

# ***Facing the world***

## ***The Netherlands and social democratic International Policy***



Resolution, adopted by PvdA congress, 22 January 2012

## Foreword

You are reading the PvdA resolution on social democratic International Policy. Such policy is more necessary than ever, as inequality is on the rise worldwide, the causes of armed conflicts are not being addressed, and many unsustainable production and consumption patterns are affecting quality of life on our planet, including that of future generations. As Social Democrats, we have many alternatives. Old values of international social democracy, such as poverty prevention, the right to live with dignity, curtailment of capitalism, international solidarity and arms control remain surprisingly current. New values, such as universal respect for human rights, rule of law, democracy, sustainability and proper management of global commons came about after 1945, with active participation by social democrats, in the Netherlands and abroad.

Elaborating on the ideals of internationalists such as Alfred Mozer, Jan Tinbergen, Max van der Stoep and Maarten van Traa, this draft resolution and the report on which it is based convey the outline of a renewed social democratic international policy of the Dutch Labour Party (Partij van de Arbeid, PvdA) in a changing world. We support Europe, but this should be a more just Europe. We are supporting the United Nations, provided it undergoes sweeping reforms. We fight for international solidarity and are convinced this is in the Dutch interest as well. We choose to have a broad perspective on peace and security. In addition to concerning wars between and within states, security relates to non-military sources of instability and unsafe situations, such as exploitation, terrorism, serious human rights violations, environmental decay, looting of raw materials and transnational crime. From our social democratic perspective, we regard the national security of states and the security of citizens in particular. We feel encouraged by the emancipation movements in many parts of the world, including successful democratization in Latin America, the Arab spring and the pursuit of freedom by people in China. And we feel encouraged by the fact the United Nations embrace the term human security and the responsibility to protect people ('responsibility to protect').

International Policy no longer is solely a matter of nation states. Many actors play a role, including international organizations, multinationals, movements promoting peace and development as well as other experts. Wherever possible, the Social Democratic movement wants to cooperate with them to realize shared ideals. This requires a multi-track strategy and entails using different means. Ranging from mutual respect and dialogue, power of persuasion based on sound ideas, diplomacy and negotiations, through constructive measures (including humanitarian aid, generous development cooperation and trade and environmental measures), to harsh measures, such as taking issue with human rights violations, international prosecution and trials of the perpetrators, and, if necessary, resorting to military force, pursuant to a firm mandate under international law. The Netherlands is firmly embedded in the European, Atlantic and global cooperation. This cooperation must be continued, and we have plenty of ideas to renew and innovate these partnerships in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Unlike the present government, we do not intend to retreat behind the dikes but we want the Netherlands to fully engage in fighting poverty, human security and dignity and in sustainable development - for future generations as well. Driven by our internal ideals and with consideration for the external reality, we will fight for social democratic international policies of the Netherlands.

*On behalf of the International Commission,*

*Nico Schrijver, Commission chair  
and member of the Senate*

## **Introduction**

In early 2011 the PvdA Party executive formed a commission chaired by Nico Schrijver (member of the Dutch Senate) to formulate a draft resolution on Dutch Foreign Policy in times of globalisation and involve anyone interested in progressive International Policy. In addition to the chairman, the commission members are Monika Sie Dhian Ho (vice-chair), Marije Laffeber (vice-chair), Jan Pronk, Jan Marinus Wiersma, Frans Bieckmann, Jan Gruiters, Rolph van der Hoeven, Bert Koenders, Marit Maij, Heleen Tromp and Frans Timmermans. Ko Colijn, Heleen de Coninck and Arie van der Hek are closely involved as advisors to the commission.

The commission has benefitted from the fruitful exchange of ideas. In June sixty young PvdA members took part in the PvdA summer school, thanks to an initiative of International Secretary Marije Laffeber and the PvdA members of European Parliament. This weekend was dedicated entirely to the exchange of progressive International Policy; the Young Socialists in de PvdA dedicated a full day seminar to in June to the future of Dutch foreign policy; in September the International Department, together with the Alfred Mozer Foundation and the Evert Vermeer Foundation organised a Foreign Policy conference attended by over 170 people and during the Africa Day in October 150 people participated in the session devoted to this theme, and various meetings were held a.o. with the members of PvdA's South North Commission, the members of the PvdA parliamentary groups in the Dutch House of Representatives, the Senate and with the PvdA delegation to the European Parliament. During October and November the International Department organised a tour with several members meetings in the country and the Wiardi Beckmann foundation hosted an online debate at its website.

## 1. The urgency of social-democratic international policy

Social Democracy traditionally is an international movement. In times of globalisation international cooperation is crucial for realizing our social democratic objectives in the Netherlands and in the world. International cooperation is necessary first of all to pursue universal values, such as peace and security, human rights, democracy and sustainability. International cooperation is necessary secondly to achieve objectives, such as livelihood, security and decent work in the Netherlands. The conditions need to be determined internationally, and the underlying problems transcend borders in most cases. International vision is therefore in our direct national interest. Globalisation and growing mutual intertwinement increasingly link interests and values. The pursuit of universal values elsewhere in the world in times of globalisation serves our enlightened self-interest as well.

International involvement of Social Democracy is more urgent than ever, given a series of trends and challenges requiring an international approach.

1. **Globalisation and the global rise of capitalism.** In recent decades markets have been liberalised and deregulated. Together with the extremely rapid, continuous IT innovation, the financial sector has become increasingly dominant in the economy. Capitalism is no longer embedded within the context of national welfare states but now thrives internationally.
2. **Scarcity of goods and redistribution.** The world population and global consumption have grown steadily in recent decades. This heavily burdens the scarce global resources, and conflicts and tensions over access to national resources and goods are rising within and between societies. Global inequality between and within countries has worsened, thereby increasing the likelihood of conflicts emerging.
3. **System failure.** A fair distribution of scarcer resources and scarce capital that benefits everyone, from all countries, all population groups, men and women and all generations requires decisions that cannot be left to the market forces. The political decision-making on this matter, however got stuck as well. This is partly caused by obstruction by economic power concentrations but also by governments lead by short-term geopolitics and economic self-interest to guide their international actions. This jeopardises stability and sustainability time and again.
4. **Geopolitical transitions and new players.** Geopolitical relations in the world have changed in recent decades. From bipolar rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union (the Cold War), via an uni-polar world order where the United States was at the vanguard, to an increasingly multi-polar world order, in which in addition to the United States and Europe several new powers are manifesting, such as China, India, Brazil, Russia, South Africa, Turkey, Indonesia and South Korea. Nation states are still in charge in the world arena. In addition, several of other players are becoming increasingly important: international organizations, multinationals, international NGOs, the media, Diaspora, international and transnational networks, as well as partnerships of citizens, cities and conurbations. The global arena is not only where states interact but is also a transnational network society.
5. **Cultural transitions.** In recent decades one vision has been ideologically dominant: the neoliberal market economy model, combined with a Western perspective on democracy, based primarily on individual freedoms. Various groups from different parts of the world have tried to force a global ideological clash between 'West' and 'Islam', in part through terrorist attacks. Western cultural dominance will continue to be challenged by the rise of new superpowers with a separate culture, such as China and India.

6. **A global spring? The Arab Spring is a promising new trend.** Undemocratic regimes started to be overthrown by their own population, starting in Tunisia in December 2010, with other Arab countries in Northern Africa and the Middle East following suit. Unfortunately, the process has been accompanied by violence and bloodshed but may give rise to more democracy and economic growth. In addition, in the Western world, in an entirely different context and of a different order, protest movements arose in 2011. The consequences of the financial and economic crises caused growing dissatisfaction among the population. These protests had in common that they involved large groups of young people with poor prospects in all these countries. New media, such as Facebook and twitter have played a prominent role in the growth and the dynamics of these movements.
7. **New technological developments.** Over the past twenty years enormous changes have taken place in communications. In large parts of the world, people now have mobile phones and computers and take part in data communication. They are now able to gather information and share it with others. These changes provide great opportunities, especially for freedom of expression and democratic organization, including breaking media and news monopolies, overcoming censorship and transcending national borders. They also open up possibilities for personal enrichment and development. Not everyone is able to benefit from these developments. A large part of the world population still lives in poverty and lacks financial means, knowledge and infrastructure to purchase telephones, computers and other data communication devices. This new communication also entails various social risks and threats. For example abuse to promote crime and terrorism, new forms of (government) censorship, economic monopolies and commercialisation. This requires new forms of international public supervision, as well as a modified security policy (in part to prevent potential 'cyber-wars' and 'cyber-crimes').
8. **International policy in domestic politics.** The domestic context of international policy has changed dramatically and has been politicised. This became clear in the referendum on the European constitutional treaty in 2005, the Dutch participation in military missions in Afghanistan and the political responses to the crisis in the Eurozone resulting from the global financial crisis. In recent years, in which a retreat behind national borders characterised the political climate in the Netherlands and in Europe, it has been difficult to convince voters of the necessity of a common international approach. The main challenge is to make clear that an international approach does not undermine national interests but in fact strengthens them. All PvdA MP's and other elected representatives have a duty to promote a common international approach and inspire and convince others of the necessity. Internationalism is not only crucial for Dutch foreign policy but is an explicit mission of the PvdA as well. International cooperation and solidarity with kindred spirits and like-minded individuals will increase opportunities for achieving our ideals. The PvdA should continue to take the vanguard in joint pursuit of our ideals.

## 2. Ten principles for a social-democratic international policy

Globalisation, the vulnerability of the international financial system to recessions, growing scarcity, sweeping technological innovation, the rise of new superpowers, the Arab Spring: during this 'apocalypse' in international politics, we rely on a series of principles in drafting social democratic International Policy. An updated version of these principles guides the policy decisions that social democratic politicians face continuously. Voters may hold the party accountable for these principles. Together, the ten principles below provide the foundations for our progressive social democratic international policy:

1. **International solidarity:** First and foremost it's the governments responsibility to enable their citizens to live in peace and dignity. International cooperation should primarily serve to strengthen the capacity of national governments to empower it's citizens and their social networks. When governments fail (deficient states) or are unwilling (authoritarian states) to act, the international community has a supplementary, secondary responsibility. Governments and citizens from more developed countries should support people in developing countries in their efforts to advance and to live in peace and security. Such international solidarity will endure, only if certain conditions are met. First, people need to believe that the international cooperation is morally justified; that others are supporting them as well; and that the policies are being implemented properly. Support for corrupt regimes, 'free riding' by other donor countries, as well as abuse of donor funds, nip international solidarity in the bud. The second condition in these times of economic recession and austerity measures is the need to maintain solidarity at the national level. Internal and external solidarity must therefore coincide.
2. **A more just Europe:** To establish a social and democratic Europe is both an intrinsic objective and a crucial instrument for Dutch Foreign Policy. The latter is a matter of scale: the Netherlands cannot change the world all by itself. A better Europe is a Europe that regulates markets, that promotes general subsistence security and wellbeing, that aims to fight inequality, and that is dedicated to making the economy greener, cleaner and more sustainable. A better Europe also means strengthening the political cooperation, which means that Europe should become far more democratic. Only such an Europe, a modern version of the Rhineland model, might offer an appealing alternative to the harsh Anglo-Saxon and Chinese models. The Rhineland model presumes that European governments take an active interest in subjects such as education, knowledge, innovation, social issues and the environment. It also presumes a willingness on the part of governments, employers and employees to work together and emphasizes medium and long-term ideas, where continuity of enterprises takes precedence over quick profits.
3. **Proper management of global commons in the collective and enlightened self-interest:** Speculation with raw materials for food, such as grain, must be stopped. Water must be available for every human being. Numerous problems and assignments transcend borders, such as ensuring functional international markets, worldwide food security and a stable climate. These global challenges are also known as 'global commons.' To adequately bring them about and manage them is both a collective interest as well as an acknowledged Dutch one. A coherent policy towards the management of these goods is necessary.
4. **Curtailing capitalism and reducing inequality:** Social Democracy should engage in renewed efforts to curtail capitalism. The neoliberal model has ultimately self-destructed. We endeavour to promote a different, more just Europe, as well as a different, more equitable globalisation. In the process, we want to fight at least four negative consequences of global financial capitalism. The first is the tremendous vulnerability of global financial capitalism to recessions. The second is ongoing exploitation and exclusion, as well as growing inequality in

the world. The third is the structural under-appreciation of important values, such as nature and living environment, quality of work and social cohesion. The final negative consequence we want to fight is the process that undermines the ability of democratic societies to choose and sustain their desired growth strategy, welfare state and social arrangements. Tremendous international mobility of financial capital increasingly forces society to converge and comply with the demands of such capital.

5. **Freedom, rule of law and democracy:** Freedom, rule of law and democracy are essential conditions for citizens to live peacefully and safely and for an orderly international society. These conditions will not materialize in the same manner everywhere. Nor will they be achieved overnight. International Policy of established democracies, such as the Netherlands, should nonetheless be dedicated to promoting freedom, rule of law and democracy. In the long run, states with free and democratic rule of law will promote international peace and security. Democratic cooperation in Europe with continuous consideration for the position of citizens remains essential for maintaining stability on this continent and the European community of values. In addition, running international organizations requires support, transparency and democracy. The United Nations must be reformed. The Security Council should become more democratic, with greater resonance from Africa, Asia, and Latin America and on behalf of the EU. The UN, in addition to being a system of cooperation between states, is perfectly suited to protect the general interest and should be better equipped to serve in this capacity.
6. **Respect for human rights:** Social Democrats relentlessly pursue equal opportunities and equal treatment for all, regardless of gender, sexual orientation, age, background or belief. Respect for human rights is an intrinsic value. This is also apparent from the adoption of the new principle of 'responsibility to protect' (the responsibility to protect citizens) that underlies the international intervention in Libya and Côte d'Ivoire in 2011. Human rights are in jeopardy, even in Western societies. Basic freedoms and social civil rights are inextricably linked and need to be respected universally. Terrorism is a serious violation of fundamental human rights and should be eliminated but in all cases with due consideration for human rights. The foreign policy of the European Union concerning children is much inspired by The Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Netherlands should fully support the EU in the following priorities: stop violence against children, the role of children in armed conflicts, sex tourism, involving children.
7. **Mutual respect and dialogue.** International cooperation is based on mutual respect and dialogue. Western nations may not impose their values as economic and military superpowers on non-Western nations. After all, we would not want emerging powers such as China to do so either in the multi-polar world of the future. International contacts between citizens and their organisations promote mutual understanding and may bring the great world religions closer together as well. The main challenge is to be receptive to other cultures and different influences, while preserving and propagating constructive European values. In our own country, Social Democracy should shape the debate about our foreign policy and associated dilemmas.

8. **Shared security – domestic and international:** Internal and external security are intertwined. The different problems relating to peace and security are highly cohesive. State security and human security are therefore inextricably linked. Of course, peace and security relate primarily to (the danger of) armed conflicts between and within states, as well as to ways of perpetuating peace through more equitable distribution of available wealth and political participation, poverty eradication and sustainable development, respect for human rights, establishment and maintenance of rule of law and good governance. This broad approach to security is the joint responsibility of nation states, international organisations, non-governmental and social movements, the private sector and individual citizens. In addition, the Netherlands should continue an active role in fighting transnational crime. This entails amongst others the detection and prosecution of drug trafficking and human trafficking.
9. **Sustainability:** Sustainable development means that the capacity of the earth and its natural resources, as well as the right of current and future generations to live with dignity, should be pivotal in policy, both in the Netherlands and internationally. Social Democracy should be dedicated to furthering not only the physical and immaterial wellbeing of the present generation but also that of future generations. This means elaborating alternative climate, environmental, energy and ultimately economic policies as well. Such policies may not be based on exploitation of nature and environment. Sustainable economic policy in particular should come about in a European and global context.
10. **A just international order and willingness to engage in international interventions:** The foundations of the international legal order should be safeguarded at all levels, including by responsible national governments, by dynamic regional organizations, by a drastically reformed and more effective United Nations, as well as by citizens, while preserving their national and cultural identity. Civil society, international corporate industry and non-governmental organizations are indispensable for achieving and implementing agreements about peace and security, human rights protection and sustainable development. In addition to contributing ideas and taking initiatives to strengthen the international legal order, our country should also be willing – subject to firm conditions – to participate in international peace missions and peace-building, rehabilitation and state formation operations, together with other European countries if possible. The Netherlands also has an enlightened self-interest in effective international intervention, because (potential) threats to peace and security elsewhere could easily affect domestic security in our society. As a maritime nation the Netherlands shares the responsibility for safe passageways and in fighting piracy. Therefore the Dutch government should monitor the way in which security should be provided to Dutch merchants. A sustainable society means focussing on innovation, social and technological. Cooperation between parties traditionally opposed to each other is crucial in face of global challenges. Water and raw materials, the conservation of ecosystems, cultural and social demographic challenges, such as urbanisation and population structures, are the sustainability challenges of the future. Small and medium sized enterprises and the growing middle-class, in the Netherlands and abroad, are an important initiator and motor of development and innovation.



### **3. Social democratic choices in burning international issues**

Driven by our principles, we have made the following strategic decisions with respect to the trends and urgent challenges described above:

#### **3.1 European cooperation and integration**

The PvdA is a strong advocate of European cooperation and integration and continuously promotes a better Europe, without social and/or democratic shortcomings. In addition to being an objective in its own right, a better and stronger Europe is an important instrument for Dutch foreign policy. Both to secure social-democratic objectives in the Netherlands and to realize our values elsewhere in the world, the European Union is a crucial structuring instrument. The EU should obtain the permanent membership of the the UN security council. By the impact of international solidarity, a just Europe ensures the lift of import restrictions for developing countries and the abolition of export subsidies.

European action is necessary to regulate global financial capitalism and to channel economic growth along a sustainable course. For example, the PvdA wants to eliminate cross-border and harmful tax competition through European coordination and common policy. With due consideration for the principle that member states should levy and collect taxes themselves wherever possible, European agreements need to be reached regarding the use of taxation to promote sustainability, for example through an eco-tax. European coordination is urgently needed to introduce a bank tax and a financial transaction tax at centrally standardized rates. Within the EU it should be made impossible for enterprises as well as for individuals to evade tax by letterbox companies and other constructions.

The shifting balance of power in the world and the rise of new superpowers have sweeping consequences. Given the increasing preponderance of China and the lasting importance of the United States, Europe in particular is in danger of losing influence, especially as long as the European Union is unable to adopt a common stand on important international issues. In this context, the basic principle of Dutch foreign policy is: to give priority to EU action where joint action is more effective, and authoritative policy is pursued, providing for additional action by member states and individual initiative, where EU policy is lacking, or where such a role is self-evident. The principle of intergovernmental cooperation (including veto clauses) that applies to joint foreign policy often leads to indecision. The PvdA therefore advocates two reforms:

- As a rule, adopting positions and engaging in foreign actions require majority approval, except for decisions regarding contributions to military interventions and peace operations.
- The European Commission (European External Action Service) shall be given greater latitude in implementation.

Additional transfer of competence to the EU is possible to create the Union that we envisage. The subsidiarity principle shall apply: decisions should be taken as close to the people as possible. Only matters that cannot be addressed as well (or better) nationally, regionally or locally shall be dealt with at European level.

The political process in the European Union still lacks democracy. It's important to strengthen the democratic legitimacy of the EU, amongst others by strengthening the role of the European Parliament.

The PvdA chooses to maintain the Euro as a stable currency and necessary complement for the internal market. A stable Euro requires that countries in the Eurozone approach one another economically and financially, assuming that government financing is tenable, and that modern,

sustainable economies are established. Within the European framework, we should make an immense effort to this end, to ensure that all member states are able to continue participating fully in the integration. Financial solidarity with Euro countries with large financial and economic problems that are trying to overcome their financial and economic problems will eventually serve the Dutch interests. Only if at the end of this tremendous effort member states prove to be unsuccessful, will a form of differentiated integration become inevitable. The PvdA favours refining the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) and strengthening the supervisory role of the European Commission. The introduction of Eurobonds and a stronger role for the ECB are no taboo for the PvdA. Within the framework and terms of the SGP, member states determine their own budgetary policy. Tougher action against corruption is needed. The PvdA opposes an unilateral, supply-oriented approach to economic supervision. Member States wishing to qualify for ESFS support must have their budgets under control. In this respect both necessary austerity measures as well as tax levels will be assessed and compared with the European average. Again, member states should accommodate individual policy reflecting their national situation and priorities. The PvdA supports a European Social Pact, including a procedure for a disproportionate social deficit. This will set minimum standards to prevent states from using their social policy in a competition to attract capital, instigating a 'race to the bottom'. Additional elaboration of social systems will remain a national responsibility. The European EU 2020 strategy which proposes action in the form of national reform programmes (European Semester), a modern EU budget, as well after 2013, and secondary European programmes promoting economic growth and job creation could help to soften the negative effects of necessary national austerity and structural adjustment programmes. In addition the PvdA favours and extensive role of the European Central Bank. The ECB should not only have anti-inflation as a goal, but should also promote employment and the real economy.

Supporting democratic processes in Arab nations towards rule of law is an EU priority. The position of young adults and women requires special attention in this respect. Women in particular are in danger of benefiting the least from the Arab spring.

The Netherlands and the EU respect the commitments made to the candidate member states in Southeast Europe and Turkey. In the event of accession to the EU, candidates are required to meet all conditions and must prove that they are in a position to comply with all EU regulations. The EU needs to be ready for new accessions as well (absorption capacity). The countries to the east of the EU are being offered opportunities for closer cooperation.

Eliminating scarcity and inequality is a primary task of the EU. Coordinating emergency relief is to become far more of a joint European effort in the future. This also applies to development cooperation: agreements reached many years ago regarding the distribution of responsibilities between member states and specialisation may ensure that development funds are spent more efficiently, and that bilateral and European development policies are complementary and mutually reinforcing. The PvdA will continue to support private initiatives by local groups in the field of development cooperation in order to increase public support. Policy coherence for development should be emphasized in the European Union as well. European Trade and Agriculture policies should not hinder European Development goals. The EU should work closely with developing countries in extracting, reusing, saving and replacing finite raw materials. European trade agreements should respect the ILO conventions, such as those against child labour, forced labour, exploitation of women and freedom to form trade unions.

JHA co-operation within the EU (Justice, Home Affairs) needs to be strengthened in the areas of fighting crime and human trafficking. Common European migration and asylum policy should set minimum standards for protecting refugees in Europe. The Netherlands should continue determining the conditions for allowing economic migrants to settle in the Netherlands for extended periods.

### 3.2 Subsistence security, good employment and migration

The Netherlands should join forces with like-minded countries all over the world to promote a different, more just globalisation, with greater economic stability, mitigation of inequality, respect for important values such as quality of employment and sustainability and democratic governance.

To focus on employment and to return to a situation where the financial sector serves the economy requires a concerted international effort. We aim to set up a framework for productive and non-polluting investments, financial systems conducive to economic growth, healthy and equitable job markets with improved prospects for youth. A European social pact should be drafted and pursued in close cooperation with European social partners. The PvdA favours a separation of retail and commercial banks.

The PvdA fights to bring about adequate international regulation of capital and financial markets. Regulating these markets is important to make the international financial system less vulnerable to the recession and to promote subsistence security among the population. Such regulation should entail that:

- ordinary or retail banks (payment transactions, savings and loans) are to be distinguished from commercial banks (speculating), rendering the latter ineligible for government guarantees;
- countries with an open economy such as the Netherlands, with a very large financial sector, should follow the example of Switzerland and the United Kingdom and impose a capital requirement of at least fifteen percent on banks;
- the banking industry should contribute to public funds via a bank tax. In addition, a financial transaction tax (FTT) should be applied. Every time a financial product is bought or sold, a very small proportion of its price will be collected as tax;
- high bonuses in the financial sector should be curtailed in order to get rid of the perverse incentives. The code of the Dutch Banking Association should be tightened and translated into law;
- high-risk financial products are to be discouraged or prohibited. We should strive for a European mechanism in order to recapitalize banks;
- to thoroughly regulate the shadow banking system, a more stringent monitoring system for Hedge Funds and to demand the implementation of higher standards of Private-Equity Funds with respect to equity capital and the maximum leverage ratio.
- to strive for a true European supervision for banks that are operating Europe wide and universal banks, coupled with proper monitoring and tools to intervene.
- Financial holdings to evade tax should not be supported
- Institutions with a public function such as governments and pension funds are considered only to invest in financial products that benefit the real economy. In order to stop the lingering currency crisis in the Eurozone, irreversible and intrusive measures are needed:
  - transfer of national responsibilities of banking supervision;
  - cautious fiscal policy;
  - the establishment of a European “lender of last resort”;
  - adequate budget for banks and states in the Eurozone of the EU.

A better balance between labour market needs to be synchronized with the supply of migrants and the absorption capacity of Dutch society. The Dutch and European job markets need to be structured

better to regulate and legalize matching supply with demand. Preventing and eliminating negative consequences of labour migration will necessitate additional policy on housing and integration, especially in the major cities. The Netherlands shall operate in conjunction with the EU to reach viable agreements (e.g. migration partnerships) with countries of origin. These agreements shall extend beyond reinforcing borders and encouraging illegal aliens to return to their native countries. They shall serve the needs on the Dutch and European labour markets and shall accommodate supply in the countries of origin. Regulated migration will reduce exploitation of illegal and other migrants – although additional policy to prevent exploitation shall remain necessary. The circumstances of illegal migrants in origin, transit and destination countries are often disgraceful. Trafficking in people is an integral part of international crime and places illegal migrants in very vulnerable situations. The Netherlands is trying to improve the position of those who are the most vulnerable, especially that of women and children, who are in serious danger of exploitation, once they become illegal aliens. It's a priority to make use of the capacities of people who are registered as job seekers in the Netherlands first. Through legislation companies and employment agencies hiring foreign workers will be made responsible for equal employment conditions, housing, integration, training and for the assistance with the return to countries of origin.

The Netherlands should continue to provide generous protection to refugees in need. The Netherlands abides by the minimum standards of the Convention on Refugees, which require a well-founded fear of being persecuted in their countries of origin for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political conviction or sexual preference. In addition, the PvdA advocates a humane asylum policy, reflecting consideration for circumstances in the country of origin (civil war) and personal traumas or the family situation of the asylum seeker in question. The Netherlands strongly defends the Convention on the Rights of the Child and acts accordingly.

### **3.3 Peace and security**

Dutch peace and security policy should promote an international legal order ensuring that all those living in the Netherlands, Europe and elsewhere can live with dignity. The growing number of courts and tribunals based in The Hague provides the Netherlands with an opportunity and a duty to act as a pioneer in the extended pursuit of a global legal order. This means continuously emphasizing compliance with international law, preventing impunity and doing away with double standards. It also means consistently supporting the International Criminal Court and the obligation of states all over the world to arrest and extradite suspects of the Criminal Court.

Foreign policy should accommodate cooperation with groups arising from international civil society. As holds true for national regimes, these groups need to be reviewed to ensure that they are representative, democratic and credible. The purpose of this cooperation is primarily to give an indirect say to people who in other countries pertain to the underclass and are oppressed or excluded.

In the decades ahead Dutch peace and security policy will increasingly address conflicts outside or on the periphery of Europe. The first objective will be to seek political solutions to conflicts, including military support as needed. Emphasis on state security is to be complemented by human security. The Netherlands will also use her mediation skills and knowledge of solving conflicts in an international context. In order to settle conflicts around water, fertile land and natural resources in a positive way and thus becomes a frontrunner in environmental diplomacy.

International peace missions to countries in conflict should highlight a renewed 3D approach ('defence, diplomacy and development'): such an approach is guided by political and development considerations rather than by military ones, and the interests of local citizens and communities are decisive, not those of the states sending troops. Deployment of armed forces should serve primarily

to protect civilians and to fight terrorism wherever necessary and possible. Dutch involvement merits consideration only with a mandate under international law, and use of military force figures within a carefully considered and realistic long-term strategy dedicated to political resolution of the deep-seated causes of the conflict concerned. An exit-strategy should be determined beforehand, unless there are important considerations. For example when the actions are aimed at stopping serious human rights violations, it's difficult to determine a clear exit strategy. Affluence and political power need to be distributed more broadly, in part by involving social organizations in peace negotiations or rehabilitation activities. Dutch diplomacy should be trained to mediate and promote peace. Diplomats should focus mainly on the political efforts necessary to promote peace and human rights.

The Netherlands should concentrate on several regions in the world, where massive conflicts prevent living with dignity. The regional focus is important, because many conflicts can be understood and thus solved only when considered in such a regional context. Efforts should be dedicated primarily to eliminating embedded causes of the conflicts in fragile states (e.g. Sudan, Chad and Burundi). This entails long-term involvement, focus, a regional approach and co-operation with several like-minded countries. Only then can the Netherlands play a meaningful role.

The Netherlands should invest its energies in areas where experience has been acquired in recent decades. In Africa these include the Great Lakes area, the Horn of Africa and Sudan. Substantial efforts have been made in Afghanistan as well, but unless the present counter insurgency system of the Western alliance is fundamentally revised, the Netherlands should leave Afghanistan. The new focus regions should be North Africa and the Middle East. In 2011 promising changes occurred here, but serious risks remain. In the European context, the Netherlands should advocate an ambitious 'good neighbour policy' with respect to these countries, including preferential economic terms for these countries, assistance in establishing rule of law and enabling participation by and involving the main population groups from those countries in Europe.

Human rights are a priority for the PvdA. The Netherlands should decline to support or tolerate authoritarian regimes existing on the pretext that they promote stability in the region. Nor should the Netherlands sell army surplus materials to such regimes and corrupt governments. In addition, the Netherlands should of course consistently be cautious about and reluctant to export arms to these countries. If mediation is fruitless, the Netherlands needs to organize campaigns (boycotts, sanctions) in conjunction with other countries and to pressure the authoritarian regimes concerned, as well as the countries, organizations and large corporations that support such governments. This is especially true when serious and widespread human rights violations are occurring, such as in Syria in 2011. The Netherlands should urge greater transparency and regulation of financial flows to and from authoritarian regimes, including money from multinationals and banks.

The Netherlands should continue the efforts to achieve extensive nuclear arms control within a foreseeable time frame and should contribute to free the world of weapons of mass destruction. In addition, the Netherlands should act as a driving force with several like-minded countries and non-governmental organisations in bringing about a prohibition of inhumane arms used indiscriminately on civilians and soldiers alike and should insist on rigid compliance with the international Arms Trade Treaty that is nearing completion and is supposed to end illegal arms trade.

The Netherlands should opt for a dynamic defence system with armed forces offering specialised protective services in the context of international peace missions with an adequate mandate under international law. As a medium-sized country, the Netherlands should have and claim a major role in NATO and the European defence partnership and should propagate a renewed 3D approach within this forum. Subject to the above conditions, the Netherlands is willing to deploy army personnel and equipment on military missions. Revised review criteria for military missions should guarantee sensible and specific objectives, coherence between objective, approach and means and realistic

substantiation of the chances of achieving the objective and consideration for protecting civilians in armed conflicts. The PvdA believes that spending on defence and military missions should not be financed from the development cooperation budget. Solving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is immensely important for the entire world community.

The PvdA favours a two-state solution. We support an independent, viable Palestinian state alongside Israel. This is the best guarantee for peace, security and prosperity, the coexistence of Israelis and Palestinians alongside one another and the continued existence of Israel. As the strongest party, Israel has a special responsibility to curtail the use of violence and to take the initiative to move the peace process forward. The Netherlands and the EU should make better use of their good relations with Israel and the Palestinian Authority to support the peace process. All too often, initiatives from the United States are awaited. A separate European line rarely is adopted, even though the EU by far is the biggest donor of financial assistance to the Palestinian Authority. A constructive European contribution is possible only if the EU is generally unanimous. In recent years, the Netherlands has become increasingly isolated from Europe on this issue and often appears to manifest as the sole defender of Israeli interests. This has proven ineffective.

The PvdA envisages the following steps to achieve peace:

- Coexistence of Israel and Palestine as two independent viable states, based on the Security Council resolutions about the two-state solution respecting the pre-1967 borders, with Jerusalem as a shared capital.
- Recognition of Palestine as a state and as a member state within the United Nations in the future, with Palestine simultaneously recognizing Israel's right to exist
- The immediate and total lifting of the Israeli blockade of Gaza
- The immediate and unconditional cessation of all Israeli settlement construction activities on the West Bank and in East Jerusalem. An unconditional halt of all rockets fired from the Gaza strip into Israel.
- Human rights, humanitarian rights and international law, including the verdicts of the International Court of Justice in The Hague, are paramount and must be respected by all parties and must be enforced internationally.
- Start peace negotiations immediately, based on the principles of the Oslo accords and relevant UN resolutions.
- The Palestinian Hamas and Fatah groups should reconcile. Peace in the region is impossible without consensus.

### **3.4 Human rights and democracy**

The PvdA firmly supports human rights. Human rights are universal and indivisible: they apply everywhere in the world, to all citizens; classical civil rights (citizens' and political rights) and social civil rights (economic, social and cultural rights) are inextricably linked. Human rights need first of all to be respected nationally: investing in the rule of law is important to guarantee this outcome.

International standards of supervision and international courts need to be reinforced and improved as well. Globally, a single, comprehensive human rights committee should be established and in the long run a World Court of Human Rights, complementing the main regional human rights courts.

The PvdA is committed to equal rights and opportunities for men and women. Promoting respect for the rights of women is crucial in this pursuit. A new UN women's conference should be convened to chart a new course toward worldwide gender equality, economic advancement for women, the reduction of maternal deaths and prevention of religious oppression.

The PvdA aims to have human rights embedded in all areas of international policy: European policy, classical foreign policy, development cooperation and international economic policy. In addition to the stick (negative measures, sanctions), the carrot (encouraging measures, additional aid and preferential trading conditions) needs to be used more frequently.

We cherish the pursuit of democracy. In all countries, the drive to achieve democracy must come from within and may be propelled by external support. A functional rule of law with the necessary checks and balances is essential for democratic transformation to succeed. At the heart of this is an independent judiciary capable of intervening against human rights violations, corruption and serious crime. Everybody should be able to participate in democracy. Democracy coincides with rule of law and should, according to the PvdA, be promoted together. Democracy is sustained by politicians and citizens alike. Civil society (including independent press) is pivotal in this process and is to be actively supported. A democratic nation such as the Netherlands should place promoting democracy high on the agenda. This means taking a critical stand on undemocratic regimes, supporting democratic movements and investing in democratic transformations. Democratic commitment should not be made subordinate to economic interests – with which it is in fact perfectly compatible – or stability requirements.

Democratic revolutions mark the start of a process that in addition to offering opportunities for democracy and development entails risks. Two risks loom in the Arab nations: political reinstatement of the old potentates (who personify a lack of democracy) and the use of elections to establish a fundamentalist Islamic state. The PvdA therefore considers it essential to support those who have brought about the transformation, to invest in the rule of law and in openness and transparency and to further economic growth.

Propagating democratic principles and promoting democracy starts at home. The quality of our own democracy helps determine the influence we may have elsewhere. We cannot expect from others what we fail to accomplish and therefore need to take a critical look at ourselves. But we must also be attentive to others, when they identify social problems in Europe or take issue with the democratic deficiencies of the European Union. Countries aiming to become and remain members of the EU are required to meet high democratic standards. A functional rule of law is an essential element and needs to be applied and monitored.

Democracy may manifest in various forms, such as presidential or parliamentary. The PvdA believes that a functional multi-party system offers the best guarantee for a sustainable democracy that expresses the different interests of the citizens. This requires investing in the substantive quality of parties, as well as in their internal functioning and how they represent voters. The transfer of knowledge and experience are priority in this effort.

### **3.5 Global commons**

The oceans and their populations of fish, sunlight, the ozone layer, the climate system, biological diversity of plant and wildlife, the polar areas, worldwide peace and security, a stable international legal order and world food security are global commons that need to be managed with care. Companies and banks are encouraged to take their responsibility and to contribute in a positive and reinforcing way in order to maintain public goods.

This requires sophisticated international management systems, as presently take place imperfectly in selected fields (ozone layer, whales, climate, Antarctica). In addition to national governments and international organizations, several other agents need to work together nationally, in Europe and worldwide to bring about cross-border solutions. Such arrangements may vary in each field,

depending on the context, conditions, needs and their importance to countries or other agents. Converging to form a cohesive system is what matters here.

Within and via Europe, the Netherlands should pioneer worldwide management of global commons. Rather competing with other parts of the world – now primarily the struggle against the purported economic threat from Asia – we need to seek out shared interests (common ground) to address the cross-border problems that face the world.

Multilateral organization, including the international financial institutions, need to be representative of the changed global balance of power. This means not only that new states will speak up about important issues, but also means that other important actors and networks will be given a say – as well as a responsibility.

New international financing mechanisms need to be devised to accommodate the specific nature of this type of cross-border issues. In the future, all Ministries will also need to allocate funding toward the global commons. In addition all Ministries must conduct a coherent policy agenda, so that the global commons can contribute to the development of people in the world.

### **3.6 Development cooperation**

The Netherlands should once again initiate development policy adjustments to reflect new global relations, new agents and severe global crises. The PvdA believes that a fundamental change in development cooperation policy is needed. The pursuit of coherent development cooperation policy must therefore play an important role. Such policy protects the interests of poor people and social outcasts in an increasingly interwoven world system, within a broader quest for a different, more equitable globalisation. The financial crisis should not be shifted to developing countries. Development also focuses on strengthening of equality of states and parties. By creating conditions for global prosperity and welfare and with the aim to cooperate with less developed countries, regions and parties. The Netherlands is engaged in strengthening the role of the middle class and small and medium-sized entrepreneurs, who play an important role in increasing the level of prosperity and welfare in society.

This change was initiated under the previous government administration, by focussing on a policy of economic growth dedicated to reducing inequality ('growth and equity'), while creating jobs, a greater engagement in fragile states, a more profound focus on human development and the role of women and children; a more specific policy implementation to manage global commons (e.g. concerning sustainable development). The PvdA believes that the Dutch contribution to development aid should be at least 0,8% of gross domestic product (GDP).

New development cooperation policy should serve first of all to eliminate embedded obstacles to more equitable development and emancipation of poor people and social outcasts, who are largely young adults and women. The agenda for 'coherent development policy' requires additional elaboration. The PvdA believes that other areas of foreign policy (like climate, migration, energy and raw materials, peace and security, international crime prevention, arms trade and drug trafficking and human trafficking) should defend more explicitly the interests of the very poorest in the world. EU trade regulations must prevent the distortion of domestic markets, the depletion of agricultural land, water sources and raw materials in developing countries caused by dumping of western products.

The unilateral emphasis on market liberalisation and deregulation, which has permeated development policy for decades, needs to make way for greater individual 'policy freedom' for developing countries. Additional opportunities should be provided for these countries to protect and



encourage local industries if needed and to pursue a growth policy with far more consideration for reducing inequality. Economic growth remains the standard for prosperity. The PvdA believes that instead of taking solely GDP growth into account, promoting 'human wellbeing,' employment, greater equality and pursuit of positive change should become the central focus. This means supporting constructive social processes, sometimes through like-minded governments, preferably in regions where working with local governments is possible, often indirectly as well as by supporting democratisation, social movements or (small-scale) economic activities.

Reducing inequality is economically important as well. Greater purchasing power within the lower social echelons will promote small businesses and may activate new internal economic dynamics in many developing countries. Finally, reducing inequality may give rise to a larger middle class, which will often pressure authoritarian regimes, thereby promoting democracy and rule of law.

Innovated development cooperation policy should target collective interests and objectives, such as: drastically reforming the neoliberal economic model that increases global inequality to bring about a more social model that reduces inequality; embedding encouragement of respect for human rights and democratization throughout development cooperation policy; adopting more rigid policy on tax evasion by multinationals; pursuing a global, carefully considered food and agriculture strategy that is conducive to fairer trade, prevents speculation, encourages production by small and medium-sized businesses all over the world and thus ultimately helps ensure an adequate food supply for the entire world population.

Social movements, international corporate industry and non-governmental organisations are indispensable to achieve and implement agreements on sustainable development.

### **3.7 Energy, climate and sustainability**

Never before has society been more dependent on energy as it is today. The bulk of this energy comes from fossil fuels. The widespread use of these scarce resources leads to more problems: geopolitical clashes, dependency on dubious regimes, environmental pollution and climate change with unprecedented consequences. Furthermore in the near future an oil price explosion is expected. The use of fossil fuels and of oil in particular, must be greatly reduced as soon as possible.

Climate change is a global problem and will need to be addressed through collective action all over the world. The causes and effects of climate change, however, are not evenly distributed among the world population and between countries. Climate change is often directly associated with energy and especially fossil fuels, which continue to account for over 80 percent of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, especially coal and oil, as well as gas to a lesser extent. Dealing with climate change will require extensive cooperation between countries in a field – energy policy – that has traditionally been driven by national rather than by collective interests. Here, Europe should serve as a role model by encouraging use of sustainable energy. The Netherlands and the European should play a pioneering role in promoting sustainable energy.

The events in Fukushima (Japan) have (one again) shown that nuclear energy through fission of uranium entails socially unacceptable risks and are no adequate alternative to fossil energy sources.

The Netherlands presently relies on imports to supply about 22 percent of its energy needs (2009). This is relatively low, thanks to the natural gas that is used in part to generate electricity and to power industry and heating here and is also exported. This natural gas, however, is gradually being depleted and is expected to decrease after 2030, making a sustainable energy supply an urgent issue that is best addressed in a European context. Fiscal policy, including a tax on raw materials, and emissions trade, may be very important in these considerations.

In the long run, the Netherlands will pay a high price, if climate change is not averted. The Netherlands is vulnerable in this respect and would benefit greatly from an effective international climate treaty. The Kyoto Protocol has been insufficiently effective, because it was implemented late - in 2005 - and sets modest objectives. Still, much has been accomplished in terms of compulsory disclosures, cooperation with Eastern Europe and developing countries, emissions trade and public awareness. The successes must be followed up in negotiating a more ambitious second reduction period under the Kyoto treaty. At the same time we must strive forcefully for a post-Kyoto treaty. This should be based on the following principles:

- The Netherlands and Europe should continue to serve as role models for effective policy dedicated to emissions reduction and application of climate-friendly technology;
- Negotiate a second stage of the Kyoto that sets ambitious targets;
- New obligations for developing countries that do not take on binding obligations under the Kyoto Protocol.
- New obligations for developing countries with significant emissions, whereby the necessary financial and technological assistance will be provided in order to make a transformation to sustainable development possible for all countries;
- Following the example of amongst others the ozone regime agreed sanctions should be applied effectively against 'free riders';
- Eliminate shortcomings that became apparent during the experimental Kyoto I stage, such as by creating a broader foundation than simply reducing CO<sub>2</sub> and setting more ambitious targets;
- develop a programme to help countries deal with the inevitable negative consequences of ongoing climate change;
- access to water and raw materials, the conservation of ecosystems, cultural and social demographic challenges, like urbanisation, population structures, are the challenges of the future.

Small and medium sized enterprises and the growing middle-class, in the Netherlands and abroad, are an important initiator and motor of development and innovation. Cooperation between political parties of different signature, business and civil society, is crucial to face the global sustainability challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Only then a contribution to the promotion of global sustainability and the quality of life can be made.