

D66 International Quarterly

INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE CONCERNING D66 PUBLISHED BY THE DELEGATION OF D66 IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. EDITOR: WILFRIED DERKSEN. CORRESPONDENTS: SUZANNE BAKKER, ARJEN BOUTER, MICHEL GROOTHUIZEN, LEO KEUS, BOB DE RUITER. © D66 1993.

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• MARCH 1993 •

The euthanasia debate in Dutch parliament: moral acceptance of euthanasia, but no legal consequences

After almost ten years of parliamentary discussion the Second Chamber of the Dutch parliament has finished the euthanasia debate. However, it is still uncertain whether the now adopted legislation, proposed by the government, will become law: the Senate, the First Chamber, still has to decide and give its approval. Therefore, the future will show whether this legislation will really come into effect. Perhaps there is some hope left for the parliamentary group of D66, because of its opposition to the legislative proposal of the government.

Our own initiative bill

In the debate D66 has defended its own initiative bill on euthanasia, launched in 1984 by a D66 member of parliament, Elida Wessel-Tuinstra. But the acceptance of the present le-



Kohnstamm in discussion with opponents.

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gislation has led to the rejection of the D66 proposal. Nevertheless, Jacob Kohnstamm - at present defender of the D66 proposal - ended his speech in the debate by stating that he does not consider this rejection as a moral loss. According to him, the initiative bill has played a major role in the political discussion on euthanasia. It has been a symbol for those who strive after the right to die under certain circumstances.

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Introduction to this issue

A main topic in Dutch politics, euthanasia, was discussed in parliament. D66 did not agree with the majority in parliament. In this issue Gerdine Rodenburg explains the D66 points of view on the new legislation (p. 1). At the next congress D66 will discuss the future of European integration. Therefore Michel Groothuizen covers this theme in an article with the title 'Europe Quo Vadis' (p. 2).

Wilfried Derksen and Constantijn Dolmans interviewed Gerrit-Jan Wolfensperger, deputy floor leader of D66 in the Second Chamber (p. 4). They spoke about the party identity and Dutch penal policy. Sustainable development remains an important topic for D66. Petra van den Boomgaard reports about the last IDI-seminar in The Hague on sustainable development (p. 6). Jan-Willem Bertens, MEP will report in the European Parliament on the issue of intervention under international law. His assistant, Arjen Bouter, writes on this theme in his article (p. 7). Finally Suzanne Bakker explains why the Jonge Democraten organize a seminar on social liberalism (p. 8).

The editor.

D66
DEMOCRATEN

Euthanasia

(article starts on page 1)

In that respect, the D66 proposal has contributed to a break through concerning the taboo on euthanasia. On the other hand it was his conviction, that an end to the parliamentary discussion in this way is not acceptable and the adoption of the government proposal is a wrong decision. The criticism of D66 as to the government bill primarily focused on two issues.

No change of the criminal code

In the first place, euthanasia (and helping with suicide) remains a criminal offence under the criminal code and will therefore carry a maximum sentence of 12 years in prison. However, at the same time a legal basis has been given to the guidelines for reporting to the coroner. A doctor who has conducted euthanasia or helped with suicide is now obliged to give notice thereof. Following the guidelines, already practically in effect since 1990, the doctor will be protected against prosecution. In that respect, the guidelines contain the conditions under which euthanasia is not punished. These conditions were developed in the jurisprudence of the Dutch Supreme Court, according to which doctors remained immune from punishment in recent years. But the government refuses to draw the legal consequence of this: changing the criminal code, by legalizing euthanasia under certain circumstances. The conclusion can be no other than the following: the legislature points out to doctors how to - carefully - infringe the law. And the judiciary will have to take over the responsibility which

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the legislature does not want to bear.

D66 proposed to change the criminal code: after following the approved conditions, euthanasia and helping with suicide are no longer a criminal offence. Does not the patient have the right to say under certain circumstances: "I don't want to live any longer, please help me fulfil my wish?" The conditions under which euthanasia remains unpunished according to the D66 bill, were stated in the criminal code itself: the well-considered and explicit request of the patient and unbearable suffering in a situation of need beyond mortal assistance. The requirements for such a situation of need were also stated in the law. The bill was therefore based on two main principles: legal acknowledgement of the right to die under certain circumstances and supervision of the medical practice of euthanasia by the judiciary.

Mercy killing

Secondly, the criticism of D66 on the government proposal focused on the following fact. In certain cases the medical practice of termination of life without the explicit request of the patient has now been brought under the same act. It is true that there are different consequences: the doctor is not protected from prosecution in the latter case. So, in cases of "mercy killing", in which death would have followed quickly also without the doctor's help, doctors are obliged to give notice to the coroner according to

the same guidelines. Although justification of the doctor's help in such situations may be found in the fact that the doctor helps the unbearably suffering patient to die, an explicit request of the patient is absent. A study of Dutch medical practice in cases of the termination of life has demonstrated, that such a request may have been discussed, but never rounded off. Therefore, one can not speak of euthanasia: there is no request, only the justification of 'mercy killing'. Of course D66 also wants to control these forms of medical practice of termination of life, but feels a procedure with this goal should be developed within the medical profession first. A thorough discussion on this issue is therefore required. The present act is premature.

Moreover, D66 fears that the mixture of euthanasia and medical termination of life without the explicit request of the patient in one act with different consequences may lead to a moral justification of the medical practice of termination of life without the request of the patient. Whereas euthanasia starts and ends with the voluntary consent of the patient, a termination of life by a doctor without the patient's request does not do this. It is therefore something totally different both from an ethical, medical and juridical point of view.

The final conclusion of D66 is that: the recently adopted government bill does not regulate what it should do, but does regulate what should not have been dealt with.

Gerdine Rodenburg, staff member of the D66 parliamentary group in the Second Chamber.

Europe: Quo vadis?

During its spring congress in 1993 D66 will discuss the future of post-Maastricht Europe. The Executive Committee recently presented a report on this issue with the title 'Europe: Quo vadis?'. In this report, out of which several policy recommendations were drawn, positions on the future of the European Community as well as relations with Central and Eastern Europe are elaborated.

Market access

As far as the relations with Central and Eastern Europe are concern-

ed, the point of view of the Executive Committee is that complete market access is most helpful for the former socialist countries in tran-

sition, even more than a modern style Marshall-plan. Although it may not be considered as a realistic goal in the present day Community, this should have the highest priority as a policy objective for D66. Technical assistance programmes as, for instance, PHARE may be useful, but can only play an additional role and should not function as an alternative for market access.

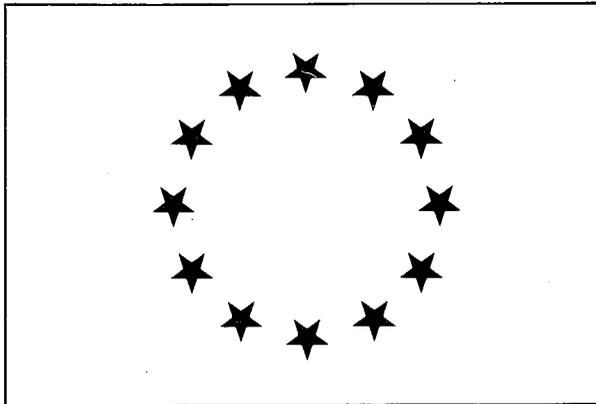
Quite often in the discussion about market access arguments like wage dumping and environmental

dumping are heard from those who want to limit the access opportunities for third countries. Low prices because of low wages can never be seen as dumping. As far as environmental arguments are taken into consideration a distinction should be made between 'dirty products' and 'dirty production processes'.

The first cannot be allowed because of the fact that such products would not be permitted if made in the Community. The second category is more of a problem. The Executive Committee is of the opinion that this cannot be seen as dumping and that it does not make sense to refuse the results of such dirty (non-sustainable) production processes per se, because of the fact that this would not ameliorate the environment anyway. On the contrary: only if these countries or enterprises can earn money by export will they be able to invest in cleaner technology, and so in the long term in a sustainable development.

Central European participation in NATO?

The Executive Committee is of the opinion that entry into the European Community of former socialist countries requires: a stable democratic society and a normally functioning market economy. The latter has not been reached anywhere in the Central- Eastern European region yet. This does not mean that where security guarantees are at stake, that the same economic requirements should be used. Or in other words: It is not necessarily so that Central and Eastern European countries should only take part in Western security arrangements (as for instance NATO) after having become members of the European Community. According to the Executive Committee proven stable democracies, respecting the rule of law and which are willing and able to fulfil the obligations of international security arrangements, should be allowed to join the Community. Noncommittal discussions in advisory boards as the



North Atlantic Council are good to begin with, but in the end only little more than a dummy bone. Of course in each case the consequences of such a step for the stability in Europe as a whole should be considered. But being too reluctant towards those countries applying for admission for fear of the reaction of other member countries could be counterproductive.

Deepening the EC

D66 has always been in favour of a truly federal Europe in which the European Commission would the role of a European government, and the control being entrusted to the European parliament. The discussions in different countries, resulting i.a. in the Danish 'no' to 'Maastricht', are as such no reason for D66 to change its positive attitude toward Europe. This does not mean that the questions about the democratic calibre of the Community are not taken seriously. On the contrary D66 will go on striving for a more fully democratic Europe. But the problems Europe is facing today do not allow the European countries to stop further integration: international security, migration or pollution, all need a European approach. And if these problems will not be treated in a democratic way, they will be treated in a bureaucratic, technocratic way, from which we cannot escape. For that reason the Executive Committee recommends the party to promote greater integration also after Maastricht.

Michel Groothuizen

AGENDA

3 & 4 April: IDI Seminar
24 & 25 April: JD Congress

Radical democratization

"A reasonable alternative" and "A different style of politics" are the slogans with which D66 made a name for itself in the Netherlands. Both slogans refer to the other Dutch parties.

Until 1970, D66 (D'66 as it was initially called) was chiefly opposed to the established parties, in trying to reform the political system. This was followed by a period in which D66 tried to bring about this reform by working within the system, with the help of a policy programme, just like all the other parties. In the introduction of the 1986-1990 election programme, D66 defines itself as a party amidst other parties as well as a party opposed to other parties. The "opposition to" is now being mainly expressed by D66' concern about the functioning of the democratic system and by the party's call for a continuous check upon those in power. This article briefly outlines D66 main objective 'radical democratization'

D66 aims at radical democratization of society and of the political system by using all the available (political) means to achieve that:

- a. the number of people that actively take part in the political and social decision process is increased;
- b. all the facts about the and consequences of a certain issue are met with an open mind before an (objective) decision is made;
- c. more value is appropriated in the decision process to international aspects and to consequences in the long run;
- d. the political relations are based on the actual party programs.

To be continued

D66 is considered to be the party of radical democratization. Doesn't D66 restrict itself too much to a discussion on formal democracy? Where is the discussion on the quality of the democracy?

"I don't agree on the approach that D66 emphasizes too much the formal side of democracy. It was true, but the party developed further. It is no longer the reason for its existence. But radical democratization remains one of the priorities of D66. In its short history you can distinguish three phases. In the beginning D'66 was the movement for

Talking about identity and law

In a northern suburb of Amsterdam Constantijn Dolmans and Wilfried Derksen interviewed Gerrit Jan Wolffensperger. Wolffensperger is deputy floor leader in the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament. He is the spokesman on matters concerning justice, traffic, transportation and media. In this interview two topics are the identity of D66 and the Dutch penal policy.

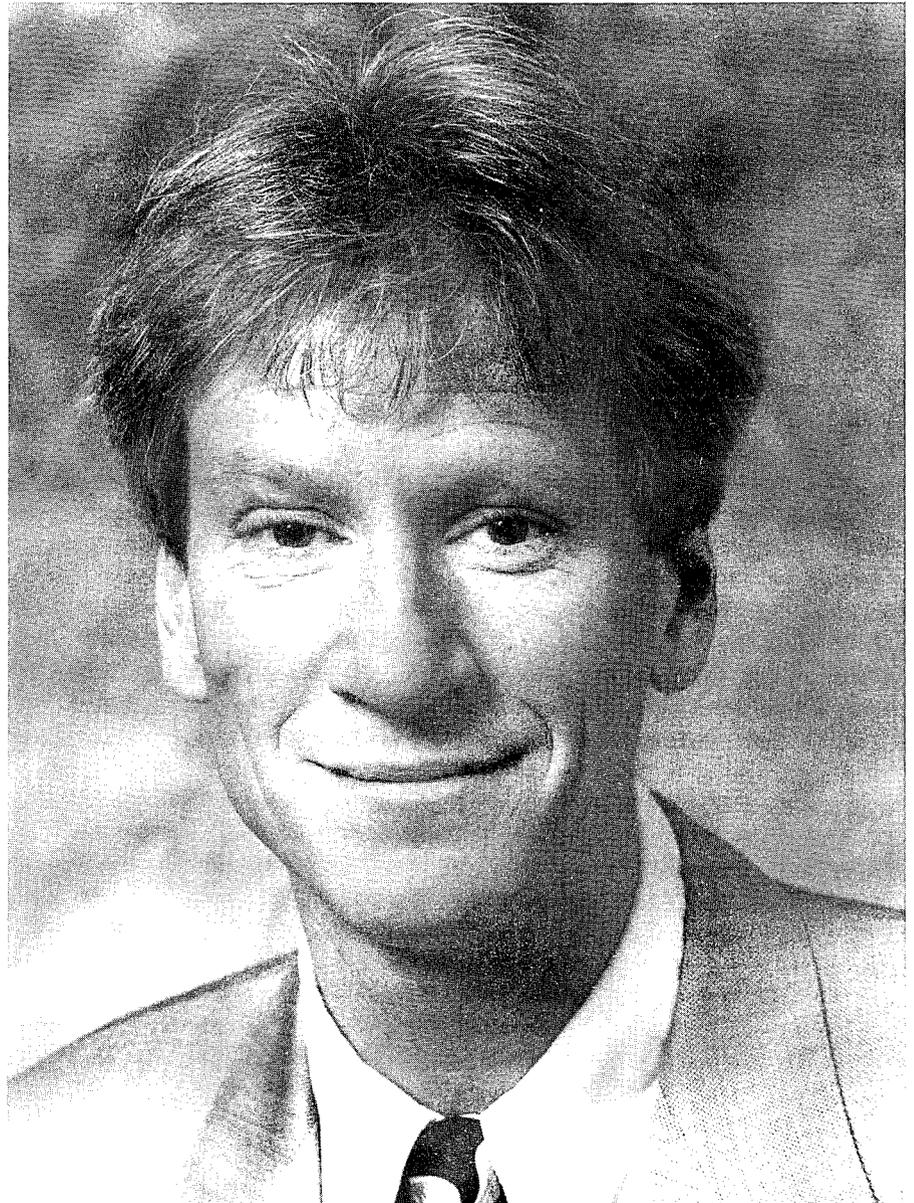
Before one of the last general elections you labelled yourself in the party elections as a progressive liberal. Can you explain this label in relation to the identity of D66?

"The identity of D66 is often considered as indistinct, as not clear. I cannot agree with this thesis. D66 has a clear and recognizable identity like the other Dutch parties. There is one important difference. We don't derive our identity from an ideological starting-point in the past. These old ideologies are often superseded. Since its formation, D66 has said that we don't want such a label. That is why opponents levelled their reproach of indistinctness at D66. I expect we will hear a lot more of this criticism in the coming year. This has nothing to do with programmatic indistinctness. Programmatically we are often clearer than other parties. Such a reproach is nonsense. People must realize that D66 has an aversion to taking views without showing a nuance; such an attitude of our opponents is therefore too simple. A problem has always more than one side. If you call this indistinctness, you can blame us for many things. But this aversion makes D66 attractive for me. I don't like simple one-line solutions.

The reproach of indistinctness must just be considered as the consequence of not having a label. Maybe D66 should reconsider its dislike of having a label.

It is not easy to use a label at home. The fear of using a label has an historical reason. The original goal of D66 was to change the political system. In that context it was not possible to use a label.

If we are abroad we don't have



Gerrit Jan Wolffensperger

Photo © D66

these problems, these dislikes. If I explain the Dutch political context to foreigners, I say that we have two liberal parties in the Netherlands, one of them is conservative liberal and the other, D66, is progressive liberal."

radical democratization. In the second phase D'66 developed from a movement into a party. A movement which has municipal and pro-

vincial councillors with programmes on all levels, became a party. This phase ended with the disastrous elections of 1982. In the third phase the party has made a new start with its own non-dogmatic position in the political spectrum.

The institutional reforms are an important part of the party programme, but they are no longer its reason of existence.

D66 was the first party to emphasize the fact that you cannot govern today's complex society, as it has developed after 1945, with the old structures of 1848. If you are aware of this, you can find solutions and you can experiment. You have to find structures which fit into today's society and which appeal to the Dutch citizens. The political influence of the citizen has decreased but should have increased. We must experiment with ways to enlarge the involvement of citizens with politics."

What are the ideals of D66 for the nineties? What does progressive liberalism mean to you?

"If I speak about progressive liberalism as the identity of D66, I want to identify the sources of our ideals. The first source is liberalism. D66 emphasizes the freedom of the individual -also towards the government- and the chance of development. The second source is solidarity, derived from social democracy. This solidarity doesn't mean that we are a socialist party, but gives to the state a more important position than conservative liberalism does."

Couldn't you say that this is the consequence of the liberal idea that everyone should enjoy freedom, this egalitarian part of liberalism. A society without solidarity debar a group of citizens from freedom.

"Exactly. The conditions to be free form the progressive element in the liberal philosophy"

What is the part of ecology in the identity?

"The emphasis on ecology is a consequence of the identity of the party. The party has no historical ideology, it doesn't defend the interest of particular groups in society. Therefore we look more into the future and ask ourselves what problems are to be expected in the future.

We have to anticipate these problems. At this moment we have to take measures to avert future dangers.

It is clear that we must find solutions on the environment and the contrast between the rich north and the poor south. We have to be aware of the consequences.

One consequence I am ready to offer is a part of our prosperity if thereby we will realize our goals. We must stop spoiling the world for the sake of future generations and we must reduce the contrasts in the world. We must prevent society - world society - from breaking down.

When I think about justice and safety then anticipation is important. Too many people think too often in short term solutions. Only few people try to find solutions on a long term basis."

Do you think it is possible for politics to make society?

"I think this is less possible than we thought it would be. You cannot steer society with laws which are not supported by society. The internationalization makes it even less possible.

To change society one needs to convince citizens. The government cannot trust the power of rules, it has to explain the reason for the rule.

For example: you cannot enforce maximum speed by rules alone, you first have to explain the necessity of the maximum speed.

Another example is the position of foreigners. Information is necessary. In Germany a government institute published facts which denied prejudices. It appeared that foreigners have a positive effect on the economy and on employment. The government has to inform citizens about this kind of things."

Is there still space enough to develop a national judicial and police policy in a Europe without frontiers?

"This space is decreasing. An important task is now to conserve in the international discussion these aspects which we consider to be valuable. A well-known example is the Dutch drugs policy.

Another example is the Dutch penal climate which is not only based on repression but also on rehabilitation. We must avoid the possibility that ex-convicts become recidivists.

It is too easy to say: We don't have enough money for law enforcement and prevention, so we have to enlarge the powers of the police and diminish the rights of suspects and prisoners. With that policy an escalation of the problems is inevitable. A more severe penal climate leads to more criminality and turns against society itself.

The Dutch system works. There are less recidivists than elsewhere. There is an alternative: social security. People can earn money without offending against the law."

Could you outline the relation between D66 and the three main parties in the Netherlands?

"If I look at my own portfolio the answer is simple. The largest difference exists with the christian-democrats. The way CDA and D66 approach politics and essential problems is very different. The mutual suspicion is large. It is the antipode between 'religious' and 'secular/agnostic'.

The cooperation with the social-democrats is not difficult. Despite the essential differences between PvdA and D66, it is possible to come to an agreement. It is also possible to cooperate with the conservative liberals, but there are still a lot of opposing opinions between the VVD and D66.

In recent times the differences with the PvdA and the VVD has increased. With Bolkestein as party leader the VVD has returned to a conservative position in the Dutch political spectrum.

We still plead for a so-called purple coalition, a government formed by PvdA, D66 and VVD. It will not be easy to form such a coalition if you consider that the VVD is becoming more populist and the PvdA is off their course, having in fact no course at all."

**Wilfried Derksen and
Constantijn Dolmans**

Sustainable development

Sustainable development

Under an excellent chairmanship of Laurens Jan Brinkhorst, EC General-Director for the Environment and former floor leader of D66 in parliament, a special seminar on sustainable development, hosted by D66, was held last December in The Hague. Participants were specialists from eight like-minded parties as well as from two Hungarian ministries. It was decided to hold this particular seminar because of the special interest shown during former seminars, organized by the International Democratic Initiative (IDI). The purpose of the two day meeting was to deepen the theme of sustainable development and to create a basis for general discussion within IDI.

The meeting was attended by representatives from the British Liberal Democrats, Fidesz, SzDSz and representatives from the environment- and industry and trade ministries from Hungary, the Czechoslovakian Civic Movement as well as parties from Slovenia, Poland and Bulgaria. Central theme was the achievement of sustainable development in Central- and Eastern Europe in a European- and global perspective.

Content of the meeting

Central- and Eastern European participants were rather pessimistic about the achievement of sustainability. The Bulgarian participant, Mr. Kristev, argued that according to the Bulgarian public opinion the phenomenon of sustainable development does not even exist. Moreover the consensus now existing is not sustainable development but survival. Financial support by the West will therefore be the only tool to achieve sustainability. On the other hand, according to Mr. Medgyesy from Hungary, the approach of 'producing as much income as possible' will have its negative impact on both the economy and the environment in the long run. In his view external pressure should be combined with reform of the internal structure.

Sustainable development in Central- and Eastern Europe can only be achieved simultaneously along with economic reform. While dealing with the difficult process of privatization and extremely limited economic strength, it is a tremendous task to

tally sound strategies of privatization and economic incentives for sustainable development are needed. Along with exchange of expertise and consultancy from the West, participants agreed upon concrete action; Financial support has to be given in relation to investments in efficient technologies (technology jump), investments in energy savings and transfer of technology. At the same time policies should concentrate upon networks of environmental lobbies in all

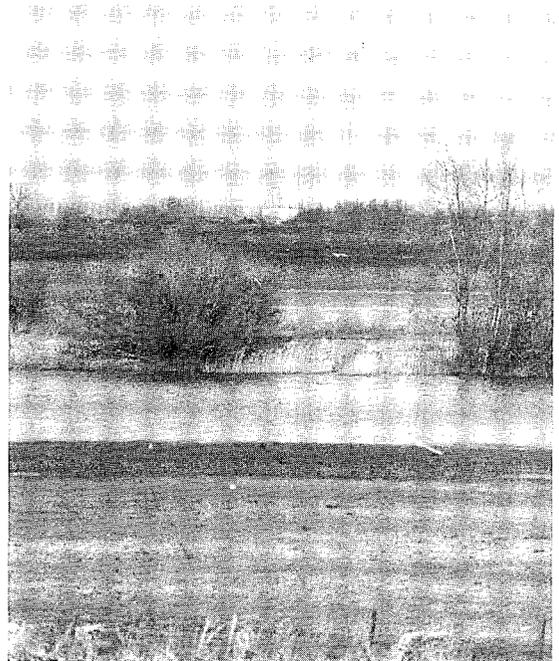


Photo © Erika Groenhuijzen.

reckon with the environment. Nevertheless it is essential that economic growth will be viable and sustainable from the beginning. There are major obstacles preventing Central- and Eastern Europe from an economic sustainable growth. With regard to privatization, the environment and future developments, there is still a lack of information and of awareness.

Furthermore environmental costs have not been determined. With respect to Western Europe and the rest of the world, this is not so amazing. At the same time, however, Western European countries exclude products from their markets while referring to environmental standards. This not only effects economic recovery but it threatens sustainability in Central- and Eastern Europe. The lack of expertise can be considered another obstacle. Expertise on EEC environmental standards might have a positive impact on both national laws and practical implementation. Furthermore expertise on environmen-

major parties, changing the national laws in this field and the participation of the public in the decision making process. At the same time research on economic incentives and privatization in relation to sustainable development will be undertaken by a number of the Central- and Eastern European participants. The results of this research will be discussed during a next meeting to be organized in Sofiya this spring.

The fifth IDI meeting will be hosted by the Liberal Democrats and is planned for 3-4 April 1993.

The central theme of this meeting will be the widening of the EC. The seminar in The Hague was a tremendous stimulating experience showing of the willingness of both Western- and Central- and Eastern European parties to work together- in particular with achieving sustainable development.

*Petra van den Boogaard,
member of the executive staff*

Towards a right of (humanitarian) intervention ?

The European Parliament Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security has asked Jan-Willem Bertens, Member of the European Parliament for D66, to draw up a report on the issue of intervention under international law.

Traditionally, international law has upheld the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. With the end of the Cold War and the rise of a new world order, however, the international climate vis à vis the issue of intervention is changing, especially with respect to the role of the UN. The United Nations Charter prohibits the UN "to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state..." (art. 2 (7)). The same article qualifies this prohibition, however, by adding that "this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII".

Human rights are universal

And there is another qualification which it seems obvious to make. It is accepted almost everywhere that human rights (including the rights of minorities) are universal and no longer qualify as belonging to the internal affairs of a state. Provisions to that effect have been included in major international documents, such as the Helsinki Final Act and the Fourth Lomé-convention between the European Community and the ACP-states. This seems to provide an argument for excluding the issue of human rights from the traditional principle of non-intervention.

UN initiatives

In 1991, the then Secretary-General of the UN, Javier Perez de Cuellar, said that governments could



US-intervention in Somalia.

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no longer regard the principle of non-interference as a protective barrier behind which human rights could be massively or systematically violated.

His successor, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has not been so explicit, but his policies seem to point in the same direction. The UN-mandated action against Iraq, following the invasion of Kuwait, could be justified as collective self-defence. The action to protect the Kurdish population in Northern-Iraq, by creating "safe havens" on Iraqi territory, are however a clear case of a humanitarian intervention by military means and, authorized by the UN. More explicit still is the UN-authorized American Operation, Restore Hope, in war-torn Somalia.

But one should not move from one emergency to another, making up the rules as one goes alone. In recognition of this fact, the UN Security Council had a Summit Meeting in January 1992, which invited the Secretary-General to prepare a report on "ways of strengthening (...) the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy, for peacemaking and for peace-keeping". In this report, "An Agenda for Peace", Mr Boutros-Ghali puts forward a range of proposals to improve the UN's readiness to maintain or restore international peace and security. Mr Boutros-Ghali also recognizes the role of regional arrangements (mentioning i.a. the European Community and the Conference on

Security and Cooperation in Europe) which "in many cases possess a potential that should be utilized in serving the functions covered in this report: preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and post-conflict peace-building".

Member-states were invited to offer comments on the Secretary-General's report. In a memorandum prepared for the EC-ministers of Foreign Affairs, the Belgian government recom-

ended that the UN consider the creation of a "right to humanitarian intervention", which should be invoked in cases where there is gross or systematic violation of human rights.

A European initiative

What is required now is the development of a clear and specific set of guidelines for intervention, outlining as precisely as possible under what circumstances intervention is allowed, what type and level of intervention is deemed appropriate and what manner of escalation may be considered. Timely action at an appropriate level may reduce the scale of intervention needed to deal with a particular situation. A division of tasks between the UN proper and regional organizations like the CSCE or the European Community may be conducive to achieving this goal.

The European Parliament is to organize a hearing on the subject of (humanitarian) interventions which may serve as a sounding-board for the recommendations which Jan-Willem Bertens will include in his report. The report will be presented later this year to the Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security.

Arjen Bouter, EP-correspondent.

JD: social liberalism seminar

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Since the decline and fall of the Old World Order a lot of things have changed. For most people, these developments seem to affect the uniting Europe in a negative way. If people seek independence and do not wish to be united on a state level, if states cannot act in coordination to deal with this and other so-called problems, how can we keep on striving after unity, after a federal Europe?

We seem to forget that power can only be shared among equals, that we do depend on the feelings, and not so much on rational thoughts, of the people represented by this unity.

And a lot has changed for them as well. Not only on the macro-level communities have felt into pieces, also within states communities are falling apart. The concept of the family has become much narrower, to the point where it has lost much of its importance and the individual is now the centre of thought and action. Governments, pressure groups, adverts, they all tend to focus on the individual, what he could do, should do.

This has its consequences for politics. One could say that it has turned out that all ideologies so far have failed in building a fair and prosperous society. The group-based thinking of socialism does not necessarily bring out the best in people and bind them. The market based thoughts of classical liberalism did not bring good fortune to all who worked for it. The religion-based views of christian-democracy have failed to make people feel responsible for one another. Conservatism has not been able to preserve all that was good in the past, it has also failed to adapt to changing circumstances.

Modern man is best defined by pragmatism: he does not identify with one of the mainstream ideologies, he seeks answers for every problem apart. If he tends to give priority to solving one of them first of all, he feels best represented by a pressure group on the specific issue. Over all, his opinions cannot easily be classified as belonging to a specific ideology, but a certain attitude can surely be distilled out of this. One could call it individualism, but without being indifferent towards the fate of others, without being un-

aware of the bad state the world is in. Indeed, he is willing to undertake action of some sort, but not alone, not without the hope of being able to make a difference. At the moment there are not many possibilities for him to realize his opinions on all levels. Pressure groups do not have that much power, even if they do have influence. People get seriously disappointed from trying and trying again and not achieving (clear) results. There is hardly a better way to inactivate them. Whereas it is the task of all who strive after democracy, ideally all that are involved in political parties, to get everybody to participate, to be involved in society and get them aware of their importance and potential power.

So it is the task for all parties to answer to the signals and reconsider their possibilities and aims. And, not least of all, change their attitudes towards citizens. They are needed to build a new Europe. They need to be mobilized. Thus there is a huge potential for those parties that can adapt to or for those that already meet with the wishes and needs of the people. I think the current pragmatic, social liberal parties come closest, even if it may not yet be clear from all election results. But in the near future there are big chances for all of these parties. It is now at the utmost importance that we are able to take them, that we actually have something to offer, in the place of the gap there lies now. With this in mind the Jonge Democraten will hold (12-21 March) a seminar on 'social liberalism in Europe' together with like-minded organizations. They want to try to define social-liberalism, to find shared principles and wishes. They want to look at consequences for a series of specific topics and hope to be able to come up with some clear opinions and idea(l)s.

Suzanne Bakker, JD-correspondent

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Israel and Palestine, a visit

A D66 delegation recently visited Israel and the occupied territories. During its trip from 30 April-9 May the delegation was hosted by Meretz on the Israeli side and by the office of Faisal Hussein on the Palestinian side. About two years ago a D66 local councillor in Amsterdam, Boris Dittrich, being in Jeruzalem took the initiative of inviting a group of Israeli and Palestinian youngsters to the Netherlands to get acquainted with each other in order to contribute to a better understanding and a peaceful life together.

Now the 1991 D66-hosts as well as D66-politicians were invited for a return visit to discuss the peace process and see the situation in Israel and the Westbank and Gazastrip.

Meretz

During the first half of the visit the D66-delegation discussions were held with Israeli politicians and several organisations and institutions working for peace.

Apart from Shlomo Lahat, the Likud-mayor of Tel Aviv,

most discussion partners were Meretz Knesset members, i.a. Ran Cohen and Naomi Chazan. In Meretz three political parties striving for peace work together: Ratz, a human rights party; Mapam, a socialist party; and Shinui, a liberal party. The Meretz fraction in the Knesset consists of 12 members (10%), including three ministers in the Labour headed coalition.

Avraham Poraz, as Shinui politician Knesset member for Meretz, explained that Meretz's main objective was peace even at the cost of other issues. As far as economic and other issues were at stake, quite often the different blood groups of Meretz disagreed, but all were willing to give up own standpoints in other fields for the most important issue, a fruit-

ful ongoing peace process in Washington. To survive in the governing coalition with the Labour Party and Shas, a traditional religious party, this regularly resulted in the grinding teeth. The modernists of Meretz remained with complaints about Shas religious demands without being able to change them. The party itself tried to recover from a semi crisis between leadership and rank and file on the cabinet decision to deport more than 400 Palestinians early in 1993.

Most party members disagreed with this decision, which was agreed to by the Meretz ministers. Now with hind-sight most people, not only in Meretz, regret the decision, but for Meretz it meant loss of its virginity.

Later on the delegation had discussions with Palestinian families from which husbands and fathers were deported, as well as with Palestinian officials who explained that since then it had been very hard for them to trust Meretz.

Gazastrip

The delegation visited several refugee camps on the Westbank and in Gaza. Although knowing about the situation beforehand, there was no one who did not feel shocked af-

Introduction to this issue

A D66 delegation visited Israel and talked with Israelis and Palestinians. Michel Groothuizen reports about this visit (p. 1). In his article Mark Geers outlines a view on the social dimension of the European integration (p. 2).

The European programme of D66 is discussed with political friends from abroad. Leo Keus writes on the last discussions (p. 3).

Recently D66 elected a new party chairman Wim Vrijhoef. Wilfried Derksen and Constantijn Dolmans visited him to learn more about him and his ideas (p. 4).

Arjen Bouter reports about the visit of D66 Advisory Council to the European parliament (p. 6). Furthermore he reports about the participation of Jan-Willem Bertens at the ACP-EC Joint Assembly in Gaborone (p. 7).

The editor.

Adress changes and inquiries

Adress changes and inquiries should be mailed to D66 International Quarterly, Van Oldenbarneveltstraat 106, 3862 SJ Nijkerk, the Netherlands.

D66
DEMOCRATEN

Israel

(article starts on page 1)

ter having been actually confronted with the misery and poverty in the camps. In particular the squalor and frustration in Jabaliya, the place where the Intifada is supposed to have started, were horrifying. The same can be said about the knocked away house fronts in Gaza city, where the Israeli army had shot away the outer walls of a complete apartment block to find and kill a 'terrorist'.

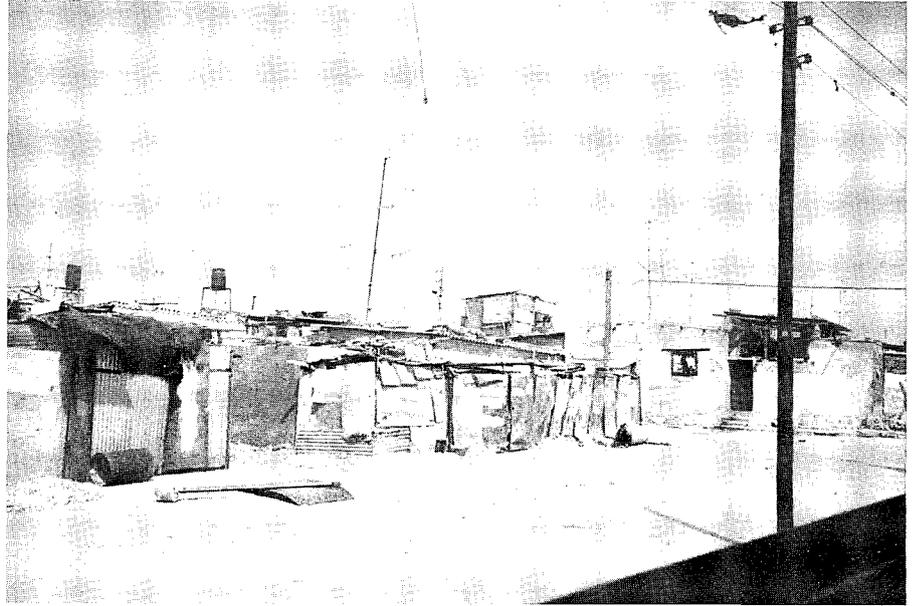
Although many Palestinians complained about the present closing off of the occupied territories, some considered it an advantage that now the Palestinians and Israelis were thrown back on their own and hoped that it could function as a catalyst for the two state solution they hoped for. The only thing no Palestinian could accept was the fact that as a consequence of the closing off they were no longer allowed to enter their 'capital' Jerusalem. Our Israeli friends grosso modo agreed with them. Regrettably they are only a junior coalition partner. With them we do hope that the peace talks in Washington will be fruitful and that hope will conquer hate. But having seen the mutual distrust and fear it is hard to be really optimistic.

Michel Groothuizen

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Misery and poverty in the
(picture below)



Social Europe: some question marks

At its national autumn congress at the end of October 1993, D66 is to discuss its European electoral platform. There is little doubt that "traditional" D66 subjects, such as sustainable development and administrative relations within Europe will be discussed extensively. It is furthermore to be expected that the European Monetary Union (EMU) will be an item on the agenda. I seriously doubt whether the social dimension of Europe will be given an equal amount of attention, although a critical discussion on precisely that subject is indicated.

During the Dutch presidency of the European Community (the second half of '91), the Second Chamber's interest in the social aspects of a united Europe slowly emerged.

And, lo and behold, several MP's woke up from a deep and comfortable slumber and started to think about the possible social consequences -desirable and undesirable- of one single internal Market. D66 opened its eyes too and people started to realize that it might be possible to take a stand on a subject such as this. Fully in line with our democratic tradition, we requested the Government of the Netherlands to promote an active decision-making process within the Social Council of EC Ministers on the European Commission's Social Programme of Action, a programme which after all, dates back to 1989. Quite rightly, D66 pleaded in favour of more rapid progress in respect of the European social dossier by deciding on European legislation in the social sector by a qu-

alified majority instead of by unanimity. In that way, it would no longer be possible for one single Member-State to delay decisions indefinitely. Unfortunately, a majority in the Second Chamber was not of the same mind and D66's proposal was defeated.

Maastricht

Apparently, the Maastricht Treaty and its additional Social Protocol of the "Eleven" was the optimum and it looks as if, for the time being, we'll have to make do with it. After 'Maastricht' too, agreement on European directives, guaranteeing a minimum level of social security and social protection, is still only feasible with the consent of all Member-States. Decisions and decision-making on a European minimum wage or a guaranteed minimum wage has even been removed completely from the EC terms of reference.

As far as that subject is concer-

1994: election year in The Netherlands

Next year three elections on different levels will be held in The Netherlands:

- 2 March: municipal elections;
- 3 May: elections for de Tweede Kamer (Parliament);
- 16 June: elections for the European Parliament.

Expectations for D66

Recent polls predict D66 up to 20% of the electoral vote. In 1990 (last elections for the EP) D66 had 7-9%. For the national parliament 31-32 seats -out of 150- are expected. In different important cities, i.a. Amsterdam, the polls predict D66 to become the largest political party

ned, 'Maastricht' has made abundantly clear what does and what does not belong on Brussels' plate.

EP's playground

Now, apart from 'Maastricht', the question we ought to ask ourselves is what, according to D66, does and what does not belong on the European Community's playground. It is the answer to this question that we must provide in our European electoral platform for 1994.

I believe that we should be very careful with that kind of analysis, as it is no longer on a national, but on a European level that large parts of social policy must lead to binding minimum rights.

On paper such reasoning may have a most social and progressive ring, but in practice it tends to produce the reverse effect.

First of all, achieving a social minimum standard on a European level means a plea in favour of a European centralism and a condensing of legislation, rules and regulations through directives and recommendations.

This is not only unrealistic, but also a threat to the ultimate common aim: one single European Market. Having Brussels impose common standards in the area of minimum wage and social security means that the European Commission can pursue an income policy. Great Britain's attitude will then no longer be merely one of reticence, but may well turn into a total and final rejection of a social Europe.

Secondly, any plea in favour of achieving a social Europe in which Brussels sets the minimum standards, creates a community obligation with which in particular Spain, Portugal and Greece cannot or barely comply. Underprivileged regions which cannot keep up with the European competition race will be confronted with growing unemployment. It is no secret that precisely the Southern Member-States will be hit out of proportion by the negative consequences of the European unification. And on top of that, those countries have to meet requirements on minimum social benefits standards, they may well be faced with unbearable financial burdens. The toll the richer Northern Member-

States in Europe will have to pay through the European Social Funds (ESF), is in my view not advisable.

Of course, there is no explicit ban on having electoral platforms featuring all kinds of wishes and dreams.

However, it is highly debatable whether a social-liberal party such as D66 should endorse the bill, and hence the price that would have to be paid.

*Mark Geers, Senior Assistant D66
Parliamentary Group*

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Europe

In the Spring party congress D66 discussed European politics. The congress was visited by representatives from Great Britain (Lib. Democrats), Hungary (FIDESZ), Poland (Democratic Union), Denmark (Radikale Venstre), the Czech Republic (Civic Movement) and Spain (CDS). In a special meeting with the D66 Programme Committee the representatives of these like-minded parties discussed the first draft of the D66 programme for the European elections in June 1994.

Maastricht and Eastern Europe

There was support for the Treaty of Maastricht. The Liberal Democrat Andrew Duff stressed that it is only a step in the process towards a federal Europe. The Treaty does not give us parliamentary government and it does not prepare the EC for extension. Václav Zak of the Civic Movement said that the EC should be

hard for its friends in Central and Eastern Europe concerning democracy. To join the EC these countries should have a truly liberal democratic system which leaves room for expression of minority groups and political opposition.

An official EC stand against a state monopoly of broadcasting would be one important action.

Doeke Eisma MP said, that in the view of D66, Central and Eastern European countries should be involved in EC decision making in fields like the environment, justice, asylum policy and external relations in the short term. It is a fact that these countries cannot now join the internal market and the common trade policy. But this should be no excuse to close the doors for Central and Eastern Europe.

Trade instead of aid

The draft D66 programme is radical in its approach to trade.

The EC should abolish all barriers for products from Eastern and Central Europe with the precondition that other states do not subsidize products. Gabriella Cseh from FIDESZ agreed that trade instead of aid is a good principle. But for the time being the Central and Eastern European countries lack capital. They need financial help to build up the infrastructure that is needed for a well functioning market economy.

European corps

Jan Kossakowski of the Democratic Union stressed that the instability in Russia and other republics of the former Soviet Union is a major concern of the Visegrad-countries. It therefore is important to integrate Central and Eastern Europe in the EC and NATO, after consulting Russia. He also supported the D66 view that a European corps should be built around the Franco-German corps and function as the European wing of NATO.

The European corps should make it possible to react fast with military means when this is needed in Europe.

Leo Keus

In november 1992 the Congress of D66 elected a new chairman, Wim Vrijhoef. The chairman of D66 is not the political leader of D66; he has no responsibility of the parliamentary party but that of party organization. His special task is now to make the party ready for a larger political responsibility.

Wilfried Derksen and Constantijn Dolmans interviewed Vrijhoef to learn about his ideas on D66 and politics in general.

Why did you choose to become chairman of D66?

The first reason is because some members asked me to think about it. I hadn't thought about it before. The second reason is because I think I can make something out of it.

I have been active at local level in Nijmegen as alderman. After that I was just a party member without official functions. Sometimes I was a more active. One could see that something had to happen in the party. I think I know what to do and what is necessary for the party. The organization of the party has to be restructured, has to be more professional. The party cannot afford to have a simple structure if it is going to be a bigger party. Therefore D66 needs people with experience, with ideas. It's now the moment because D66 has a lot of older active members, but is now getting a lot of young new members as well. These new members want a professional organization in which they can work.

We don't have this structure yet. D66 is a poor party and therefore has too few possibilities. I want to work for a better structure with the means the party has.

Next to that I want a party executive which plays its own role in the political game.

What is the role of the party chairman?

I notice that the chairman of the Labour Party (PvdA) plays a very active, even dominant political role. He

thinks he has to, because he has to rebuild his party from the political depths. I don't want to play such a role. A part of my role is being politically very active at all levels in the party without being dominant. I deliver lectures in local branches and I take part in discussions at this level.

The national executive has its own political responsibilities in finding solutions for problems of today.

Wim Vrijhoef, the new chairman an interview

This is not the sole responsibility of our parliamentary groups. Especially the long term view is our responsibility. The chairman has to stimulate this process. He cannot do it himself.

What are your main topics? What do you want your heritage to the party to be?

I always strive after unity. If I step down as chairman, the group which remains should be unified. That's my task. It is not easy to realize that in a political party because one has to take into account the combination of individual political ambitions and the common goal of the party. If a member is elected to the executive he/she has to give priority to the common goal and he/she has to set aside political ambitions. In D66, as in all political parties, this fails sometimes.

I have worked in the party when it was at a low point: the time when the party

nearly disappeared. If one is in a negative position it is easier to realize this unity. If a party has a positive position the new members expect that it is already an unity, a strong organization. We know that this is not the reality. Some new members are disappointed because of this. The party isn't as strong as a party with 20 % in the polls should be.

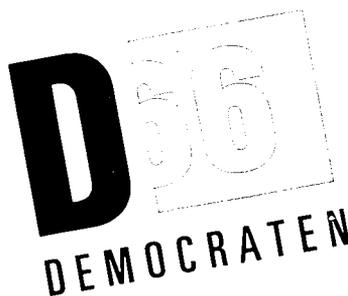
Do you think D66 is able to come up to the expectations the supporters have. Do we have enough capable people to represent the party at national, provincial and local levels?

It is nonsense to expect that at a national level the party will not succeed in composing a good parliamentary group. We will have enough capable candidates for the parliament, that is beyond all doubt. The problem could be the local level. All parties have these problems. I expect that we will finally succeed in finding enough capable candidates for the local elections of march '94. It would have been better if we had worked on this some years ago. But we never expected this growth of support. I'm a little bit worried but optimistic.

For the general elections we expect that some 200 members will apply for the list of candidates.

Did the national executive already choose a position in the debate on coalitions?

It is primarily a task for our parliamentary group. But both executive and congress have to decide on what the party wants. The option of the so-called purple coalition of the Labour Party with D66 and the conservative liberals (VVD) is for D66 a very serious option. D66 is researching the position of the Labour Party and the VVD on this. I don't see a lot of enthusiasm in these parties for this coalition. They discuss it, but I think it doesn't fit in their strategy to



advocate for it before the general elections.

So the party has to think about alternatives. The general opinion I hear is that it isn't the task of D66 to outline alternative coalitions. We have a clear preference and we want it to be clear to the voters. If the purple coalition can be realized I even think a coalition of D66 and the christian-democrats is possible. None of the possible combinations (e.g. PvdA-VVD-D66; CDA-VVD-D66; CDA-PvdA-D66 or CDA-D66) should be excluded. But we know that forming a coalition with the christian-democrats brings a lot of risk with it. We could be halved. But maybe a CDA-D66 coalition has other consequences, maybe the CDA loses a lot of seats. It is only acceptable to form a coalition with the CDA if the policy of such a coalition is very identifiable for D66. Our main items, e.g. environment, should be main items for the coalition. It won't be easy. If we have to support the demolition of social security, it is not possible to join such a coalition. We know we have to reorganize our social security system, but we cannot take part in a coalition which demolishes this system.

Do you think D66 is able to restore the ties between voter and politics?

That is just what our voters expect. We have always said it is going wrong. People see that it is going wrong, they miss the contact with politics. They don't know how to influence their own surroundings. The points of view of the past cannot solve these problems. One of our goals, the elected mayor, doesn't solve the gap between citizen and politics. It is just one of the ways to realize a better relation. D66 has to explain in what way a lot of aspects of society can be brought back to the citizens themselves. It is not always the state which has to solve problems. Especially on the local level a lot of things can be done by citizens' initiatives. Furthermore citizens must find the road back to the local council. The local council is responsible for the good and bad things in the municipality. The local council can give responsibilities to citizens' initiatives.

Is there a future for parties in the Netherlands?

I have to ask a counter-question: what would be the alternative if there wouldn't be a future for parties. I don't think one can have a democra-



Wim Vrijhoef. (photo: D66).

cy without parties. Democracy remains the system which is the most interesting and the most valuable for citizens. It is the way we can control the government although it isn't perfect. A problem is that the parties have relatively few members. More citizens should be member of parties to help give shape to society. I do not understand why only a few people join parties.

My conclusion is that parties have a future because there is no alternative way to organize democracy. If one doesn't check the way rulers rule, one will see that power is abused. That is purely human.

The party is based on the one man, one vote system. Every member has one vote in party referenda and at congresses. Can you maintain this system, especially at congresses, if party membership grows?

I think you have to be very careful with this system. It is very valuable. If membership grows, you might use stadiums for congresses. With modern technical means this is possible. If you see the way the Russian parliament votes, it is possible to organize congresses with thousands of participants. Then you have to select the items which should be discussed plerarily.

Society has to do more to enable

parties to do their work. I'm in favour of subsidies for parties. Next to that I can imagine that companies sponsor (under strict conditions) parties, as long as they do not influence the decisions of the party. Also citizens should do more to support parties. I repeat, more citizens should join parties. If parties have only a few members, democracy is in danger.

One of the original ideas of D66 was blowing up the party system. The youth organization affiliated to the VVD had its own variant of this blowing up, the formation of a purple party with the liberals from VVD, D66, Labour Party and the Green Left. What is your view on this?

The Labour Party has lost a lot of their voters because they lost their

identity. A lot of people in the Labour Party now realize that socialism alone is not enough. The VVD realizes that a pure market economy is not a sound base for our society. The VVD accepts the principles of the social security system. It also lost in this was a part of its identity. We were able to deepen our combination of liberalism and social-democracy in our principles. In this way one could say that D66 is a purple coalition in itself. D66 has also a left and a right wing.

PvdA and VVD pass through crisis with which they still are struggling. If they find a solution for their crises, I can imagine that the result will be similar to D66. The CDA has a completely different starting-point: christian principles as a base for political action. Also the CDA has problems in combining political action with these principles. They had to accept the general freethinking consensus in Dutch society. The CDA developed into a centre party without a clear identity. The result of this development could be a two-party system with two centre parties, the one freethinking and the other christian-inspired. The system also allows more extreme parties like the Green Left and the calvinist parties. That is good. It is a positive part of our political culture that small parties also can be represented in parliament. E.g. the Green Left can play a role as environmental conscience for the other parties. This enriches the democracy. D66 cannot be as radical as the Green Left. One has to find the approval of as many citizens as possible and therefore has to be more moderate.

I think the old party system has already been blown up. All parties have changed, have mitigated their identity. All parties have problems with defining their identity. In this way the system has been blown up. So, we don't need the formation of a new purple party.

Do you think the social-liberal identity of D66 has the future in the Netherlands?

Yes. Our society developed in a way which is based on opportunities for the individual. Every individual has to find his or her in society. D66 considers this as positive. But one

***One cannot say: "the liberal solution is".
D66 doesn't want to have a blue-print for society.***

WIM VRIJHOEF, D66-CHAIRMAN

has to realize that a lot of people cannot find their way in society so society has to help them. The individual remains the basis of our political action. Because every individual has to right to develop one has to have social policy.

Would you agree with the label social-liberalism for D66?

We don't use labels because labels often involve dogmas and automatic solutions. We aren't dogmatic. The way D66 seeks solutions is in analyzing the basic problem and the interests of individual citizens. With that starting point D66 strives to find pragmatic solutions. If a label 'social-liberal' enables D66 to work in this way and if it doesn't bring D66 automatic solutions, we can use this label. A problem is that others can give another meaning to the label than we give to it. One cannot say: "the liberal solution is". D66 doesn't want to have a blue-print for society.

One of the reasons we don't use the label social-liberal is hydrophobia. You see this also in the hesitation some members have about joining the ELDR. Some members identify liberalism with the policy of the VVD, which they don't agree with, so they don't want to call themselves liberal. They forget the other values of liberalism, the pluriformity of liberalism. I don't share this hesitation.

***Wilfried Derksen and
Constantijn Dolmans***

D66 advisory council visits EP plenary session in Strasbourg

From 19 to 21 April the Advisory Council of Democrats 66 paid a three day information visit to the European Parliament and D66-LDR MEP Jan-Willem Bertens in Strasbourg.

The Advisory Council consists of elected representatives of the D66 membership from the twelve regional divisions of the party. Its role in the organisational structure of the party is to keep the party executive, the political groups in the Dutch Second Chamber and in the Senate (First Chamber), and the D66-delegation in the European Parliament informed about the opinions of the rank and file members on topical issues.

The main purpose of the visit to Strasbourg was to get up to date information about the political situation in the EP and in the LDR Group, with a special emphasis on the debate in the European Parliament about the situation in the former Yugoslavia.

To these ends, discussions were held with MEPs from various political groups. Developments in the LDR group were discussed with Florus Wijsenbeek MEP, former Secretary General of the ELDR Federation, and with Mechtild von Alemann MEP, also a former ELDR Secretary General, and currently first Vice-president of the LDR Group in the EP.

EC-policy with respect to former Yugoslavia was discussed inter alia with MEPs Von Alemann, Bertens and Oostlander.

Mr Oostlander, a Dutch member of the EPP (Christian-democrat) Group in the EP, is the rapporteur for the Parliament on the subject of the former Yugoslavia.

Unfortunately, the visitors had to witness a European Parliament which rendered itself unable to reach agreement on a common resolution on the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The

Socialist Group had refused to participate in the negotiations about a joint text. Five other groups (EPP, LDR, Greens, Gaullists and Rainbow Group) were able to agree on a joint resolution.

When it came to the vote, however, this resolution was rejected by a very narrow margin. Against the resolution were the entire Socialist and Communist groups, Greek MEPs and pro-Serbian Conservatives. The sponsors of the resolution, Oostlander, Bertens and Green MEP Alexander Langer, and others voiced their indignation about the fact that its opponents had rejected an appeal on behalf of the suffering population of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The resolution, which was voted paragraph by paragraph, denounced the barbarisms committed against women, children and men in Bosnia and deplored the failure of the foreign and security policy of the EC Council of Ministers to deter the spread of hostilities and atrocities.

The resolution stated that all means to achieve a peaceful end to the conflict must be employed, but that the use of force could no longer be ruled out. It therefore urged the deployment of UN-forces, making use of WEU or NATO.

All these items were rejected one by one by the before-mentioned opponents. After the vote, the LDR Group issued a press release condemning the Socialist vote and comparing the policy of the Socialist group to that of Mr Neville Chamberlain.

In their first regular meeting after the Strasbourg visit the Advisory Council of Democrats 66 adopted a resolution calling for the lifting of the arms embargo against the legitimate government of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Arjen Bouter, EP-correspondent

D66
DEMOCRATEN

Lomé article 5: guiding principle or empty phrase ?

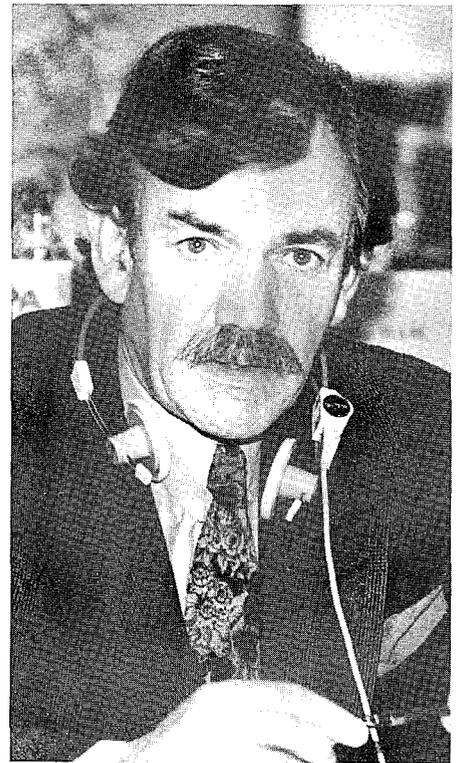
Article 5 of the Fourth Lomé Convention between the European Community and 69 countries (former colonies of EC-member states) in Asia, the Caribbean and the Pacific makes the respect for basic human rights an integral part of EC-ACP relations.

Nevertheless, the governments of some ACP-states are frequent subjects of international criticism because of human rights violations. This is disappointing in itself, but perhaps even more disappointing is the fact that several ACP-countries which themselves have a respectable human rights record are still reluctant to accept the principle of "conditionality".

Under this principle, political and economic relations between the EC and other countries may be affected by the extent to which these countries live up to the fundamental requirements of democratic government and respect for human rights. Article 5 of the Lomé Convention is a reflection of this principle, and this has been accepted by all the signatories of the Convention.

However, when the rapporteur to the ACP-EC Joint Assembly (69 representatives of the ACP-states and 69 MEPs), Spanish MEP Mr Pons Grau, wanted to incorporate this principle in his report on "Democracy, Human Rights and Development in ACP-countries", serious disagreement ensued at the Assembly's previous meeting in Luxembourg. Discussion of the report was then postponed to the Assembly's next meeting, which took place in Gaborone, the capital of Botswana, the last week of March.

Whereas the position of the rapporteur was that democracy and hu-



Jan-Willem Bertens.

man rights could not be detracted from by referring to poverty, state of emergency or martial law, the ACP-states were able to obtain major changes in the final resolution concerning the sanctions which the European Community could apply to ACP-countries in the event of serious human rights violations.

With respect to the right of intervention, the text of the resolution was turned around completely. The original text stated that the concept of non-intervention is limited when dealing with the protection of human rights and the rights of minorities within a country. In Gaborone, however, an ACP-amendment was adopted which reiterated the principle of non-intervention, saying that only a UN intervention at the request or with the consent of the government could not be considered a violation of the sovereignty of the state.

The adoption of this amendment was a setback especially for D66 MEP Jan-Willem Bertens, member of the EC-delegation. As regular readers of D66 International Quarterly will recall, Bertens is the rapporteur for the European Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee on the issue of the

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right of intervention. He is considering recommendation, to the Parliament, of the creation of a "right of humanitarian intervention" by the UN, which should be invoked in cases where there is gross or systematic violation of human rights. Obviously, therefore, Bertens far preferred the original version of this paragraph.

Although disappointed about this turn of events, Bertens did draw some hope from the resolution of the ACP-EC Joint Assembly on Somalia, which was also adopted in Gaborone. In this resolution the Assembly states "that the United Nations should put in place new mechanisms and instruments of action, such as a permanent military UN corps, in order to intervene in international crisis situations with greater effectiveness and without the delay which characterized the aid to Somalia".

In Gaborone, Bertens tabled a resolution himself on the situation in the Sudan, in which he severely criticized both the Khartoum-government and the rebel leaders in Southern Sudan. The resolution, which was adopted by the Assembly, deplores in particular the policy of Islamisation conducted by the authorities in Khartoum.

Bertens tabled a similar resolution

Radical democratization

The basic idea of radical democratization is put into political practice by members of D66. The view on man and society which underlies this practice stems from the idea that people themselves are able and willing to work at a peaceful society. Strong emphasis is put upon the responsibility each individual has towards society as a whole. Society should be organized on such a manner that each individual member can achieve autonomy. This means that each individual should have a maximum say in, a maximum of influence on and a maximum of control over his living and working conditions. The people in power are therefore expected to account for the mandate they have received from the other members of society.

On a central government level this

on behalf of the LDR Group at the April plenary session of the European Parliament in Strasbourg. In the debate, the MEP for D66 recalled that the European Parliament had discussed many times already the catastrophic situation which has been going on for years in the Sudan. For as many years, consecutive Sudanese governments have been violating the provisions of the Fourth Lomé Convention, particularly article 5. Bertens: "This article must not become an empty phrase. The time has come for Sudan to be expelled from the Lomé Convention."

In the compromise-resolution which was adopted by the EP, the Parliament did not follow the LDR in its demand for the expulsion of Sudan. Nor did it support the deployment of military troops to ensure the safe delivery of humanitarian aid to the areas worst affected by conflict, famine and epidemic disease.

Bertens' comment: "Of course this result was to be expected. But I am still disappointed. The Community must be prepared to take real, effective action in order to give practical meaning to our belief in the fundamental value of human life. Or else this resolution is nothing more than a gratuitous declaration. And that is something that the people in Southern Sudan can do without."

Arjen Bouter, EP-Correspondent.

means according to the D66 election programme 1989-1993 that in order to strengthen the ties between citizens and members of parliament the political system should be reformed.

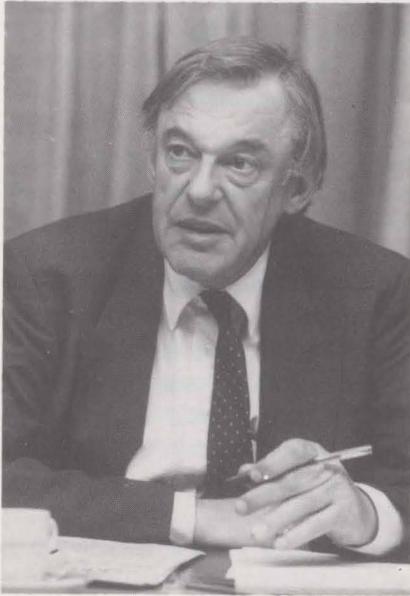
A voting system should be introduced which consists of large constituencies within which members of parliament are chosen according to a system of proportional representation. The prime minister should be directly elected by the citizens. Citizens should be enabled to express their opinion about government bills in a referendum. The central government should delegate tasks (especially in the field of education and social welfare) on the local councils and provinces, because these government bodies can work more effectively and because they are closer to the citizens.

D66 International Quarterly

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• OCTOBER 1993 •



Dire necessity will help us to retrieve the European ideal

In the General Debate 1993 in the Second Chamber, Van Mierlo gave special consideration to financial- economic- and national political issues. Nevertheless, he began his intervention by expounding D66's views on the Netherlands foreign policy and the role of Europe.

BY H.A.F.M.O VAN MIERLO, POLITICAL LEADER OF D66

Once again a year has gone by in which the world's tragedies formed the setting against which we have put our national political problems into perspective. For many amongst us, also outside the Middle-East, Israel's and the PLO's mutual recognition was a historic and moving occasion. However, the recent train of historic events has taught us not to allow ourselves to be carried away, not even in those first moments of euphoria. Fundamentalism on both sides threaten the fragile agreement. The only thing we in Europe can and must do is to depart from convulsive evenhanded policy, which since the Venice Declaration has in fact had nothing but averse and negative effects on both sides, and to turn it into an active, positive two-way engagement. And that means trying to get Israel's market to connect with the European Market as well as maximum investments in the regions of Gaza and Jericho.

It is imperative that Europe reviews its position vis-à-vis Israel. It is in our interest too that the economic and cultural affinity between the

Israeli and European communities be made tangible. This kinship is strongly felt in Israel. But there are other nations in the Middle-East who wish to ward off the dangers of fundamentalism, such as Syria, Jordan en Egypt, and they know that for them Israel can be the gateway to Europe. That was one of the elements of their being favourably disposed towards a reconciliation with Israel. But then it is up to Europe to see to it that the necessary political scope is provided.

For the umpteenth time there seems to be a glimmer of hope for a peace settlement in Bosnia. But it seems to be hardly worthwhile to get enthusiastic any more. Hopes are raised but as quickly die down again. The impotency - and the accompanying exasperation - result in an attitude of resignation as well as in moralism. An escape for the citizen, but a danger for the politician. On the whole, our Foreign Secretary recognizes that it is quite acceptable for a small nation to pursue a discerning foreign policy but that such a country should also be realistic. That is the only course to steer by if one wishes to achieve some of the one's objectives in the ultimate outcome of one's general policy. For a moment that balance seemed to have been lost, when in The Hague it was

pointed out to Lord Owen and Mr. Stoltenberg that they were putting too much emphasis on 'feasibility' and too little on 'desirability'. President Izetbegovic, in torment and with great difficulty, tried to explain to his people that it was unavoidable that Bosnia was to be split up into three parts, whilst the Netherlands simply stated that: 'this is not in keeping with the London agreements'.

In the past few years the position of the European Community with respect to the rest of the world, has undergone dramatic changes. Not too long ago, at the end of the eighties -when the new European élan was still effective- it was with awe, that people spoke of "Fortress Europe". We had to set their minds at rest. Well, there is no need for that any more. Americans recall those times with a smile. In its fall the Berlin wall dragged down the ramparts of that imaginary fortress. And

Continue on page 2.

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v. Mierlo

(article starts on page 1)

Sarajevo has done the rest. At this moment, Europe has lost its credibility, not only in the eyes of its own members, but also and especially in the eyes of the outside world, where revolutionary developments are going on.

The economic and technological developments in South-East Asia and its breathtaking growth, are so evident that, unless there is a disaster, the next century will be theirs.

If the United States succeeds in solving its problems - and in particular the health care issue - it may well be able to hold out in the rat race.

If the European nations continue their present aimless, halfhearted nationalistic bungling, we won't have a ghost of a chance. What until recently was a rather theoretical and abstract spectre, has now turned into a clearly visible and vivid reality. The reality is that Europe has lost its technological lead.

Long distance transport is available at low cost and a telefax bridges a gap of 10.000 kilometres in a few seconds.

Simple production work has in the past gone to low-wage countries. Now, high-tech labour as well as service sector employment go the same way. Our pay-slip may one day come from India or Thailand.

Turning labour into an internationally convertible commodity creates opportunities for the people over there. They have wanted such a possibility for a long time. Remember last year's UNCED Conference? Who would begrudge them a living?

But what is our European answer? What is the answer of the Netherlands? Our country has an economic structure which is relatively one-sided. It aims at providing services and distribution, with a relatively low added value, and a vulnerable package of export products. These are mostly easy to manufacture products and are subject to fierce competition from Eastern and Southern Europe?

It may sound odd, but this depressing image makes me nevertheless confident that it will give rise to a revitalized European élan. There is just no other way. Dire necessity will help us to retrieve the European ide-

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al. And what we expect from every government in the Netherlands is that it will not throw in its European towel and that, fully alert, it will continue to steer its European course.

Whether Europe and the Netherlands will have a chance to succeed depends entirely on whether we are capable of solving the social security issue and whether we are able to create a society in which migration and migrants are an integral part of our existence and our way of life.

Of course, migration is to be carefully controlled and monitored. It should nevertheless be recognized as an established fact entailing obligations from which we cannot shirk and with which we shall have to learn to live. At this stage in history, all over the world vast numbers of

people are moving from one region to another.

It is an illusion to believe that -even in its most organized form- Europe could remain uninvolved. Migrants must integrate in our European culture, i.e. migrants in our country should try to adapt to our way of life. However, a 'culture' is not in a state of constancy, and while integrating in to our way of life, the newcomers will help us to create a new cultural identity. He who refuses to concur is a xenophobe.

The crisis which European integration is presently undergoing is actually the sum total of the crises of the member-state-systems: in their democracy, their administration, and their economy. The sooner these nations start the necessary process of updating and modernizing, the greater the chance that the ship which we call Europe, which is temporarily stranded, will be able to set sail again.

SHADES - A comparison of the draft election manifesto's of D66 and the ELDR-federation

The draft election manifesto's of both the ELDR-federation and Democrats 66 have reached the stage that they are ready to be put before the respective Conferences. This may be a good moment to see what the differences and similarities between the two amount to.

The draft election manifesto's of both the ELDR-federation and Democrats 66 have reached the stage that they are ready to be put before the respective Conferences. This may be a good moment to see what the differences and similarities between the two amount to. As the headline already suggests, the similarities are manifold and the differences small. The two drafts may not be identical, they are certainly similar. Similar in policies, similar in their approach towards the future of European integration. The differences are mainly in the emphases.

Both draft manifesto's are placed against the background of developments after the end of the Cold War, declining economic circumstances, rising unemployment and rising nation-

alism and intolerance. Both emphasize the distinction between European integration is seen by them and compare it to centralism. If there is a difference in the overall approach, it may be that D66 tends to put more emphasis on the citizens' involvement in the decision-making process, both on a national and on the European level.

In spite of recent setbacks, the two manifestos remain strong advocates of ever closer political and economic integration. The crises on the currency markets are viewed not as the demise of the ERM (the European exchange rate mechanism) but all the more as a reason to push forward with Economic and Monetary Union. Concerning the need for a common foreign and security policy,

the drafts remain adamant and their objectives are virtually identical.

A remarkable shade of difference can be noticed in the emphasis which the two documents put on the importance of free trade. One might perhaps be excused for assuming that the ELDR-draft would stress this aspect with more weight than D66. As it turns out to be however, the opposite is the case. The D66 draft devotes more paragraphs to the need of strengthening free trade and of increasing market access, in its Chapters on the Single Market, immigration, Central- and Eastern Europe and development cooperation.

The ELDR, too, stresses the need for the Community to open its markets to Central and Eastern Europe. D66 further advocates that, prior to full membership, Central and East-European countries should be gradually involved in formulation of EC-policy in areas which are also of interest to them, such as: European environmental policy, migration- and asylum-policy, foreign and security policy and policy of combatting international crime.

With respect to the environment, D66 (which is, after all, also a 'green' party) gives more space to environmental policy and is more specific. However, both ELDR and D66 are quite strong on internalising environmental costs in the economy, and are in favour of a CO₂/energy-tax. Both want to bring the environmental aspects of trade into the GATT-negotiations.

In agriculture, D66 favours more market-conformity and environmental sustainability of the Community's Common Agricultural Policy. The ELDR draft wishes to strengthen the market mechanisms and the "greening" of the CAP. Both favour measures to promote new activities in rural areas such as the protection of landscapes, and the prevention of depopulation.

D66 gives more prominence to the issue of migration than the ELDR-draft. However, both have four important elements in common. ELDR and D66 both stress the unres-

tricted right to asylum for political refugees, the need for a common EC-policy on immigration and asylum, the need to guarantee the right of judicial appeal against a refusal of

D66
DEMOCRATEN



asylum, and the need to address the root causes of migration in the countries of origin. D66 is more detailed on the aspect of integration of immigrants and the strengthening of their legal status. It proposes, inter alia, that an unassailable right of residence should be granted in principle after a legal residence of five years. D66 further argues that a common EC-policy must be democratically controlled by the European Parlia-

D66 has a new address

Since last august our party has a new address. The address of D66 and its allied organisations is as follows:

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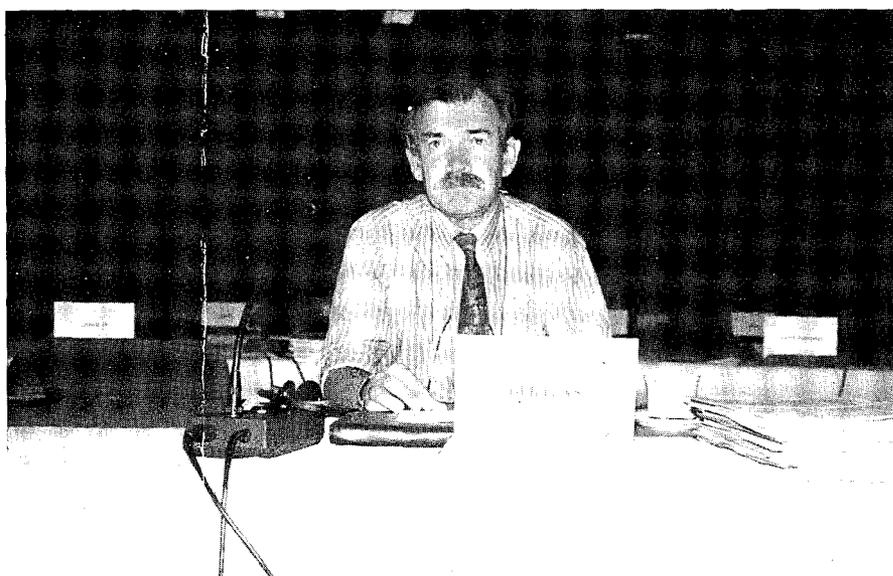
For more information please see the article by *Petra Nypels* at the last page of this issue of the D66 International Quarterly.

ment, with jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice.

On the issue of a democratic Europe, the two drafts are very similar, as was to be expected. Here too, D66 is more explicit in its demands and how to achieve them. Through the initiative of D66 MEP Jan-Willem Bertens, the LDR-group will table an amendment to the ELDR-draft to the effect that the enlargement of the Community and the Intergovernmental Conference (foreseen for 1996) should be used to press a truly democratic and transparent European government.

Arjen Bouter, EP-correspondent

Below: D66 MEP Jan Willem Bertens



An interview with..

JAN VIS

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Constitutional Reform

A reason for existence

At the end of september Wilfried Derksen and Constantijn Dolmans travelled to the northern city of Groningen. In this city Professor Jan Vis teaches constitutional law at the University. Furthermore he is floor leader of D66 in the First Chamber of the States General, the Dutch Senate. Reason enough to interview him on a prominent reason for existence of D66: constitutional reforms.

In 1966 D66 was founded as a protest against towards the rigid democratic system. Its aim was a radical democratization of society. The party was dissatisfied with the existing administrative structures in the Netherlands. D66 proposed a many constitutional reforms but didn't succeed in realizing any of them. What role can the proposals of that period play today?

"The ideas became more popular during the last years. Many people realized that the pure representative system we have now, has many defects. The voter only elects his representatives in the local, provincial and national legislatures. He creates a political elite. This elite decides in which way the country is governed. The voter doesn't elect the executive and cannot co-decide in a referendum. In recent years the interest in introducing referenda grew. The referenda in France and Denmark on the Maastricht Treaty made an impression on the electorate. I expect that this form of direct democracy will be introduced in the Dutch constitution. A second proposal is also getting more attention: the election of the mayor. We proposed a direct election. We won't get a majority for this proposal yet. But it may be more possible that the mayor will be elected by the local legislature.

The elections for the legislature are abused by the parties which suggest that the voter chooses thereby a government. In fact he only choo-

ses the members of parliament. After the next coming elections various coalitions are possible. If you vote CDA, you don't know in which coalition this party will take part. This holds for all the parties. In this way the voter doesn't have any influence on the composition of the executive. And the voter knows this.

Our proposals are still valid today, but it isn't possible to realize constitutional reforms at short notice. One needs a two-thirds majority in parliament. But I'm convinced that a break-through will come. If xenophobians succeed in getting 5 or 6 seats in parliament, the discussion on the quality of democracy will start again. Such moments are rare and decisive. The Netherlands changed their constitution only when there were uprisings or revolutions abroad. 1848, 1917."

Doesn't the election of mayors lead to the end of their so-called impartiality?

A If mayors are elected in the Dutch political structure, in which usually no party has



an absolute majority, candidates will be forced to get voters from other parties. Therefore they have to act more independently than their party. This is one of the objections that politicians of other parties have against our proposal. They fear a decline in their power."

Will it lead to an increase of conservative strength? The majority of our society seems to be rather conservative?

"That's not important, it is an irrelevant argument. If the majority is conservative, than the consequence of democracy is a conservative government, and a conservative mayor. As a progressive politician one may regret that, but it isn't an argument against a constitutional system. D66 is ready to accept this consequence, even if it is a disadvantage for the party. The people who have to realize reforms will always have a lot of disadvantages as a result. Universal suffrage was realized by the liberals among others in 1917 but it lead to big electoral losses."

You are floor leader in the Senate. What is your opinion on the existence of the Senate?

"D66 is in favour of a one-chamber parliament. A country such as the Netherlands, which isn't big and isn't a federation doesn't need a representation of the regions. Problems occur if a coalition government has a majority in the Second Chamber, but has lost it majority in the Senate. I think at that moment more parties will be in favour of abolishing the Senate.

As a second check for our laws the Senate isn't important. If the Senate wants to reject a law, the government comes up with the question of confidence in the Senate. The coalition parties then submit to the demands of the government. A second check could be introduced in parliament itself, like in Norway, or even by constitutional jurisdiction of the courts."

D66 proposed a constituency system for the legislative elections. What kind of system is preferred by D66?

"D66 favours a multi-seat consti-

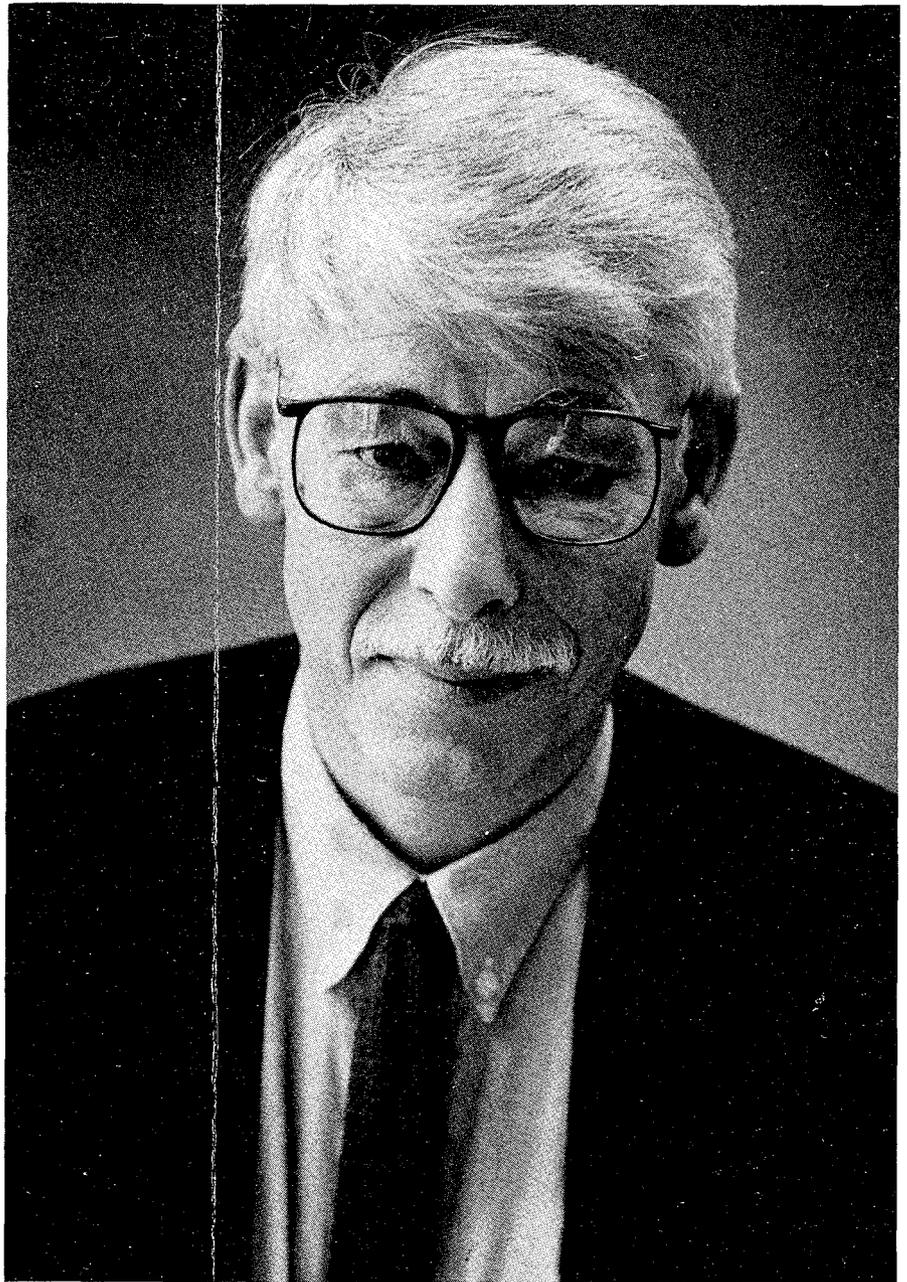
tuency system. This means that the Netherlands should be divided into 10-15 constituencies each with more than 10 seats in parliament. It isn't the end of proportionality. One could even make a small correction by rewarding parties with seats in case they didn't get enough votes in a constituency, but had on the national level a lot of supporters.

It means that every candidate has to fight for his own seat by obtaining votes. It will not longer be the personal attraction of the party leader which decides, but it will be the party program and the quality of the candidates which will determine who wins.

This proposal wasn't really discussed in other parties. They even mixed up our proposal with the system in Britain. D66 doesn't plead for the British system. I think Britain doesn't have a democratic system: it allows parties which get only 40 % of the popular vote to form a government and to take decisions, even if the majority is against such a government."

Will this reform leads to a strengthening of the ties between the citizen and the politician? We have our doubts.

"It is only one of the aspects to consider. More important is that one gets another kind of parliamentarian. One is not elected because of the choice of the party but also because of one's his personal qualities. Personal trust will be more important and may strengthen the ties between citizen and politician. The Single Transferable Vote system might be even more adequate. STV is deadly for the parties but it leads to more independent parliamentarians. They have to go back to their constituencies for consultations. I have to emphasize that a constitutional reform has no eternal value. One has to change regularly because systems are abused. After some decennia one has to think about new reforms. Pure proportional representation was a necessary reform in 1917 but it isn't necessary in 1993. It has led to centrism in all parties and this does not allow real solutions for existing problems. In the United Kingdom proportional representation has become a necessity, and as long as it is ab-



sent one sees that democracy in Britain has vanished."

Has D66 a view on recovering trust in politics?

"Yes, decency. Citizens expect from D66-politicians a more decent, clear and honest policy and behaviour than from other politicians. That has to be our standard."

Wilfried Derksen en Constantijn Dolmans

The Kingdom of the Netherlands is a constitutional-democratic monarchy. Parliament, the States-General, consists of two chambers.

The Second Chamber, the popular chamber, is elected every four years. Its composition is based on pure proportional representation in which the country forms one constituency. The First Chamber, the senate, is elected every four years by the members of the provincial legislatures. The prime-minister and the ministers are appointed by the queen. They have to find a majority in parliament.

The Dutch constitution does not permit referenda or other forms of direct democracy.

representations.

Small changes

Small changes for the better could even take place before the next elections, and if so, they could help the voters to become more acquainted with the idea of a united Europe and a true European government. For example, members of the European Commission could be elected from and by the Parliament. A vote for the Parliament would then have a clear goal, and the voter could really see a result of his or her action.

Before bigger steps have been taken to democratize the EC, admission of new member states should not even be discussed.

In order to help the Central and Eastern European countries in their attempt to become affiliated members, the EC should make agreements with them on free trade and support them with the development of ecological technologies and a good and fair social security system.

European Senate

Finally the Council of Ministers should be transformed into a European Senate, where proper representation of the parts (peoples) of the community does not necessarily depend on the national states. For what is more democratic than letting the people themselves decide by which group they want to be represented on the European level?

Dennis Hesseling and Suzanne Bakker

Nederwriet for everyone?

At the request of the Hungarian Party FIDESZ, IVSOM organized a seminar on Drug Policy, which took place in Amsterdam from 5 to 9 september.

The seminar was informed the participants on Dutch drug policy and, more important, the ideas behind it. Its purpose was also to see whether and how it would be possible to transpose this to Hungary, if so wished of course.

Is it possible to avoid all drug use, or is the use of drugs something a society will have to accept? If so,

The beautiful city of Brugge (Bruges) was the setting of a discussion on one of the less beautiful aspects of the EC. Here members of the Jonge Democraten and of the Volksunie Jongeren (VUJO, Peoples' Union Youth) talked about the EC's democratic character. While tourists wandered around in the warm autumn sun, the members stayed inside to listen to lectures and talk politics.

It is well known that the EC does not deserve a prize for democracy. But there is a difference between reading this in a newspaper or hearing an MEP (Jaak Vandemeulebroucke of the Volksunie) declare: "We are a travelling circus".

Jonge Democraten and VUJO

The Volksunie is a member of the Rainbow Group in the European Parliament: it considers itself as one of the regionalist parties. Though this might seem a little odd, contacts between the JD and the VUJO have flourished for years. Behind the different labels the two youth organizations agree on quite a lot of political issues. Their differences make the contacts all the more valuable: they make us (JD) aware of what lies beyond states, and that states do not always have to form a unity as in The Netherlands. They make us see the positive aspects of regionalizing Europe, which coincides perfectly with the principle of subsidiarity: bringing Europe closer to the people and thereby making it more democratic, looking across national borders for co-operation and thereby uniting Europe.

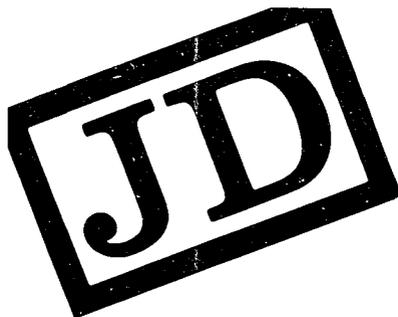
Forum discussion

The zenith of the weekend was the forum discussion on Sunday morning. Among the participants were Michel Groothuizen, International Secretary of D66, and the above mentioned Jaak Vandemeulebroucke. Michel stated that he wanted to work on feasible ways of democratizing Europe. Realistic steps instead of dreaming about big ideals. Whereupon Jaak replied: "If we had not dreamt about Flanders 50 years ago, it wouldn't have existed today."

In a last discussion just after the

Young Dutch and Flemish views on democracy in Europe

forum, conclusions were drawn. The participants agreed to stop the transfer of competence to the European level until the EC has fulfilled the minimum demands of becoming a proper democracy. The transparency of a government was one of the hot items. (As an example, a case was reported concerning a Belgian minister. He had been told by his national



parliament to do everything he could to prevent that a certain European decision should be taken. He went to the (closed) meeting of the Council of Ministers and returned saying that he could not help the decision being taken, because he had been in a minority position - while later it turned out that he had been supporting the final decision inside the Council! This will stay a permanent and dreaded reminder.)

The democratization of the EC, i.e. giving all the usual democratic rights to the EP, should be reached in the short term through the national parliaments. These are currently the only legitimate people's

drug policy would only have to be directed towards dealing with drug use and drug users. How should society deal with drug users, anyway? All participants agreed that the majority of problems with drug use and drug addicts is caused by the way society deals with drugs, i.e. it criminalizes the use.

After a brief explanation of the Dutch system and the Dutch philosophy, most participants concluded that legalization of soft drugs is desirable.

The second day of the seminar dealt with the more practical aspects of drug policy. It included a visit to the Foundation for the Prevention of Drug Use (AIDA), a discussion with the police and a talk with the Council of Amsterdam-east, followed by a walk through the neighbourhood. Amsterdam-east is one of the parts of the city where there are a lot of problems caused by drug(s) use(rs).

It was concluded that in the fight against drugs, prevention is especially important. This fight can go two ways: firstly, it can deal with the supply side, and secondly, it can involve the demand side. It is obvious that most governments concentrate on the fight against the drugs supply. It was the opinion of all participants, that equal or even more attention should be paid to the demand side. Prevention is one of the main pillars of this policy. Another one is the health care for drug addicts.

In this respect, one of the more famous Dutch projects is the methadon project. This involves the free supply of methadon to heroin addicts. Methadon is a heroin-substitute, which by replacing heroin can help addicts to get off drugs. This project was much appreciated both by those carrying it out and the addicts. Even so, the city of Amsterdam is planning to withdraw most of the subsidies for this project...

A representative from the Ministry of Welfare highlighted the current state of international co-operation. Fortunately, there is a growing interest in the results of the Dutch public health approach and in reduction of demand. Cities tend to exchange more information on their local problems and solutions. The Council of Europe is working on more involvement of the eastern European countries. A big conference on

drug policy recently held in Hungary was the first step in this process.

In the final discussion on the conclusions of the seminar, it turned out that information on and confrontation with the Dutch policy and the Dutch attitude had changed the ideas of the participants. For example, the stepping stone theory (that the use of soft drugs will inevitably lead to the use of hard drugs) was found to be nonsense. Thus legalization of soft drugs was more acceptable and might be, even desirable! It was pointed out that legalization should be accompanied by proper information to be spread widely. Concerning the Hungarian drug policy more emphasis should be put on the reduction of demand side.

Also, a policy should be developed for those already addicted.

International co-operation will make it possible for information and experience to be exchanged. The Dutch contribution to this should be a continuous fight for the preservation of their own policy. More attention should be given to the results of their health care approach.

Suzanne Bakker

First visit of D66 to the Baltic States

Until this summer the Baltic States were a blind spot for D66. The meeting of the executive committee of the Liberal International (in which D66 has an observer status) in Tallinn on 9-10 July was the reason for a visit to two of the three Baltic States.

Michel Groothuizen and Marjanne de Kwaasteniet saw Estonia and Latvia on five of the ten nice days of summer which are counted in these countries. They spoke with several political groups in Tallinn and Riga and concluded that these groups do not easily fall into the main categories making up the political spectrum of the West. The political situation in both countries is still very fluid, particularly in Latvia where the first parliamentary elections only took place in

June 1993. The process of party formation is in its initial stage - in fact most political groups participated in the elections as electoral groups or as part of an electoral alliance, i.e. without a proper programme and mandate. The situation in Estonia, which had elections in September last year, is more advanced. In both countries political parties are being or have been formed on the basis of the main socio-political conflicts of this moment. Economic reform and the position of the Russian minority are therefore key issues for the new Estonian and Latvian parties. Economic liberalism, in the sense of a strong emphasis on a rapid transformation towards a market economy, does not necessarily go together with a liberal position on the question of minority rights. Hence the concept of liberalism as applied in the West is less useful for getting an insight in the political spectrum of the Baltic States.

In Estonia Michel Groothuizen had a long discussion with mr. Rummo, chairman of the Estonian Liberal Democratic Party, and Minister of Education and Culture. Mr. Rummo clearly wanted to look beyond the immediate problems surrounding the bill on minority rights and the withdrawal of Russian troops. He believes that the growing unemployment, the difficult situation of old people living on small state pensions, the shortage of money to invest in better education and environmental degradation deserve the attention of the government too.

Whereas the Liberal Democratic Party in Estonia is in government, in Latvia Liberals or Liberal Democrats are not a political force of any significance. Michel Groothuizen and Marjanne de Kwaasteniet talked to representatives of three political groups, Latvian Way, Harmony for Economic Recovery and the Democratic Centre Party. Of these the last two seemed to be closest to the ideas of D66. Latvian Way is one of the governing parties, and is mainly formed by the establishment of the pre-independence period. Moreover a number of ex-Latvians in exile belong to this group. Groothuizen and De Kwaasteniet found that Latvian Way took a rather tough position on

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Above: Opening of the new D66-office by party president Wim Vrijhoef

Baltic states

(article starts on page 7)

the question of civic and political rights for the Russian minority. Harmony for Economic Recovery and the Democratic Centre Party, however, take a much more moderate stance on the issue. They think that because 30% of the Latvian population (the Russians make up a little over a third of the inhabitants of Latvia) was not allowed to vote in the June elections this is something to worry about, and they look for ways to give this minority the same civic and political rights as the Latvians. The comments of Max van der Stoep, the High Commissioner for National Minorities, on the Estonian bill on minority rights were well known to them, and they asked the Latvian government, so far without success, to make these comments public in order that they could play a part in the Latvian debate on minority issues. Mr. Vulfson, a leading Jewish intellectual of Harmony for Recovery, argued moreover in favour of a normalization of the relationship between Latvia and Russia. The Russian troops of course have to go, but apart from that Latvia should have normal political and economic relations with Russia, he said.

The Democratic Centre Party actually was the only political group which had held its founding congress before the June elections. Its position is somewhere between that of Latvian Way and Harmony for Recovery.

Attention was very much focused on the Russian minority issue during the talks which Michel Groot-

D66 opens the doors of its new office

September the ninth was a great day for the Democrats 66. Wim Vrijhoef officially opened the doors of the new housing. After fourteen years in the state house at the Dazuiden-Hoofdweg had become too small.

The new office is bigger, more up to date, centrally situated in City of The Hague, with a view of the Royal Palace Gardens. The number of members as well as the departments are still increasing. That means a greater demand, more work for the party's various services: the PSVI, the SWB, the Bestuurdersvereniging (organization of local authorities) and the office of the Young Democrats. Last year several new staff members were hired to satisfy this demand. But working conditions in the old office were poor.

In the new office at the Noordwal in The Hague there is a sufficient number of rooms to accommodate all staff members and volunteers. It has the additional advantage of several large meeting-rooms. This new office enables its occupants to do their work more efficiently. D66 is doing well in the polls. There are high expectations for the coming elections. A substantial increase is quite possible. In the new D66 office building the board, staff and volunteers face the future with confidence. (P.N.)

huizen and Marjanne de Kwaasteniet had with various people. The visit made also clear that the problem of the economic situation is just as urgent, and probably more difficult to solve. The splendour of Tallinn and Riga in summer time did not hide the poverty of many of its inhabitants. The Baltic States still have a long way to go.

Marjanne de Kwaasteniet

D66 International Quarterly

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• VOLUME 2, ISSUE 4 •

• DECEMBER 1993 •

Local elections 1994

Three elections will be held in the Netherlands in 1994. In March all the local councils will be elected, followed by the election of the Second Chamber of parliament in May and the European Parliament in June.

D66 makes preparations to participate in these elections and to enlarge the D66 groups in local councils and the parliaments. The polls give D66 a good chance.

In the coming three issues of International Quarterly attention will be focused on the elections. This issue deals mainly with topics concerning the local elections. Not only local politicians but also staff members of the parliamentary group and the delegation in the European Parliament were asked to contribute to this issue.

A short introduction. The Kingdom of the Netherlands is divided into 12 provinces and each of these provinces is divided in municipalities. Each municipality - from the small Aardenburg (3.700 inhabitants) to Amsterdam (700.000 inhabitants) has the same administrative structure. The mayor is appointed by the Crown and the councillors are elected by popular vote leading to proportional representation. The council elects two to six aldermen. The aldermen and the mayor form the local executive. The municipalities have many tasks and local government is quite autonomous.

In this issue the contributors write on the possibilities for D66 to participate and introduce its ideas into this system.

There are also contributions on local campaigning in Hungary and on the D66 Manifesto for the European Elections.

The editor.

D66's Aldermen

A round table interview

At the last local elections D66 had good results. It enabled D66 in many municipalities to participate in the local executive. At the last D66 congress Wilfried Derksen and Constantijn Dolmans had a round table interview with four aldermen: Ottie Drijber from Ommen, Hubert Fermina from Dordrecht, Paul Wessels from Gennep and Wim van der Ham from Alkmaar.

D66 has a very clear opinion on open government on the local level. How do you deal with that at the local executive?

Wim van der Ham: We can promote our policy more and more. In april 1991 I joined the local council. I had the ambition to convert D66's ideals into facts. One collides with the local political and administrative culture. At present we have promising polls and this has as a consequence that one listens more to the D66 representatives. Openness and distinctness are two of D66's ideals. We are in favour of clear communication with the citizens, to explain why some solutions are favoured and to listen to what opinions citizens have. In Alkmaar we didn't succeed in realizing administrative renewal. Personally I think the contents of policy are more important than the instruments. We have made a modest start with renewal. For example we divided the town into districts. We convened special sessions about each district and evaluated its problems. At such



Hubert Fermina (D66 Dordrecht)

a session it is easy for any citizen to communicate with the local executive.

D66 emphasizes that communication implies taking into account the opinions which are expressed.

Hubert Fermina: In the short period that we are now represented in the local executive in Dordrecht we were able to introduce an ombudsman and realize better citizens' participation. The other aldermen accepted these typical D66 ideas. I emp-

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D66
DEMOCRATEN

Alderman

(article starts on page 1)

hasize these D66 topics. The way one works as D66 alderman has to be representative of the ideas of the party: democratization, openness. If you don't work in this way, you are working in the wrong direction. Openness is the best way to work in politics.

Ottie Drijber: I agree with Hubert. It is the way you want to work which differs from the other parties. In a small community like Ommen the political differences are not so big. I introduced citizens' participation on items where the citizens' participation is not obligatory. The problem of misunderstanding between the parties about these ideas was not so large. There was more opposition from civil servants. They found it awkward.

Paul Wessels: One would expect that in a municipality like Gennep in which D66 has a long executive tradition these themes would be more easy to realize. This is not true. We have to be very alert to emphasize our way of working. You have to study the way in which the civil servants work. The christian-democratic influence is still strong (although the CDA is in the opposition) and there is a christian-democrat in an official position too: the appointed mayor. Our mayor disagrees with the way D66 wants to work and this gives problems.

Even with this problem D66 succeeded in realizing some reforms, e.g. the possibility for citizens to speak during sessions of (committees of the) council and active information about the decisions the local executive has taken.

Alkmaar has a so-called purple coalition between the Labour Party, the VVD and D66. This is the coalition that D66 strives to form after the national elections. What is your experience with that form of coalition.

Wim van der Ham: You see a big difference between the political culture of the Labour Party on the one hand and D66 and Green Left on the other hand. This leads to conflicts with the other parties and the leading civil servants. It is not enough if civil servants prepare a decision. The executive and the council have

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Ottie Drijber (D66 Ommen)

to steer the civil servants.

We have a lot in common with the Green Left on environmental policy. We don't agree with them on decentralization. In Alkmaar there is a moderate branch of the conservative Liberals (VVD). This leads to a sound coalition. I cannot say that we need the VVD in a coalition. But it is a good experiment which invites continuation.

D66 is a relatively inexperienced party in executives. One sees that a D66 councillor becomes an alderman. After that one often sees problems with the other councillors.

Wim van der Ham: My aldermanship is a consequence of such a situation. My predecessor had problems with the D66 councillors. I have seen that we can learn from



Paul Wessels (D66 Gennep)

Photo's: D66

these situations to build up a good relationship between aldermen and councillors. We now have a good relationship built on mutual agreements. As alderman you have to bring in good arguments in the discussion with the councillors. You cannot overrule them only by being the alderman.

Hubert Fermina: Of course there are cities in which there was a lack of communication between the alderman and the rank and file of the party. But I think it is easy to have good relations between the alderman and the councillors. I strive to communicate well with the councillors. I discuss the political topics with them. In that way I know if my position in the executive is supported by the councillors.

Paul Wessels: I want to add that we have learned from the past. The crisis in the eighties at national level was a consequence of a difficult relation between ministers and members of parliament. It is important to realize that both the parliamentary party as well as the members of the executive (ministers and aldermen) should be responsible for a good relationship. Permanent deliberation and understanding are a necessity in a dualistic system. It is also important to know when alderman and councillors disagree. Disagreement is possible but must not come as a surprise.

Ottie Drijber: You learn on what points the party is very touchy. There you have to be able to communicate with each other. On other points one has to work on a basis of trust.

Paul Wessels: It is more difficult to communicate with the local branch.

Ottie Drijber: I agree, this is often a result of a lack of information.

Hubert Fermina: Another problem is to explain to councillors that D66 is only one of the parties in the executive. In a coalition one has to make concessions.

Do you think that it is possible to find enough new capable councillors. One expects electoral gains.

Hubert Fermina: When we started four years ago we succeeded in finding such persons, so why shouldn't we succeed in the future. We had four new councillors and a

new alderman. We did our job. We asked members to join the meetings of the group, to support the councillors. In this way we could train potential councillors.

Ottie Drijber: We don't have less capable people than other parties. Our members are very individualistic, so they won't always agree. We don't have the same party-discipline as other parties. I think discussions in our party are very important because they lead to better decisions.

Hubert Fermina: Sometimes we have to many capable people. They all think that they know better and often they do.

Paul Wessels: Our own members can be more difficult for us than the opposition. I think it won't be a problem in the municipalities in which we are represented. In the municipalities, in which we participate for the first time, there will be more risks. You need a strong local branch to participate in the local elections. We have advised branches which are too small not to participate. Thereby they avoid the risk of failures in the councils, even if they might win seats easily.

In the last months we read more about corruption and criminal infiltration in politics. Do you notice corruption in you municipality?

Wim van der Ham: I don't have indications that there is corruption in Alkmaar. You never can be sure. A town like Alkmaar would be of interest for criminals to infiltrate, to bribe civil servants. I don't have indications, but one needs to do research on this problem. Especially one needs to check objectivity when there are public tenders and to investigate land speculation. Are there leaks in the administration?

Paul Wessels: Especially in the case of tenders we have changed some rules. One needs public tenders. This was seen by some civil servants as distrust, which it isn't. We also want civil servants to report on their other jobs and functions.

Hubert Fermina: One always has to be open about what you do. In the executive in Dordrecht every alderman reports if he was invited by a company or an organization and what was discussed at mee-

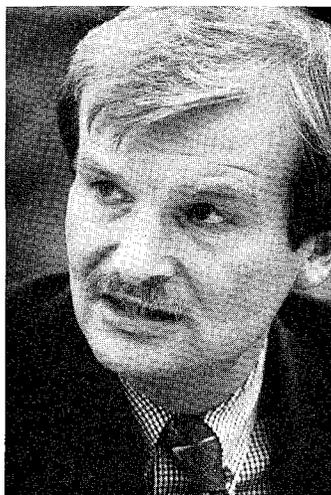
tings. This is self-protection.

Ottie Drijber: As alderman you have to be very careful. You should know that you have to account for what you do. It's very important to avoid anything that could give a wrong impression. The citizens follow the example of the aldermen.

It is not only money which plays an role, also the system of 'one good turn deserves another' is dangerous. We have to get more insight into these kind of practices.

Gennep: stronghold of D66

Gennep is a small town with 17.000 inhabitants in the south-east



Wim van der Ham (D66 Alkmaar)

of the Netherlands. Since the seventies Gennep has been a stronghold of D66: with circa 25 % of the votes. D66 is represented in the council since 1970. In 1982 D66 became the largest party with 4 out of 17 councillors: D66 got one vote more than the christian-democrats.

When D66 was facing a crisis it still had a good position in Gennep. The local branch could even stimulate D66 in the City of Nijmegen (+ 150.000 inhabitants) and other southern regions to continue its work.

Even in the eighties, when the party was decimated, the D66-branch of Gennep retained their 4 councillors. With councillors from other municipalities they were able to convince Hans van Mierlo to become leader for a second time.

D66 has still 4 councillors and

forms since 1990 a coalition with the Labour Party and a local party. Between 1982 and 1990 D66 formed a coalition with christian-democrats and a local party. Since 1988 Paul Wessels is D66's alderman of Gennep.

Dordrecht: an alderman since 1990

Dordrecht is an industrial town near Rotterdam with 110.000 inhabitants. It has always been a poor city dominated by socialists. D66 was a small party in Dordrecht with 0 to 2 councillors. In 1990 D66 got 6 out of 39 councillors and now forms a coalition with the Labour Party, the conservative Liberals (VVD), and the Green Left. Although D66 was against a new refuse dump harbour for Dordrecht, it had to accept the realization of the new harbour. However, it was able to specify the conditions: security and care for the environment. Since 1990 Hubert Fermina is D66's alderman of Dordrecht.

Ommen: with the protestants

Ommen is an agricultural municipality with 18.000 inhabitants in the east of the Netherlands, dominated by christian-democrats. For a long time D66 had only one out of 17 councillors. D66 has now 2 councillors and is part of a coalition with christian-democrats and protestants (GPV). Originally the Labour Party had also an alderman but the party left the coalition. The GPV replaced the Labour Party. Since 1990 Ottie Drijber is D66's alderman of Ommen.

Alkmaar: 'purple coalition'

Alkmaar is a town in the north-west of the Netherlands. D66 has now 6 out of 37 councillors. D66 is part of a purple coalition with the Labour Party, the conservative Liberals and the Green Left. D66 is represented in the executive since 1990. Since 1991 Wim van der Ham is D66's alderman of Alkmaar.

Wilfried Derksen and Constantijn Dolmans

Three elections in a row in the Netherlands in 1994, beginning with the local elections in March and ending with the European elections in June. Unrelated elections for unrelated levels of government? Formerly perhaps, but not any more. To begin with, the Treaty of Maastricht directly affects local elections. Subject to detailed arrangements which the Council of Ministers has to adopt before the end of next year, every citizen of the European Union residing in a member state other than his own will have the right to vote and to be a candidate at municipal elections (and in elections to the European Parliament) in the member state in which he resides.

But there is more than a formal reason why local and European levels of government are no longer unrelated. There is a growing awareness that Europe is becoming a reality. Officials at all levels of government are beginning to realize that another level, which also produces legislation, is coming into existence in Brussels. However, this realization still remains somewhat vague, both among citizens and among officials. They find it difficult to figure out how this will affect them.

European legislation

It is in fact true that the consequences of European integration for local governments are not easily identifiable in any specific sense. Even the specialists in this area can only establish that generally speaking there will be more legislation with a European origin. At the moment, an estimated 30 % of national legislation in the Netherlands is based on European legislation, and this percentage is expected to rise substantially in the (not too distant) future.

So far, involvement of local government in European policy has largely been restricted to a modest role with respect to projects funded from the European structural funds (esp. the Social Fund and the Regional Development Fund). Probably, the European Community

Local government and Europe:

NO LONGER FAR APART

would be filed under "S", for "subsidies".

Implementation

A relatively new development, which will become more frequent, is that local governments are directly faced with European legislation, both as object and as executor of rules. A case in point are the European directives on public procurement, which in principle make public tenders for government contracts obligatory. Here local governments are the object of EC-rules. But they will also increasingly have a role to play in the implementation (or transposition) of European directives into national legislation, especially of course where the latter has been decentralized. An example of this will no doubt be the policy formulated by the European Community on the storage, processing and transport of waste and waste products.

Local governments are also affected by the implications of European integration in areas where they are confronted with the consequences of developments at a European level. The entire process of the Single Market is itself the best illustration of this point. Local governments have to give a great deal more consideration to their competitive position, now that the protection of the frontiers is disappearing. When this implication first started to dawn on authorities, a mild panic could sometimes be noticed. By now, it has all become more familiar, and the early apprehensions about the

risks and dangers have given way to an increasingly keen eye for the challenges and opportunities involved in the European Single Market.

Migration

Another area where local governments are faced with the consequences of European developments is that of migration. There is a clear need for a common European asylum and immigration policy and a common policy with respect to third country nationals. Local governments are also affected by these policies. Their position should therefore be taken into account in the formulation of European policy in these areas, as well as in other areas where local governments are affected, either directly or indirectly.

For this purpose, the Treaty on European Union, which came into force on 1 November, sets up the Committee of the Regions as an advisory body to the Council and the Commission. Consultation of the Committee by the Council or the Commission is not mandatory across the board. This has provoked some criticism. However, I doubt whether this is justified. Influence is not achieved by establishing mandatory consultation. This is, after all, not about symbolism. What counts is whether the Committee's advice will be listened to, in areas where local and regional governments feel that an advice is appropriate and significant.

The decisive factor will be the quality of the advice. In the end, this will require the development of a European attitude on the part of local authorities and officials (not just on the part of their representatives in the Committee). When quality is high, and based on a solid knowledge of the areas in question, the European level of government will not be able to ignore the views of local and regional governments.

Arjen Bouter, EP-correspondent

D66 Manifesto for the European elections finalized

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national parliament by letting parliament formulate binding mandates for the ministers who negotiate in the Council (the 'Danish model') was rejected. However, the idea that all EU citizens should be able to

Photo below: congress in action

On 30 and 31 October D66 held its first two days national conference. There were two main topics for discussion: immigration and the manifesto for the European elections. The new concept for the national conference (in the past national conferences lasted only a day) allowed for a thorough debate on the European manifesto. The general impression was that most of the participants enjoyed the fact that they could not only vote for the amendments but also that they had the possibility of discussing them in detail. In the morning of the second day parts of the draft manifesto were looked at in parallel sessions, while the afternoon was used for a debate on the most important issues in the plenary session.

Around 120 amendments had been proposed, which clearly shows that D66 remains an European minded party. Despite a lot of talking about Euro-pessimism the manifesto for the European elections apparently inspired many local and regional sections of D66 to contribute to the national debate. Special mention should be made here of the Brussels-section of D66 which -as usual when it concerns European matters- had been particularly active .

What were the amendments to the draft manifesto about (for a discussion of the draft manifesto see also IQ volume 2, issue 3, October 1993). Quite a few proposed clarifications and improvements of the chapter on the environmental policy of the European Union were given. It was felt that the concept of sustainable development is used too easily and that more precise definitions are needed. Another topic which was discussed in detail was the relationship of the European Union with the countries of Central Europe. The draft manifesto stated that negotia-



tions with the Central European countries that wish to become a member of the Community should start as soon as the EFTA-countries, with which negotiations are under way at this moment, have entered the Union. Moreover the draft manifesto said that these countries could become integrated in Western security organizations as soon as certain political requirements are fulfilled. The integration in Western security organizations raised the question whether this would bring more stability or, on the contrary, destabilize the situation in Central Europe because of the possibility of an adverse reaction of Russia. Other proposed amendments concerned the degree of involvement of the Central European countries in EU policy making before their entering into the Union. With regard to the chapter on Central and Eastern Europe most of the text of the draft was maintained, however.

If one is familiar with D66 one should not be surprised that the discussion in the plenary session focused on (the lack of) democratic control in the European Union. The proposal to enlarge the role of the

express their opinion on future amendments to the Treaty in a referendum received overwhelming support. The fact was recognized that the referenda in Denmark and France endangered the successful ratification of the Treaty of Maastricht. The majority of the participants of the national conference nevertheless considered the referendum to be an important instrument to abolish the 'democratic deficit' which presently exists at the European level of decision making.

*Marjanne de Kwaasteniet, member
Manifesto Committee*

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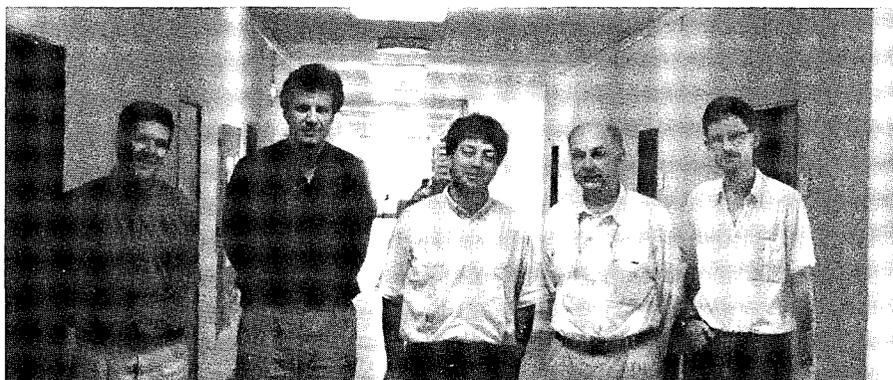
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IVSOM and local campaigning in Hungary

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Not only in Dutch politics but also in Hungarian politics two topics are in the focus of attention: the bad economic situation and the high rate of unemployment. As in the Netherlands the parliamentary elections will take place in the spring of 1994. D66 maintains close contacts with two of the most important opposition parties; the Alliance of Free Democrats (SzDSz) and the Alliance of Young Democrats (FIDESZ). In this article I outline the way the IVSOM foundation supported the SzDSz local campaign teams.

In short something about the SzDSz. The party was founded in November 1988 as the successor to the, quite loosely organized, opposition movement. The first free elections turned out to be a success. With 96 seats in the parliament SzDSz became the second party, but stayed out of the government. Being in the opposition went by trial and error.



Representatives of D66 meeting the SzDSz

The "economic shock-therapy" deterred a lot of voters and the Free Democrats suffered from the anti-semitic insults from extreme right-wing members of the governing MDF party. The run-up to the elections was dominated by who had the best presentation and not by political issues.

SzDSz asked IVSOM to organize in the run up to the national elections a seminar on campaign strategy on the local level. The preparations for this seminar took mainly place in the Netherlands. A close contact was established from the beginning with Imre Baranyi, the national supervisor of the local campaign teams. The last part of the preparations took place in Budapest which made it possible, just before the seminar, to comply with the wishes of SzDSz as well as possible and to adjust the seminar to up-to-the-minute political developments. For example two days before the beginning of the seminar a rival political party printed a cartoon in one of the newspapers in which some of the

SzDSz-leaders were shown as former communists. Actions like this can do a party, in a country where nearly no one takes the trouble of being really interested in the ideas of a party, a lot of harm. For that reason much attention during the seminar was paid to the question of "how to react to negative campaigning". In other words how to react if campaigning is threatened to escalate by throwing mud at each other, something SzDSz objects to very much. The seminar had two sessions each lasting two days, which took place in Veszprem (for the campaigning teams from the western districts) and in Szolnok (for the campaigning teams in eastern districts). The emphasis during these two days was put on campaign strategy but also some attention was put on the subjects of organization and media.

In order to guarantee free activity of the participants, tasks were formulated -related to a model of campaigning- on the topics strategy, organization and media. These tasks made it possible for the participants

to think for themselves in a structured way about the weaknesses, strength, possibilities and threats (from other parties) related to these topics. In this way the participants could learn about the different phases of campaigning and learned at the same time to campaign themselves.

During the seminar the participants were divided in groups. Each group was given some tasks on a certain subject and afterwards all the results were discussed with all the participants. After finishing the given tasks a plenary discussion followed on that topic. For example regarding the topic of strategy, three tasks were formed about election themes, target groups and style/slogan. After that a discussion followed on which strategy should be chosen: what do we want, which kind of style and for whom? The outcome formed the first step for formulating a strategy. All the participants appreciated greatly this thought-exercise. Also the politically less-experienced members of SzDSz could deal quite well with the model used at the conference.

Imre Baranyi and his staff appreciated the support given by D66. At the end of the conference informal exchanges of ideas were held about the possibilities of future joint schooling programmes.

Harry Linde, IVSOM volunteer

New JD logo

At their last congress on 6 and 7 November the Jonge Democraten have chosen a new logo for their organization. Out of three designs and the old logo the congress voted (through the single transferable vote system) in favour of the design by Laurens van Kol. The logo has a blue-turquoise colour and a slogan which in English means: Young Democrats - Freethinking-Democratic Youth Organization.



JONGE DEMOCRATEN
VRIJZINNIG-DEMOCRATISCHE JONGERENORGANISATIE

Ontwerp: Laurens van Kol

D66 and local government

Decentralization is a leading principle for the attitude of D66 towards the regional and local authorities. Public duties have to be fulfilled at the lowest level possible, as close to the citizens as possible. In local communities and cities it is easier to involve people, to have more participation. On that level it is easier to monitor the representatives. The democratic principle can have full play there.

Especially in the sixties and seventies, as the welfare state was built up, the central government has taken over a lot of responsibilities of local government. At the end of the seventies there was a growing awareness of the fact that centralization had gone too far. Central government had reached its bounds. This awareness was the beginning of a policy of decentralization.

Decentralization of poverty

But decentralization has often been used as a means to cut back in government expenditures. This was often called "decentralization of poverty". D66 always took the line that decentralization can not be synonymous with cut-backs in government expenditures. Every time responsibilities are delegated to local authorities they have to get a broader scope for policy making and sufficient financial means.

The Kingdom of the Netherlands is a decentralized unitary state. The internal administration in the Netherlands is made up of local communities, provinces and central government. In the past decades we have seen a development towards a concentration of public responsibilities on a level in between local authorities and provinces. To look after those tasks there are is massive number of collaborations between local authorities. An important disadvantage of those constructions is that they have little democratic legitimization. On top of that central government has constituted numbers of functional regions for which there is no adequate administrative level. Especially for the regional police this is a great concern.

Besides those problems there is

the issue of the administrative structure of the metropolitan areas. Especially for the four largest cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Utrecht) one can speak of a strong interdependence between the city and the surrounding communities. It is certain that a number of important government duties, such as environmental planning and economic development have to be performed at the level of the metropolitan area as a whole, and no longer by every local authority by itself.

D66 takes the view that in those metropolitan areas there has to be realized as soon as possible a directly elected regional administration. The provinces have to make way for those new regional authorities.

But not only in the metropolitan areas, but everywhere there is a necessity to have an administrative reform and to form new regional authorities instead of the existing provinces. In this way one may get rid of the crazy quilt of collaborations of local authorities and functional regions. But every region has its own problems. Therefore differentiation in tasks and temporization are required.

Direct elections of the mayor

Unlike most of his European colleagues the Dutch mayor is still appointed by the Crown. The same goes for the Commissioner of the Crown, who heads the provincial executive. D66 takes the view that citizens have to be able to elect their own mayor.

Direct election of the mayor will yield a completely different local way of government. Now there is a monistic administration at the local level. With an elected mayor this will

become more dualistic. Mayor and Alderman will become the executive power and the local council will have controlling power.

The Commissioner of the Crown and the future head of the regional executives also will have to be elected directly.

Lack of directness

Dutch democracy lacks directness. Therefore D66 wants to introduce more direct elements. This should be done without damaging the representative character of our democracy but as an addition to strengthen it.

A referendum is one of those elements. But the Dutch constitution stands in the way. It forbids holding a decisive referendum. D66 wants to change this by introducing a decisive corrective referendum on local, provincial and national level.

*Ingrid van Engelshoven
staff member of the parliamentary
D66 group*

The municipality in progress

The nineties will be characterized by changes in the municipality: the unification of Europe, internationalizing, regional developments and forms of cooperation with private organizations.

Consequently the councils will have to focus more on the main issues of policy making. In discussions on the vital tasks it is considered which tasks should or should not be performed by the government. The need for a flexible, integrally directed government is growing.

Administrative renewal

D66 has made a central issue of the administrative renewal when negotiating for the new board of aldermen after the elections in 1990. Administrative renewal is understood by us as an optimal relation between citizen and government with an em-

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D66 International Quarterly

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The municipality in progress (article starts on page 7)

phasis on the democratic functioning. D66 names as tools to reach this goal i.a. referenda, city polls and -panels.

Furthermore, the regionalization, the formation of a directly elected regional executive, is, within the scope of administrative renewal a major development in many areas around the large cities. At this time the local executives cooperate as an extended local government as laid down in the 'wet gemeenschappelijke regelingen'.

It is D66's opinion that these regional executives need to be directly elected as soon as possible in order to be recognized by the public.

At the same time there is a development towards a better and more direct way of working in the citydistricts: one desk for the public where services of the municipality are integrally executed. This calls for a fine tuning within the municipal hierarchy as well.

Municipalities and the private sector

In the last decade a change in attitude between the municipalities and the private sector has taken place. The municipalities had to re-evaluate their relations with trade and industry because of economizing and a tighter financial framework. One of the consequences is a tendency toward the execution of large projects in cooperation with private companies, e.g. the IJ-banks in Amsterdam, the 'Head-of-South' in Rotterdam and the Utrecht City Project in Utrecht.

D66 is in favour of these developments but at the same time acknowledges that the process won't

be an easy one because of the many interests at stake and the large amounts of money involved. The government should shape its role within this process very carefully, as a partner, but at same time guard its public duty and prevent that the risks come to lie solely with her.

New rites

D66 is characterized by its attitudes in and towards politics, its handling of power. In the larger cities in particular the behaviour of the parties in power sometimes resembles that of old-fashioned trustees. This attitude has evoked a good deal of criticism and was in part responsible for the loss of confidence by the public in politics. A political crisis occurred in Utrecht at the end of 1992 in which the last convulsions of this feudal system showed themselves. In a political conflict D66 did not want to subject itself to this way of working and was therefore expelled from office. All parties concerned now express their regrets.

To the future together with D66

D66 has become a significant party in the municipalities. Because of its growth D66 has produced a considerable amount of well-trained politicians, which the other parties take well into consideration. The administrative renewal, the way to handle power, the process of democratization, demonstrate that in many councils the rites of office are changing and that many of the ideas of D66 are incorporated.

D66 has thus become indispensable.

Nicky van 't Riet, Councillor in Utrecht

D66
DEMOCRATEN