must make sure that white settlers from the European parts of the Netherlands cannot over-rule the local population by prioritizing local needs. Also the islands must be able to determine their own foreign policy and trade, such as not being obliged to follow imperialist sanctions towards Venezuela in case they would like to engage with trade with other neighboring countries in the region.

REPARATIONS FOR FINANCE & ECONOMY

The imperialist world economy is organized in the interests of major corporations in the Global North, who continue - for over five centuries already - to rob the lands, labor, resources and energy from the Global South to ensure their profits and power. In the process, capitalist imperialism threatens to kill most life on this planet. The Dutch government and all Dutch economic institutions will implement a complete overhaul of the capitalist imperialist system, ensuring equity among and within nations and a democratic control of the economy by the people.

World economic infrastructure:

1. The Dutch government and financial institutions will clamp down on tax avoidance, seizing its role as a major global intermediary for tax avoidance, and advocate internationally for the abolishment of all illicit tax havens and the expropriation and return of all funds held therein.
2. The Dutch government will advocate for abolishing any conditionalities in IMF, World Bank and other multilateral funding immediately and advocate for a full transition to grant-based funding in line with a global reparations program. This would include the eventual abolishment of the IMF and World Bank in favor of democratic democratic alternatives controlled by the Global South.
3. In the interim, the Dutch government will already advocate for a population-based weighted voting model in all multilateral lending institutions, including the IMF and World Bank.

4. The Dutch government will end its role as a ‘treaty haven’¹⁰⁹ for multinational corporations, abolishing all trade and investment agreements that favor corporations over people. Particularly, the Netherlands will advocate against Investor–state dispute settlement¹¹⁰ and protect the sovereignty of governments over corporations.
5. The Dutch government will advocate for the international abolishment of patent rights and freely transfer any patents and technological know-how currently possessed by the country, its corporations or other institutions to the rest of the world, especially the Global South. In particular, the Dutch government, universities and other institutions will actively assist Global South countries in building and/or strengthening their capacities for producing final goods from their raw materials, wherein they own and fully control their entire supply chain.
6. The Dutch government and universities will invest substantially in public health research, especially for creating low-cost generic medicines for the most deadly communicable diseases for which there is no ‘commercial market.’ All medicines will be freely available without patents.
7. The Dutch government will create legal mechanisms to ensure equal pay for equal work throughout the entire global supply chain of all Dutch investments, production and consumption. This should include a standardized minimum wage system across the supply chain based on a living wage, and the insurance that labor laws adhere to the fundamental Conventions of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), especially Conventions 87 and 98 on the rights to organize and

to collective bargaining. This should also include the informal work sector and currently unpaid care work.

8. The Dutch government and Dutch corporations will promote, fund and otherwise support interim-solutions to equalize international trade relations, such as the proposals for A New International Economic Order¹¹¹ and the Equal Trade Alliance¹¹² revenue sharing model.
9. The Dutch government will promote worker-owned enterprises throughout the entire Dutch supply chain, domestically and internationally. The long-term aim is to abolish capitalist ownership of the means of production completely.

Reparations financing:

10. The Dutch government will abolish all debts owed by the Global South to the Netherlands, and will use their agency to abolish the debts of the Global South to Dutch companies and multilateral financial institutions such as the World Bank and IMF.
11. The Dutch government will offer their fair share of \$100 billion per year climate funding for the Global South, with retroactive powers, based on their share of GDP of all developing countries.
12. The Dutch government will re-institute the promised and mandatory 0.7 percent of GDP funding for Official Development Assistance (ODA), which will be offered based on an impartial and transparent assessment of needs in the Global South.
13. Demands 10,11 and 12 will not have any overlap, as all

funding is required by pre-existing agreements to be new and additional.

14. The above will only be considered a first and immediate step for a much wider reparations program. For any fair reparations estimates, at least the following should be taken into account:
 - Reparations for all damages during slavery and colonialism.
 - Reparations for the colonization of the atmosphere¹¹³ and ecocide.
 - Reparations for all military invasions or economic warfare.
 - Reparations for odious debt payments, such as debts acquired by Western-backed dictatorships such as Suharto or debts from the colonial era, such as paid by Indonesia¹¹⁴ to the Netherlands until 2003.
 - Reparations for excessive rent payments over all debts, including any rent payments exceeding inflation rates.
 - Reparations for unequal exchange¹¹⁵, illicit financial flows and trade price misinvoicing by Dutch multinational corporations.
 - A fair interest rate over all of the above, based on a transparent accounting of missed development opportunities in the past.
15. All funding, both immediate and long-term, will be given in the form of unconditional grants, none of which will go to Dutch or other Western corporations in the form of public-private partnerships.
16. All reparations or immediate funding will finance a non-monetary goal of transformative justice. The goal is not punishment of the Global North or an exact

financial accounting of all harms done, but rather the convergence of living conditions in the Global North and the Global South that will be dignified and guaranteed across the board. This should include at least the following:

- Decommodifying all social, economic and cultural rights enshrined in the UN declaration of human rights. This includes free, robust and universally accessible:
 - Public housing
 - Public health care
 - Public education
 - Public care systems for children and the elderly
 - Access to nutritious and balanced diets
 - Access to adequate clothing
 - Public transport
 - Access to electricity and tele-communications
 - Access to cultural and artistic expressions

17. The same guarantees on social, economic and cultural rights will be offered to the Dutch population.

18. In the short term, reparations funding will be secured by higher tax rates on corporations, wealth, inheritance and high income earners. In particular, immediate reparation funds will be sought by proven perpetrators, such as the royal family¹¹⁶, the church¹¹⁷, Dutch banks¹¹⁸, slave-owning families and other institutions. In the medium term, we advocate a \$2 million individual wealth cap and the expropriation of all possessions above that threshold. In the long term, we recognize that decision making should be based on the productive capacity of the Dutch economy in a democratic and planned fashion. This will necessarily imply the nationalization of all strategically vital sectors of the economy, such as banking, energy and transportation.

REPARATIONS FOR MOTHER EARTH & FOOD SOVEREIGNTY

The Dutch government, NGO's and institutions must recognise the ecological and climate catastrophe is an outcome of past and present colonialism. The Global North has created the largest ecological and climate footprint for our consumer market and corporate profits, while countries in the global south suffer most from the climate and ecological consequences of climate colonialism. Therefore the global north is responsible for climate reparations and should support local food sovereignty.

1. Environmental laws will be equalized across the entire supply chain of Dutch investments, production and consumption based on the highest standards within the supply chain. Dutch corporations that have caused environmental destruction and/or ecocide must repair the damage caused in countries in the global south. Examples include: air and water pollution, dumping toxic waste and deforestation by companies such as Shell, Unilever and Vattenval.
2. The Dutch government will recognize the rights of nature; this recognizes the right of nature to exist in a way that it does not stop natural cycles and promotes living in harmony with nature. Examples include policies of Buen Vivir: The Rights of Nature as implemented in Bolivia and Ecuador.
3. The Dutch government, educational and financial institutions must disinvest and stop facilitating fossil fuel industries, industrial agriculture and industrial fishing. Examples include public universities producing non-sustainable technologies, continued

massive fossil fuel subsidies and trade agreements that promote the export of environmentally damaging products.

4. The Dutch Government, NGO's, educational and financial institutions must invest in ecosystem restoration programs and support the regeneration of biodiversity in a way that supports local sovereignty, land stewardship and social movements of Indigenous people and farmers. Environmental protection should never become a form of ecofascism¹¹⁹, by ethnically cleansing Indigenous Peoples from their lands in the name of environmentalism. We call upon the WWF¹²⁰ in particular to cease their eco-fascist practices against Indigenous Peoples worldwide.
5. The Dutch government will support the strongest demands emanating from the Global South in climate negotiations, including full reparations for damage and losses, as well as funding and technology transfer for a more rapid green transition in the Global South, which is necessary due to the atmospheric colonization of the Global North. Any such calculations should be based on fair share assessments with equal emission space for all countries, as calculated in Nature Sustainability, for example here¹²¹.
6. The Dutch government will pay its fair share of the calculated climate reparations, regardless of the position of other countries in the Global North, leading by example.
7. Dutch governmental, NGO and other funding institutions for ecosystem protection should

substantially direct their funding to Indigenous Peoples, who currently protect 80%¹²² of the world's biodiversity.

8. The Dutch government will advocate for the inclusion of military-, international transport- and trade-adjusted emissions in the national emissions figures reported to the IPCC, based on the methodology of the CBS milieu rekeningen¹²³.
9. The Dutch government will fully abandon unrealistic climate models based on unscalable or unethical technologies such as 'BECCS'¹²⁴, which will require the continued colonization of land in the Global South. The Netherlands will also reject any climate modeling that assumes continued disparities in the per capita emissions of the Global North and the Global South.
10. The Dutch government will adopt a goal of climate neutrality by 2030 at the latest, based on CBS 'milieu rekeningen' (which includes international trade and transport), considering the extremely high per capita emissions.
11. The Dutch government will officially drop all goals of economic growth and recognize that ensuring the Global North's climate and ecological responsibilities will only be possible by stabilizing or even reducing our energy and material consumption. This will necessarily require a restructuring of the economy based on human & ecological needs rather than corporate profits, as demanded in the finance & economy section.
12. The Dutch government will recognise that

‘sustainable’ energy, such as solar, wind and hydropower, can be implemented as a form of “green colonialism¹²⁵,” where resource plunder, land theft and human and environmental harms are continued. A holistic view is necessary, where equal efforts are to enforce human rights, labor laws and environmental laws across ‘sustainability’ sectors.

13. The Dutch government will support cultural, social and educational programs that teach ways of relating and viewing nature not as an object to consume, but as part of a web of life in which we are part.
14. The Dutch government will integrate re-wilding, urban forestry and communal gardening across the Dutch landscape as an integral part of urban and rural landscape planning.

Food sovereignty:

15. The Dutch government will stop trade agreements that diminish protective trade barriers for local small-holder farmers in the global south such as making it impossible to create import tariffs or invest in local state sponsored agricultural subsidies.
16. The Dutch government will redistribute land and decommodify land, recognising it as a common resource of the people; limit the size of landownership and place ceilings on household and corporate landholdings. Give land back that was stolen through colonial land-theft and or post WO-II neo-liberal corporate land theft. Make sure that local communities are recognised as legitimate care-takers of the land and are consulted on matters of land use.

17. The Dutch government will prioritize the production of food and basic needs instead of export oriented cash crops for meat production, biofuels or luxury products for western markets.
18. The Dutch government and institutions will enhance national and regional food systems based on a mix of traditional, organic and modern agricultural practices, banning use of harmful products such as pesticides and overuse of fertilizers or making local farmers dependent on western agricultural products and making them become debt trapped.
19. The Dutch government will ban the commodification and patenting of seeds in the form of biopiracy, recognizing and strengthening traditional ecological farming practices instead.
20. The Dutch government, universities and corporations will share agricultural technologies and knowledge that support local food sovereignty. Build technical and scientific capacity for sustainable and ecological agriculture.
21. The Dutch government will invest more in local food production capacities over giving food in the form of aid, making accessible healthy food to all people. The government will support the building of local public distribution systems, with particular focus on eliminating hunger.
22. The Dutch government and institutions will invest in food systems that are resilient to new climate conditions due to the current climate disruption.

23. The Dutch government and corporations will cease industrial fishing in the Global South and should implement and enforce an immediate ban on bottom trawling.

REPARATIONS FOR CULTURAL HERITAGE & DIGNITY

The Dutch government, NGO's and institutions recognise that colonialism has produced racist assimilatory processes of people into dominant colonial European culture, this is why according to the UN more than half of the 6500 languages spoken world wide might disappear in the coming century.

1. The Dutch government, educational, media and cultural institutions will institutionalize anti-colonial content and perspectives within all sectors of Dutch education, making it a core part of the educational formation of all Dutch citizens, from elementary school to higher education. Colonialism should have an equal 'moral weight' within Dutch education as the Nazi Holocaust, recognizing that, in fact, Nazism is a part of colonial history.
2. The Dutch government, institutions and NGOs will extend public support to cultural and arts institutions and programs that support non-western languages, cultural identity, traditions and crafts both locally and globally.
3. The Dutch government and cultural sector should actively combat negative stereotypes about cultural identities and support programs that re-establish self esteem amongst (descendants of) colonized people and their self-image on their cultural heritage.

4. The Dutch government, the cultural sector and other institutions will stop the commodification and appropriation of cultures: meaning not selling and exhibiting cultural objects out of context into mindless consumerism, not exhibiting stolen objects in Museums, or distorting local cultures into cruel forms of nationalism.
5. The Dutch government, cultural and educational institutions will also foster decolonized cultural programs for the white Dutch population, fostering cultural traditions and role models that were not fostered by Dutch colonial elites, such as Henk Sneevliet. As such, common, multicultural struggles against imperialism and capitalism can be emphasized.

REPARATIONS FOR GLOBAL EQUITY

The Dutch government, NGO's and institutions recognise that colonialism was a racist and patriarchal system that impacted the social position and rights of women, communities of color, people with disabilities, migrants, undocumented people, working people and LGBTQIA+ communities. Therefore, programs need to be supported to create justice and equality for these groups.

1. The Dutch government will ensure that all rights are available to all peoples in an equitable way. Recognizing that historical and ongoing structures of marginalization have created vast inequalities among different groups in society, special attention should be paid to the equitable distribution and satisfaction of all political, liberal, social, economic,

cultural and collective rights for marginalized communities, both within its own borders as within the reparation projects it finances abroad. That includes women, Indigenous peoples, people of color, migrants, undocumented people, people with disabilities, LGBTQIA+ people, oppressed castes, rural communities and the impoverished, among others.

2. The Dutch government and human rights institutions should actively support awareness and human rights documentation on social, economic and cultural rights, which has been actively marginalized by capitalist powers since the adoption of the UN declaration of human rights.
3. We also advocate the recognition of collective rights, besides the individual concept of human rights, both for peoples and for nature. More generally, we advocate for exploring and recognizing non-Western rights and justice systems outside the scope of the UN declaration on human rights, which should be considered a bare minimum. In the same vein, we recommend adopting principles of transformative justice, rather than solely focussing on punitive justice.
4. Political, financial, cultural or military ties to regimes that commit crimes against humanity should be seized immediately by all Dutch institutions, including but not limited to the state. The Netherlands will support bringing such cases immediately to the International Court of Justice and will respect any interim- or final ruling of the court, such as the interim rulings on the 'probable genocide' in Gaza.
5. The Netherlands will act as a safe haven for

anti-colonial and anti-capitalist movements world-wide, offering asylum and resources to movements that are marginalized, criminalized or for other reasons cannot operate from within their own countries.

6. The Netherlands will abolish Frontex and all forms of border militarization and passport apartheid. We advocate for the complete right to freedom of movement and a territorial rather than passport basis of citizenship, including all accompanying rights. On the interim, migrants should be allowed to travel legally and safely to the Netherlands to file their asylum applications here. We also demand immediate citizenship rights for all undocumented migrants residing currently in the Netherlands.
7. The Dutch government, media, cultural and educational institutions will stop using human rights to justify military, political, financial or other forms of imperialism. Examples include Israeli pinkwashing to justify the colonization of Palestine, women's rights to push economic sanctions against Iran or justifying invading countries like Afghanistan and Libya to 'save' women. The Dutch educational system should include the history of liberal imperialism, atrocity propaganda and the White man's burden, wherein 'progressive' demands have been used to justify colonialism and genocide.
8. In their reparations funding, the Dutch government and other institutions will also support self-led local, grassroots organizations, movements and networks of the most marginalized communities in society. This can be done by, for example, by donating facilities and other necessary infrastructure free

of charge, which can subsequently be run autonomously. This article should not conflict with article 5.1.8. One way to prevent the political abuse of such funding is to allocate funds to transnational movements that are active across geopolitical divides, such as Via Campesina. Special sensitivity is necessary within contexts where funding can be counterproductive as such groups can be criminalized as ‘foreign agents.’

9. The Dutch government, media, cultural and educational institutions will foster cultural, educational and artistic initiatives against discrimination of all forms (such as racism, casteism, misogyny, transphobia, etc.). We encourage programs that raise historical awareness about the roots of these forms of oppression and that advocate holistic and systemic solutions.
10. All Dutch institutions will implement and support quota programs, both domestically and for reparations projects abroad, specific to a local context’s needs in order to challenge power structures that reproduce a monolithic group holding power positions across sectors.
11. “The Dutch government implements equality in the Dutch Kingdom in both the Caribbean and European parts of the Netherlands. Meaning equality in minimum wages, pensions and social benefits towards the ABC SSS islands.

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