

Centrumdemocraten

Janmaat – right or wrong!

At ten o'clock in the morning of 7 November 1984 four people walked into a notary office in The Hague. Eleven minutes later they left again, having created the *Centrumdemocraten* (Centre Democrats, CD). Three of the founders were former (low-key) members of the CP. The same evening the party gained two more members, yet it would take four weeks before the seventh member, Hans Janmaat, would join the party. On 5 December 1984 Janmaat announced his new affiliation to the chairman of the Second Chamber. Because of legal technicalities Janmaat remained officially an independent MP.

From the moment Janmaat joined, the CD was identified as *his* party. Most journalists and scholars even (incorrectly) mention him as the founder of the CD. But even though the new party received extensive media coverage during its first years, mainly as a consequence of Janmaat's reputation, its membership remained well below 100. The party contested its first election in May 1986, trying to defend Janmaat's seat in the Second Chamber. It used the name *Lijst Janmaat/Centrumdemocraten* to profit from Janmaat's profile, which was far higher than that of the virtually unknown CD. However, the 1.5 million pamphlets that the party had claimed to have distributed prior to the election could not undo the damage of the years of internal fights in the 'centre movement'. The CD gained a disappointing 0.1 per cent of the votes, partly as a result of the competition with the old CP, which gained 0.4 per cent. It appeared that the CD was to finish like most new parties, particularly splinters of (small) parties, in political oblivion. This expectation was strengthened by the results at the provincial election the next year, where the CD unsuccessfully stood candidates in the three provinces of the Randstad, i.e. North and South Holland and Utrecht.

During this time the CD had received large media attention on two occasions. The first and most widely covered story was an 'anti-fascist' attack on a hotel in Kedichem, in which members of the CP and CD had convened, in March 1986. Within extreme left circles it was believed that they were plan-

ning a fusion of the two parties. Some anti-fascists thought that this should be stopped by all means necessary, including fire bombing the hotel. In the consequent panic CD party secretary Schuurman lost one of her legs after jumping out of a window of the burning hotel. The second occasion was Janmaat's attempt to win reinstatement as a teacher at his old school. The school did not want to take him back for fear of his reputation as a racist (as some students and parents had protested). Janmaat claimed his right to return to his old job after having served as MP, a claim supported by the Dutch court. However, the court also acknowledged the school's claim that the relations between Janmaat and the school had become unworkable, and Janmaat was bought off. As nothing else remained for him, he returned to politics.

The 1989 parliamentary election was well prepared by the CD, which again contested the election under the official name of *Lijst Janmaat/Centrumdemocraten*, also because the CD was often confused with the CP. As the party stood candidates in all nineteen voting districts of the country, it won the right to state supported television and radio time. Opponents of the party had tried to contest the legality of the signature lists, which is required of all parties that are not represented in the old Parliament in order to contest elections within a voting district. The 'anti-racists' were not successful, however, as the CD had been able to provide all signatures by genuine party supporters (see DNPP 1990). Although the CD at that time counted a mere 300 members, it was able to distribute thousands of pamphlets and gain a lot of media attention. Eventually the party got what it had worked for, Janmaat's return to the Second Chamber (with 0.9 per cent of the votes).

In the local election of 1990 the CD continued its success, securing eleven seats in eight (big) cities in the Randstad (see Husbands 1992). These were also the strongholds of the provincial election the next year, when the CD gained three seats (in North and South Holland as well as Utrecht). The electoral success also led to a short-lived impulse to develop the organisational side of the party. At the party conference of December 1991, party secretary Wil Schuurman claimed a weekly increase of 100 members in the last months of the year. Even though this will have been an exaggeration, the CD no doubt underwent one of its biggest gains in membership and probably counted some 2,000 (paying) members at the end of 1991. Still, the number of active members remained small, a mere 100 at best, and constituted almost exclusively by party representatives at the various levels. This was also why the party was only 'visible' at the level of representative bodies, although some party delegates were reported to be frequently absent from council debates (see Van Riel and Van Holsteyn 1998).

The super election year of 1994 was approached with much optimism by the CD. Opinion polls had predicted large gains throughout 1993 (see Mudde and Van Holsteyn 1994; Van Holsteyn 1995) and within the party this had led to wild speculations. The first test was the local election in

March, which substantiated the optimism. The CD had put forward candidates in only forty-three (of over six hundred) municipalities and gained seventy-seven seats (an increase of sixty-six). In almost every city where the CD had participated, it had gained representation. Both within and outside of the party it was expected that the CD would gain more than five seats in the parliamentary election of May. Some people, among them Janmaat, even predicted that the party could get as many as ten seats.

This optimism was harshly tempered by the many scandals in which the CD then became involved. Directly after the local election the party became the victim of its bad organisation and lack of active members. Several local seats were either not filled by the party, as those elected did not take up their seats, or were taken by people who left the party soon afterwards. Some of these joined or founded another party, others kept their seats as independent council members, and yet others left politics altogether (see Van Holsteyn 1995). The party had also been infiltrated by no less than three undercover journalists, who in their publications portrayed the CD as 'a party of fascists, criminals and scum' (Rensen 1994a; also Kooiman 1994; Van Hout 1994). Particular emphasis was put on members that were known for their (former) neo-Nazi links, such as the council member in Purmerend, Richard van der Plas. The biggest impact was caused by the television program *Deadline*, in which a newly elected Amsterdam council member (Yge Graman) was filmed by a hidden camera bragging about having started several fires in centres providing services for foreigners in the early 1980s. The program was broadcast the weekend before the parliamentary election and led to a public outcry (and later conviction of Graman).

The CD gained only 2.5 per cent of the votes, securing three seats in the Second Chamber. Even though this meant an increase of 1.6 per cent (and two seats), it was well below what was feared by opponents and hoped for by party members, especially given the fact that the election had been one of the most dramatic of the century, with a record number of seats changing hands (Irwin 1995). Moreover, in almost all municipalities where the CD had submitted candidates in March, it received only half the number of votes in May. Nonetheless, even these relatively poor results dismayed some commentators and politicians. Wim Kok, leader of the social democratic *Partij van de Arbeid* (Labour Party, PvdA) and premier-to-be, spoke of 'a black day in Dutch history' (Mudde and Van Holsteyn 1994: 132). Most disappointed, however, was Janmaat himself, who blamed the result on the anti-CD campaign in the media, which was (as usual) claimed to be part of a larger conspiracy against the party (directed by the BVD and PvdA).

One day after the parliamentary election, Janmaat, Schuurman and the CD were convicted to a series of fines, ranging from 1,000 to 10,000 Dutch guilders, for incitement to racial hatred (IJA 1994). Although the amount of negative publicity decreased sharply after the election, defections of local council members of the CD remained the order of the day until the Euro-

pean election of June. In that election the CD saw its support fall to a mere 1.0 per cent (against 0.8 per cent in 1989), which was well below the required result to obtain a seat. Because of the record low turnout (35.6 per cent), this meant that only 43,300 people had voted CD, against some 250,000 in May. This time the CD lost in all corners of the country, even in the newly conquered territories of the Southwest.

The rest of the year it remained relatively silent around the party, though reports on scandals with (former) members and on the exodus of local council members kept appearing from time to time. At the end of 1994 the CD acknowledged that 'twenty odd' of its seventy-seven elected council members had left the party.¹ This notwithstanding, the party mentioned that its tenth anniversary had been celebrated in good spirits. The electoral losses were taking their toll on the party though, as members left or looked for cooperation with other extreme right parties (Lucardie 1998). As always, Janmaat remained sceptical towards any initiative outside of his control. In May 1996, for example, he expelled four members of Rotterdam city and district councils for being too closely linked to the local branch of the CP'86 (JPR 1997). Eventually, however, Janmaat gave in and even agreed to co-organise several demonstrations with the CP'86; the most notable were in April 1996 in Zwolle, where some 130 people demonstrated against multiculturalism, and the remembrance of the 'Battle of Kedichem' by some eighty people one month earlier (see JPR 1997). This increased activity led not only to a wave of publicity, but also twice to Janmaat's arrest and later conviction for discrimination and 'inciting racial hatred' (e.g. JPR 1997; DNPP 1998). The cooperation would again not last long, in part because of resistance within the CP'86 (see chapter 6), in part because of distrust by Janmaat. In the approach to the election year 1998 Janmaat distanced himself increasingly from the 'extremist' CP'86, trying to present himself as the 'decent' nationalist alternative.

The 1998 elections became the CD's Waterloo. This was not unexpected, as the party had already lost all its seats in the local councils of the province of Brabant in the by-election of November 1996. In the regular local election of March 1998 the party participated in only twenty-two municipalities, against forty-five in 1994, losing all but one of its seventy-seven seats (DNPP 1998: 23). With the one seat in Schiedam the CD was as successful as the NB of arch rival Vreeswijk, which was able to hold on to its seat in Utrecht. Two months later the CD lost all three seats in parliament, gaining just 0.6 per cent of the vote. This meant that after nine consecutive years in

¹ The Dutch anti-fascist movement Kafka had come to the same account one month earlier. From its detailed overview one can read that most of the 'twenty odd' have defected to other parties at the extreme right, most notably the *Nederlands Blok* (Dutch Block, NB) – led by the former 'crown prince' of the CD Wim Vreeswijk – and the *Burgerpartij Nederland* (Citizens Party Netherlands, BPN), an initiative of former CD council members in Roosendaal (see *Kafka-nieuwsbrief* 12/94).

parliament, as well as an earlier period of four years, Janmaat was no longer an MP. The dramatic losses were in part caused by new legislation, by and large directed against the extreme right, which had raised the number of required signatures per district from ten to twenty-five. As a consequence, the CD was not able to contest the election in all nineteen districts, despite buying signatures from homeless and addicts with drugs and money, losing valuable percentages. However, the result was also a consequence of a change in political mood as well as the payment for years of internal (and external) bickering and the lack of (positive) political actions.

Janmaat reacted furiously to the electoral results, accusing the state of manipulating the voting computers. He even went as far as to submit a complaint against the Dutch Election Council to the Council of Europe, demanding either new elections or twenty million guilders (his estimate of lost income and subsidies of the party). As so often before, he pointed to a conspiracy by the BVD and PvdA to keep him from power. At the same time, Janmaat grew increasingly worried by the legal pressure, believing the CD would be the next target after the CP'86. To 'outsmart' the state, Janmaat founded the *Conservatieve Democraten* (Conservative Democrats), which was to succeed the (other) CD if it were to be banned. In March 1999 the party lost its two seats in the provincial councils of North- and South-Holland, even though it almost held on to the latter. Three months later, the party contested the European election as the *Lijstverbinding Centrumdemocraten/Conservatieve Democraten*, an 'electoral list' of two names which represented the same one party. The 0.5 per cent the list were able to gather were widely considered to have been the last cramp of a dying party.

For years the CD claimed a membership of some 3,000, despite the fact that it also claimed a rapid increase for years. Journalists and scholars have generally taken this number to be an exaggeration, placing the 'exact' number generally between 1,000 and 1,500 (Buijs and Van Donselaar 1994: 8; Van den Brink 1994: 211–12; Van Donselaar 1997: 9), though some claimed 2,700 (Rensen 1994b: 122, 126). As a consequence of the dramatic 1998 elections, the membership went down rapidly and is now estimated at some 900 (Van den Brink 1998: 237). The group of active members has always been very small (even in the party's heydays counting not more than one hundred) and narrow in terms of composition (mainly party delegates in the various representative bodies). More importantly, Janmaat has built the CD into a family business, being either personally or through his wife (Wil Schuurman) involved in virtually every major and minor party decision (see Lucardie 1998). To Janmaat's big frustration, the CD has never been able to attract many youths or even establish a functioning youth organisation; most extreme right youths were active within the CP'86. The *Jonge Centrumdemocraten* (Young Centre Democrats) were originally founded as a youth wing of the old CP in the early 1980s. Except for some small scandals the

group never came into the spotlight. Today, the youth wing, also called *CD-Jongeren* (CD Youth), has only few members who, moreover, come virtually all from the Haarlem area.²

Despite the fact that the CD sees itself as being related to other (successful) 'patriotic parties' (*CDi* 7/94), it holds official contacts only with the DVU, FN and VB. Ever since the DVU awarded the Andreas Hofer prize to Schuurman, the CD has been a regular visitor at the annual party meeting in Passau. In 1995 Janmaat was even one of the key speakers, accompanied by a party delegation of some ten members (including Schuurman). The contacts with the FN are basically limited to visiting its annual meeting in Paris, though Janmaat has at times boasted about his good personal contacts with FN-leader Le Pen. The relationship with the VB has always been troublesome, partly because the VB had (better) contacts with rival CP'86 and partly because Janmaat has been frustrated by the fact that he is always contrasted unfavourably to Dewinter in the Dutch press.

Finally, the party has always maintained official contacts with the CP and later CP'86, mainly through its special fusion commission (under the leadership of Schuurman). Relations with other splinter parties at the extreme right fringe have been rare, as most of them had broken away from the CD (such as the NB and BPN). In general, Janmaat pursues a politics of divide and rule towards the different groups, offering favourable conditions for a return (or merger) to some leaders within a group, which, when agreed, he will then make public and retract thereby increasing the already difficult relations within and between these small parties. As far as fusion is genuinely acceptable to Janmaat, it can only be as a take-over of the smaller parties by the CD under his leadership.

Profiling the literature

Externally oriented: election programmes

The CD published three election programmes in the period 1984–99. Until 1989 the party had issued neither a party programme nor an election programme, even though it had (unsuccessfully) contested the 1986 parliamentary election.³ During this period the CD was known by the reputation of its party leader Janmaat and by some scarcely distributed pamphlets, which were almost exact copies of the ten-point pamphlets of the old CP. The picture of the CD changed probably only to a limited extent with the publication of the *CD Partij Programma voor de verkiezingen van 6 september 1989*

² This information comes from the webpage of the anti-fascist group Kafka. See <http://www.antifa.net/kafka>.

³ A summary of (the concept of) the 1986 election programme was published in the party paper *Middenkoers* (1/1/86). The programme was written by Brookman and therefore strongly resembled the old CP ideology.

van de Tweede Kamer der Staten Generaal (CD Party Programme for the Election of 6 September 1989 for the Second Chamber of the States General, CD 1989). This election programme is an unkempt document of fifteen A4 pages, which primarily shows the lack of professionalism of the CD. It includes several language and typing errors, with, for instance, two chapters XII. The programme opens with two short general sections: the preamble and the points of departure. Thereafter, the party presents its programme, which is a collection of (122) demands classified in nineteen policy areas.

The second programme was made for the 1994 parliamentary election and had the title *Oost West Thuis Best* (East West, Home Best, CD 1994). It was published under the responsibility of the scientific bureau of the party, the *Thomas Hobbes Stichting*, named after Janmaat's favourite philosopher, and is an elaborated version of the 1989 version containing thirty-two A4 pages. The fact that the programme includes only one new section and an increase of a total of twenty-seven demands, shows that the increase in pages is larger than that of ideology or policy (and is primarily caused by a different lay-out). One of the few interesting new features is the introduction written by Janmaat, which starts with a short history of the development of the programme; the concept was developed by a special programme commission under the leadership of Wim Elshout (council member in Haarlem and party treasurer), which was then amended and approved by the party congress. When the final version of the programme is compared with the 'list of new articles for the 1994 party programme of the Centre Democrats', one can only conclude that the congress was not critical of the concept. From the twenty-seven new articles that were proposed by the commission only three were rejected by the congress.⁴

The third programme was developed for the 1998 parliamentary election and was given the mainstream title *Trouw aan Rood Wit Blauw!* (Loyal to Red White Blue, CD 1998), referring to the colors of the Dutch national flag. It counted thirty pages and was again almost identical in style and content to the earlier programmes. This said, there were some remarkable new points, which were even completely novel to the party literature, as they had not even been touched upon in the party paper.

Internally oriented: party papers

The party paper of the CD was originally called *Centrumtaal* (Centre Speech) and was first published in January 1986. It was distributed under the auspices of the scientific bureau of the party, at that time called *Stichting*

⁴ Still, these were not without consequence. For one, whereas the commission proposed to 'change' article 1 of the Dutch constitution, which is the anti-discrimination principle (see Schuijt and Voorhoof 1995: 218), the final version of the party programme argues that the article 'is to go' (see also Rensen 1994b). The fact that the CD wants to abolish this article has been seen by various opponents as proof of its anti-democratic character (e.g. Van den Brink 1994).

Wetenschappelijke Onderbouwing Centrumdemocratische Ideologie (Foundation for the Scientific Elaboration of the Centre Democratic Ideology, SWOCI), and counted some thirty A5 pages. *Centrumtaal* was meant to inform the membership every month of the activities of the party, especially of those of Janmaat in the Second Chamber, and to be readable and understandable for all members. For the more intellectual readership, the CD started another paper, *Middenkoers* (Middle Course), also published by SWOCI. *Middenkoers* was published only three times in 1986, generally consisting of under twenty pages. The intellectual level of the paper did not really surpass that of *Centrumtaal* and both were soon to disappear.

Soon afterwards the CD started to publish two new party papers: *CD-actueel* (CD-Up-to-Date, *CDa*) and *CD-info* (CD-Information, *CDi*). *CD-actueel* has been published as a quarterly since February 1987, and seems to be the successor to *Middenkoers*. Originally it was the official paper of the party itself, sent free of charge to all party members (and donors), comprising over thirty A4 pages (since 1991 almost constantly twenty). The articles in the paper were written predominantly by the few better educated members – though primarily by Janmaat, who writes under a wide variety of pseudonyms, and mr. H. Eerlijk (literally mr. H. Honest, a pseudonym for ‘party lawyer’ L. van Heijningen). Since 1989 *CD-actueel* has been published by the scientific bureau of the party; the SWOCI was renamed Thomas Hobbes Foundation in 1992.

Since 1991 *CD-actueel* is no longer sent free of charge to all party members. Everyone, member or not, has to take out a separate subscription to the journal. However, in January 1988 the party introduced *CD-info*, seemingly as the successor of *Centrumtaal*, although it is unclear whether this latter paper was still published in 1987. Originally the new party paper was also a quarterly but within one year it grew into a monthly; normally it entailed between ten and twelve issues annually. *CD-info* was published by the *Stichting Politieke Kadervorming der Centrumdemocraten* (Foundation for the Political Training of the Centre Democrats) and numbers some ten A4 pages. It was more sketchy and up to date than *CD-actueel*, as well as more sloppy in language and typing errors. The main difference, however, is in goal and substance: only *CD-info* carries information on internal party matters (like appointments to and meetings of national, regional and local party branches). Except for this routine business, *CD-info* contains mainly articles on current political issues and on the discussions of fusion with the CP’86. In the mid 1990s the two party papers were distributed less and less frequently. In 1994 *CD-Info* was published eight times, the next year five, and in 1996 only twice; *CD-Actueel* has not been distributed since 1993. In April 1997 *CD-Info* was renamed *CD-Nieuwsbrief* (CD-Newsletter), which was also the only change made. In terms of counting, lay-out, content, and irregular publishing the paper is identical to its predecessor.

The Netherlands for the Dutch first!

State nationalism

The main ideological feature of the party ideology of the CD is nationalism, aptly caught in the (old) party slogan 'The Netherlands (in the first place) for the Dutch'. Above all, the CD wants a Dutch Netherlands, which it sees being threatened by mass immigration and the state policy of multi-culturalism. However, contrary to ethnic nationalist parties the CD does not exclude people on the basis of an ethnic criterion. It hardly ever speaks in terms of the Dutch ethnic community, but almost exclusively in terms of the Dutch *population*. It is a state (or civic) rather than an ethnic nationalist party.

Both forms of nationalism strive for the congruence of state and ethnic community, but the ethnic nationalist works from a closed concept of the ethnic community, using an ethnic criterion, whereas the state nationalist is based on a more open concept, using a civic criterion. According to an ethnic nationalist one is born into an ethnic community for life and is bound to it by life. As each ethnic community should determine its own policies, in essence have its own state, people are bound by birth to one state and can not change their nationality. Within a state nationalist view the state precedes the ethnic community (they generally use the term 'nation'), in the sense that the nation is not a fixed entity. One can either be legally born into it, by being born on the territory of the state or by having two (or one) parents with that nationality, or one can become a member of the nation.

The CD allows foreigners to become part of the Dutch nation, normally referred to as the Dutch citizenship or Dutch population. In fact the party gives them the principal choice between either repatriation or assimilation. In the words of the election programme: 'Foreigners and minorities either adjust to the Dutch ways and customs or leave the country' (CD 1989: II.2). When foreigners assimilate they stop being foreigners and become equal parts of the Dutch population (CD 1989: XII.9).⁵ As the party is not ethnic nationalist, it does not exclude any group from this process on a priori grounds.

The CD wants to achieve its nationalist goal of *internal homogenisation* further by reversing state policy. This is clearly stated in the points of departure of the election programmes: 'non-Dutch influences are [to be] pushed back' (CD 1989: 1) and 'stop the anti-Dutch policy' (CD 1989: 2). This would enable a return to the old Dutch society in which there was only one culture, the Dutch one.

The core of this [centre democratic] ideology contains, on the one hand, the struggle for the preservation and development of the Dutch political and cul-

⁵ This option is not open to all foreigners: guest workers that are unemployed for a period of more than six months, for example, have to repatriate (CD 1989: XII.2).

tural identity and, on the other hand, the promotion of national solidarity in our country by trying to prevent unwanted discrepancies between distinctive sections of Dutch society, or to come to a harmonious solution to these discrepancies, in which we begin from the complete equality of these social sections. (CD 1989: 1)

One of the few new statements in 1994 was that '(t)he programme of the political party Centre Democrats begins from the indissoluble unity and solidarity of the Dutch ethnic community. It is based on the common history and the culture that originated from that history' (CD 1994: 6). This sounds like a shift towards a more ethnic nationalist position, including an organic view of the ethnic community. There are a few other indications in this direction, for instance the demand that government positions should be open only to people that hold Dutch citizenship in the third generation (CD 1989: I.7). Moreover, in a surprising turn to external exclusiveness, the 1998 programme included the wish for 'the reunification with Flanders and other Dutch speaking territories' (CD 1998: XX.4). However, the same programme introduced the not less surprising point: 'An overarching culture is to be formed through the amalgamation of different cultural features. Precondition for this amalgamation is that the cultural features which are contributed by the minorities are not opposed to characteristic features of the Dutch culture' (CD 1989: III.2b).

This notwithstanding, by and large both the programme and the papers maintain their state nationalist character centred around the choice between assimilation and repatriation. The simple fact that the CD sees assimilation as a possibility suggests that it does not hold a static view on the nation. Moreover, the CD wants Dutch citizenship to be acquired by passing a state exam, testing the applicant's general knowledge, knowledge on constitutional matters, and command of the Dutch language. This is more or less comparable to that of the US, which does not point to a particularly high barrier. What the party does have in common with ethnic nationalists, however, is that it also has a problem with the presence of (large groups of) foreigners and that it considers repatriation as an option (but not the only one) that is to be strongly stimulated (CD 1989: XII.1). As Janmaat formulated this point of view in his 1989 advice for the cabinet formation:

The cabinet will implement a responsible policy on minorities and migration, which is expressed in implementing, among other things, the following measures: a) an end to the policy on family reunion of members of the ethnic minorities that reside here; b) an end to the policy of affirmative action for ethnic minorities; c) the exclusion of economic refugees; d) the forceful adoption of the policy of repatriation of minorities. (CDi 5/89)

The opposition of the CD is therefore primarily directed against the multi-*cultural* society and not against the multi-*ethnic* society. It wants all people that live within the Dutch state to be (come) Dutch citizens, members of the Dutch

community. This is to be done, on the one hand, by giving foreigners the choice between assimilation and repatriation, and, on the other hand, by state support of native culture and the cancelation of support for the development of alien cultures (CD 1989: II.2). The only exception to this latter rule is made for education in their own language and culture to foreigners and minorities that have signed a declaration that they will repatriate (CD 1989: IV.1).

In recent years the party's nationalism is increasingly linked to the theme of European integration. The CD has always been sceptic towards the process of European integration. It opposes any limitation of sovereignty of the Dutch state and sees the Maastricht Treaty consequently as one of the many international defeats of the Dutch government. The Treaty was the main inspiration for the new section on territory in the 1994 election programme, in which the CD demanded a constitutional guarantee of the sovereignty of the Dutch state (see also CD 1989: XX.3) and argued that the devolution of national competencies should be made dependent upon the support of both a referendum and of a two-thirds majority of the two chambers of the State General (CD 1989: II.1). The syphoning of national competencies to the European Union is even considered high treason. Mockingly the party states that 'our country is not preserved by our own government, but by other European governments. Because they do not want to follow the Dutch proposals to come to a restriction of their own authority' (CDi 6/92).

Exclusionism

There are some articles in the party literature in which signs of an ethnopluralist reasoning can be detected. The first is a point in regard to multi-cultural marriages:

The Government is partly responsible for the consequences of multi-cultural marriages. Because of its inconsiderate policy many of the Dutch young people have in their youth been put before irresponsible choices regarding their life partner. The Government should provide all possible facilities to end these marriages, at the will of the Dutch partner, and to send the partner as often as possible back to their country of origin. (CD 1989: II.3)

The second instance is the demand for special attention for the 'interests in the broadest sense' of those Dutch people that live in areas with high concentrations of ethnic minorities, 'because of which' they have come (or threaten to come) to a disadvantaged situation (CD 1989: X.9). This seems to imply that the living together of different cultures leads to a degeneration of the better (off), a rare instance of an ethnopluralist conviction within the CD literature (albeit one that did not return in later programmes). In general, however, the CD's 'ethnopluralist' remarks seem to be mainly inspired by the lack of integration in practice rather than ideology. This can best be seen in the party paper's reaction to a television program on the problems of Moroccan youth in Amsterdam:

This program shows that one cannot be lenient towards the inclusion of people of a different culture into the Dutch society. It causes substantial problems, for both the Dutch and the people from the other cultures, in particular for their children. Culture is an important binding element for a country. Cultural differences can to some extent exist, as long as there are sufficient binding elements, so that the people of the different cultures still feel themselves citizens of one country. (*CDA* 3/90)

In line with its nationalist thinking, the CD strives for a limit in the number of new foreigners admitted to the Netherlands. The programme includes demands that only asylum seekers that face long-term sentences for political reasons should be allowed to enter the country (CD 1989: XII.6). It further wants to limit the possibilities for the adoption of children from the Third World (CD 1989: XII.7). At first sight this seems to indicate a racist or at least Eurocentrist bias, but the CD explicitly includes also people from within the European Union in its demand for stricter norms for the admittance of foreigners (CD 1989: XII.8). However, as this group cannot be refused entry into the country because of European legislation, the party settles for a restriction in their rights. It wants to exclude European foreigners from social services, to discharge the state from any obligations to offer them housing, and even to deport them when they lack means of livelihood (CD 1989: XII.9). As far as the party allows for new guest workers, they are to be placed in a new social system, which is fenced off from the Dutch social system (CD 1989: XII.4 and XII.5).

Xenophobia

The style in which the party paper in particular addresses the issue of immigration is clearly and openly xenophobic. The multi-cultural society is depicted as a society full of crime and confusion in which the common Dutchman has lost all feeling of belonging and of order. Immigrants are consistently portrayed as a problem at the least and generally as a threat. They do not want to integrate and create their own ghetto's, thereby forcing the native people either out of their own neighbourhood or into isolation within their own area. Although the present situation is already described in a negative way, the CD's portrait of the future is delineated in an even more gloomy manner. A perfect example of this is the 'Open letter to Amsterdammers and other Dutch' (*CDi* 2/89) in which a picture of multi-cultural Amsterdam (as omen for the whole Netherlands) is painted in which Moroccan youth gangs rule the streets, churches are changed into mosques, almost every street contains a coffee house in which foreigners live and terrorise the neighbourhood, illegal aliens get a municipal home before hard working Dutch people, and the police are helpless against the rising crime because of the absurdly low sentences and the soft politics of the left. This apocalyptic vision of a multi-cultural Netherlands is painted in almost every issue of the paper. To prove that it can become reality the party regularly points to the

race riots in Los Angeles and the civil war in Yugoslavia; the latter is described as ‘a terrific example of a multi-cultural society that explodes. Los Angeles in the large’ (*CDi* 7/92).

The topic that brings the CD to its xenophobic peak is Islam. This religion is exclusively described in its fundamentalist version in the party literature: ‘veil, headscarf, no pork, the reversal of the emancipation of women and the limitation of freedom of religion’ (*CDa* 1/91). This Islamic culture is juxtaposed to the European culture, which means that a Muslim cannot integrate into Dutch society without giving up his or her religion. Islam is always portrayed as an aggressive and expansionist religion. This can be seen, on the one hand, by the Muslims in the West, which expand not only in number of people (as they all have many children) but also of mosques and stores (such as Islamic butchers with their barbaric ritual slaughter). On the other hand, the CD points to the belligerent politics of Islamic countries in the Middle East, for instance in the Gulf war (e.g. *CDa* 1/91). The position of the party *vis-à-vis* the Islam can best be summarised in its own words: ‘Wherever there is Islam on earth, there are problems’ (*CDa* 3/90).

Socio-economic policy

The CD devotes a lot of attention to economic and socio-economic issues, both in its internally and its externally oriented literature. This is not to say that the party has a clear and elaborated socio-economic programme, however. The election programmes in particular hold a potpourri of individual demands, and where it is often difficult to see the underlying ideology. If the socio-economic demands – as listed primarily in the sections on economy (III), employment (V), social policy (X) and taxes (XI) – show any coherence, it is in their welfare chauvinism. The rest is an ambiguous mix of social and liberal policies, ranging from rejection of ‘forced privatisation’ (CD 1989: III.1) and support for raising pension benefits (CD 1989: X.8) to calling for less (complicated) taxes (CD 1989: XI.1 and 3). The only substantive adjustments to the generally supported mixed economic system of the Netherlands (CD 1989: III.1) the CD seems to want is the increase of indirect and direct state support for small businesses (CD 1989: III.3 and 8).

The party papers further contain numerous (small) articles in which the party targets various forms of state interference and the high tax burden (e.g. *CDa* 3/90). A regular theme is that state intervention obstructs the realisation of the ‘American dream’ of the Dutch businessman. ‘Those who work hard, work overtime or are a bit lucky with some small deal, can be squeezed by the state: get packing or otherwise pay’ (*CDi* 6/93). Despite some of these neo-liberal hobbyhorses, the CD is not a principal antagonist of state intervention in the economy, as is clear from the many articles against cuts in specific state benefits (mainly for the elderly people) and in support of the welfare state (for the Dutch people). Moreover, various articles call for state

support for Dutch small business and agriculture, being the backbone of the Dutch economy.

As with most other issues socio-economic policy is strongly linked to the issue of immigration. The CD stipulates that in the Netherlands there is no basis for the kind of tolerance that a multi-cultural society needs as '(t)he basis [for a peaceful living together] is and remains a healthy economy' (*CDi* 10/93). As a consequence of almost twenty years of bad policies the Netherlands has become 'one of the most heavily taxed countries in the world and one of the poorest in Europe in income' (*CDi* 9/91). This provides the party with the economic proof of the necessity of its welfare chauvinist argument. In short, the CD argues that repatriation of a large number of foreigners and prevention of new foreigners entering the Netherlands are vital conditions to preserve the welfare state for the Dutch population. Jobs are to be given by preference to Dutch unemployed (*CD* 1989: V.1) and minorities should get jobs only when there are no more Dutch applicants left (*CD* 1989: V.2).⁶

In the introduction to the 1994 election programme Janmaat defends his plea for 'the Dutch first' with the argument that 'from a historical perspective we Dutch have the oldest rights' (*CD* 1994: 3). Welfare chauvinism is not only deemed relevant in national politics, but also in international politics. Confused by 'an increasingly diffuse international world' (*CD* 1994: 3) the programme justifies the emphasis on Dutch national interests. Probably referring to the (implications of the) Maastricht Treaty, Janmaat states that '(e)xactly because of that international entanglement it is more than necessary that our own population is protected by its own government' (*CD* 1994: 3). The 1994 programme further shows a trend towards more protectionism, especially in the field of economics, as well as some demands for (partial) autarchy of the Dutch defense apparatus (*CD* 1994: III.3) and agriculture (*CD* 1994: VIII.3).

The strong state

Crime is one of the main topics in the party literature, often combined with the (interlinked) issues of drugs and foreigners. According to the CD the Netherlands has become one of the least safe countries in Europe (e.g. *CDA* 2/90). This is the consequence of the failed policies of the established parties, whose reorganisation of the police has led to chaos in organisation and

⁶ These points are to some extent in conflict with its positive stand on assimilation, as the CD seems to exclude 'minorities' from the group of 'Dutch applicants'. This is at least indicated on some occasions, as for instance: 'The neglect of Dutch employees for the employees of the minorities, whether with the Dutch nationality or not, has to be made illegal' (*CD* 1989: V.1). However, it might also be the result of the general sloppiness of the party programme and the confusing terminology that is used in the Netherlands concerning *foreigners* (people that do not have the Dutch nationality) and *minorities* (people that are of non-Dutch descent but might have the Dutch nationality).

competencies. Moreover, the policy of affirmative action within the police has introduced an irrelevant criterion into the selection process and thereby decreased the standards of the force (e.g. *CDa* 1/92). And even when the police capture criminals, despite the lack of resources and the opposition by the political elite, these criminals are given ridiculously low sentences which often do not even have to be served because of the lack of prison space. This all has created a reverse situation in the Netherlands, in which the criminals can walk the streets freely whereas the ordinary citizens increasingly lock themselves in their houses and no longer dare to come out.

The only way to overcome this chaos is by introducing tough law and order policies. The 1989 programme calls for higher sentences, which are to be served under severe conditions (CD 1989: XIII.1 and 2), an expansion of both the competencies and the capacity of the police (CD 1989: XIII.4 and 7), and the extradition of foreign criminals (CD 1989: XIII.2). In 1994 the party expanded the section on justice with four new demands, of which the introduction of the death penalty was the most extreme (CD 1994: IV.1b). Further law and order measures that appear in the party literature are the preservation of border patrols (also after the Schengen Treaty) and the building of more prison cells, so that all criminals have to serve their (full) time. If the Dutch state fails to take these measures, the CD claims that it will lose its right of existence as it can no longer protect its citizens against rising crime (e.g. *CDa* 1/92; *CDi* 9/93).

Compared to its law and order policies, the party's views on the military are not that far-reaching. The CD wants the Dutch defense apparatus to have at its disposal the best material, though it does not demand a substantial increase in its capacity or competencies. The only new role the party desires is training for combating terrorism and city guerrillas which might be a problem in the future. In the 1994 programme the section on defense is extended and toughened, including the demand that the defense budget should not be lowered. However, the fact that the CD wants to introduce a compulsory waiting period of two years between secondary school and higher education in which people have to make themselves useful to society through either compulsory military or national service (CD 1989: IV.9), does indicate some support for a strong state, but at the same time shows at best a weak militaristic outlook.

Populist anti-party sentiment

Every issue of the party papers holds at least one populist anti-party sentiment. The established parties and politicians are accused of having squandered the interests of the Dutch people and of misleading the voters with their sloganising during the election campaign. Consequently, the party regularly states that it first and foremost holds the government, and not the foreigners, responsible for the disruption of society (that is, the multi-cultural society).

The various populist anti-party sentiments of the CD come together when discussing the fight against their own party. It claims that the established parties attack the CD so hard because it is the only genuine opposition party. Moreover, it is the only party that puts the finger on the sore spot, the multi-cultural society (e.g. *CDA* 4/93). To cover up their own failure in this area the established parties use every trick in the book. For one, they ignore every opposition to multi-culturalism, from the man in the street as well as from a parliamentary party such as the CD. If ignoring the opposition does not help the established parties demonise the opposition by accusing them of racism, and linking them to fascism and so on.

In this battle for political life and death, the established parties are helped by lackeys such as the media, which are dependent on the subsidies they receive. The established parties even created a whole infrastructure of so-called 'anti-racist' and 'anti-fascist' organisations which, with the help of legal collectives, are full-time fighters against the CD and any other opponents of the multi-cultural society. As all these organisations have to justify their large subsidies, they 'exaggerate with all their will for the subsidy mill' (*CDi* 3/93). According to the party the fight against the CD has already cost the state a total of more than one quarter of a billion Dutch guilders (*CDi* 6/94).

The struggle is not only fought on the level of the media or politics. More and more the established parties have sought salvation in legal measures. To try and achieve the multi-cultural society even against the will of the people, they have introduced a multitude of anti-discrimination laws, which in practice favour the minorities and discriminate against the indigenous people. Most of these laws are primarily directed against the CD. According to the CD this holds true also for almost every other change that might have a negative effect on the party, ranging from changes in the electoral law to the subsidising of political parties.

At the same time the party papers are filled with articles in which the major influence of the party on governmental policy and the public debate is described (e.g. *CDA* 4/88). Almost every measure the government takes regarding asylum seekers or minorities which (slightly) resemble policies proposed by the CD, is seen as a triumph for the party (e.g. *CDA* 4/91). With great regularity it proclaims a turn in the tide of public opinion or politics favouring the party (e.g. *CDA* 2/92). Typical are also the articles, often written by Janmaat, in which it is claimed that Janmaat had won a debate in parliament (if the ministers and MPs were courageous enough to debate with him), or that the government is on the brink of falling (as a consequence of the opposition by the CD). In similar vein the party always predicts an enormous victory in coming elections. The fact that the expected results are far above those in the opinion polls proves the fact that these latter are manipulated to keep down the CD. When the party finally polled far fewer votes than expected, it would blame the entire anti-CD conspiracy again.

Democracy

The CD devotes regular attention to the issue of democracy. The bulk of these articles address the alleged breaches of democracy in the Netherlands. According to the CD the present Dutch state is not a democracy, as it does not allow true opposition. The party even stated that ‘in its methods of oppression our government seems to surpass the brutal methods of Stalin’ (*CDi* 8/91). This is not to say that the CD considers the political system itself undemocratic or to be rejected. The party is an open and consistent supporter of parliamentary democracy. It even sees itself exclusively as an election party, believing that ‘victory in elections is the only way to go and to exercise influence’ (*CDa* 4/91). However, it accuses the established parties of having perverted the good system of parliamentary democracy to protect (and prolong) their own power and jobs (e.g. *CDa* 1/89). They have even fixed elections, which is why the CD claims to have asked the UN to send observers for the 1989 parliamentary election (*CDa* 2/89). To make the system function democratically once more the politicians of the established parties have to be voted out of power and replaced (primarily) by CD members.

In recent years the CD has found a new threat to Dutch democracy: the European Union. The party had always considered international organisations, and the outside world in general, to be hostile towards the Netherlands. That is also why it argues for a modest foreign policy in which the Netherlands do not interfere in the politics of other countries and vice versa. Dutch membership in the main international organisations was accepted with great reservation. Generally, the party speaks scornfully of such organisations as the UN, describing them as superfluous, inefficient and profligate bureaucracies. An exception to this was NATO, which had the goal of keeping the West safe from communism and which was also deemed necessary after 1989, as the Russians remained dangerous and a new enemy was also easily found, international Islam.

Ethical Values

Originally the CD did not put much emphasis on ethical values. Topics like abortion and euthanasia were virtually not discussed by the party. At times there would be articles in the party papers in defense of traditional values, mainly citing the family as the cornerstone of society. As part of this quest the party opposed various ‘progressive’ organisations that would undermine the family, such as the relief centres for runaway children (e.g. *CDa* 1/89). One of the few shifts that could be detected in the 1994 programme was towards a more conservative outlook, stressing law and order as well as traditional morals and values. The section on culture was elaborated by conservative pleas for the banning of hardcore pornography and a limitation on the screening of violence on Dutch television (V.5) as well as limitations on the possibility to divorce (V.6 and 7). This shift to a protection of traditional

morals might also explain why the party dropped its plea for the inclusion of condoms in the national health program. This development was continued in the 1998 programme, which put increasing emphasis on the protection of the family, including making divorce (particularly in case of families with children) more difficult (e.g. CD 1998: III.6c and 7).

A topic in which the party's concerns on values comes to the fore most clearly is that of AIDS. Throughout the years AIDS has been a regular topic within the party literature. The (large) section of the programme on public health for instance, contains no less than three (of the nine) points that concern this disease (CD 1989: XVI.4, 7 and 8). Moreover, one of the few brochures ever published by the scientific bureau of the CD also addressed the issue (Johnstone and Knappert 1994). The report *AIDS: Ghost or Threat*, written by two members of the Unification Church of Sun Myung Moon (Van den Brink 1995),⁷ paints a picture of a dangerous disease which is the consequence of the present moral crisis. As AIDS is mainly caused by 'specific behaviour' (i.e. sexual promiscuity, homosexuality and drug addiction), the disease can be stopped only through prevention. However, pressured by 'the dictatorship of a minority' (Johnstone and Knappert 1994: 16), by which they mean the homosexual lobby, the medical issue has become a political issue:

In fact, under the pretext of fighting against homophobia and turning zeropositives into scape-goats, we are coming to the point of making the society feel guilty and to make the zeropositive less responsible in regard to the risks that they make others run, especially their sexual partners. (Johnstone and Knappert 1994: 17)

According to the CD, if we want to save ourselves from an AIDS explosion in the West we will have to overcome the present moral crisis and moral relativism and return to traditional morality. In extremis, we should return to no sex until marriage and to the family as 'the school of love' (Johnstone and Knappert 1994: 31). Though the brochure is atypical for CD literature (in that it is relatively well written, argued and researched), it fits well within the party's thinking. The main point is that a problem is not solved as a result of a conspiracy of the political elite.

Conclusion

The CD does not possess a very elaborated ideological programme. The party literature contains at best a shallow ideology, focusing on only a lim-

⁷ For years, Willem A. Koetsier, a prominent member of the 'Moonies' in the Netherlands, worked at the party office of the CD. He also wrote in the party papers. This notwithstanding, the Unification Church was never mentioned in the party papers and it seems that it also never had a real say within the party.

ited number of themes. This holds true especially for the party paper *CD-Info*, which by and large deals with four main (linked) themes: opposition to the multi-cultural society, populist anti-party sentiment, the undemocratic struggle against the own party, and (fighting) crime. And, although the election programmes address a fairly wide variety of policy areas, the ideological content again remains limited. It contains the idea that people should live in a mono-cultural state which is not crowded by too many inhabitants. Immigrants are given the choice between assimilation and repatriation. The role of the state should not be too big, neither in national nor in international politics, and the state should first and foremost take care of its own population, ensuring a relatively generous welfare system without, however, hindering private initiative (for instance, by high taxes) or overspending (for instance, on subsidies). The state should play a strong and dominant role only in strictly ensuring law and order. Within the world view of the party this can be realised within the current political system, but only when the CD is accepted within that system and when several current actors are ousted of power (mainly the PvdA and BVD).