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PARTIJEN

D66 International Quarterly

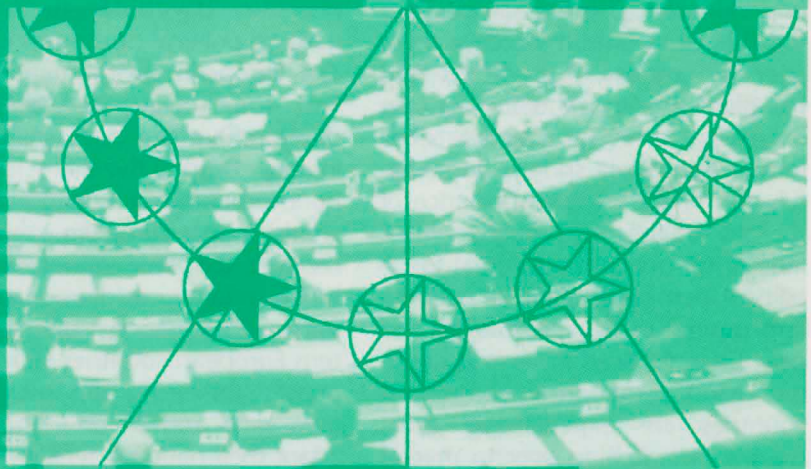
INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE CONCERNING D66 PUBLISHED BY THE DELEGATION OF D66 IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. EDITOR: WILFRIED DERKSEN. CORRESPONDENTS: ARJEN BOUTER, MARJANNE KWAASTENIET, JAN-DIRK SPROKKEREEF, FRANK VAN KREVEL, BOB DE RUITER. © D66.

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EXTRA EDITION: NOW IS THE TIME

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D66
DEMOCRATEN

I. A CLOSER POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

The Dutch people are facing similar problems as their fellow-Europeans: deterioration of the environment, unemployment, lack of security and a sense of powerlessness. These ills can be tackled more effectively by working together in a European context.

1. D66 is of the opinion that Europe is best served with a strong European Union. The turbulent developments on the European continent since 1989 have only strengthened the case for ever closer political and economic integration. This integration must be shown to full advantage through adequate guarantees for democratic controls. In view of other EU countries displaying signs of hesitation over the handing over of certain powers to the Union, D66 accepts that, at present, the Maastricht Treaty represents the best attainable result at this point in the integration process. However, it is by no means the final word. D66 will continue to push for a further deepening of the Union, over and above the provisions of the Maastricht Treaty, even if this should lead to temporarily different speeds in the integration process. The Netherlands, together with others, must be ready to take the initiative to this end.

II. TOWARDS A SUSTAINABLE EUROPE

The state of the environment is deteriorating at a rapid pace. D66 is convinced that in many areas, a common European approach to achieve sustainable development will produce the most effective results.

2. The Maastricht Treaty represents an important strengthening of European policy towards sustainable development. If the notion of sustain-

able development is to be the basis for concrete policy, however, an agreement will have to be reached first on how it is to be put to practice. All relevant policy components can only function within the limits set by sustainable development. This means that no greater demands are made on the environment than it can sustain in the long run. In this respect, the following applies:

- subsequent generations must be able to provide for their needs;
- a more equitable distribution of wealth will put greater strains on the environment in developing countries; therefore the burden on the environment in Europe must be limited even further.

3. In order to achieve sustainable development in the European Union a number of steps are required. First of all, as stated in the Maastricht Treaty, sustainable development must be the touchstone of EU policy as a whole. This entails a re-orientation of existing policies on agriculture, fisheries, energy, transport, industry, tourism and cohesion.

4. In order to redirect the current environmentally damaging, intensive farming methods towards environmentally friendly, sustainable agriculture, EU levies on the use of fertilizers and harmful pesticides must be introduced.

5. Furthermore, industrial production processes will have to be improved and 'cleaned up'. Such a 'clean up' operation is brought about by the introduction of a licensing system which is linked with an integrated programme of preventing and combating environmental pollution. Further measures include environmental audits, an effective environmental assessment and record and the use of the best available means to prevent pollution. Also, systems based upon market prin-

ciples should be introduced to levy charges for the use and expenditure of natural resources.

6. In the context of a strategy for sustainable mobility, D66 advocates a combination of measures:

- improved town and country planning at European level;
- improved planning, management and use of transport infrastructure (roads, rail- and waterways and airports);
- passing on the real infrastructural and environmental costs in policy- and decision-making on investments, and in the costs to the users.
- a shift from road-transport to rail-transport, or transport over water by means of an increase in the framework of EU of excise duties on diesel;
- promotion of combined transport.

7. Secondly, the internal market must be compatible with sustainable development. To this end, all levels of government must cooperate in regulating the economy towards sustainable development. The completion of the internal market entails an increase in economic activity, particularly as a result of specialisation and more efficient management. The EU in its environmental legislation must aim at (inter alia) conservation of natural resources and energy. D66 regards the completion of the internal market as positive only when it is combined with an effective environmental policy.

8. Thirdly, a European energy policy must be developed. The main goals of such a policy are the reduction of the use of energy and reduction of CO₂ emissions. D66 insists on the urgent introduction of an effective regulating CO₂-levy in Europe. The proceeds from this levy can be used in our country to reduce the cost of labour. Enhanced coordination of energy policy between the EU countries will also be of importance. This will make it possible, for instance through the exchange of energy, to achieve economies of scale.

9. Fourthly, D66 attaches impor-



tance to the creation of a European ecological infrastructure. Such an infrastructure serves several purposes. It is not only a question of nature reserves in Europe being enlarged and joined together, or of maintaining biodiversity, it is also a matter of raising the environmental awareness of citizens and the creation of environmentally friendly employment in the more remote rural areas of the Union.

10. Fifthly, further harmonisation of indirect taxation will have to meet certain ecological criteria. This should lead to environmentally friendly products and production methods being given preferential fiscal treatment.

11. Finally, the different points of departure of the various EU countries with respect to economic and environmental policies have to be taken into account. D66 is aware of the fact that sustainable development in the poorer EU countries requires additional investments. Consequently, D66 advocates that the richer EU states co-finance environmental investments in the poorer member states. The Cohesion Fund established in the Maastricht Treaty, should be used largely for this purpose. The enactment and implementation of the agreements of the World Environmental Conference in Rio de Janeiro concerning the stabilisation of CO₂ emissions and the more efficient use of energy should lead to relative reductions (less per unit product) everywhere in the EU, and to an absolute reduction (lower total) in the EU as a whole. For this lower total the richer EU countries will have to reduce more than the poorer EU countries.

12. It is of great importance for all of Europe to encourage the Central and Eastern European governments to simultaneously pursue economic recovery and at the same time prevent and clean up environmental damage. Western businesses which are investing in Central and Eastern Europe should respect the same environmental regulations there as are in force in their own country. D66 wants the Union to draw up a code of conduct to this end.

In addition, D66 wants to support sustainable development in Central and Eastern Europe by providing technological and financial assistance. D66 advocates that foreign debts created and accrued prior to 1990 by the former communist regimes and the ensuing obligations (repayments, interest payments) be converted into so-called ecology funds ('debt for nature swaps'), should the current democratic governments opt for this.

III. A DEMOCRATIC EUROPE

The current legitimacy crisis calls for a complete review of the institutional structure of the Union. In this new structure, citizen participation has to take centre stage. During the legislature of the newly elected European Parliament, the European Union is expected to undergo major changes. New states will accede to full membership and the internal functioning of the Union will have to be adapted accordingly. D66 will use the expansion of the European Union and the next inter-governmental conference (in 1996) to give greater weight to the demand of democratic government in Europe. What is at stake is a full and equal role of the European Parliament in the decision-making process on European legislation.

Towards a strengthened European Parliament

13. The basic principle for D66 is that all legislation and all international agreements should have the approval of representatives of the people. The inhabitants of Europe must not be confronted with legisla-

tion which has not been approved by any Parliament whatsoever. In areas where the European Union is empowered to introduce legislation, it is only logical that the democratic legitimacy should be provided by the European Parliament.

14. D66 is in favour of majority voting in the Council of Ministers on European legislation. As a corollary, however, the European Parliament must have full co-legislative powers. In those areas where the Council of Ministers still decides by unanimity, the decisions taken must be subjected to the assent of the European Parliament.

15. The national Parliament will continue to exercise important complementary democratic scrutiny of European decision-making. This applies in particular to issues where the Council of Ministers decides by unanimity. The national Parliament deliberates beforehand the position of government ministers in the Council. For this reason improved communication between European and national parliamentarians is essential. The right to speak and the possibility for members of the European Parliament to ask questions in meetings of the parliamentary committees is a good means of achieving this. As essential is early information -as comprehensive as possible- of all parliamentarians by the Dutch government, particularly about draft proposals of the Commission and about decision-making in the Council of Ministers. The right to speak of Euro MPs is temporary and will become redundant as soon as democratic control by the EP is sufficiently guaranteed.

16. D66 wants the European Parliament to elect the President of the European Commission, who shall in turn choose the rest of the Commission.

Thus composed, the Commission is to be subject to the approval of the European Parliament. Both the Commission as a whole and individual Commissioners are to be accountable to the European Parliament and will require the confidence of the Parliament. The European

Parliament must have the power to dismiss not only the entire Commission but also individual Commissioners.

17. Modifications of the Treaties upon which the European integration process is based, are at present approved by the Council of Ministers only, and subsequently ratified by the national Parliaments. To D66 this is an unacceptable state of affairs. The European Parliament too must give its assent to treaty amendments. D66 feels that in principle all EU citizens should be able to express themselves directly about treaty modifications by means of a referendum.

18. To avoid repetition of the laborious ratification of the Maastricht Treaty, D66 advocates that the Intergovernmental Conference of 1996 be provided with a draft on the main lines of the revised treaty drawn up by a European Constituent Assembly composed of members of the national parliaments of the member states and the European Parliament and accompanied by a commentary by the European Commission.

19. The European Parliament should no longer be dependent on the European Commission in the legislative process. Although the European Commission will remain principally responsible for introducing proposals, the European Parliament should have the right of co-initiative.

20. Up to now the European Parliament has no powers in determining the level of financial revenues of the Union. Its influence is limited to the expenditure side of the budget. D66 feels that the European Parliament should be made directly accountable to the citizens with respect to the finances of the Union. This means that the Parliament should have joint budgetary power (together with the Council) and thus have a say on all revenues and expenditures of the Union. The current contributions of the EU countries to the Union can (in part) be replaced by a European tax.

Decision-making closer to the citizen

21. D66 feels that in order to involve the citizens more closely in the European decision-making process and to bring about an adequate level of control by the national parliaments, decision-making in the Council of Ministers should be made more transparent. Openness and accessibility of the agenda and documents of Council meetings constitute a first step in this direction. D66 is of the opinion that Council sessions too -both those in which preparatory deliberations take place and those in which the final decisions are taken- should be open to the public, unless pertinent reasons prevent this.

22. In as far as competencies are shared between the Union and the EU countries, the principle of subsidiarity applies to determine the level where decisions are to be taken. The view of D66 is that decisions should be taken at the lowest level of government where this can be done efficiently and effectively. The involvement of citizens and thus the possibility of effective democratic scrutiny are further important criteria. Other criteria include whether the issue is of a cross-border nature, whether undesired distortion of competition occurs and whether advantages of scale can be obtained.

23. The application of the principle of subsidiarity is partly a political matter. D66 feels that for this reason it should not be left solely to the discretion of the Commission and the Council of Ministers. The European Parliament too should be fully involved in the process.

24. D66 opposes the lack of transparency in the European decision-making process. In order to in-

crease the clarity of European government, D66 continues to insist on a European Freedom of Information act. The implementation of a legal procedure which has the same speed and clarity as summary proceedings will also strengthen the position of citizens vis a vis European government. Alongside democratic scrutiny of a more open EU decision-making process, direct lines of communication to the citizen, such as the European ombudsman, must be vigorously pursued.

25. At the intergovernmental conference in 1996 to review the European treaties, these treaties should be extended with a number of provisions directly guaranteeing the rights of the citizen (a European Bill of Rights).

IV. EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICY

The Maastricht Treaty provides the European Union with the opportunity to intensify foreign policy cooperation. This opportunity must be used as fully as possible since the Union can only carry weight if it acts in concert.

Speaking with one voice: the common foreign and security policy

26. Not only the events in world, in particular those in Central and Eastern Europe, but also the development of the Union into an economic superpower require a strengthening of the common foreign and security policy. In order to be effective, however, this policy must become more clear, coherent and vigorous.

27. Since some EU countries have not yet agreed to a transfer of power to the Union in this area, intensified cooperation will for the time being take place on an intergovernmental basis. Nevertheless D66 will continue to strive for a truly European foreign and security policy and to this end, wants to involve the European Commission and Parliament fully as of now in the formula-

tion of this policy. The position of both the Commission and the Parliament with regard to this issue has to be strengthened further in future treaty negotiations beyond what was agreed in the Maastricht Treaty.

28. To D66 it is a logical consequence of the common foreign and security policy that a permanent seat on the Security Council of the United Nations should be given to the Union.

Furthermore the Union should have its own seat, alongside its member states, in the CSCE. The EP should also be enabled to send representatives to the parliamentary CSCE assembly.

29. Respect for human rights, support for democratic developments and the construction of a social constitutional state, protection of the rights of minorities as well as considerations of security and stability are basic principles of foreign policy. These principles constitute important preconditions when determining our position with respect to the formation of new states and in the granting of structural assistance for example.

30. D66 believes that we must build a European defence in order to enable Europe to better meet its responsibilities. This means that Western European Union (WEU) should be developed further as a component of the European Union, enabling Europe to act independently if needs be. The armed forces of the European countries, at present mostly assigned to NATO, will have to be made available to the WEU in such cases. Deployment of such WEU forces must never take place rashly, and will have to be in accordance with international law.

At the same time, the European involvement in NATO will have to be enhanced in order to ensure that the necessary friendly cooperation with our North-American allies will continue also in the future.

The Central European countries: from distant neighbours to partners

31. The current developments in Central Europe have caused the initial enthusiasm at the end of the Cold War to fade away and to give way to concern. The EU now has the responsibility of supporting the still fragile political and economic changes in the former socialist countries. The key to this is the integration of the Central European countries into the various Western political, economic and security organisations.

32. Accession to the European Union forms part of this integration process. Efforts should therefore be expressly directed towards this goal. To be integrated into the EU, however, the countries of Central Europe must first satisfy a number of political criteria, such as the emergence of multi-party democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights. Here Western Europe can help. Apart from this, it must be clear that full membership requires a level of economic development which no country in Central Europe possesses at present. Large segments of the economies of these former socialist states would not survive a rapid integration since they are as yet unable to face competition with Western companies.

33. Nevertheless a great deal can be done in the short term. D66 advocates the complete opening up of the Union's market to competitive products from Central and Eastern Europe, such as agricultural produce, textile and steel products on the condition that they be brought onto the market without apparent distortion of competition. In the long-term, free trade with these countries is to the advantage of the European Union as well.

34. To the extent that the Union

is offering financial assistance to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, this assistance can best be targeted to a limited number of problem areas, such as nuclear installations, the development of the private sector (particularly small and medium-sized enterprises), the environment and the conversion of the armaments industry. Financial assistance of political and cultural processes of change, such as the setting up of independent media and non-governmental organisations also deserves continued attention. On these matters the Union can work jointly with the Council of Europe, which already has representatives from a number of Central and Eastern European countries. Also, the Union must continue to provide ample humanitarian and reconstruction aid to the population of war-torn areas.

35. In addition to trade and aid, there is a great need for the provision of capital for private investment. The Union should create a (guarantee) facility to afford companies in Central and Eastern Europe easier access to risk capital and development capital.

36. Pending full membership, the countries of Central Europe can gradually be involved in shaping EU policy of relevance to them. This would give them the opportunity to state their views on issues of common concern and at the same time enable the European Union to take due account of the views of future partners at an early stage. This would include participation in the deliberations in the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament on such issues as European environmental policy, immigration and asylum policy, foreign and security policy and the policy to combat international crime. On the economic front, inclusion into the European Economic Area is conceivable as an intermediate step between the current association agreements and future membership.

Co-operation with developing countries

37. The solidarity of the European Union with the Third World is

best expressed in its support for emerging constitutional democracies and in its advocacy of a free trade policy: the internal market must not become a "Fortress Europe."

38. Respect for human rights, the will to promote democratic developments, and attention to good governance must be the EU's most important criteria for granting financial assistance to the governments of developing countries.

39. The internal market must become increasingly accessible to products from these countries. Free trade with these countries is also to the advantage of the European Union itself. Therefore D66 advocates further lowering of import tariffs and the abolishment of quota systems and other non-tariff import impediments in trade with these countries. At the same time subsidies to European producers must be lowered.

A more market-oriented European agricultural policy and the discontinuance of export subsidies on products which are being exported to the Third World is of great importance to the developing countries. The dumping of European agricultural surpluses in the Third World is entirely wrong.

40. Co-operation with the developing world constitutes an important component of the EU's external policy, one that should not lose out financially to the increased cooperation with Central and Eastern Europe. The Union should allocate sufficient funds to provide structural development aid as well as emergency relief aid.

41. The principle of sustainable development must remain central to the process of co-operation with the developing countries. The European Union can only maintain its credibility as a partner if sufficient funds are made available to follow up the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. In addition, all future large scale EU-investment projects must be assessed for their environmental effects. Priority should be given to financial and technological support for projects to check desertification in regions where this phenomenon

occurs, particularly in Africa.

42. The European Development Fund, which is still being financed by direct national contributions from EU-countries has to become part of the EU budget. Co-operation on development issues will thus assume its rightful place in EU policy and the European Parliament will acquire co-decision over the allocation of funds for development co-operation.

Trade policy: no 'Fortress Europe'

43. D66 believes that the EU's common trade policy should be geared to strengthening and expansion of the rules of the open multilateral trade system, as laid down in the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). This ensures the most efficient use of raw materials, manpower and capital. The interests of certain economic sectors in the EU, which can no longer compete in the marketplace, must not continue to prevail over the ultimately greater benefit of a free global market. Transition problems which will arise from this for these sectors must be addressed with targeted action (such as promoting alternative employment opportunities, training and re-training), which must however be limited in time.

44. The current GATT negotiations must rapidly be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. It is nonetheless evident that these will not get rid of all trade barriers. Since it is not desirable that there will be a shift from tariff (import duties) to non-tariff (rules, conditions, quotas) trade impediments, the Union should draw attention to this phenomenon in the next round of negotiations.

45. Since regulatory environmental levies are an important instrument of environmental policy and as

competition on environmental values must be avoided, the EU has to advocate inclusion of these levies into GATT as soon as possible.



V. TOWARDS A LARGER EUROPEAN UNION

Ever since the ideological confrontation in Europe dissipated, the Union has become the natural focus for a large number of countries. How can the Union best accommodate the wishes of these countries?

46. The Union must be open, live up to its responsibilities and allow new member states to join. Extension must not lead to erosion and weakening of the Union, however. The new member states too wish to join a strong Union. For these reasons alone it will be vital to link expansion to a review of the regulations regarding the decision-making process. The EP must be involved in this at an early stage. In particular, arrangements have to be made to make European government more effective and to strengthen the influence of the citizen in this process, notably through the EP. A two-phased approach appears the right course to chart. In the short term, accession is possible of those countries which already belong to EFTA (European Free Trade Association) and wish to join the EU (currently Sweden, Finland, Austria, Switzerland). Their participation in the European Economic Area makes these countries well prepared for full membership.

47. Parallel to welcoming these above-mentioned countries, the Union has to focus on preparing for the accession of those Central European countries which are ready for this.

48. Although D66 accepts the exemption clauses for Denmark and the United Kingdom as a temporary *fait accompli*, new countries must accede expressly on the basis of the Maastricht Treaty. At the same time, existing exemption positions must be eliminated as soon as possible.



The chamber of the Palais de l'Europe in Strasbourg

VI. EUROPE: INCREASINGLY A LAND OF IMMIGRATION

The growing migration to Europe in recent years has become a political issue of the first order. Migration has to be placed in a global context: unequal distribution of wealth, in a world becoming increasingly smaller since distances can be more easily bridged, has considerably increased the pressure of migration on Europe. The consequences seem increasingly to be perceived as threatening throughout the European Union, and this is a dangerous development. At times politicians themselves display an oversimplified approach to the issue and demonstrate an apparent lack of factual knowledge regarding the various groups of migrants and the rules of (international) law which apply to them. D66 acknowledges that immigration can entail problems if not properly controlled; controlling migration is therefore a legitimate concern of any government. At the same time D66 notes that this is indeed feasible. What is needed first of all is that agreements are reached in a European context as to the rights of entry of various groups of migrants. But in addition to control through a common admission policy, the consequences of migration will have to be followed up effectively. This will require the assistance and good will of the authorities, the immigrants themselves and indigenous Europeans, to ensure the integration of immigrants. This is not solely a matter of socio-economic integration, but also of (mutual) cultural integration. Only then can a multi-ethnic European society come into being, based upon participation and full citizenship for all.

49. A common European admission policy has to be established with due account of international legal requirements. For asylum seekers this means that those who have good reason to fear persecution, deserve the protection of the Geneva

Convention on Refugees. In addition to such political refugees, there are increasing numbers of asylum seekers who do not fall within the stipulated parameters of the Convention, but nevertheless deserve (temporary) protection because they cannot be sent back to their country of origin due to an ascertainable real risk of inhuman or degrading treatment. Unequivocal agreements as to the soundness of asylum requests need to be established both to avoid false expectations when seeking asylum and to prevent cases where applications are wrongly rejected. Also, common agreements have to be reached, in accordance with the internationally protected right to family life, on reunion and building of families. Finally, the admission policy for migrant labour has to be harmonised. For the present this common policy will have to be pursued on an intergovernmental basis under the guarantees of national democratic scrutiny. Nevertheless, Community regulations under the democratic control of the European Parliament and the judicial authority of the European Court of Justice remain our long term goals. The Maastricht Treaty provides the basis for these goals.

50. To further the cause of integration in the European Union, the legal rights of migrants in the Union have to be bolstered alongside a common European admission policy. The basic principle must be that after five years of legal residence, immigrants should be granted the inalienable right of residence.

51. The reception of refugees under the Geneva Convention and other asylum seekers in Europe who qualify for (temporary) protection, must take place as much as possible in the immediate vicinity of their country of origin. This does not mean that EU countries not directly

involved should not assist in other ways: adequate financial assistance for the realisation of (temporary) relief efforts must be made available. In as far as reception outside of the immediate area is necessary, a generous entry policy is justified. This task must not be left to only one or a few countries of the European Union. Instead, a sharing of tasks on the basis of (weighted) distribution can be a suitable instrument.

52. It is clear, however, that without improvement of the economic circumstances in the countries of origin, immigration will continue. For this reason D66 advocates opening the frontiers of the Union to products from these countries, and an adequate policy of development cooperation.

53. The rising tide of racism and extreme forms of nationalism with all their manifestations and consequences, poses a major threat to the process of democratisation, security and stability in Europe. D66 believes that European cooperation is required in order to ensure the utmost safety of citizens who feel threatened by racist and ultra-nationalistic manifestations, actions and/or movements. Constant vigilance in the face of such tendencies is required and ultra-nationalistic manifestations, actions and/or movements must be effectively opposed, also within the European Parliament.

VII. SUSTAINED FOCUS ON THE INTERNAL MARKET

The internal market is of crucial importance to the economic development of Europe, and therefore of great influence to the daily life of all Europeans. Even after the magical date of 1992, the internal market continues to demand our close attention.

54. The completion of the internal market does not mean that it can now be taken for granted. To conti-

nue to offer advantages to European industry as well as European consumers, the quality of the internal market must be improved further and must be adapted to new developments. Consumers can only really profit from the internal market when the entire legal framework - including judicial access- has been adequately structured.

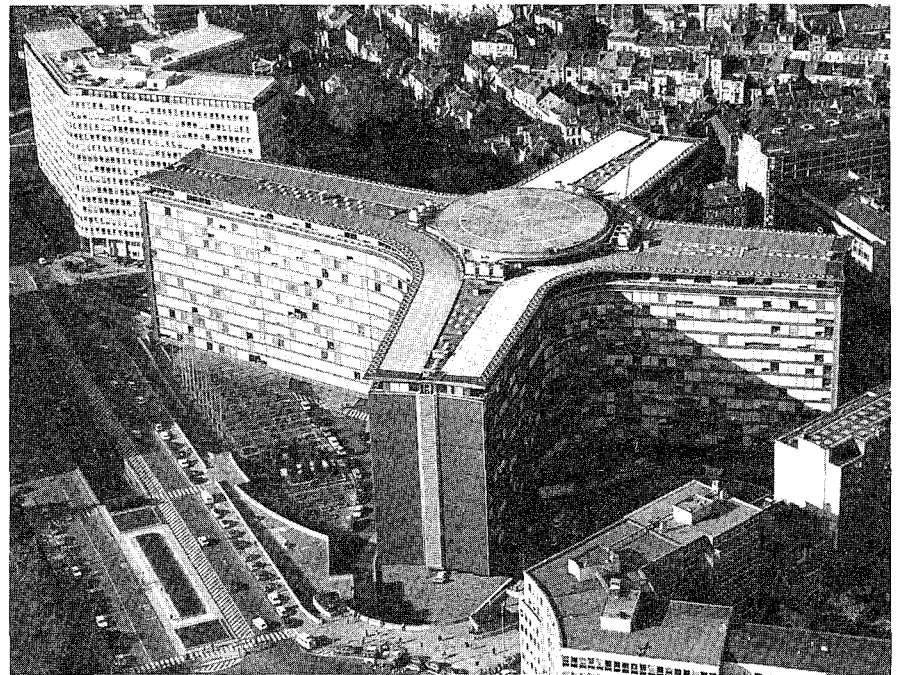
55. In view of the close involvement of citizens in the internal market and the complexity of some of the internal market regulations, it is of great importance for the Union to provide adequate and well-targeted information. This applies for example to information about opportunities to work in another EU country. Equally important is information about the citizens' rights which derive from the Europe without frontiers.

56. European producers nor consumers benefit from tariff walls and other trade barriers. Further liberalisation of the internal market and the opening up of trade between Europe and the rest of the world are two sides of the same coin. D66 is aware that certain economic sectors will come under great strain due to the imposition of higher requirements of efficiency and quality by the internal market and the further opening up of world trade. This must not be an argument for shielding off these companies, but may provide grounds for taking specific measures to facilitate the transition period.

57. With the completion of the internal market, companies will have to react faster to changing circumstances. This will have major consequences for employees. Training and re-training will become a recurring part of the careers of Europeans. D66 believes that the social dimension of Europe will be determined in part by the use of the European Social Fund for the financing of these training schemes.

58. The further improvement of the internal market will continue to be Europe's greatest asset in maintaining competitiveness in the world market. This will include continued cooperation in the field of technology, increased involvement of small

and medium-sized businesses and a more flexible labour market which



EEC-building, Brussels

offers opportunities for more market-oriented employment and a competitive cost-level for industry.

59. The free movement of persons, as yet incomplete, must be put into place without delay. Although D66 voted for the Schengen Agreement, it believes that it is to be preferred to realize the freedom of movement for persons jointly with all twelve EU-countries, since it is the logical corollary of the freedom of movement for goods, services and capital.

60. Only when the economic development of the poor EU states increases will the internal market flourish. As long as major discrepancies between the rich and the poor states of the European Union persist, a financial effort on the part of the richer EU countries -through loans as well as donations- will be required to

further the long term aim of cohesion. In particular, cohesion policy must be geared to increase investment in the poorer EU countries into environmentally friendly production processes.

VIII. AGRICULTURE: FROM SUBSIDIES TO A MARKET-ORIENTED POLICY

D66 is committed to removing as quickly as possible the negative aspects of the current EU agricultural policy, such as over-production, high costs and distortions of trade. The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) must be opened up to market forces to a greater extent than the MacSharry plan provides for.

61. Environmental concerns must be made to play a central role in the formulation of the CAP. D66 deems it necessary to include the goal of a sustainable agricultural policy as a guiding principle into the

CAP, as laid down in the Treaty of Rome.

62. In order to achieve a more market-oriented agricultural policy this policy must be thoroughly reviewed. This means:

- limitation of the system of guaranteed prices to at most a quantity of produce which (together with imports) ensures security of food supplies;
- the abolition of the system of intervention;
- a gradual, but smooth, reduction in the financial support for food processing;
- the abolition of export subsidies.

In view of the major repercussions of these changes for farmers, their organisations will have to be continuously involved in the preparation and implementation of these measures.

63. The review of the CAP must also contribute to the fight against poverty in the world. European agricultural policy must give farmers in the developing world the opportunity to provide for their own needs in a sustainable manner, instead of remaining dependent upon development aid. Furthermore, the practice of overcropping must be avoided at all times to safeguard the environment of the developing countries.

64. The approach outlined above means an end to tariff walls and other trade barriers on (processed and unprocessed) agricultural produce. The goal of globally optimum agriculture will lead to the disappearance of certain crops from Europe. This is a thrust of the European agricultural policy towards a world market.

65. However, D66 believes that the workings of the current world market for agricultural produce has two serious shortcomings. The first is the dumping of surpluses at prices which bear no relation to production costs. The second is the total absence of the environmental aspect in the system of world trade agreements, leaving ecological overcropping unchecked.

A CAP regulated by market forces requires a two-tier approach. EU protectionist measures must cease, and a global agricultural market with multilaterally agreed rules must be built. The complete abolition of price guarantees at EU level falls in line with this vision. The rate at which this will take place, however, is linked with the emergence of an ordered world market.

For such a world market to come into being, environmental considerations, among others, must be included into the GATT negotiations and the pattern of price regulatory oligopolies for certain crops must be broken.

66. The development a market-oriented CAP will have serious repercussions for European farmers. During the transition period there will be a need to supplement incomes to allow for gradual conversion or foreclosure. In the case of conversion, the system of supplementing income will have to meet the requirements of sustainable management. In the case of foreclosure a connection can be made, in some cases, with rural development policy.

67. The substantial financial interests tied in with EU agricultural policy renders it necessary to combat fraud. Simplification or -as the case may be- abolition of the system of subsidies and levies can contribute to the prevention of fraud.



IX. TOWARD ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION

Monetary union is of fundamental importance for the development of the internal market. The events on the currency markets since December 1992 underscore the necessity of clear and structured transition to a single currency, as is stipulated in the Maastricht Treaty. Thus the countries within the Union will have to institute appropriate economic and monetary policies so that come 1996, the criteria for the third phase of economic and monetary union - which will herald the introduction of a single currency- will have been met.

68. Economic as well as political developments will in all likelihood mean that come 1997, some members of the Union will be unable to join the third phase of the EMU. D66 accepts that a two-track approach may be required on this issue. Those countries which do not join the EMU will nonetheless be expected to do everything within their powers to make this possible soon after, so as to prevent any problems for the internal market.

69. Should a worsening economic climate slow down the convergence of the economies of the European countries, postponing the EMU until 1999 is to be preferred to an EMU with countries which are clearly ill prepared. The absolute precondition to the formation of or accession to the EMU is the fulfilment of the relevant financial and technical criteria.

70. D66 remains convinced that the independent status of the future European Central Bank is an absolute condition to the successful completion of the third phase of EMU. In addition, convergence of economic policy is of importance, which in itself requires intensifying existing economic coordinating mechanisms and the development of new ones.

71. In order to bolster the econo-

mic structure, the EU pursues an industrial policy which may not, however, assume the form of direct assistance to industry. The policy is facilitating and geared especially to cross-border external effects and advantages of scale. Furthermore, the EU is striving for enhanced industrial cooperation. An important instrument is the promotion of pre-competitive research and technological development. The constant upgrading of Europe's infrastructure (rail-, water-, and motorways, as well as telecommunications) is also a part of European industrial policy - always of course within the limits of sustainable development. It will remain an important task of the EU to prevent direct or indirect state aid, which is incompatible with European competition rules.

72. The fight against unemployment must be coordinated at European level and executed largely at the national level, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity. The EU must actively pursue a facilitating policy by, amongst other things, promoting training and re-training and by making the labour market more flexible. Furthermore the EU member states must jointly "green" their fiscal systems by increasing taxation of (cross-border) environmental pollution and the use of natural resources. The revenue generated from these taxes can be used to reduce the cost of labour. Furthermore, investment in infrastructure and the pooling of research aimed at sustainable economic growth in the EU will provide new impulses for employment. This requires the availability of adequate co-financing by the European Investment Bank. In addition, the EU must assist the economically less-developed regions through the Cohesion Fund and the and European Social Fund.



The Palais de l' Europe on the River ill in Strasbourg

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X. SOCIAL POLICY

D66 feels that the Union must work hard to achieve a social policy. The Union is there as much for employees as it is for employers and European integration would not be complete without a well defined social dimension.

73. The development of the internal market and the achievement of economic and monetary union require the establishment of a sound European social policy. Such a social policy will strengthen the political support for further integration. Social policy should concern itself principally with the following: guaranteeing fundamental social rights (such as equal treatment); minimum standards of health, safety, and welfare; fighting unemployment and coordinating socio-economic policy; social and economic cohesion through the use of the structural and cohesion funds; and industrial relations and participation.

74. D66 believes that an agreement on European minimum standards of social security and European legislation on the introduction of a national minimum wage are desirable in the short term. For the longer term, further harmonisation will ensue, which will lead the social systems of the poorer EU-countries to develop towards the higher levels of those of the northern countries. This does not mean that harmonisation must necessarily lead to uniformity of the structure of social security. D66 wishes to avoid a situation where increased competition between industry and authorities within Europe will put too great a strain upon the level of social security and social protection (such as labour law and working conditions) in the individual EU countries.

75. Alongside the further harmonisation of social security, it is desirable to coordinate national systems of social security with a view to the free movement of persons (as much for workers and the self-employed as for civil servants, students and those without occupation). Established social security rights must be respec-

ted when moving within the European Union.

76. Harmonisation at a European level is necessary with respect to the rules governing worker participation in industry, while respecting the different traditions in the various countries in this area. It is particularly important to attain a adequate level of co-decision and information rights of workers in trans-national corporations. D66 subscribes to the idea that providers of capital and employees should have an equal influence upon the running of a company.

77. The exemption from the social policy of the EU granted to the United Kingdom in the Maastricht Treaty is unacceptable in the longer term. In this respect too, new EU-members are expected to adopt the Treaty of Maastricht in its entirety, also because such exemptions can lead to considerable distortion of competition.

XI. EMANCIPATION POLICY

Equal treatment and equal pay for men and women in the labour market, as well as equal treatment for social security and pensions have been achieved in the Netherlands primarily due to EC legislation and court rulings based thereon. It remains important that the EU continues to promote the emancipation and equal rights of all EU citizens.

78. The aim of the European emancipation policy must be to offer equal opportunities and legal protection to all European citizens, irrespective of race, colour, sex,

sexual orientation, language, creed, political conviction or any other ground of discrimination. In view of the increase in racist excesses throughout the EU in recent years, European emancipation policy should also focus on ensuring equal opportunities and legal protection for immigrants and for cultural and ethnic minorities in Europe. Finally, European emancipation policy is of great importance in order to guarantee the handicapped their rightful place in society.

79. D66 advocates a speedy completion of EU-legislation currently in preparation on:

- parental and calamity leave;
- shifting the burden of proof from the employee to employer;
- completion of equal treatment of men and women in the legal and work regulations concerning social security.

80. Furthermore D66 expects the European Union to make an effort for the following issues:

- possibilities of redress for women who through previous unequal treatment now have to live on a small pension;
- measures to facilitate the combination of paid and unpaid work, through, *inter alia*, flexible working patterns;
- the development of European criteria for gender-neutral function analyses and assessments;
- the campaigning both within and without the EU against sex tourism, mail-order brides, the trade in women, genital mutilation and all other forms of violence against women;
- reducing volunteer work, if such work jeopardises or threatens to cancel out paid work.

81. Furthermore, D66 deems it important for the EU to make an effort to increase the number of women in European bodies where they are at present under-represented. An active career and promotion policy for women should be pursued to rectify their under-representation in higher positions of authority.



XII. PUBLIC HEALTH

82. Public health is an area of policy deserving attention at a European level as well. The Maastricht Treaty stresses the responsibility of the Union for the health of its citizens. D66 recognises the importance of this, but also believes that the principle of subsidiarity must apply to those aspects of public health for which a specific and recognisable situation has arisen in the Netherlands (such as abortion, euthanasia, drugs, treatment of drug addiction).

83. AIDS is a problem which concerns all European citizens. The dimensions of this disease are of such vast proportions that national efforts to curb the epidemic are no longer sufficient. The Union needs to develop an active information and prevention policy, which also gives attention to the social situation of AIDS patients and their treatment. Medical research for a cure against AIDS must be supported financially.

84. The abolition of the internal borders of the EU will not make the control of the traffic in illegal drugs any easier, especially with the rise of new, non-traditional production areas in the former Soviet Union creating an added risk. The joint European effort should be geared primarily to driving back the trade and use of hard drugs, to providing information about the consequences of the use of (hard) drugs and to intensifying cooperation between the various national law-enforcement organisations.

85. The free movement of persons and services within the EU requires adjustments to the present system of health, travel and accident insurance. D66 advocates a transparent system of "Europe Cover" with clear possibilities of choice for the policy holder.

XIII. CULTURE AND EDUCATION: INDIVIDUALITY AND COOPERATION

The Maastricht Treaty clearly stipulates that the European Union will not endeavour the harmonisation of cultural and education policy. The intention is to preserve as wide a diversity in these areas as possible. EU policy will thus be aimed at strengthening the cultural diversity in Europe, raising awareness of the common European cultural heritage, and increasing familiarity with each other's culture.

86. The cultural policy of the Union has a dual purpose: on the one hand support for the cultural identity of the various European peoples, on the other hand cultural cooperation. In this way, the European Union leaves no doubt that further integration is not intended to bring about cultural uniformity. D66 finds it desirable to enhance cultural cooperation between EU countries, amongst other things in programmes for the media, since knowledge of other cultures can contribute to mutual understanding and respect.

87. The protection and promotion of the cultural identity of European peoples must be linked to the requirements of increasing integration and deepening of the Citizen's Europe. In this regard, it is important for the European Union to continue and where necessary step up its activities for the protection of European languages (including minority languages such as Catalan

and Frisian). The acquisition of one or more of the official languages of the Union must be further stimulated at all levels of education outside as well as inside the school curricula. The member states must take the necessary appropriate measures towards this end, while the Union must take additional steps, preferably through existing programmes such as LINGUA.

88. Enlargement of the Union will lead to a dilemma concerning the number of working languages. On the one hand, in a democratic Europe a citizen must be able to address the authorities (including those of the Union) in his own language and be informed about Union decision-making in his own language. On the other hand, an increase in the number of working languages would lead to a stifling of the lines of communication within the Union. In view of this dilemma, foreign language learning must be further promoted.

89. The free movement of persons (in this case: employees) within the Union sets specific requirements on, among other aspects, the comparability of national education and training programmes, the mutual recognition of diplomas, the promotion of mobility and the above-mentioned proficiency in languages. Existing efforts in all these areas must be strengthened and where necessary expanded, as provided in Articles 126 and 127 of the Treaty on European Union.



XIV. THE FINANCES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Compared to the size of the economies of the EU countries, the European budget is relatively small. D66 sees no point in the use of a target figure, but has instead opted for a pragmatic view regarding the growth of the EU budget. An increase of the total tax burden in the Netherlands must in any case be avoided.

90. The budget is only one of the instruments the Union has to achieve its goals. Nevertheless, it is important to use this instrument in such a way as to achieve maximum result from a minimum of resources. With every new policy, the Union must ask whether outlays at European level are the most effective and efficient instrument. The growth of the EU budget will ultimately depend on this consideration.

91. D66 believes that the agricultural expenditure of the European Union can and must be reduced substantially. This will in turn free funds of the EU-budget to finance new policies, such as the common foreign and security policy, the immigration policy, and the expansion of environmental protection policy.

92. The EU must use the means and resources placed at its disposal in a responsible manner. Combating fraud deserves special attention in this respect. To this end, the development of an intensified anti-fraud policy is of crucial importance.

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• JUNE 1994 •

D66 wins elections

3 May 1994. The date of crucial elections for the Netherlands. As expected at these elections changed completely the Dutch political landscape. Democraten 66 (D66, Democrats 66) finally became one of the big parties. 1.387.883 citizens gave their vote to the progressive liberals. With 15,5 % the party got more votes than ever before, resulting in a parliamentary group of 12 men and 12 women.

In the results one can see three trends:

In the first place the traditional people's parties, the Christen-Democratisch Appèl (CDA, Christian-Democratic Appeal) and the Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA, Labour Party) lost much of their support whilst at the same time there were big gains for the liberal parties. Democraten 66 (D66, Democrats 66) doubled its size from 12 to 24 out of 150 seats in the parliament. The conservative liberal Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD, People's Party for Freedom and Democracy) won 9 seats resulting in 31 seats.

In the second place extremist parties made some gains. The extreme right-wing Centrumdemocraten (CD, Centre Democrats) gained 2 seats, resulting in 3 seats. An extreme left wing party, the Socialistische Partij (SP, Socialist Party), succeeded for the first time to enter parliament with 2 seats. The more moderate left wing party Groenlinks (Green Left) lost 1 seat, although gains were expected. The three right wing protestant parties Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij (SGP Political Reform-



D66-leader Hans van Mierlo

med Party), Reformatorische Politieke Federatie (RPF, Reformatorian Political Federation) and Gereformerd Politiek Verbond (GPV, Reformed Political League) stabilized their number of seats.

A third trend was the appearance of special interests parties. The discussions about the pensions led to the founding of two pensioners' parties. Both of them succeeded in entering the parliament. The Algemeen Ouderen Verbond (AOV, General Older People League), which is expected to be a centre-right party, got 6 seats and is now the fifth party in parliament. The more right wing Unie 55+ (Union 55+) got one seat.

For the first time the so-called purple coalition (PvdA-VVD-D66) is

a likely possibility. D66 will work hard to realize this option without stating which coalition would be the second choice. The PvdA seems to doubt if it favours the purple coalition or a coalition of PvdA, CDA and D66. The VVD favours a coalition of CDA, VVD and D66 but doesn't exclude a purple coalition.

One thing seems to be clear: D66 will participate in government.

Complete results on page 2.

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The European Union is about to further enlarge. Agreement has been reached with the governments of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Austria on accession to the Union. D66 favours this enlargement. It is proof that the idea of European integration is very much alive. An enlarged Union of sixteen members will, however, require more efficient decision-making procedures and improved democratic scrutiny.

After the enlargement the governments of the member states have run into difficulties regarding the voting procedure in the Council of Ministers. Obviously, the number of votes required to take a Council decision in the enlarged Union has to be adapted to the new total, as has been done with all previous enlargements. The British government, however, wanted to maintain the number of votes necessary to block a decision (the "blocking minority") at the same level in a sixteen-member Union as is the case in the current twelve-member Union. It does not take a genius to see that this will make it more difficult to reach decisions. The crisis which emerged as a

Crisis in the Union: final say for the parliament

result of this British position ended in a compromise brokered by the Greek Council presidency at the meeting on the island of Ioannina. Details aside, the British did at least partially get their way, to the extent that decision-making in the enlarged Union will become more difficult and more cumbersome. That is, if it were up to the governments.

However, the governments of the

member states are not the only ones who have a say in this matter. Enlargement of the European Union also requires the assent of the European Parliament. For nearly two years now, the Parliament has been warning that enlargement should not lead to a watering down of the Union, but on the contrary should be accompanied by 1) a strengthening of the decision-making capacity of the Council of Ministers and 2) a strengthening of the democratic legitimacy of the Union. The assent of Parliament would depend on whether these demands were met. The compromise of Ioannina on majority voting in the Council constitutes a step backward. The Parliament has been demanding a step forward. Specifically, it wants extension of (qualified) majority voting in the Council to all European legislation and a parallel extension of the Parliament's powers of co-decision to full co-legislation.

The overwhelming majority in the European Parliament, like D66, is in favour of enlargement. But not at the cost of democratic government in Europe. The current round of enlargement is Parliament's only opportunity to enforce anything. The outcome of the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference does not require the approval of the European Parliament. The next round of enlargement will involve Central European countries. It will be too risky to use the assent to this enlargement as a lever for the demands of the Parliament. The economic and political importance of Union membership of these countries is simply too great, with a view to stability in Europe.

The same is not true with respect to the four new member states which are ready to accede now (assuming a positive outcome of the various referendums). All four are already closely tied to the Union in the European Economic Area. A slight delay will not hurt anyone. Rushing enlargement, however, will hurt the entire Union, both at present and in the future.

For almost two years now, the governments of the member states have ignored with the arrogance of

Complete results of the 1994 Dutch elections

Party	%	(1989)	Seats	(1989)
PvdA	24,0	(31,9)	37	(49)
CDA	22,2	(35,3)	34	(54)
VVD	19,9	(14,6)	31	(22)
D66	15,5	(7,9)	24	(12)
AOV	3,60	(-)	6	(-)
Groenlinks	3,50	(4,1)	5	(6)
CD	2,50	(0,9)	3	(1)
RPF	1,80	(1,0)	3	(1)
SGP	1,70	(1,9)	2	(3)
GPV	1,30	(1,2)	2	(2)
SP	1,30	(0,4)	2	(0)
Unie 55+	0,90	(-)	1	(-)

Electoral history of D66

1967	4,5	7
1971	6,8	11
1972	4,2	6
1977	5,4	8
1981	11,1	17
1982	4,3	6
1986	6,1	9
1989	7,9	12
1994	15,5	24

The D66 Members of Parliament: Hans van Mierlo, Gerrit-Jan Wolffensperger, Jacob Kohnstamm, Dick Tommel, Louise Groenman, Aad Nuis, Olga Scheltema-de Nie, Arthie Schimmel, Joke Jorritsma-van Oosten, Ursie Lambrechts, Gerrit Ybema, Machteld Versnel-Schmitz, Boris Dittrich, Pieter ter Veer, Hubert Fermina, Nicky van 't Riet, Marijke Augusteijn-Esser, Thom de Graaf, Marijn de Koning, Bob van den Bos, Bert Bakker, Jan Hoekema, Francine Giskes, Guikje Roethof.

power the warnings of the Parliament. If it were up to D66 in the European Parliament, this has lasted long enough. Parliament loses its credibility if it is persuaded to take a hasty decision on this issue which is crucial to the future of the Union. The European Parliament must now show leadership, in the interest of a democratic Union.

D66 wants a Parliament which has a real say and which is worth campaigning for. Real democracy in Europe is in the interest of the cur-

rent and the future Union. The opportunity presents itself now, and it will not come back soon. The MEP for D66, Jan-Willem Bertens, is in favour of enlargement, but against institutional deterioration. He will vote against the *avis conforme* (assent) of the European Parliament.

Arjen Bouter
EP-correspondent

the CO2-tax as a common European policy.

After the elections D66 will have 4 to 6 representatives in the European Parliament. What will the D66 representatives fight for? Apart from urgent questions to be dealt with at the European level as mentioned above, the most important item is the radical democratization of European decision-making. This means inter alia development of democratic control of all legislation by the Council, the right of initiative in the area of legislation, accountability of individual members of the Commission and of the Commission as a whole to the European Parliament, more voting by qualified majority and full budgetary powers. After the debate on the enlargement the Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) of 1996 is the first occasion to table these demands. Since the European Parliament formally has no say with regard to the results of the IGC, it will be all the more important that the European Parliament co-operates closely with the national Parliaments. In this situation only the national Parliaments can force governments to take into account the wishes of the European Parliament. D66 is of the opinion that this inter-Parliamentarian co-operation should become much more intensive than it is now (and to be honest, communication between the D66 Parliamentarians at both levels could also be improved considerably). Therefore one of the demands of D66 at the national level is to give the Dutch Members of the European Parliament the right to speak in national Parliamentarian committees. Unfortunately the present speaker of the national Parliament seems to oppose such a development. The next European elections will also be important for D66, however, because the national conference of February last decided that in order to make the D66 voice heard, it is a necessity to be part of a group. Hence no continuation of the unsatisfactory situation in which Jan Willem Bertens found himself between 1989 and 1994. It is not yet known if D66 will be part of a new group of progressive democrats or will remain a part of the LDR group? In a few weeks we will know the answer.

Marjanne de Kwaasteniet

European elections important

In the Netherlands the election of a new European Parliament stands in the shadow of the national elections. After the local elections in March and the elections of a new Parliament on 3 May, it will not be easy to motivate the local sections of the party for the third campaign of this year. It will also be difficult to motivate the electorate once more to make up its mind about which party to vote for at the European level.

As regards the election of the European Parliament D66 has ambiguous feelings. On the one hand we are aware of the reluctance of many potential voters to participate in the European elections because they know that the European Parliament is not yet a fully empowered Parliament. On the other hand we are convinced that the further development of the integration process is a condition sine qua non for a peaceful and stable Europe. This implies that the European elections deserve our attention. A strong European Parliament is the democratic backbone of a strong European Union. Since history shows that all Parliaments have had to fight to obtain full democratic powers D66 thinks that the second consideration should prevail over the first one, and it will work hard to make this clear to the electorate.

An important decision in this respect was to start the campaign for the European elections at the same time as the one for the national Parliament. D66 candidates for the European Parliament formed one team with the candidates for the national Parliament, and they together toured the country to explain the D66-programme. In our view this was not only a practical solution to the

campaign weariness which will definitely appear after 3 May, but also a logical one in terms of substance. It made it easier to show the interrelation of European and national policies. Take the example of immigration, the issue which is nowadays on everybody's mind. It is clear that policies to accommodate asylum-seekers have to be devised at the national level, just as policies to reduce and prevent illegal labour. However, in order to discourage potential immigrants coming to Western Europe for sheer economic reasons, the member states of the European Union, and even the countries of Central Europe have to coordinate and harmonize the rules they apply to these people. The permeability of borders, which is not only a consequence of the integration process itself but also of increased mobility in general, makes this necessary. Another example is the environment. D66 is of the opinion that in case the European Union fails to introduce a CO2-tax at the European level, the Netherlands should do so on its own (at least as private users are concerned). We would consider this a second best option. Given the border crossing effects of CO2-emission and the risk of trade distortions, it would be much better to introduce

An interview with....

JAN WILLEM BERTENS:

The D66 alternative

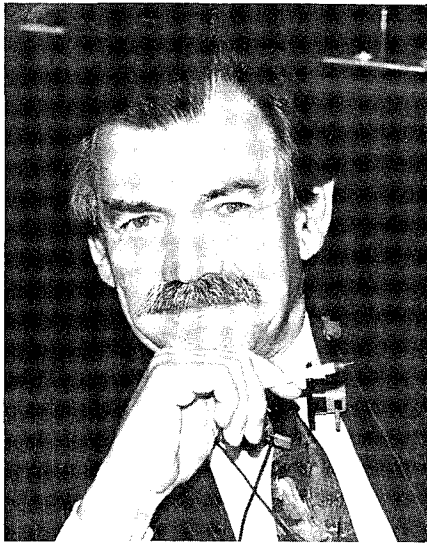
At the European Elections D66 participates with an own list. Which are the most important differences between D66 and the other major parties towards the European Union?

"There are not to many differences on European policy. Differences are based on the national identities of the parties. One can see a general consensus between the Dutch parties in the European Parliament. The only exception is the alliance of calvinist parties, who rejected the Treaty of Maastricht. In the national Parliament one can see that the conservative liberal VVD, especially the party leader Mr. Bolkestein, has problems with the Treaty of Maastricht. He is against a deepening of the European Union and wants it to return to a free trade association. Nationally the party opposes further democratization of the European Union. This attitude differs from that of the VVD-delegation in the European Parliament. With the christian-democratic CDA and the Labour Party there are less differences over Europe. One can see differences in the emphasis which the parties make, but there are not much differences in opinions. That does not make the campaign very interesting.

In the campaign D66 emphasizes employment, migration, international security, environment and regional development. The Dutch do not realize the importance of regions. We know Frisia has its own language, we know that the so-called 'Generality Lands' (editor: the old name of the southern provinces) are catholic, the differences remain folklore.

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In other countries politics gives more attention to the regions. For example, Catalonia has its own language, its own government, its own identity. The Catalan MEP's often use French in the Parliament rather than speaking Spanish. These Catalan regionalist, nationalists, are at the same time Euro-federalists. We can see the same in Scotland. The disappearance of the borders strengthens and enables the regionalization of Europe. D66 wants to play a role in this development."

Why should I vote D66?

"Before answering this question I want to make a remark. The European elections are still nationally defined. We see on a national level growth of the party, so as an optimist I can expect 5 seats in the European Parliament. That is not the result of my work in Parliament or of the tremendous work of my assistant Arjen Bouter. It is the result of national developments. The reduction of the delegations of the CDA and the PvdA is not a European development, but the consequence of the national developments.

One should vote D66 because of its manifesto, because of its strong feelings for Europe. In 1966, the year of the founding of the party, D66 emphasized as the first Dutch party the importance of environmental policy, of democratization and of the direct election of the European Parliament. The party be-

lieves that we need Europe and Europe should be democratic. In our manifestos we never forget Europe. At the national elections of 1989 the PvdA did not even mention Europe in their manifesto.

We are aware that D66 is a small party in a European Parliament with 567 members. But the party can have more impact, for instance as a rapporteur (see the article by Arjen Bouter on my report on humanitarian intervention).

D66 takes Europe seriously in relation to national politics. The MEP's should have the right to speak in the Dutch Parliament. Europe is an irreversible project and we want to co-build it. We want to give attention to the small aspects of Europe too. For example: People should not have any problems to get medical aid in a neighbouring country."

How was the co-operation of D66 as a progressive liberal party in a more conservative liberal group, co-operation with parties like the PSD from Portugal known for its thatcherite approaches to the economy, like the Parti Républicain, like the FDP, like Venstre?

"I want to correct you about the PSD. It is too easy to call the PSD conservative. It is a party which has a radical approach towards the environmental policy, a pragmatic approach towards foreign policy. The same can be said about the FDP. It is a party which supported the ecotax and which has a strong tradition on the rule of law. The Flemish Liberal Democrats have moved towards our program.

There are parties in the group with which we do not have much in common. The Walloon liberals have an approach on the issue of migration we can not join. Venstre is a party which is very different from our party. We have more in common with Det Radikale Venstre, who is also a member of the ELDR party.

Although we see differences, it is possible to have a common vote. None of these parties have a rigid ideology, these parties are liberal and non-dogmatic. This facilitates co-operation.

In the group we have developed a strong affinity with the Liberal Democrats of the United Kingdom. It is a party with a lot of similarities to D66.

As the party conference decided, we will look into possibilities for a separate progressive liberal group, but I am not optimistic about its formation. The parties which could join us in such a group have clearly chosen for the LDR-group. Det Radikale Venstre and Folkpartiet joined the ELDR party. The Liberal Democrats are enthusiastic members of the ELDR. D66 with its own identity can also be a member of today's ELDR. It would be different if - as rumours had it a while ago - the Gaullists wanted to join the LDR-group. That would be unacceptable to D66.

We have to wait and see what happens after the elections. What will happen in France and in Italy. Will all the parties remain in the LDR-group? We saw the defection of French Républicains to the christian-democratic group. Will other parties follow them? What will be the balance of power in the LDR-group? What will happen with the parties from the new countries? Only after the elections will this be clear.

I regret that D66, a strongly internationalist party, never participated in international platforms. We are only observer in the Liberal International. The LI is a very pluriform organization with right wing and left wing parties. In this liberal camp there are some parties which are more or less similar to D66: progressive liberal and pragmatic. In 1989 our delegation in the European Parliament decided to join the liberal group à titre personnel.

If we decide to join this group in the new session, the consequence must be that the party joins the ELDR."

Joining the LDR group and the ELDR means also working together with another Dutch party, a competitor, the VVD? There are a lot of differences between the liberal views of the VVD and D66. The VVD and its leader have opinions on for example European integration, migrants and christian values which are opposite to our opinions. Will that not be a problem?

"On a national basis the differences are big, although we prefer a government coalition of PvdA, VVD and D66, but on the European level the VVD signed the ELDR manifesto. A manifesto which is very much in favour of federalism. A program which is on many points similar to our manifesto. This ELDR manifesto was also influenced by amendments of the group written by me. Of the 22 proposals 13 were adopted. One can see the VVD in Europe, accepting the ELDR manifesto, and one can see the VVD - especially Mr. Bolkestein - at home, with different opinions on European integration. This is an ambivalence in their party. We can work with Gijs de Vries and his fellow VVD members of the European Parliament."

In the last month before the elections one of the most important issues was the membership of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Austria. In the European Parliament D66 voted against this membership. Why?

"D66 does not agree with what is happening now: enlargement without deepening. D66 is strongly in favour of a further democratization of the European Union. This enlargement needs the assent of the Parliament. It gave Parliament the opportunity to make demands for democratization. It must be clear: we are not against enlargement and we are not against any of these countries. I had a discussion with a delegate of the Centerpartiet. He accused me of being against the Swedes. I am against the Swedes on a football level. I hope the Dutch will beat the Swedes at the world championship. But on all other levels I do not have any negative feelings about Sweden. The reason I voted against the assent to the accessions is that this accession should have been accompanied by democratic reforms of the European Union. I disapproved that the Council did not listen to the demands of the Parliament. The Parliament stated clearly that it wanted enlargement and deepening simultaneously. No enlargement without deepening. D66 remained consis-

tent with these demands and voted against the new memberships.

I am concerned that with the new members it will be more difficult to democratize the European Union. Although these countries, especially the nordic countries have strong democratic traditions, democratization of the Union will not be their priority. The nordic countries want to decide for themselves. The Union has missed an opportunity. The Parliament has missed an opportunity to influence the future of the Union.

Wilfried Derksen

The D66 list for the European elections

1. **Jan-Willem Bertens, MEP**
2. **Laurens Jan Brinkhorst, director general of the EC**
3. **Doeke Eisma, MP, former MEP**
4. **Jopie Boogerd, chairwomen labourexchange**
5. **Hans Glaubitz, delegation EC in Warsaw**
6. **Ineke Herweijer, project manager**
7. **Arjen Bouter, assistant of Bertens**

Seats in EP now: 1

D

DEMOCRATEN

European Parliament adopts Bertens report on the right of humanitarian intervention

During the April plenary session of the European Parliament in Strasbourg, the Parliament adopted a report on the right of humanitarian intervention. The D66 MEP Jan-Willem Bertens was the rapporteur on behalf of the EP's Committee on foreign affairs and security. The basis for the report was a resolution dating back to 1990 on the right of non-intervention in the internal affairs of another state. The different approach, as a result of four years of rapid developments in the world after the fall of the Berlin Wall, is indicative of the change in thinking about this issue.

Since 1989, the "usability" of the United Nations Organization has increased. However, now that the UN is increasingly being called upon, it also becomes apparent that this organization is not always able to undertake the tasks which are incumbent on it. Against this background the discussion has been rekindled about the long-standing principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of a state as opposed to the existence of a right of (humanitarian) intervention. The events in Iraq and Somalia, the continuing tragedy in former Yugoslavia and the ethnic conflicts in Rwanda have brought and kept the notion of humanitarian intervention in the focus of attention. The time has come for the European Union to determine its position on humanitarian interventions in the framework of the Union's common foreign and security policy. The plenary debate on Bertens' report provided the opportunity for the Euro-

pean Parliament to draw up the outlines of such a position.

Jan-Willem Bertens says about his report: "In the debate in plenary I wanted to make one thing very clear from the outset: what is laid down in my report does not represent a permit for countries to intervene in the internal affairs of other states as they see fit. The aim of the report is to define -based on a thorough study of the relevant principles of international law- a set of strict criteria which must be met by any intervention in order to be rightly termed a humanitarian intervention. This means that such an intervention must derive its motive from the protection of fundamental human rights of persons who are subjects of or resident in another state. It has been almost generally accepted that human rights are universal and that the human rights situation in a country no longer belongs to that country's "internal affairs". This also implies a universal responsibility for the respect of human rights. It goes without saying that an intervention will always be a last resort. But if all else -such as preventive diplomacy, sanctions and what have you- has failed, the protection of fundamental human rights can provide sufficient justification for humanitarian intervention, including if necessary the use of military force."

"Obviously, the European Parliament and its rapporteur would far prefer action in the framework of the UN with a mandate of the Security Council wherever this is possible. But at the same time, and however unfortunate, we have to face the fact that the UN- organization is as yet not equipped, decision-making included, to respond timely and effectively under all circumstances. This being so, it must be possible, in emergency situations, to act even without prior mandate of the UN, provided that the criteria agreed upon are met. This is a crucial provision, since the UN will always retain the final say. It is precisely for this reason that one of the criteria proposed in the report reads

that any such action must be reported to the UN immediately and should not subsequently be condemned by the Security Council".

The criteria proposed in the report are all intended to make sure that there will be no question of a permit to proceed to intervention lightly. The protection of human rights must be the primary objective of the intervention and no other motives of a political or economic nature must play a role. It must be apparent that the UN apparatus is unable to take effective and timely action. The use of force, if inevitable, must be proportionate and temporary. Past interventions which have been widely condemned, such as in Afghanistan, Grenada, Nicaragua or Panama, would not have met these criteria.

Bertens: "What is required is the development of a clear and specific set of internationally agreed guidelines for intervention, outlining as precisely as possible under what circumstances intervention may be allowed. Timely action at an appropriate level may reduce the scale of intervention needed to deal with a particular situation. That, basically, is the intention of my report".

Arjen Bouter, EP-correspondent

Yugoslavia and Europe's 'bad conscience'

"The solution of the crisis in Yugoslavia", that was the name of the play with which the European Union wanted to make her international debut on the world stage.

The time of the superpowers- the US and Russia - seemed to be over. "This is the hour of Europe, not of the Americans", said Jacques Poos, the minister of foreign affairs of Luxembourg, which chaired the EC. That was in the summer of 1991.

Eventually, it proved unsuccessful. In February 1994 the Americans and Russians asked the Europeans to leave the stage. Later they were been called back, but only to play a

supportive role. "The hour" of Europe is over and now the hour to reflect on what went wrong has come. In this context D66 published a review on European policies towards Yugoslavia in the last three years: the booklet "Europe and its 'bad conscience'".

One of the major problems of the European Union was her inability to tackle some of the most elementary questions of this crisis. How should the power relations in the region be assessed? And, probably the most difficult one, how strong is the European ability and/or willingness to use military power in order to influence changes in these relations for a just and also durable peace agreement? Because answers to these questions were not found or diverged too much, it was not possible to develop a realistic approach in which goals to be achieved on one side and the means to be applied on the other, were in balance. This lack of balance resulted in counter-productive policies towards Bosnia: ambitious goals (like the unity of Bosnia) on one hand, but no military means to achieve them on the other. In the meantime, less ambitious possibilities were not explored. Looking back, quite a few events might be labelled as missed opportunities. For example the so called Cutilleiro-plan.

During March 1992, before the violence in Bosnia started, it seemed that a political solution for Bosnia might be found. Under the auspices of the diplomat Jose Cutilleiro, representing the presiding countries, an agreement was reached that was tentatively accepted, at least publicly, by all three parties. According to the Cutilleiro-plan the central authorities would be in charge of the army, foreign policy and the central bank. At the same time, ethnically based cantons were to be formed with considerable autonomy, i.e. their own police force, education and culture.

The Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic, soon afterwards, distanced himself publicly from the agreement, emphasizing that Bosnia had to survive as a multi-ethnic unitarian state. When asked why he put his signature under the agreement, he declared that during the negotiations he became isolated, and that

the EC-mediators put pressure on him, tying the recognition of Bosnia to his signing of the agreement.

Apparently, at the moment when he was making this statement, he was already sure that the recognition would come about anyway. It seems that the EC-ministers had already decided to "gently" kill this plan off. "We ourselves have shot this plan down", confirms a Dutch diplomat. The reason: "it was not good enough". The European ministers agreed with the concept of a more or less centralized state and would not settle for less, committing themselves fully in that manner. This European commitment resulted in the recognition of Bosnia, in the principles of the London Peace Conference and finally in the Vance-Owenplan (although it contained quite a lot of concessions that watered down the concept of a Bosnian state).

Today, it is obvious that all the attempts to cherish the unity of Bosnia were unsuccessful. Today we see a kind of two way-division of Bosnia. There will be a Croat/Muslim federation, based on two ethnically homogeneous cantons with considerable autonomy. For the time being, the Bosnian Serbs do not associate themselves with this creation and will try to create their own mini-state. But perhaps, at some point in time, some kind of associative cooperation between the Serbs in Bosnia and the Muslims/Croat federation in that republic might be established. That is a situation we hope for today. But it suspiciously resembles the once rejected Cutilleiro-plan!

Against this background some uneasy questions arise. What would have happened if the mediating activities had been more realistic in the beginning and had been based on a realistic assessment of power relations in the region and the own (un)readiness to deploy ground troops? What if less attention had been paid to the desirable and more to the attainable? Would that not have resulted in an earlier and better agreement? How many lives could have been saved? One thing is quite

definite: the so called "voice of conscience" - was too dominant so far.

Bob de Ruiter

"Before the European Parliament decides on this, you will decide on the European Parliament."

With this slogan the Dutch government hopes to raise awareness of the importance of voting.

I do think it is important to vote, and I do hope people will take this slogan to heart and visit the polling booth in June, but I think this campaign is ludicrous. I regard it as rather disappointing that the government reaches out to its citizens in this way only around election time. Only then, the man in the street is called on to use his influence. Especially on this case, the amount of influence actually involved is quite limited and not at all something that can be easily discerned. (It would make much more sense in this respect, to say "Before the Council of Ministers decides, you will vote for a new government??, as there were Parliamentary elections in May. And it would no doubt be more successful fighting the democratic deficit at the appropriate, national level, than just to vote for some strong-willed MEP's who will only obtain what influence the governments want to grant it.)

The influence of citizens could in reality be significantly greater if they could make their opinion known outside the election period. Casting a vote does not necessarily show what a voters priorities are. If we recognize the fact that European elections are usually dominated by the national popularity of parties, it is not per se the case that people vote for certain political stances, or at least surely less so than in national elections. So if we wish to know what people think of the idea of a European Union, and if we really want to involve them and give them the tools to help build a Union, we

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need to reach out much more structurally than just every five years when we consider it important that they go and vote.

If it is truly desirable that citizens influence the policy making and decision-making procedures 'in Brussels', then that is something that should be worked on continuously.

In my opinion national governments and Parliaments should improve communication and infrastructure between the European level and their citizens. One possibility could be to introduce the referendum, something D66 has been fighting for since its foundation. If this could be done, it would have to be a decisive sort of referendum. That would be the consequence of stating that citizens should have more influence. A farce like the second referendum held in Denmark, even if its outcome was more favourable to us, should never have occurred. The example however, clearly shows the problems inherent to this way of consultation.

Another way of involving people could be to elaborate on the idea of a Senate with regional representatives. Obviously it should first be properly set up and be given the power and authority usual for a chamber in a democratic system. The sessions of this body could then for instance be prepared in meetings where the local citizens could discuss matters with the representative of their region and tell him/her what they consider to be important. Minutes of those meetings and of the sessions of the Senate, or overviews of decision taken, could be published in local newspapers. If this would not work satisfactory, contacts could be set up and intensified between local councillors and European senators. In this way, communication would be less transparent, but maybe more efficient and effective.

I would like to stress, however, that none of these activities nor other possible concrete plans stand any chance of being realized, if the 'language problem' is not solved first, or at least worked on. I do not mean those, in some respect petty, discussions on what languages to use in European institutions. The much more fundamental problem here is, that the Dutch prime min-

ster Lubbers is not fighting for, the language of his people. Politicians usually do not speak in that language. Nor do those who work at the Information Offices of the European Union. The leaflets, brochures and materials they produce, therefore, will not reach a large proportion of the electorate, quite apart from the fact that they are not extremely widely distributed. The officials seem to think that they can present their ideas and information in their own language, but then adapted to the language of children. They seem to think the best way to communicate with a housewife is to present them with blue washing-up brushes with the European stars on the handle. They seem to cherish quite a lot of prejudices against the people they are supposed to work for. I would therefore suggest that a representative sample of the population, if they agree of course, should be taken to Brussels and Strasbourg for a month or so. There they should be informed on Union matters and procedures and be given a training in spreading information to the local population or to their group in society. Together with the MEP's which they meet, they should work out plans for leaflets, publications, visits and other programmes. Upon returning home, they should either be full time employed as 'European Union P.R.' officers or they should be invited to have some advisory role for the P.R. office.

At the same time, the importance of international activities should be stressed by actions. Today the Union favours exchanges involving people from less favourable backgrounds, without giving thought to how this should be accomplished. For instance, the forms one has to fill out currently, are certainly not encouraging, and especially not to the persons of lower education. Presently, there are no institutions that reach out to those people and offer the support needed for their applications. Again it is simply a problem of communication. I would hereby like to challenge the future D66 group in the European Parliament as well as the newly elected group in the national Parliament and possibly the national government, to tackle this problem.

Suzanne Bakker

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D66, past and present

Writing about past and present of the Dutch political party Democraten 66 does not start at the founding of the party. In Dutch political history there is a long tradition of a progressive alternative to the old liberal and social-democratic parties.

In 1901 the so-called Freethinking Democratic wing of the Liberal Union left this party and merged with the Radical League into the Freethinking-Democratic League VDB. This party put democratization as one of its main goals. Although the party cooperated with the more conservative liberal parties it stressed the importance of cooperation with the social-democrats. In 1913 the

party proposed a coalition of the conservative liberals, the freethinking democrats and socialists. The socialists declined this invitation and remained in opposition until 1939.

The Freethinking-Democratic League merged in 1946 into the Labour Party PvdA. A minority of the party however joined the Freedom Party. A second minority merged in 1948 with the Freedom Party in today's

In this special issue of D66 International Quarterly we try to give an image of D66, its history, its identity, its programme, its representatives in parliament and government and its structures. Contributors to this issue are Marjanne de Kwaasteniet, Jan-Dirk Sprokkereef, Wilfried Derksen, Leon Peijnenburg, Stefan Joey Wijers, Jeroen Nugteren, Dennis Hesselings and Elwin Lammers.

D66
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People's Party for Freedom and Democracy VVD. With these mergers the existence of an alternative between old-style liberalism and social-democracy disappeared.

In 1966, in the middle of the sixties, Dutch society was eager for democratization and more participation of citizens. Not only dissident liberals and social-democrats but also non-partisans joined in forming a new party, Democrats '66. A party that urged the necessity of radical reforms. Voters should get more influence on policy by means of constitutional reform. The party wanted (and wants) to achieve this aim by introducing measures such as: an elected Prime Minister, elected mayors and stronger bonds between voters and members of Parliament.

The party consciously sought to break the hold of traditional class and religious alignments in favour of a far going programme of institutional reform. The party got with its leader, Hans van Mierlo, journalist and co-founder of the party, a good



*Hans van Mierlo (D66)
Minister for Foreign Affairs*

result in the elections of 1967: 4.5 % of the popular vote and 7 seats in Parliament. Four years later the party joined the Labour Party and the Political Party of Radicals in a shadow cabinet. The party increased its share of the popular vote but remained in the opposition. Ideas for the merger into a new Progressive Party were actively canvassed at the time, not least in D'66. The socialist embrace threatened to become a death-knell to D'66. Before the elections of 1972 more and more voters did not recognize the party as a separate identity next to the Labour Party. The party lost seats and Van Mierlo resigned. In 1974 only 300 members stayed in the party. D66 seemed merely dead.

The physicist and writer Jan Terlouw was ready to accept the leadership if the activists could muster 66,000 signatures pleading for D'66 to go on, while signing up at least 1,666 new members. Activists succeeded to meet this demand and the party survived. Terlouw stressed the party's independent position as a progressive liberal party, or as Terlouw called it: a post-socialist liberal party. D'66's main issues were industrial innovation, an active environmental policy and individual autonomy in ethical questions, such as abortion and the need to emancipate individuals of any sex or sexual disposition. A major element in the

new policy posturing was the need to meet a new technological era with confidence and an open mind for scientific progress. This new course resulted in a moderate gain 1977 (5.5 %) and an electoral victory in 1981 with 11%. D'66 joined a coalition with the Labour Party and the Christian-Democratic Appeal (CDA). This new cabinet soon fell because of major differences of opinion between the main coalition parties. In the transitional period leading up to new elections, D'66 formed an interim cabinet with the CDA to ensure the continuity of economic policy. This was not accepted by the party's electorate and D'66 suffered a defeat at the elections: It obtained only 4% of the votes. Terlouw resigned and was succeeded by the D66 financial and economic expert, Maarten Engwirda. The support dropped further and in the polls the party got not more than 1% of the popular vote. Most observers saw (for the second time) an end for the party.

However, in 1985 the party received a new impulse by means of a political manifesto "A reason for Being", presented by its original leader Van Mierlo.

This manifesto stressed that it is the task of D66 to radically reform the political culture. As the manifesto stated, D66 refused to take part in a political role-play in which parties held on to ideological oppositions dating from the last century. The problems which society now faced, such as the increased strain on the environment, the revolutionary development of information technology and the internationalization of the economy, should be subjected to political analysis, unimpeded by ideological prejudices. The party endorsed pragmatism and sees its identity as a synthesis of liberalism and social-democracy. In this way the party forms a progressive liberal alternative for the VVD and the PvdA.

In 1986 the party, with its new abbreviation D66 without apostrophe, and its new 'old' leader, Van Mierlo, gained 6% of the popular vote. D66 remained in opposition to a conservative coalition government. In 1989 the support of the party rose to 8% of the votes. D66 strove for a left of centre coalition

Electoral development of VDB

limited male suffrage:

1901	7,3	9/100
1905	8,8	11/100
1909	9,1	9/100
1913	7,3	7/100
1917	7,3	7/100

general male suffrage:

1918	5,3	5/100
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general male suffrage:

1922	4,6	5/100
1925	6,1	7/100
1929	6,2	7/100
1933	5,1	6/100
1937	5,9	6/100

Electoral development of D66

1967	4,5	7/150
1971	6,8	11/150
1972	4,2	6/150
1977	5,4	8/150
1981	11,1	17/150
1982	4,3	6/150
1986	6,1	9/150
1989	7,9	12/150
1994	15,4	24/150

with social-democrats and christian-democrats. Nevertheless, CDA and PvdA formed a left of centre coalition without D66. D66 attempted to be constructive in its opposition towards this coalition. It supported government policy when it is in line with the party's programme. However, D66 criticized the government when it failed to meet its own objectives, such as carrying out an active environment policy and reorganizing government spending.

In this period Van Mierlo stressed the possibility of a so-called purple coalition of VVD, D66 and PvdA as a real alternative for the centre-right and centre-left coalitions, in which the christian-democrats were dominant.

At the elections of 1994 the Dutch political landscape changed radically. The PvdA and even more the CDA lost many votes, the VVD and D66 made large gains. D66 got 15.5 % of the votes, more than ever before.

D66 made a very strong plea for the purple coalition and refused to talk about other coalitions as long as it was not sure that the purple coalition was impossible. At the end the negotiators of the parties succeeded in forming a government of PvdA, VVD and D66. Van Mierlo became deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs. He was joined by three D66-ministers, for the ministries of justice, economic affairs and public health.

Never in the party's history it developed into a mass party. Rather than relying on the trappings of a large-scale, formal organization, it threw open membership to all while maintaining a tradition of direct democracy. At the same time the party had a particularly fickle electorate. The party had in the past only few, but rather faithful supporters. The chief strength of D'66 had been that it was potentially an attractive electoral alternative for many forces in the political spectrum, not only for disappointed moderate socialists or liberal Liberals, even former supporters of the christian democrat parties, and even more new voters. Before 1986 the party did not succeed in establishing itself as a really crucial actor in the complex party landscape. After 1986 this has chan-

ged. One could say that the party is now really one of the four, almost equal, dominant parties.

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D66's identity

D66 can be characterized as a left-of-centre nonsocialist party, which favours pragmatism over ideology and has a strong libertarian tradition.

In this way D66 is a progressive liberal party that embraced aspects of social-democracy.

Hans van Mierlo stated it clearly: *"Both liberalism and socialism together have been sources of inspiration for our party. This is justified by the fact that during their historic developments, both movements have taken responsibility for a part of the whole truth, and, consequently have turned that part into the whole truth. As a result, things that were complementary have become opposites, have become caricatures of themselves: Liberty against equality, individual against community, self-regulation against government, individuality against solidarity."*

The ideas of D66 form a synthesis of both liberalism and socialism. In a recent party report called "D66, outline of a party", written on initiative of the Advisory Council, four basic ideas are formulated:

1. Every human being should be respected in and of itself. Everybody's private sphere is unassailable, is autonomous. Nobody else has the right to interfere in the private sphere.

2. Every human being is fundamentally equal and has the possibility

to take responsibility for his/her own way of life. Everyone should have equal chances to manage ones life according to ones convictions and preferences.

3. Human beings have a shared and common responsibility for society. Common accepted values which arrange relations between people facilitate individuality and responsibility.

4. Life of human beings, public and private, takes place in a natural environment. Life is only possible thanks of this natural environment. It is the resource and the frontier of human development and.

For D66 these basic values together are the basis of a sustainable society. D66 has always had a dislike of using labels to identify the party's identity. Although there were often discussions about calling the party 'progressive liberal' or 'freethinking democrat', proposals in this direction were never adopted. Nevertheless, a characterization as progressive liberal seems to be right if one looks at the four basic ideas.

Concretely D66 aims at a radical democratization of society and of the political system. People should have the supervision over power. This idea of radical democratization is put into political practice by members of D66. The view on man and society that underlies this practice stems from the basic ideas, the idea that people themselves are able and willing to work at a peaceful society. D66 believes in the creativity of people; Whenever possible, people should be able to arrange their own affairs near home. D66 wants to be a party in which people work together in an open, undogmatic atmosphere to find concrete answers to problems. It wants to be a party of pragmatic idealists who also take the interests of others into account. D66 is not linked with a specific pressure group or class. Therefore, it does not defend the interest of specific pressure groups or classes. The party is aware that although people are not the same, they are equal. The party expresses solidarity with those people who, for whatever reason, cannot actively take part in society. The identity of the party cannot be found in a label, but should be found in its programme and attitude.

When D66 was founded its single most important issue was to ask for a radical democratization of society. The principles of the balance of power, of transparency of decision making and of direct democracy, that were central to the party of 1966, are still the guiding principles of the D66 of the mid-nineties. They determine the political profile of the party, and give the party its coherence. This continuous concern about the quality of democracy does not mean that the party is the same as thirty years ago.

abled or confined to their homes because of a lack of child care facilities. The high expenses of the welfare system put a heavy burden on the state budget and on the costs of labour. Particularly the latter, the high costs of labour, cause employers to search for labour saving policies, which means that even more become unemployed and dependent on state support. In the end the welfare state in its present form

have more stimuli built in for the reintegration of people in the labour market. Rights and obligations should be more in balance, which means that those who receive state support are obliged to make an effort to reduce their dependency, e.g. through reeducation and flexibility regarding the acceptance of work.

Another school of thinking attaches great value to the idea of the (partial) basic income. This idea is radical because it is disconnecting income from labour, and leaves the individual free to choose to what

Where does D66 stands for ?

The basic difference with the initial period is that D66 has developed from a party opposed to the parties based on the traditional political ideologies of socialism, liberalism en christian-democracy, which have dominated the political landscape of the Netherlands since the beginning of this century, into a party which is also a party among the others, with a set of integrated policies and willing to take up the responsibility to govern. The relation between civil society and politics, environmental values, individualization, the quality of the rule of law, and the internationalization of society have been central elements in the shaping of these policies. The election manifesto of 1994 shows how these abstract principles influence concrete political questions.

Reform of the welfare state

The election manifesto of 1994 starts with a chapter on the socio-economic problems, because they are thought to be the fundamental political issue in the next decade. The most important shortcoming of the present economic situation is the lack of employment and (related to this problem but not identical) the low participation in the labour market. Too many citizens are dependent on state support, be it because they are unemployed, dis-

abled or confined to their homes because of a lack of child care facilities. This does not mean that it has to be abolished and replaced by a system in which social security is left to the market but that it urgently needs reform. In the view of D66 the welfare system has to be revised so that it encourages people to take care of themselves (avoiding the poverty trap) and guarantees a sufficient income for those who are really unable to gain an income.

The answer can go in two directions: reform of the present system or more radical change. Reform of the present system means first and foremost the creation of new jobs, since the growth of employment means that fewer people are dependent on state support and that the economic basis for levying taxes and premiums is widened. Creating new jobs asks for a set of measures which is not confined to the reduction of the cost of labour through a lowering of income tax. It touches also on the general improvement of the conditions of small and medium sized enterprises (which generate most of the new jobs), on industrial policies which concentrate on technological innovation, and on fiscal policies which account for the relative abundance of labour and scarcity of natural resources. At the same time, however, measures have to be taken to limit access to the system to those who really need it, while at the same time the system should

extent he/she wants to supplement the basic income through work.

Whatever direction the discussion will go, D66 thinks the shape of the future welfare state should not be only determined by economic factors but also by political criteria such as respect for the freedom of individuals and the rule of law, and the transparency of the system.

A sustainable environment

Sustainable development requires a change of attitude of both citizens and the government. The latter has a special responsibility since the market does not take care of the environment. In the Netherlands, D66 was the first political party aware of the responsibility of governments in this area, and the importance of putting the environment on the political agenda. For a long time it was thought that raising awareness was sufficient to bring about this change of attitude. The oil crisis of 1973 showed for the first time how dependent our societies are on the supply of cheap natural resources. Later, the oil crisis was in the first place perceived as an event showing the power of suppliers of raw natural resources thus far considered powerless. The relation between attaching an economic value to a limited natural resource and saving behaviour got much less

attention. However, lately the idea of the internalization of environmental costs has gained ground. Although environmental awareness of citizens is important to make them accept otherwise unpopular policies, the price mechanism is now seen as a main instrument to cause behavioural change. In the pricing of scarce natural resources or of polluting behaviour governments play an important part. A clear example of this has already been mentioned: a shift from the taxing of abundant labour to the taxing of the use of energy and scarce natural resources. For some years now the Netherlands government has supported the idea of an energy tax at the European level, however without success. D66 believes the introduction of an energy tax can no longer wait for agreement at the European level, and intends to introduce an energy tax for consumers of energy by 1996. The fact that for reasons of fair international competition an energy tax for enterprises cannot yet be introduced is a major setback however.

The issue of scale: internationalization a necessity

In the mid-sixties D66 was the first political party pointing at the internationalization of economic processes. The rapid increase of the number of multinationals and the growing market integration were seen as a positive development to which governments should respond through adequate industrial and technological policies. Over the years it has become clear that very

few social processes are not affected by the trend towards internationalization. Important political issues we are facing nowadays are international migration, cross-border environmental problems and international crime. Point of departure for any policy regarding these issues is that the old times in which the nation-state was the natural framework for the thinking of politicians have gone by. A harmonization of efforts between countries has become a prerequisite for effective policy-making. Therefore, D66 has supported the creation of a supranational level of decision making in Europe.

The positive approach towards the development of the European Union has been matched, however, by concern about the shortcomings in the system of democratic control at the European level. The seriousness of this concern was shown by the 'no'-vote of the MEP Jan Willem Bertens on the issue of the enlargement of the Union with Austria, Sweden and Finland. 'The only issue in which the European Parliament has a decisive say should have been used to obtain more powers for parliament,' says Bertens, 'even if this had meant a delay for the enlargement

The democratic system still needs revision

Although D66 is no longer focusing on the issue of democratization

only, the quality of the democracy still concerns its members. This was even more clear during the formation of the new cabinet. As always this process took place behind closed doors. For weeks the leaders of the four largest parties negotiated in secret, and D66 was forced to do the same. This evoked criticism: D66 had always been against this secrecy and arguing in favour of greater openness in politics.

Had the party -eager to participate in the new government- left this principle? No, of course it had not. In this period D66 was again confronted with the inadequacy of the Dutch electoral system, in which the citizens decide in the national elections the composition of parliament but have no say in who is going to be the next prime-minister, let alone by whom they will be governed. In the Netherlands the Prime-minister is still nominated by the Queen and the formation of governments remains the result of negotiations among a small political elite. As long as the rules of the game have not been changed, it is impossible for D66 to fulfil the wish to make the political process more transparent.

Although this dilemma has attracted much attention lately, the other constitutional items remain on the agenda. An important victory for D66 is that the issue of referenda has been included in the coalition agreement. This means that in the cause of the next four years concrete steps have to be taken towards the introduction of this form of direct democracy.

Elections 1994: a new government, a new parliamentary group

In the last issues of *International Quarterly* 1994 much attention was given to the elections of 1994. Not only the local councils and the European Parliament were elected, also the 'Second Chamber of the States-General' was.

D66 was very successful in these elections. The party doubled its size in parliament. Instead of twelve members of parliament, D66 now has twenty-four members of parliament (out of 150).

After the elections the formation of a new government took a lot of

time. It resulted in a coalition government in which the traditional antipodes of Dutch politics, the PvdA en the VVD, joined D66 (see the Colour Purple).

D66 is represented in this coalition by four ministers and three secretaries. *Hans van Mierlo*, party

founder and leader, became minister for the time minister. He is now deputy prime minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs. *Hans Wijers*, organization adviser, became the Minister of Economic Affairs. *Winnie Sorgdrager*, attorney-general in The Hague, was appointed Minister of Justice. The fourth Minister is *Els Borst-Eilers*, deputy chairperson of the Health Council. She became Minister of Health, Well-being en Sport.

They are joined by three well-experienced members of parlia-

ment, *Jacob Kohnstamm* (former party chairman) as State Secretary for Home Affairs, *Aad Nuis* as State Secretary for Education and Science and *Dick Tommel*, State Secretary for Environment.

The parliamentary group consists out of seven former members of parliament and 17 new members. *Gerrit Jan Wolffensperger* was unanimously elected as floor leader. It goes too far to mention all the members. The following members have international affairs in their

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portfolio: *Bob van den Bos* (foreign affairs), *Jan Hoekema* (defence), *Guikje Roethof* (development co-operation, UNO, OSCE), *Jan Willem van Waning* (EU), *Gerrit Ybema* (EMU), *Thom de Graaf* (international police and justice policy) and *Marijn de Koning* (foreign trade).

The 'First Chamber' or Senate-group will be newly elected in 1995.

the public debate on the issue of the widening of the opening hours of food markets and shops - traditionally a difficult matter in the Netherlands - and the discussion on future reliance on nuclear power. Certainly this new political arena has meant large scale press coverage. In this respect D66-member of Parliament Boris Dittrich stresses: "The press still describes the political process in an old-fashioned way. A public exchange of arguments is inevitably called conflicts or quarrels".

On the other hand it speaks for itself that unlimited 'solo action' finally conflicts with the idea of compromise and coalition. Freedom of speech and thought is unlimited, but as Gerrit Jan Wolffensperger puts it: "Coalition partners confine themselves to the negotiated Governmental Agreement, and to the loyalty between coalition partners, which is indispensable for a successful government".

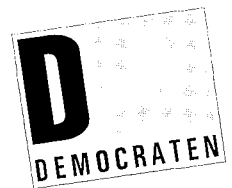
The Color Purple

Observers of Dutch politics know that seeking compromises and building coalitions are main characteristics of the political system of the Netherlands. Never one political party or ideology succeeds in gaining an absolute majority. Negotiations have always played a major part in the political process.

Nevertheless it can be said that a new political situation has arisen out of the 3rd of May 1994 general elections and the formation of a coalition government that followed. Thanks to the central role played by the D66-negotiators, three political parties - the social democratic PvdA, the liberal VVD and D66 - managed to create the first cabinet in modern history without the traditionally dominating participation of the christian democratic party. The so-called 'purple government' was born (the colour purple emerges by blending the party colours of the three participants). Without exaggeration it can be said that 'purple politics' has obtained an almost magical sound in Dutch society. In his last D66 congress address the leader of the D66-Parliamentary Group, Gerrit Jan Wolffensperger, said: "The joy at the success of the making of a 'purple coalition' must not make D66 lean back in satisfaction. What counts is the policy, and the way we make policy. On both aspects we have high expectations. The new coalition displays the wish for renovation to adjust obstinate political structures to problems, needs and life styles

of people of 1994." More openness and frank public debate is the credo of the new political future. Both among the coalition Parliamentary groups as towards the coalition cabinet ministers political debate is to be more transparent and visible for the outside world. In the major evening newspaper 'Parool' former D66-senator Professor Jan Vis maintains: "This coalition does not try everything possible to counter difference of opinion. The exchange of ideas is open, and the habit of supporting the cabinet in every way is less forceful". In short the participants in the political process have lost some of their traditional anxiety to have an open discussion on political issues. At least this starting point gives an incentive for more exiting future policy making.

Already at this early hour the first concrete signs of 'purple policies' have become visible. During the latest budgetary debates the inevitable cuts in technology subsidies, higher education and defence budgets learned that the purple parties can state different opinions without undermining the coalition itself. The same qualification can be given to



**D66
wishes
you a
happy
1995**

Following the elections for the European Parliament of June 1994, Jan-Willem Bertens got three D66-companions in the European Parliament. This was not only due to the increase of the size of the European Parliament from 518 to 567 members, but also to a impressive growth in voters' support. The share of votes increased from 5,9 to 11,7%.

Besides Jan-Willem Bertens, the leader of the D66-delegation, also Laurens-Jan Brinkhorst, Doeke Eisma and Johanna Boogerd-Quaak are now representing the progressive liberal party from the Netherlands. Together they bring a complementary experience to the Parliament. Jan-Willem Bertens, a former ambassador, takes care of



the continuity for D66 in the European Parliament since he was MEP from 1989-1994. Brinkhorst was Director-General of the European Commission before entering the European Parliament, Doeke Eisma was a MEP from 1979-1984 and Member of the National Parliament since 1986 and Johanna Boogerd used to be director of a regional employment service.

Due to their continued membership of the ELDR-Group in the European Parliament, the 4 D66 members have obtained quite a number of interesting and important responsibilities in the ELDR-Group and the European Parliament. Bertens has become the President of the Subcommittee on Security and Disarmament and is in charge of Foreign Affairs for the ELDR Group. Laurens-Jan Brinkhorst is the Group's speaker on the Budget and plays an important role in the institutional affairs committee. Doeke Eisma plays an active part in name of the ELDR on environmental and regional affairs and Johanna Boogerd is the ELDR spokesperson for social affairs and will actively use her previous experience in representing the Group on



quadrupled IN EUROPE

economic, industrial and monetary affairs.

This great variety of responsibilities has led - already now only after 3 months of work in the European Parliament - to numerous D66 reports in the EP. Reports have been or are being drafted on the quality of bathing water, on the European education programme Leonardo da Vinci, which has already been adop-

Party will enable the D66 MEPs to play a more active and influential role in the ELDR-Group of the European Parliament. Moreover, membership of the ELDR Party provides D66 with the possibility to strengthen ties with certain parties which are underrepresented in the ELDR Group or not even represented at all. This is particularly true for the ELDR Parties in the bigger member states of the European Union, such as the FDP from Germany.

The fact that the ELDR Party and Group are striving to strengthen their links with national politics and the voters coincides nicely with the active policy of the D66 MEPs to strengthen their links with all layers of the D66 party at home, including the members of the D66 Group in The Hague. The meeting in Paris in December 1994 between the ELDR Group and the Group Leaders of the ELDR Parties in the national parliaments provides for a great first opportunity to build a coalition of members of parliament for a democratic, transparent and efficient



Brinkhorst, Bertens, Boogerd and Eisma: members of European Parliament for D66; members of the ELDR-group

ted finding a good middle ground between socialist and christian-democrat/conservative demands, on EU-membership for Cyprus and on an Action Plan in the combat against international drug trafficking.

The decision of the November 1994 D66 Congress to join the ELDR

European Union in preparation of the IGC of 1996.

Following on from the good preparatory work of Jan-Wilem Bertens, the D66 voice in Europe will now echo like never before. We will come back to you soon!

The *national board* of D66

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The national board of D66 consists of twenty-one people. Nine of them form the executive, responsible for the day-to-day running of the party. The remaining twelve represent the national board in their respective regions, linking the national and the regional level of the party. Every member of the party can stand for election, and voting takes place according to the 'one man, one vote'- principle.

Since 1992 Wim Vrijhoef has been the chairman of the party. At the national congress of 5 November last he was reelected for another term. Members of the national board are elected at nation-

members of the board is that they are volunteers. The idea behind the limited total period one can serve and the voluntary character of the work is to spread power as widely as possible. No one should get too much attached to a position of power. MP's are put to the test every four years in the Dutch political system, so why not let the people on the board defend their positions as well? However, with the growth of the party and the taking up of government responsibility, it seems that we have to give up some of the principles which have been so dear to us since 1966. In the framework of a larger debate on the organization of the party the idea has been floated to transform at least the position of chairman into a full-time paid job. The last word has not been said about this proposal, and Jan Lahey, vice-chairman responsible for the organization of the party, will be busy with this debate during the next year (decision-making on the organizational reform is scheduled for November 1995).

The regional representatives also have an intensive job. They channel information from the national board to the regional and local level, and bring any problems which exist in their regions to the attention of the national board.

Huib Isendoorn, representative of the national board in the region of Overijssel: 'The process of channelling information vice-versa is indeed taking a lot of my time. On top of that Overijssel is also confronted with the formation of

new sub-regions, and we have to think hard how to match this administrative process with changes in the regional party structure.'

The international secretary gets support from two bodies. The first one is the advisory group on inter-

national contacts. This group is made up of MP's of the First and the Second Chamber dealing with foreign policy, the D66 members of the European Parliament and party members with a special interest in international relations, like former



President Wim Vrijhoef

international secretary Michel Groothuizen and Arjen Bouter, staff member of the ELDR-faction. The group gained importance after the end of the Cold War, when many parties were created in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and D66 had to determine with which parties to establish closer contact. Since the information available about the new parties in Central and Eastern Europe was often very partial and often second hand, the advisory group was a useful instrument. More recently the advisory group has been discussing the positioning of D66 in the European Parliament. The group concluded that it would be in the interest of D66 to join the ELDR. On the basis of its advice the national congress of 5 November 1994 voted overwhelmingly in favour of membership of D66 of the ELDR.

The second one is the working party on foreign affairs of the Foundation for Policy Research. Under the chairmanship of Edmond Wellenstein this working party discusses all aspects of foreign policy, including current affairs. The working party is open to all members of D66 interested in this policy area. Some discussions result in a study conference, others in a contribution to 'Idee', the magazine of the Foundation for Scientific Research. At some occasions project groups are formed to draw up a policy paper. An example is the project group on the Intergovernmental Conference 1996 of the European Union.



D66 -party office in The Hague

al congresses for a term of two years. They can renew their term twice, so no one can sit on the board for a period longer than six years. Another characteristic of the

D66 publishes various forms of magazines for its elected representatives, members and other interested people/ The party is also looking into ways to use the "electronic highway" for communicating with those target groups.

The "Democraat" is the national party-bulletin for its members. In principle the members receive 8 copies a year for free. It covers the national party congresses and other activities and meetings of party organs, such as the *Foundation for Scientific Research (SWB)*, the *Education Centre (PSVI)*, and the *Associa-*

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The Foundation for Scientific Research also publishes a well-edited and presented magazine, called "Idee". It contains analyses politics and governmental policies as well as analyses of social and cultural topics. "Idee" is published 6 times a year.

"Postbus 66" is the name of the soberly presented magazine, which - depending on the topical issues - is published about every three weeks.

The Party Structure

D66's main objective is a radical democratization of society and of the political system. This principle can also be found in the structure of the party. The political decision-making process within D66 is very open, every party-member has influence.

D66 tries to involve people more in politics. Politics is something that concerns every citizen. Therefore, he should be able to influence the political decision-making. Every member of D66 must also be able to participate on every political level in the discussion about the way in which the party should and can continue. D66 supports an open and democratic society. Therefore, every citizen should have a direct share in the management and government of his surroundings. This attitude is reflected in D66's organization. Direct democracy is the basic principle. In the party, all members can help decide the party policy during the conventions and meetings. All meetings are open to members. In this way the principle of one man one vote is put into practice.

The structure of the party reflects the idea that power and the control over power belong at the level where the decisions are taken. That means that a local branch (at city council level) cannot make a binding comment on national issues but also that the national assembly of D66 cannot force certain viewpoints on lower levels. All viewpoints must however concur with the basic policy programme.

The political decision-making process takes place within a certain column. The different fractions come to their own conclusions, they are bound to an election programme of course, but are always personally responsible for their voting behaviour in the councils or Parliaments. Another important principle is that most party functions cannot be combined. A member of Parliament cannot also be a member of the national board. A city council member cannot be on the board of the local branch.

D66 and communication

tion of D66 Councillors. Moreover, the Democraat covers the first and the second chamber of the Dutch parliament, the European Parliament and regional and local politics in the Netherlands.

The magazine "Voor de D'Raad" contains articles, interviews and background information, which are of interest to regionally or locally active members of D66. It is published 10 times a year. It is not just considered as a forum for discussion, but also a tool for the daily political reality. Much attention is therefor given to the exchange of useful tips and experiences.

It informs the reader on the positions taken by the D66-groups in the Second Chamber on topical political issues.

Finally the D66 delegation in the European Parliament publishes the "D66 International Quarterly". This magazine in English contains articles which give an outline of the work and ideas of D66 in Europe and the Netherlands.

Electronic communication will become a more and more important source of information amongst the already existing ones. Therefor D66 wants to link up with the various ini-



Balloons at a congress

tatives which are currently taken with respect to the "electronic highway", such as the 'digital city' in Amsterdam.

One of the many advantages of the 'electronic highway' is the opportunity to communicate very quickly with everyone, who has a computer and a modem. This can

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for example very well be used to communicate the positions taken by the party on topical political issues.

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Jonge Democraten

Jonge Democraten (JD, Young Democrats), founded in 1984, is the political youth organization linked to D66. As an independent organization, JD has no official representation in D66 party structures. Internationally, JD can be said to be social-liberal or radical. Twice a year a national congress is held, in which a one man one vote system is used.

The main aim of JD is not to exercise political influence, but to contribute to the political awareness of young people.

Basic points of view

JD has three basic values:

1. Development of the individual

JD thinks that all individuals must be given the opportunity to maximum self-development. People should be free to decide how to live their lives, as long as their decisions do not harm others. Freedom, responsibility and solidarity are among the main values JD proclaims.

2. Diversity

JD regards the diversity of opinions, of people etc. as positive. By listening to all opinions, we can come to the best solutions, in which as much attention as possible can be given to all groups in society.

3. Radical democratization

JD advocates radical democratization of the society. People should be involved in all decisions which concern them. Not only on the political level, but also in schools, at work etc.

D66: allied organizations

Stichting Wetenschappelijk Bureau D66 (SWB)

The SWB, foundation for scientific research for Democrats 66, is in fact an office with more or less independent functions.

Its products - surveys, analyses and political brochures - are of course meant especially for the members and political representatives of D66, but not exclusively. Sometimes the SWB is asked to do research on specific themes and social developments, like social security, migration and national health care, but it has a research program of its own as well. This research is particularly concerned with the consequences of the ongoing process of the bureaucratization of society in a political and cultural perspective.

The office also functions as an administrative centre for several workshops and project teams, which are engaged in research to provide background information and advise on current political issues.



TIJDSCHRIFT VAN HET WETENSCHAPPELIJK BUREAU VAN D66

Last but not least the SWB publishes IDEE, a bimonthly ("semi-glossy") magazine containing articles, interviews and discussions about all kinds of economical, cultural and political subjects, relevant to the practice of politics. IDEEEN are special issues of IDEE, containing articles on one subject.

PSVI

The D66 Education Centre offers a variety of training facilities for members of D66. In study groups and discussion meetings people can practice for example how to speak fluently, how to call a meeting or what are the quintessence's of local finances. Every month a magazine appears for local and regional politicians with interviews and additional information.

Association of D66 Councillors

The Association of D66 Councillors was founded in 1992. Around 900 of the twelve hundred local, regional, national and European D66-politicians are members of the Association.

The main goal is to stimulate the exchange of political knowledge and points of view. The organization tries to realize this goal by the organization of conferences and study-meetings on topical subjects or for specific groups of councillors. It publishes actual information for local and regional politicians. In addition the Association calls meetings of select groups of councillors to discuss a subject and to formulate and publish a D66-point of view.

The employee of the Association advises councillors when necessary on specific questions or refers them to a specialist on the subject.



One of the new political ideas introduced by JD is the idea of a basic income. This should serve as a way to individualize the social security system. It will be discussed extensively at the spring '95 congress of D66.

International activities

JD has many contacts with political youth organizations abroad. With some, like the Flemish VUJO (People's Union Youth), the contacts are so good that every year a joint seminar is organized. The most important international activity, however, is a yearly big delegation visit abroad. JD is a full member of (amongst others) the International Federation of Liberal and Radical Youth (IFLRY), the Liberal and Radical Youth Movement of the European Union (LYMEC), Youth for Development and Co-operation (YDC) and the Dutch National Youth Council '31.

Central and Eastern Europe Foundation D66 (IVSOM)

Supporting the democratization processes and economic transition in Central and Eastern Europe is very important to D66. IVSOM, the Central and Eastern Europe Foundation of D66 therefore develops and realises several projects every year.

1994 has been a very successful year for IVSOM. Nine projects have been executed as planned. For the first time a project on privatization of state companies was included in the programme. More than 30 participants, experts on privatization and Parliamentarians, discussed this issue in the beginning of December in Prague. The conference with participants from more than ten countries, was hosted by the Czech Free Democrats.

A second highlight in the 1994 programme has been the training-course for the Romanian Democratic Convention. Lennart van der Meulen, D66 campaign leader for the past three elections, and Jan Veld-

huizen, former campaign leader and three professional trainers represented D66 in this programme. The fact that Social Democrats, Christian Democrats, the Greens and Social-Liberals cooperated in this project impressed the DC representatives. The Democratic Convention (DC) found in this project on local level the necessary support for sticking together. The position of the DC on a local level is, unfortunately, weak.

For 1995 projects are scheduled in nearly all the countries that qualify for support of the IVSOM-foundation on party-organization and campaigning. Representatives from Baltic Countries will be invited to visit the Netherlands for a seminar on Local Democracy and Party Organization. For the first time a project in Serbia is included in the programme. A fact finding mission will visit Serbia at the end of 1994 and will identify counterparts.

In summer 1995 Michel Groothuizen will organize a High Level Meeting on the future of Europe. Michel Groothuizen, former International Secretary of D66, is deputy head of the Eastern-Europe Department of the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs. At the conference the question of the completion of Europe (deepening/widening) will be addressed with respect to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

The coming year International Quarterly will keep you informed on the IVSOM-projects for 1995. For information please call the National Office of D66. Until now Jan-Dirk Sprokkereef (Secretary General D66) has taken care of the IVSOM-projects, but a special staff member will be assigned shortly.



Committee Women's Human Rights

Officially this Committee is a committee of the National Board of D66. It follows critically the political decisions and wants to emphasize women's questions. There are regular contacts between the committee and D66 members of parliament and the European Parliament.

Concerning the European Parliament the emphasis is on the Social Affairs., Human Rights and Women's Rights committees. The committee analysis the consequences of the Treaty of Maastricht, especially the protocol ad article 119 and the protocol number 14 on social policy.

The committee participates in the preparatory meetings on the UN Social Summit in Copenhagen and the fourth UN World Women's Conference in Beijing. Many proposals of the committee are accepted by the prepcon's.

In this way the committee tries to work for the women's human rights.

D66's international affiliations

D66 has always been active in developing bilateral relations with similar parties in Europe. In this way the party developed strong relations with among others *Liberal Democrats* (UK), *Det Radikale Venstre*, the *Partito Repubblicano Italiano* and the French *Mouvement des Radicaux de Gauche*. In the last years a special emphasis was given to the Central and Eastern European parties. At the end of 1994 D66 joined the ELDR Party. This organization unites liberal and democratic parties in the European Union. D66's membership is a consequence of the decision of the four MEP's to rejoin the ELDR group in the European Parliament. Next to this membership D66 is an observer in the Liberal International. In this organization D66 wants to improve relations with similar parties.

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24 out of 150 members of parliament

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12 out of 75 senators

Allied Organizations: Stichting Wetenschappelijk Bureau D66 (SWB: Foundation for Scientific Research for D66); Stichting Politiek Scholings- & Vormingsinstituut D66 (PSVI: D66 Education Centre); Jonge Democraten (JD: Young Democrats); Commissie Vrouwenrechten-Mensenrechten (Committee Women's Human Rights); Stichting Instituut Vorming en Samenwerking Oost- en Midden-Europa (IVSOM: Central and Eastern Europe Foundation).

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The D66 Congress in action



State Secretary Nuis, Minister Sorgdrager, State Secretary Kohnstamm and Minister Wijers