# Globalized Elections Weekly Report July 15, 2010 to July 20, 2010 Iffat Humayun Khan Presentation on July 21, 2010

#### Week # 128

A presidential election was held in Burundi on 28 June 2010.

The **2010 Dutch (Netherlands) general elections** were held on Wednesday, 9 June 2010.

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# **BURUNDI**

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#### Burundi

**Capital** Bujumbura

(and largest city) 3°30'S 30°00'E / 3.5°S

30°E

Official language(s) Kirundi, French

Vehicular languages Swahili

**Demonym** Burundian

**Government** Republic

President Pierre Nkurunziza

**Independence** from Belgium

Date July 1, 1962

Area

- 27,834 km<sup>2</sup> (145th)

10,745 sq mi

-Water (%) 7.8%

**Population** 

July 2009 estimate 8,988,091 (89th)

2008 census 8,038,618

- Density 323.0/km<sup>2</sup> (45th)

836.5/sq Military

Intelligence

**GDP** (PPP) 2008 estimate

Total \$3.245 billion

Per capita \$400<sup>[3]</sup>

**GDP** (nominal) 2008 estimate

Total \$1.321 billion

Per capita \$162

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

**Burundi** officially the **Republic of Burundi**, is a landlocked country in the Great Lakes region of Eastern Africa bordered by Rwanda to the north, Tanzania to the east and south, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the west. Its size is just under 28,000 km² with an estimated population of almost 8,700,000. Its capital is Bujumbura. Although the country is landlocked, much of the southwestern border is adjacent to Lake Tanganyika.

The Twa, Tutsi, and Hutu peoples have occupied Burundi since the country's formation five centuries ago. Burundi was ruled as a kingdom by the Tutsi for over two hundred years. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Germany and Belgium occupied the region, and Burundi and Rwanda became a European colony known as Ruanda-Urundi.

Political unrest occurred throughout the region because of social differences between the Tutsi and Hutu, provoking civil war in Burundi throughout the middle twentieth century. Presently, Burundi is governed as a presidential representative

democratic republic. Sixty-two percent of Burundians are Roman Catholic, eight to ten percent are Muslims and the rest follow indigenous beliefs and other Christian denominations.

Burundi is one of the ten poorest countries in the world. It has the lowest per capita GDP of any nation in the world. Burundi has a low gross domestic product largely due to civil wars, corruption, poor access to education, and the effects of HIV/AIDS. Burundi is densely populated, with substantial emigration. Cobalt and copper are among Burundi's natural resources. Some of Burundi's main exports include coffee and sugar.

#### History

#### **European conquest**

After its defeat in World War I, Germany handed control of a section of the former German East Africa to Belgium. On October 20, 1924, this land, which consisted of modern-day Rwanda and Burundi, officially became a part of the Belgian colonial empire and was known as Ruanda-Urundi However, the Belgians allowed Ruanda-Urundi to continue its kingship dynasty.

Following World War II, Ruanda-Urundi was a United Nations Trust Territory under Belgian administrative authority. During the 1940s, a series of policies caused divisions throughout the country. On October 4, 1943, powers were split in the legislative division of Burundi's government between chiefdoms and lower chiefdoms. Chiefdoms were in charge of land, and lower sub-chiefdoms were established. Native authorities also had powers. In 1948, Belgium allowed the region to form political parties. These factions would be one of the main influences for Burundi's independence from Belgium.

#### Independence and civil war

On January 20, 1959, Burundi's ruler Mwami Mwambutsa IV requested from the Belgian Minister of Colonies a separation of Burundi and Rwanda and a dissolution of Ruanda-Urundi. Six months later, political parties formed to bring attention to Burundi's independence from Europe and to separate Rwanda from Burundi. The first of these political parties was the Unité pour le Progrès National (UPRONA).

Burundi's push for independence was influenced to some extent by the instability and ethnic persecution that occurred in Rwanda. In November 1959, Rwandese Hutu attacked the Tutsi and massacred them by the thousands. Many Tutsi escaped to Burundi to avoid persecution for freedom. While in Burundi, Tutsi fought against the Hutu, and many Tutsi soldiers killed Hutu peasants in retaliation for Hutu violence in Rwanda.<sup>[8]</sup> The Hutu managed to take power in Rwanda by winning Belgian-run elections in 1960.

The Unity for National Progress (UPRONA), a multi-ethnic unity party led by Prince Louis Rwagasore, together with the Christian Democratic Party (PDC), became the most prominent organizations throughout Burundi-Urundi. After UPRONA's victory in legislative elections, Prince Rwagasore was assassinated in 1961, allegedly with the help of the Belgian colonial administration.<sup>[5]</sup> The event caused much instability.

The country claimed independence in July 1, 1962, and legally changed its name from Ruanda-Urundi to Burundi. Mwami Mwambutsa IV was named king. On September 18, 1962, just over a month after declaring independence from Belgium, Burundi joined the United Nations.

Upon Burundi's independence, a constitutional monarchy was established and both Hutus and Tutsis were represented in Parliament. However, during Burundi's move to become an independent nation, Hutu forces took control of the country, forcing the Tutsi out, many of whom fled to Rwanda to escape ethnic persecution and death. During 1962 and 1963, approximately 12,000 Tutsi were

killed, while between 140,000 to 250,000 people escaped to Rwanda.<sup>[14]</sup> In 1965, King Mwambutsa appointed a Tutsi prime minister, while the Hutus who were the majority in parliament felt cheated. An ensuing attempted coup by the Hutu dominated police was ruthlessly suppressed by the Army, then led by a Tutsi officer, Captain Michel Micombero When the next Hutu Prime Minister, Pierre Ngendandumwe, was assassinated in 1965, Hutus engaged in a series of attacks on Tutsi, which the government repressed ruthlessly, fearing the killings of Tutsis by the neighboring Rwandan Hutu regime. This is how the Burundi police and military came under the control of the Tutsis.

Mwambutsa was deposed in 1966 by his son, Prince Ntare V, who claimed the throne. That same year, Tutsi Prime Minister Captain Michel Micombero deposed Ntare, abolished the monarchy, and created a republic, which was in effect a military regime.

In 1972, an all Hutu organization known as UBU (Umugambwe w'Abakozi b'Uburundi or Burundi Workers' Party) organized and carried out systematic attacks on ethnic Tutsi with the declared intent of annihilating the whole group. (See Marc Manirakiza, 1992, *Burundi : de la révolution au régionalisme, 1966-1976*, Le Mât de Misaine, Bruxelles, pp 211–212, ). This genocide against the Tutsi was responded by large scale reprisals by the military regime that targeted the Hutus. The total number of casualties was never established, but estimates for both the Tutsi genocide and the reprisals on the Hutus are said to exceed the 100,000 at the very least and as many asylum-seekers in Tanzania and Rwanda. In 1976, another Tutsi, Colonel Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, led a bloodless coup and promoted various reforms. A new constitution was promulgated in 1981, keeping Burundi a one-party state. In August 1984, Bagaza was elected head of state. However, Bagaza suppressed political opponents and religious freedoms.

Major Pierre Buyoya, a Tutsi, overthrew Bagaza in 1987 and suspended the constitution, dissolved the political parties, and reinstated military rule under the Military Committee for National Salvation (CSMN).<sup>[15]</sup> Anti-Tutsi ethnic

propaganda disseminated by the remnants of the 1972 UBU, which had reorganized as PALIPEHUTU in 1981, led to killings of Tutsi peasants in the northern communes of Ntega and Marangara in August 1988. The death toll was put at 5,000 by the governments, while international NGOs find this figure too mitigated.

The new regime was credited with not unleashing harsh reprisals as in 1972, but this credit was soon eroded by the amnesty it decreed for the killers who had called, carried out and claimed killings on ethnic grounds, which amounts to genocide in international law. Many analysts consider this period as the beginning of the "culture of impunity." In the aftermath of the killings, a group of Hutu intellectuals wrote an open letter to Pierre Buyoya, asking for more representation of the Hutus in the administration. Both were sent to prison, but few weeks after, Buyoya appointed a new government with an equal number of Hutus and Tutsi, with a Hutu Prime Minister, Adrien Sibomana. Buyoya also created a commission in charge of addressing the issue of national unity. [15] In 1992, a new constitution that provided for multi-party system was promulgated.

An estimated 250,000 people died between 1962 and 1993.

During 1992, a civil war sprang up from Burundi's core. An estimated 300,000 were killed in a following genocide as a response to this war. The ethnic groups of Hutu and Tutsi came to power and have been at war since the beginning of the independence of Burundi.

#### First attempt at democracy

In June 1993, Melchior Ndadaye, leader of the Hutu-dominated Front for Democracy in Burundi (FRODEBU), won the first democratic election and became the first Hutu head of the state, leading a pro-Hutu government. However, in October 1993, Tutsi soldiers assassinated Ndadaye, which started further years of violence between Hutus and Tutsis. It is estimated that some

300,000 people, mostly civilians, were killed in the years following the assassination.

In early 1994, the parliament elected Cyprien Ntaryamira, also a Hutu, to the office of president. He and the president of Rwanda were killed together when their airplane was shot down. More refugees started fleeing to Rwanda. Another Hutu, parliament speaker Sylvestre Ntibantunganya was appointed as president in October 1994. Within months, a wave of ethnic violence began, starting with the massacre of Hutu refugees in the capital, Bujumbura, and the withdrawal of the mainly Tutsi Union for National Progress from the government and parliament.

In 1996, Pierre Buyoya, a Tutsi, took power through a coup d'état. He suspended the constitution and was sworn in as president in 1998. In response to the rebel attacks, the population was forced by the government to relocate to refugee camps. [19] Under his rule, long peace talks started, mediated by South Africa. Both parties signed agreements in Arusha, Tanzania and Pretoria, South Africa, to share power in Burundi. The agreements took four years to plan, and on August 28, 2000, a transitional government for Burundi was planned as a part of the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement. The transitional government was placed on a trial basis for five years. After several aborted cease-fires, a 2001 peace plan and power sharing agreement has been relatively successful. A cease-fire was signed in 2003 between the Tutsi-controlled Burundian government and the largest Hutu rebel group, CNDD-FDD (National Council for the Defense of Democracy-Forces for the Defense of Democracy).

In 2003, FRODEBU Hutu leader Domitien Ndayizeye was elected president. In early 2005, ethnic quotas were formed for determining positions in Burundi's government. Throughout the year, elections for parliamentary and president occurred.<sup>[22]</sup> To this day, conflicts between the Hutu and the Tutsi continue. As of 2008, the Burundian government is talking with the Hutu-led Palipehutu-National

Liberation Forces (NLF)<sup>[23]</sup> to bring peace to the country. In 2005, Pierre Nkurunziza, once a leader of a Hutu rebel group, was elected to president.

#### **Peace agreements**

Following the request of the United Nation Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to intervene in the humanitarian crisis, African leaders began a series of peace talks between the warring factions. Talks were initiated under the aegis of former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere in 1995; following his death, South African President Nelson Mandela took the helm. As the talks progressed, South African President Thabo Mbeki and United States President Bill Clinton would also lend their respective weight.

The peace talks took the form of Track I mediations. This method of negotiation can be defined as a form of diplomacy involving governmental or intergovernmental representatives, who may use their positive reputations, mediation or the "carrot and stick" method as a means of obtaining or forcing an outcome, frequently along the lines of "bargaining" or "win-lose".

The main objective framing the talks was a structural transformation of the Burundian government and military as a way to bridge the ethnic gap between the Tutsis and Hutus. This would be accomplished in two ways. First, a transitional power sharing government would be established, with the president holding office for three year terms. The second objective involved a restructuring of the military, where the two groups would be represented equally.

As the protracted nature of the peace talks demonstrated, there were several obstacles facing the mediators and negotiating parties. First, the Burundian officials perceived the goals as "unrealistic" and viewed the treaty as ambiguous, contradictory and confusing. Second, and perhaps most importantly, the Burundians believed the treaty would be irrelevant without an accompanying cease fire. This would require separate and direct talks with the rebel groups.

The main Hutu party was skeptical of the offer of a power-sharing government; they alleged that they were deceived by the Tutsis in past agreements.

In 2000, the Burundian President signed the treaty, as well as 13 of the 19 warring Hutu and Tutsi factions. However, disagreements persisted over which group would preside over the nascent government and when the ceasefire would commence. The spoilers of the peace talks were the hardliner Tutsi and Hutu groups who refused to sign the accord; as a result, violence intensified. Three years later at a summit of African leaders in Tanzania, the Burundian president and the main opposition Hutu group signed an accord to end the conflict; the signatory members were granted ministerial posts within the government. However, smaller militant Hutu groups – such as the Forces for National Liberation – remained active.

#### **UN involvement**

Between 1993 and 2003, many rounds of peace talks, overseen by regional leaders in Tanzania, South Africa, and Uganda, gradually established power-sharing agreements to satisfy the majority of the contending groups. African Union (AU) peacekeepers were deployed to help oversee the installation of a transitional government. In June 2004, the UN stepped in and took over peacekeeping responsibilities as a signal of growing international support for the already markedly advanced peace process in Burundi.

The mission's mandate, under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, has been to monitor cease-fire; carry out disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former combatants; support humanitarian assistance and refugee and IDP return; assist with elections; protect international staff and Burundian civilians; monitor Burundi's troublesome borders including halting illicit arms flows; and assist in carrying out institutional reforms including those of the Constitution, judiciary, armed forces, and police. The mission has been allotted 5,650 military personnel, 120 civilian police, and about 1,000 international and local civilian personnel. The

mission has been functioning well and has greatly benefited from the existence of a fairly functional transitional government, which is in the process of transitioning into a more legitimate, elected entity.

The main difficulty the operation faced at first was the continued resistance to the peace process by the last Tutsi nationalist rebel group. This organization continued its violent conflict on the outskirts of the capital despite the UN's presence. By June 2005, the group had stopped fighting and was brought back into the political process. All political parties have accepted a formula for interethnic power-sharing, which means no political party can gain access to government offices unless it is ethnically integrated.

The focus of the UN's mission had been to enshrine the power-sharing arrangements in a popularly voted constitution, so that elections may be held and a new government installed. Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration were done in tandem with elections preparations. In February 2005, the Constitution was approved with over 90% of the popular vote. In May, June, and August 2005, three separate elections were also held at the local level for the Parliament and the presidency.

While there are still some difficulties with refugee returns and securing adequate food supplies for the war-weary population, the mission has overall managed to win the trust and confidence of a majority of the formerly warring leaders as well as the population at large. It has also been involved with several "quick impact" projects including rehabilitating and building schools, orphanages, health clinics, and rebuilding infrastructure such as water lines.

## 2006 to present

Reconstruction efforts in Burundi started to practically take effect after 2006. The UN shut down its peacekeeping mission and re-focused on helping with reconstruction. Toward achieving economic reconstruction, Rwanda, D.R.Congo and Burundi relaunched the regional economic bloc: The Great Lakes Countries

Economic Community. In addition, Burundi, along with Rwanda, joined the East African Community in 2007.

However, the terms of the September 2006 Ceasefire between the government and the last remaining armed opposition group, the FLN (Forces for National Liberation, also called NLF or FROLINA), were not totally implemented, and senior FLN members subsequently left the truce monitoring team, claiming that their security was threatened. <sup>[29]</sup> In September 2007, rival FLN factions clashed in the capital, killing 20 fighters and causing residents to begin fleeing. Rebel raids were reported in other parts of the country. The rebel factions disagreed with the government over disarmament and the release of political prisoners. <sup>[30]</sup> In late 2007 and early 2008, FLN combatants attacked government-protected camps where former combatants now live, in search of peace. The homes of rural residents were also pillaged.

The 2007 report of Amnesty International mentions many areas where improvement is required. Civilians are victims of repeated acts of violence done by the FLN. The latter also recruits child soldiers. The rate of violence against women is high. Perpetrators regularly escape prosecution and punishment by the state. There is an urgent need for reform of the judicial system. Genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity remain unpunished. The establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and a Special Tribunal for investigation and prosecution has not yet been implemented. The freedom of expression is limited, journalists are frequently arrested for carrying out legitimate professional activities. A total of 38,087 Burundian refugees have been repatriated between January and November 2007.

In late March 2008, the FLN sought for the parliament to adopt a law guaranteeing them 'provisional immunity' from arrest. This would cover ordinary crimes, but not grave violations of international humanitarian law like war crimes or crimes against humanity. Even though the government has granted this in the past to people, the FLN is unable to obtain the provisional immunity.

On April 17, 2008, the FLN bombarded Bujumbura. The Burundian army fought back and the FLN suffered heavy losses. A new ceasefire was signed on May 26, 2008. In August 2008, President Nkurunziza met with the FLN leader Agathon Rwasa, with the mediation of Charles Nqakula, South Africa's Minister for Safety and Security. This was the first direct meeting since June 2007. Both agree to meet twice a week to establish a commission to resolve any disputes that might arise during the peace negotiations.

Refugee camps are now closing down, and 450,000 refugees have returned. The economy of the country is shattered – Burundi has the lowest per capita gross income in the world. With the return of refugees, amongst others, property conflicts have started.

#### **Politics**

Burundi's political system is presidential representative democratic republic based upon a multi-party state. The President of Burundi is the head of state and head of government. There are currently 21 registered parties in Burundi. On March 13, 1992, Tutsi coup leader Pierre Buyoya established a constitution, and which provided for a multi-party political process and reflected multi-party competition. Six years later, on June 6, 1998, the constitution was changed, broadening National Assembly's seats and making provisions for two vice presidents. Because of the Arusha Accord, Burundi enacted a transitional government in 2000.

Burundi's legislative branch is a bicameral assembly, consisting of the Transitional National Assembly and the Transitional Senate. As of 2004, the Transitional National Assembly consists of 170 members, with the Front for Democracy in Burundi holding 38% of seats, and 10% of the assembly is controlled by UPRONA. Fifty-two seats are controlled by other parties. Burundi's constitution mandates representation in the Transitional National Assembly to be consistent with 60% Hutu, 40% Tutsi, and 30% female members, as well as three

Batwa members.<sup>[5]</sup> Members of the National Assembly are elected by popular vote and serve for five year terms.

The Transitional Senate has fifty-one members, and three seats are reserved for former presidents. Due to stipulations in Burundi's constitution, 30% of Senate members must be female. Members of the Senate are elected by electoral colleges, which consist of members from each of Burundi's provinces and communes.<sup>[5]</sup> For each of Burundi's seventeen provinces, one Hutu and one Tutsi senator are chosen. One term for the Transitional Senate is five years.

Together, Burundi's legislative branch elect the President to a five-year term. Burundi's president appoints officials to his Council of Ministers, which is also part of the executive branch. <sup>[34]</sup> The president can also pick fourteen members of the Transitional Senate to serve on the Council of Ministers. <sup>[5]</sup> Members of the Council of Ministers must be approved by two-thirds of Burundi's legislature. The president also chooses two vice-presidents. <sup>[37]</sup> As of 2008, the President of Burundi is Pierre Nkurunziza. The First Vice President is Dr. Yves Sahinguvu, and the Second Vice President is Gabriel Ntisezerana.

The *Court Supreme* (Supreme Court) is Burundi's highest court. There are three Courts of Appeals directly below the Supreme Court. Tribunals of First Instance are used as judicial courts in each of Burundi's provinces as well as 123 local tribunals.

#### Provinces, communes and collines



 $\Box$ 

Map of provinces

Main articles: Provinces of Burundi, Communes of Burundi, and Collines of Burundi

Burundi is divided into 17 provinces, 117 communes, and 2,638 collines (hills).<sup>[39]</sup> Provincial governments are structured upon these boundaries. In 2000, the province encompassing Bujumbura was separated into two provinces, Bujumbura Rural and Bunjumbura Mairie.

#### The provinces are:

- Bubanza
- Bujumbura Mairie
- Bujumbura Rural
- Bururi
- Cankuzo
- Cibitoke
- Gitega
- Karuzi

- Kirundo
- Makamba
- Muramvya
- Muyinga
- Mwaro
- Ngozi
- Rutana
- Ruyigi

#### Kayanza

#### **Elections in Burundi**

Burundi elects on national level a head of state - the president - and a legislature. The **National Assembly** (*Assemblée nationale*) has 118 members, elected for a five year term by proportional representation with a 2% barrier. The **Senate** (*Sénat*) has 49 members, elected for a five year term by electoral colleges of communal councilors. Extra seats in both chambers can be added to ensure that ethnic and gender quotas are met. Burundi has a multi-party system, with two or three strong parties and a third party that is electorally successful. Parties are usually based on ethnic background.

## **2005 National Assembly elections**

# Summary of the 4 July 2005 National Assembly of Burundi election results

| Parties   | Votes | %     | Elected seats | Coopted seats | Total<br>seats |
|---|-------|-------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| National Council for the Defense of Democracy-Forces for the Defense of Democracy (Conseil National Pour la Défense de la Démocratie—Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie, CNDD-FDD) |       | 58.55 | 59            | 5             | 64             |

| Front for Democracy in Burundi (Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi, FRODEBU)  |           | 21.70 | 25  | 5  | 30  |
|--|-----------|-------|-----|----|-----|
| Union for National Progress ( <i>Union</i> pour le Progrès national, UPRONA)   | 174,575   | 7.21  | 10  | 5  | 15  |
| National Council for the Defense of<br>Democracy (Conseil National Pour<br>la Défense de la Démocratie,<br>CNDD)             |           | 4.14  | 4   | -  | 4   |
| Movement for the Rehabilitation of Citizens-Rurenzangemero (Mouvement pour la Réhabilitation du Citoyen-Rurenzangemero, MRC) | 51,730    | 2.14  | 2   | -  | 2   |
| Party for National Recovery ( <i>Parti</i> pour le redressement national, PARENA)  |           | 1.74  | -   | -  | -   |
| Others & Independents  | 109,396   | 4.51  | -   | -  | -   |
| Ethnic Twa Members   | -         | -     | -   | 3  | 3   |
| Total (Voter Turnout: 77.2%)   | 2,421,426 | 100.0 | 100 | 18 | 118 |

| Invalid/Blank Votes                | 24,575    |
|------------------------------------|-----------|
| Total Votes                        | 2,446,001 |
| Registered Voters                  | 3,167,124 |
| Source: African Elections Database |           |

More info: Burundi elections, 2005 on the Constitutional Referendum, Communal, National Assembly, Senate, Presidential, and 'Hills' elections.

# **Burundian presidential election, 2010**

28 June

Pierre
Nominee
Nkurunziza

Incumbent

**President** 

Pierre Nkurunziza

**President-elect** 

TBD

Burundi

A **presidential election** was held in Burundi on 28 June 2010. As a result of withdrawals and alleged fraud and intimidation, the incumbent was the only candidate.

#### Background

Unlike the 2005 election, the 2010 election was a direct election by all voters, not by parliament. In early March 2010, the run-up to the election was called "explosive" due to a combination of demobilized former combatants and violence between youth activists in the ruling CNDD-FDD and opposition FRODEBU.

Following the Burundi Civil War, between the Tutsi and Hutu (similar to Rwanda), the National Liberation Forces (FNL) were brought into the legal political sphere and were said to be the incumbent Pierre Nkurunziza's most viable opposition. But through a campaign of intimidation in the run up to the vote, as well as alleging fraud in earlier local elections, all the other candidates withdrew from the ballot leaving just Nkurunziza. On 1 June 2010, five opposition candidates, including Agathon Rwasa (considered the strongest contender against the incumbent), withdrew from the election, alleging that the government intended to rig it.

Following further similarities with Rwanda, ethnic tensions between Tutsi and Hutu were seen in the lead up to their own presidential election. Bombings there were blamed on the Interhamwe.

#### Electoral violence

The day before the election three grenade attacks were reported in the early hours of the morning. Two were in the capital's Buyenzi and Kamesa districts, causing no injuries, and one exploded in the western town of Kanyosha, killing one and wounding two. The person killed was supposedly an official with the FNL. Another man was shot dead in Bujumbaura's Musanga neighbourhood in a suspected politically motivated attack. On election day, three more grenade

attacks occurred in the capital Bujumbura, while two more exploded in the north of the country. In all, at least eight people were killed and more than 60 wounded since the opposition candidates pulled out of the race.

The FNL were suspected of the grenade attacks, when local police searched the home of the party's leader, Agathon Rwasa. However, the FNL denied involvement in the attacks and has said that their leader is being targeted for political reasons. According to party chairman Alexis Sinduhije of the Movement for Solidarity and Development, police also arrested six members of his party.

#### International reaction

The East African Community – comprising Burundi, Rwanda, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania – urged all parties to ensure a smooth and democratic election.

#### **Election**

In the FNL bastion of Kanyosha, only a handful of voters turned out to vote, as compared to hundreds who voted in the local council elections just one month before. The chair of an international observation mission, Lydie Nzengou, affirmed during the day that the turnout was much lower.

#### Results

| Burundian presidential election, 2010 |                   |           |            |  |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|------------|--|
| v • d • e                             |                   |           |            |  |
| Party                                 | Candidate         | Votes     | Percentage |  |
| CNDD-FDD                              | Pierre Nkurunziza | 2,479,483 | 91.62%     |  |

| Against                            | 226,919   | 8.38%   |  |
|------------------------------------|-----------|---------|--|
| Valid votes                        | 2,706,402 | 98.93%  |  |
| Invalid or blank votes             | 29,356    | 1.07%   |  |
| Total (turnout: 76.98%)            | 2,735,758 | 100.00% |  |
| Electorate                         | 3,553,372 |         |  |
| Source: AFP, People's Daily Online |           |         |  |

#### **Aftermath**

Rwasa went into hiding upon speculation that the government wanted to arrest him on charges of planning a new insurgency. He was quoted as saying that "They're (the government) looking for me because I told the truth, because I said publicly that I don't accept the results of the local elections. [Last] Wednesday they wanted to arrest me again. I got wind of it and I disappeared from circulation." It was presumed that he was in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

#### Netherlands

### Capital

(and largest city) Amsterdam 52°19′N 05°33′E / 52.317°N 5.55°E / 52.317; 5.55 Official language(s) Dutch Ethnic groups 80% Dutch

20% others (2010)

Demonym Dutch

Government Parliamentary system,

Constitutional monarchy

- Monarch Queen Beatrix

- Prime Minister (caretaker) Jan Peter Balkenende (CDA)

Legislature States-General

- Upper House Senate

- Lower House House of Representatives

Independence through the Eighty Years' War from the Spanish Empire

- Declared 26 July 1581

- Recognized 30 January 1648

EU accession 25 March 1957

Area

- Total 41,526 km2 (135th)

16,033 sq mi

- Water (%) 18.41

Population

- 2010 estimate 16,624,500[2] (61st)

Density 400.3/km2 (28th)

1,036.9/sq mi

GDP (PPP) 2009 estimate

Total \$658.228 billion

- Per capita \$39,938

GDP (nominal) 2009 estimate

- Total \$794.777 billion

- Per capita \$48,223

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

The Netherlands is a constituent country of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, located in North-West Europe. It is a parliamentary democratic constitutional monarchy. The Netherlands borders the North Sea to the north and west, Belgium to the south, and Germany to the east, and water borders with Denmark, Norway and United Kingdom. The capital is Amsterdam and the seat of government is The Hague. The Netherlands in its entirety is often referred to as Holland, although North and South Holland are actually only two of its twelve provinces (see terminology of "the Netherlands"). The word Dutch is used to refer to the people, the language, and anything pertaining to the Netherlands. This lexical difference between the noun and the adjective is an attribute of the English language that does not exist in the Dutch language. The adjective 'Dutch' is derived from the language that was spoken in the area, called 'Diets', which equals Middle Dutch.

The Netherlands was one of the first parliamentary democracies. Among other affiliations the country is a founding member of the European Union (EU), NATO, OECD and WTO. With Belgium and Luxembourg it forms the Benelux economic union. The country is host to five international courts: the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the International Court of Justice, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, the International Criminal Court and the Special Tribunal for Lebanon. The first four are situated in The Hague as is the EU's criminal intelligence agency Europol and judicial co-operation agency Eurojust. This has led to the city being dubbed "the world's legal capital".[5] The Netherlands has a capitalist market-based economy, ranking 15th of 157 countries according to the Index of Economic Freedom.

The Netherlands is a geographically low-lying country, with about 20% of its area and 21% of its population located below sea level, with 50% of its land lying less than one metre above sea level. Significant land area has been gained through land reclamation and preserved through an elaborate system of polders and dikes. Much of the Netherlands is formed by the estuary of three important

European rivers, which together with their distributaries form the Rhine-Meuse-Scheldt delta. Most of the country is very flat, with the exception of foothills in the far southeast and several low-hill ranges in the central parts.

#### History

Under Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, and King of Spain, the region was part of the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands, which also included most of present-day Belgium, Luxembourg, and some land of France and Germany. The Eighty Years' War between the provinces and Spain began in 1568.

In 1579, the northern half of the Seventeen Provinces formed the Union of Utrecht, a treaty in which they promised to support each other in their defense against the Spanish army. The Union of Utrecht is seen as the foundation of the modern Netherlands. In 1581 the northern provinces adopted the Act of Abjuration, the declaration of independence in which the provinces officially deposed Philip II of Spain.

Queen Elizabeth I of England sympathized with the Dutch struggle against the Spanish, and in 1585 she concluded a treaty with the Dutch whereby she promised to send an English army to the Netherlands to aid the Dutch in their war with the Spanish. In December 1585, 7,600 soldiers were sent to the Netherlands from England under the command of Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester. However, the English army was wasted away in fruitless military campaigns in the Netherlands and had no real effect of helping the Dutch rebellion.

Robert Dudley returned to the Netherlands in November 1586 with another army. However, the result was no better than it had been in 1585. Philip II, the son of Charles V, was not prepared to let them go easily, and war continued until 1648, when Spain under King Philip IV finally recognised the independence of the

seven northwestern provinces in the Peace of Münster. Parts of the southern provinces became de facto colonies of the new republican-mercantile empire.

#### Dutch Republic 1581–1795

After independence, the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Groningen, Friesland, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Gelre formed a confederation known as the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands. All these provinces were autonomous and had their own government, the "States of the Province". The States-General, the confederal government, were seated in The Hague and consisted of representatives from each of the seven provinces. The sparsely populated region of Drenthe, mainly consisting of poor peatland, was part of the republic too, although Drenthe was not considered one of the provinces.

Drenthe had its own states, but the landdrost of Drenthe was appointed by the States-General. The Republic occupied a number of so-called Generality Lands (Generaliteitslanden in Dutch). These territories were governed directly by the States-General, so they did not have a government of their own and they did not have representatives in the States-General. Most of these territories were occupied during the Eighty Years' War. They were mainly Roman Catholic and were used as a buffer zone between the Republic and the Southern Netherlands. Dutch Batavia built in what is now Jakarta, by Andries Beeckman c. 1656.

The Dutch Empire grew to become one of the major seafaring and economic powers of the 17th century. In the Dutch Golden Age ("Gouden Eeuw"), colonies and trading posts were established all over the world. Dutch settlement in North America began with the founding of New Amsterdam, on the southern tip of Manhattan in 1614. In South Africa, the Dutch settled the Cape Colony in 1652. By 1650, the Dutch owned 16,000 merchant ships.[14] During the 17th century, the Dutch population increased from an estimated 1.5 million to almost 2 million. The Four Days' Battle, 1 –4 June 1666, during the Second Anglo–Dutch War.

Many economic historians regard the Netherlands as the first thoroughly capitalist country in the world. In early modern Europe it featured the wealthiest trading city (Amsterdam) and the first full-time stock exchange. The inventiveness of the traders led to insurance and retirement funds as well as phenomena such as the boom-bust cycle, the world's first asset-inflation bubble, the tulip mania of 1636–1637, and, according to Murray Sayle, the world's first bear raider, Isaac le Maire, who forced prices down by dumping stock and then buying it back at a discount.[16] The republic went into a state of general decline in the later 18th century, with economic competition from England and long standing rivalries between the two main factions in Dutch society, the Staatsgezinden (Republicans) and the Prinsgezinden (Royalists or Orangists) as main factors.

In the 17th century, plantation colonies were established by the Dutch and English along the many rivers in the fertile Guyana plains. The earliest documented colony in Guiana was along the Suriname River and called Marshall's Creek. The area was named after an Englishman.[17] Disputes arose between the Dutch and the English. In 1667, the Dutch decided to keep the nascent plantation colony of Suriname conquered from the English, resulting from the Treaty of Breda. The English were left with New Amsterdam, a small trading post in North America, which is now known as New York City.

An anachronous map of the Dutch colonial Empire. Light green: territories administered by or originating from territories administered by the Dutch East India Company; dark green the Dutch West India Company.

An anachronous map of the Dutch colonial Empire. Light green: territories administered by or originating from territories administered by the Dutch East India Company; dark green the Dutch West India Company.

French domination (1795–1814)

On 19 January 1795, one day after stadtholder William V of Orange fled to England, the Bataafse Republiek (Batavian Republic) was proclaimed, rendering the Netherlands a unitary state. From 1795 to 1806, the Batavian Republic designated the Netherlands as a republic modelled after the French Republic.

From 1806 to 1810, the Koninkrijk Holland (Kingdom of Holland) was set up by Napoleon Bonaparte as a puppet kingdom governed by his brother Louis Bonaparte in order to control the Netherlands more effectively. The name of the leading province, Holland, was used for the whole country. The Kingdom of Holland covered the area of the present day Netherlands, with the exception of Limburg and parts of Zeeland, which were French territory. In 1807, Prussian East Frisia and Jever were added to the kingdom. In 1809, however, after a failed British invasion, Holland had to give over all territories south of the Rhine to France.

King Louis Bonaparte did not meet Napoleon's expectations — he tried to serve Dutch interests instead of his brother's — and he was forced to abdicate on 1 July 1810. He was succeeded by his five-year-old son Napoleon Louis Bonaparte. Napoleon Louis reigned as Louis II for just ten days as Napoleon ignored his young nephew's accession to the throne. The Emperor sent in an army to invade the country and dissolved the Kingdom of Holland. The Netherlands then became part of the French Empire.

The Netherlands remained part of the French Empire until the autumn of 1813, when Napoleon was defeated in the battle of Leipzig and forced to withdraw his troops from the country.

#### **Kingdom of the Netherlands**

William I of the Netherlands, son of the last stadtholder William V van Oranje, returned to the Netherlands in 1813 and became Sovereign Prince of the

Netherlands. On 16 March 1815, the Sovereign Prince became King of the Netherlands.

In 1815, the Congress of Vienna formed the United Kingdom of the Netherlands by expanding the Netherlands with Belgium in order to create a strong country on the northern border of France. In addition, William became hereditary Grand Duke of Luxembourg. The Congress of Vienna gave Luxembourg to William as personal property in exchange for his German possessions, Nassau-Dillenburg, Siegen, Hadamar, and Diez.

Belgium rebelled and gained independence in 1830, while the personal union between Luxembourg and the Netherlands was severed in 1890, when King William III of the Netherlands died with no surviving male heirs. Ascendancy laws prevented his daughter Queen Wilhelmina from becoming the next Grand Duchess. Therefore the throne of Luxembourg passed over from the House of Orange-Nassau to the House of Nassau-Weilburg, a junior branch of the House of Nassau.

New Amsterdam as it appeared in 1664, before it was exchanged with Great Britain for Suriname. Under British rule it became known as New York.

The largest Dutch settlement abroad was the Cape Colony. It was established by Jan van Riebeeck on behalf of the Dutch East India Company at Cape Town (Dutch: Kaapstad) in 1652. The Prince of Orange acquiesced to British occupation and control of the Cape Colony in 1788. The Netherlands also possessed several other colonies, but Dutch settlement in these lands was limited. Most notable were the vast Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) and Dutch Guiana (now Suriname). These 'colonies' were first administered by the Dutch East India Company and the Dutch West India Company, both collective private enterprises. Three centuries later these companies got into financial trouble, and the territories in which they operated were taken over by the Dutch government (in 1815 and 1791 respectively). Only then did they become official colonies.

During its colonial period the Netherlands was heavily involved in the slave trade. The Dutch planters relied heavily on African slaves to cultivate the coffee, cocoa, sugar cane and cotton plantations along the rivers. Treatment of the slaves by their owners was notoriously bad, and many slaves escaped the plantations. Slavery was abolished by the Netherlands in Dutch Guiana in 1863, but the slaves were not fully released until 1873, after a mandatory 10 year transition period during which time they were required to work on the plantations for minimal pay and without state sanctioned torture. As soon as they became truly free, the slaves largely abandoned the plantations where they had suffered for several generations in favor of the city Paramaribo. Every year this is remembered during Keti Koti, 1 July, Emancipation Day (end of slavery).

During the 19th century, the Netherlands was slow to industrialize compared to neighbouring countries, mainly because of the great complexity involved in modernizing the infrastructure, consisting largely of waterways, and the great reliance its industry had on windpower.

Although the Netherlands remained neutral during World War I, it was heavily involved in the war.[18] German general Count Schlieffen, who was Chief of the Imperial German General Staff had originally planned to invade the Netherlands while advancing into France in the original Schlieffen Plan. This was changed by Schlieffen's successor Helmuth von Moltke the Younger in order to maintain Dutch neutrality. Later during the war Dutch neutrality proved essential to German survival until the blockade by Great Britain in 1916, when the import of goods through the Netherlands was no longer possible. However, the Dutch were able to continue to remain neutral during the war using their diplomacy and their ability to trade.

#### Second World War

The Netherlands intended to remain neutral during the Second World War. There were, however, contingency plans involving the armies of Belgium, France and the United Kingdom. Regardless, Nazi Germany invaded the Netherlands on 10 May 1940 as part of their campaign against the Allied forces. French forces in the south and British ships in the west came to help but turned around quickly, evacuating many civilians and several thousand German prisoners of war from the German elite airborne divisions.

The country was overrun in five days. Only after, but not because of, the bombing of Rotterdam the main element of the Dutch army surrendered on 14 May 1940; although a Dutch and French force held the western part of Zeeland for some time after the surrender. The Kingdom as such, continued the war from the colonial empire; the government in exile resided in London.

During the occupation, over 100,000 Dutch Jews[19] were rounded up to be transported to Nazi German concentration camps in Germany, German-occupied Poland and German-occupied Czechoslovakia. By the time these camps were liberated, only 876 Dutch Jews survived. Dutch workers were conscripted for forced labour in German factories, civilians were killed in reprisal for attacks on German soldiers, and the countryside was plundered for food for German soldiers in the Netherlands and for shipment to Germany. Although there were thousands[20] of Dutch who risked their lives by hiding Jews from the Germans, as recounted in The Hiding Place (book) by Corrie ten Boom and The Heart Has Reasons[21] by Mark Klempner, there were also thousands[22] of Dutch who collaborated with the occupying force in hunting down hiding Jews. Local fascists and anti-Bolsheviks joined the Waffen-SS in the 4th SS Volunteer Panzergrenadier Brigade Netherlands, fighting on the Eastern Front as well as other units.

Dutch resistance members with troops of the US 101st Airborne in front of Eindhoven cathedral during Operation Market Garden in September 1944.

On 8 December 1941, the Netherlands declared war on Japan.[23] The government-in-exile then lost control of its major colonial stronghold, the Netherlands East Indies (Indonesia), to Japanese forces in March 1942. "American-British-Dutch-Australian" (ABDA) forces fought hard in some instances but were overwhelmed. During the Japanese occupation of Indonesia, the Japanese interned Dutch civilians and used Dutch and Indos (Eurasians of Dutch and Indonesian descent) alike as forced labour, both in the Netherlands East Indies and in neighbouring countries.

This included forcing women to work as "comfort women" (sex slaves) for Japanese personnel. The Dutch Red Cross reported the deaths in Japanese custody of 14,800 European civilians out of 80,000 interned and 12,500 of the 34,000 POW captured.[25] A later U.N. report stated that 4 million people died in Indonesia as a result of famine and forced labour (known as romusha) during the Japanese occupation.[26] Some military personnel escaped to Australia and other Allied countries from where they carried on the fight against Japan. The Japanese furthered the cause of independence for the colony, so that after VE day many young Dutchmen found themselves fighting a colonial war against the new republic of Indonesia.

Princess Juliana of the Netherlands, the only child of Queen Wilhelmina and heir to the throne, sought refuge in Ottawa, Canada, with her two daughters, Beatrix and Irene, during the war. During Princess Juliana's stay in Canada, preparations were made for the birth of her third child. To ensure the Dutch citizenship of this royal baby, the Canadian Parliament passed a special law declaring Princess Juliana's suite at the Ottawa Civic Hospital "extraterritorial".

On 19 January 1943, Princess Margriet was born. The day after Princess Margriet's birth, the Dutch flag was flown on the Peace Tower. This was the only time in history a foreign flag has waved atop Canada's Parliament Buildings. In 1944-45, the First Canadian Army was responsible for liberating much of the

Netherlands from German occupation. The joyous "Canadian summer" that ensued after the liberation, forged deep and long-lasting bonds of friendship between the Netherlands and Canada. In 1949, Dutch troops occupied an area of 69 km2 (27 sq mi) of the British zone of occupied Germany and annexed it. At that time, these areas were inhabited by almost 10,000 people.

#### **Recent history**

After the war, the Dutch economy prospered by leaving behind an era of neutrality and gaining closer ties with neighbouring states. The Netherlands was one of the founding members of the Benelux (Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg) grouping, was among the twelve founding members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), and was among the six founding members of the European Coal and Steel Community, which would later evolve, via the EEC (Common Market), into the European Union.

The 1960s and 1970s were a time of great social and cultural change, such as rapid ontzuiling (literally: depillarisation), a term that describes the decay of the old divisions along class and religious lines. Youths, and students in particular, rejected traditional mores and pushed for change in matters like women's rights, sexuality, disarmament and environmental issues. Today, the Netherlands is regarded as a liberal country, considering its drugs policy and its legalisation of euthanasia. Same-sex marriage has been permitted since 1 April 2001.

# **Elections in the Netherlands**

Elections in the Netherlands are held for six territorial levels of government: the European Union (beyond the scope of this article), the state, the twelve Provinces of the Netherlands, the 27 water boards, the 441 municipalities and in two cities (Amsterdam and Rotterdam) for neighbourhood councils (stadsdeelraden). Apart from elections, referendums are also held occasionally, a

fairly recent phenomenon in Dutch politics. The most recent national election results and an overview of the resulting seat assignments and coalitions since World War II are shown at the bottom of this page.

At the national level, the legislative power is invested in the States-General (*Staten-Generaal*), which is bicameral. The House of Representatives (*Tweede Kamer*) has 150 members, elected for a four year term by proportional representation. Elections are also called after dissolution of the House of Representatives. All elections are direct, except for the Senate (*Eerste Kamer*), which has 75 members, elected for a four year term through the provincial councillors on the basis of the proportional representation at the provincial elections.

The Netherlands has a multi-party system, with numerous parties in which usually no one party ever secures an overall majority of votes (except occasionally in very small municipalities, such as in Tubbergen), so several parties must cooperate to form a coalition government. This usually includes the party supported by a plurality of voters, with only three exceptions since World War II, in 1971, 1977 and 1982, when the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA) was the largest party but did not take part in the coalition.

Candidates to the elections of the House of Representatives are chosen from party lists resulting in proportional representation. The threshold is 1/150th of the total number of valid votes. The way representatives are elected is subject to debate however, as the Minister for Government Reform has put forward ideas for a new voting system based on the additional member system.

During the municipal elections of 2006, elections were electronic throughout the country. As a result, results were known before the end of the day, a mere two hours after the closing of the poll stations. For the national elections in November of that same year, however, several polling stations decided to return to paper and red pencil because of security issues with the voting machines.

The most recent elections were the municipal elections, on 3 March 2010.

# **Timing**

The maximum parliamentary term is four years and elections are always held almost four years after the previous one, but usually in spring. This is to ensure that the most important day in the Dutch Parliament, Prinsjesdag, is not harmed by campaigning, and that the chance of the elections being harmed by adverse weather is low. An exception is made if there is severe conflict between the House of Representatives and cabinet or after a cabinet crisis.

Elections usually take place on Wednesdays, but the government can decide to change this to a Tuesday, Thursday or Friday if there are good reasons to do so (e.g. when the election day coincides with a national holiday). Elections for the European Parliament always take place on a Thursday.

# **Eligibility**

Every Dutch citizen who has reached the age of 18 is eligible to vote (actief kiesrecht) or to get elected as member of the House of Representatives (passief kiesrecht). Notable exception is the municipal election, where persons younger than 18 can be elected, but may not take seat until their 18th birthday. Also, for the municipal election one does not have to be Dutch; citizens of countries in the EU are also eligible to vote as well as citizens of other countries who have lived (legally) in the Netherlands for five years. Someone may be deprived of these rights if they are mentally incapable of making a reasoned choice or have lost their right to vote by court sentence. Two weeks before an election all voters receive a card, which is the evidence that one is a registered voter and must be handed over in order to vote. As of 1970, voting is not compulsory.

It is not necessary or even possible to register as a voter for elections in the Netherlands: everyone living in the Netherlands should be registered as a resident with the municipality they are living in (including their nationality and date of birth). The electoral register is derived from this data.

# **System**

As described above, the House of Representatives is elected using a system of open party lists, resulting in proportional representation.

# **Election**

For all elections except water board elections, votings are organized per municipality. At every municipality, there are multiple voting stations, usually in communal buildings, such as churches, schools, and recently, railway stations. There are two different systems: using the calling card (*oproepkaart*) or the voting pass (*stempas*). With the oproepkaart, voters can only vote at the closest voting station, using their card, or if lost, their identification. With the stempas, users can vote at any station in the municipality, but need the stempas. If it is lost, it replacement can be requested, but only until a few days before the elections. A stempas (of different type) can also be requested to vote in a different municipality.

When arriving at a voting station, voters hand in their card or pass to one of the three attendants of the voting station, which checks the card, invalidates it and points the voter to the booth.

Voting is done in one of two ways: using a red pencil or a voting machine. In 2005, almost no municipalities planned to vote with the pencil anymore. However, serious doubt was raised over the computers, both in being easy to manipulate, and being able to be electronically eavesdropped from a distance. This led to a run on foreign voting computers and reintroduction of the red pencil in some municipalities in 2006, occasionally using converted medical waste disposal containers as voting boxes.

Dutch citizens living abroad are able to vote by registering in advance and then using a postal vote or, more recently, voting over the internet. The results are counted by the municipality of The Hague and included in its own results.

# Post-election

Polls close at 21.00 and votes are called immediately. For national elections, the first results usually come in five minutes after the polls are closed (from the municipalities with the least inhabitants, Schiermonnikoog and Renswoude). The final results are known around midnight and semi-officially announced the next morning, after which the 150 seats allocated. However, over the course of the days recounting might reveal some minor shifts in seating.

## Seat assignment

The electorate in the Netherlands during the last elections in 2006 was 12,264,503, of whom 80% voted, resulting in 9,854,998 votes (of which 16,315 invalid votes). With 150 seats, that means a quota of 65,591, the so called Hare quota. Since the electoral threshold is equal to the quota, that is also the number of votes required to get one seat in the House of Representatives, basically meaning there is no threshold, except that a party has to meet the threshold to be eligible for residual seats.

However, the way residual seats are assigned, by using the D'Hondt method, a highest averages method, means that smaller parties are unlikely to get one, while larger parties have a bigger chance of getting one and may even get more than one. Firstly, numbers of seats are always rounded down, meaning there are always residual seats and parties that didn't reach the quota don't get any seats (they don't take part in the following calculation). Next, the number of votes is divided by the assigned seats *plus one*. The party with the highest resulting number then gets one extra seat. Next, the process is repeated, with the party that got the extra seat participating again, albeit with a number one higher

because they got an extra seat (the calculation stays the same for the other parties, which got no extra seat). But later on in the process, that party may get another extra seat. And since there are many parties in the House of Representatives, this is not unlikely to happen.

For example, in 2003 (see table here), the three biggest parties each got two of the six residual seats, even the VVD (150\*0.179=26.85, but they got 28 seats, representing 18.7% of the seats instead of 17.9%), whereas the Socialist Party got none (150\*0.063 = 9.45, but they got only 9 seats, representing 6% of the seats instead of 6.3%).

When the largest party gets over 35% of the votes and is considerably bigger than the next biggest party, that party may even get as much as 3 or even 4 residual seats. This has, however, never happened. The percentage of votes for the biggest party is usually around 30% and rarely goes far beyond that. The largest result ever was at the 1989 elections, when CDA got 35.3% of the votes. Even then, however, CDA only got two residual seats because next biggest party (PvdA) had 31.9% of the votes. The biggest difference between the first and second party was at the 2002 elections, the most dramatic elections in Dutch history, when especially PvdA lost many votes to LPF, which became second biggest after CDA with 17.0% of the votes. CDA, however, had only 27.9% of the votes and therefore still only got 2 residual seats.

Parties may, however, form an alliance (*lijstencombinatie*), in which case they participate in the above calculations as one party and get a bigger chance of gaining residual seats (or getting one in the first place). The division of those seats between *those* parties is, however, done in a different way, by using the largest remainder method, which favours the smaller parties rather than the bigger ones if there is a considerable difference in size. But the overall advantage is greatest for small parties of comparable size.

## Assigning people to seats

After seats are assigned to the parties, people have to be assigned to the seats. The Netherlands has 19 electoral districts, in each of them a party can use different lists. In theory, a party can place different candidates on each of the 19 different lists. However, it is usual that at least the candidate ranked first on the list is the same person throughout the country. It is even quite common that parties use the same list in every district, or vary only the last five candidates per district. Usually these five candidates are locally well known politicians, parties hope to attract extra votes with these candidates. However, because of their low position on the list, chances are low that these local candidates are elected.

The first step in the process of assigning people to the seats is calculating how many seats each of the different lists of a party gets, by adding the number of votes on each of the different lists together. If a party used the same list in more than one electoral district, these lists are seen as one list. Seat assignment to the different lists is done by using the largest remainder method.

The second step is calculating which candidate received on his or her own more votes than 25% of the electoral quota, by adding up all votes for a particular candidate on the different lists. These candidates are declared elected independent of the list order, and get one of the seats of the list where they received the most votes. If more candidates are elected on a list than the list received seats, the candidate with the lowest total number of votes is transferred to the list where he had his second best result.

As a third step, the remaining seats (if there are any) are assigned to the remaining candidates, based on their order on the list. When candidates are elected way on more than one list this way, the candidate gets the seat on the list where he or she received the most votes. This is continued until every seat is assigned. If one of these elected candidates later decides to leave parliament, then his seat is assigned to the next person on the list of the district he 'represents'.

An exception to the above exists in the form of *lijstduwer* ('list pushers'), famous people (former politicians, but also sports people) who are put on the candidate list but will not accept a seat when they get enough votes for one. During the municipal elections in 2006 professor Joop van Holsteyn criticised this practise, saying someone on a candidate list should also be a serious candidate. This view is shared by other politicologists, but less so by politicians, who say that lijstduwers are on the list not to get elected but to show that they support that party and that the fact that they are at the bottom of the list makes it obvious they are not intended to get a seat. Still, writer Ronald Giphart (1998) and skater Hilbert van der Duim (1994) got a city council seat, which Giphart refused to fill. Professor Rudy Andeweg says this is close to fraud because the law requires someone on the candidate list to declare in writing to be willing to fill a seat.

An example from the municipality of Oude IJsselstreek. The city council elections of 2010 resulted a total of 17.852 valid votes. The CDA party achieved 4.440 votes. Of the thirty CDA candidates on the list, 22 were given at least one vote each:

- 1. van de Wardt, P. 2.061
- 2. Aalbers-van Ham, A.A.F.J. 224
- 3. Steentjes, B.W.J. 451
- 4. Bergevoet, R.J.W.M. 245
- 5. Tekinerdoğan, M. 417
- 6. Ermers-Mulder, A.G.M. 66
- 7. Hettinga, M.A.J. 99
- 8. Toussaint, C.P. 29
- 9. van Bergen, J.H. 37
- 10. Berentschot, H.J. 77
- 11. Hendriksen-Löverink, S.A.M. 150
- 12. Büchner, A.C.A. 31
- 13. Sorgedrager-Carreira da Cunha Sant'Anna Sorgedrager, M.P. 22
- 14. Hakvoort, G.W.M. 219

- 15. Lammers-te Lindert, E.H.A. 19
- 16. Vesters, J.M.G.M. 28
- 17. Rootmensen-Bulsink, J.W. 45
- 18. Ross, A.G.M. 59
- 19. Koskamp, A.H. 35
- 20. Roelofs, W.T.H.M. 91
- 21. Ernst, F.F.J. 15
- 22. Löverink, B.A.S. 20

(The last number is the amount of personal votes.)

As the total number of votes in the municipality is 17.852 and the council has 27 seats, 661 votes count for one seat. As the CDA has 4.440 votes it is entitled to seven seats.

First, it has to be checked who of the CDA candidates has more than a quarter of the *kiesdeler*. (661 divided by four makes 165 votes.) This is true for the candidates number 1, 3, 5, 4, 2 and 14 (in this order). Those six are elected.

Second, the rest of the CDA seats (one) is given to the person first on the list. As candidates number 1-5 already have seats, this last seat goes to number 6.

# Latest national elections

### **Dutch general elections**

### Summary of the 22 November 2006 Dutch House of Representatives election results

| Parties Polit |  | Top<br>candidate | Votes | Seats | +/- | Vote % | Seat % |  |
|---------------|--|------------------|-------|-------|-----|--------|--------|--|
|---------------|--|------------------|-------|-------|-----|--------|--------|--|

| Christian Democratic Appeal (Christen- Democratisch Appèl, CDA)  | Christian<br>Democracy                | Jan Peter<br>Balkenende | 2,608,573 | 41 | -3  | 26.5 | 27.3 |
|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|----|-----|------|------|
| Labour Party<br>(Partij van de<br>Arbeid, PvdA)  | Social Democracy                      | Wouter Bos              | 2,085,077 | 33 | -9  | 21.2 | 21.3 |
| Socialist Party<br>(Socialistische<br>Partij, SP)  | Democratic<br>Socialism               | Jan<br>Marijnissen      | 1,630,803 | 25 | +16 | 16.6 | 17.3 |
| People's Party<br>for Freedom<br>and<br>Democracy<br>(Volkspartij<br>voor Vrijheid<br>en Democratie,<br>VVD) | Conservative<br>liberalism/Liberalism | Mark Rutte              | 1,443,312 | 22 | -6  | 14.7 | 14.7 |
| Party for<br>Freedom<br>(Partij voor de<br>Vrijheid, PVV)  | Conservative<br>liberalism/Liberal    | Geert<br>Wilders        | 579,490   | 9  | +8  | 5.9  | 6.0  |

| GreenLeft<br>(GroenLinks,<br>GL)                                 | Green Politics                                     | Femke<br>Halsema      | 453,054   | 7   | -1 | 4.6   | 4.7   |
|--|--|-----------------------|-----------|-----|----|-------|-------|
| ChristianUnion<br>(ChristenUnie,<br>CU)                          | Social-Christianity<br>/Orthodox<br>Protestantism  | André<br>Rouvoet      | 390,969   | 6   | +3 | 4.0   | 4.0   |
| Democrats 66<br>(Democraten<br>66, D66)                          | Social liberalism,<br>Radicalism,<br>Progressivism | Alexander<br>Pechtold | 193,232   | 3   | -3 | 2.0   | 2.0   |
| Party for the Animals (Partij voor de Dieren, PvdD)              | Animal<br> rights/Animal                           | Marianne<br>Thieme    | 179,988   | 2   | +2 | 1.8   | 1.3   |
| Reformed Political Party (Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij, SGP) | Conservatism,<br>Reformed Christian                | Bas van<br>der Vlies  | 153,266   | 2   | 0  | 1.6   | 1.3   |
| Other  | _  | _                     | 100,919   | _   | _  | 1.0   | _     |
| Total  |  |                       | 9,838,683 | 150 | 0  | 100.0 | 100.0 |

| Turnout           |                | 9,854,998  | _  - | 80.4     | _         |
|-------------------|----------------|--|------|----------|-----------|
| 3                 |                | Kamerverkiezing van 22<br>estanden/pdf_thema/Proces- |      | 2006". I | Kiesraad. |
| verbaal_Tweede_Ka | amer_2006.pdf. |  |      |          |           |

**Dutch senate elections** The Senate is elected indirectly, by the provincial councillors (who are themselves chosen in direct elections). It is composed as follows:

## Party breakdown of the Senate after the 2007 indirect elections

| Parties  | Seats |
|--|-------|
| Christian Democratic Appeal (Christen-Democratisch Appèl)                          | 21    |
| People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie) | 14    |
| Labour Party (Partij van de Arbeid)  | 14    |
| Socialist Party (Socialistische Partij)  | 12    |
| GreenLeft (GroenLinks)   | 4     |

| Christian Union (ChristenUnie)                              | 4  |
|---|----|
| Democrats 66 (Democraten 66)                                | 2  |
| Political Reformed Party (Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij) | 2  |
| Party for the Animals (Partij voor de Dieren)               | 1  |
| Independent Senate Group (Onafhankelijke Senaatsfractie)    | 1  |
| Total   | 75 |

# **Dutch European Parliament elections**

# Summary of the 4 June 2009 European Parliament election results in the Netherlands

| Lists |      |                                   |                                    |          |              |         |       |        |       |
|-------|------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------|--------------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
|       | List | National Party                    |                                    | EU Party | EP<br>Group  | Votes   | %     | Change | Seats |
|       | list | Christian<br>Democratic<br>Appeal | Christen-<br>Democratisch<br>Appèl | EPP      | EPP<br>Group | 913.233 | 20,05 | -4,33  | 5     |

| list | Party for Freedom                                 | Partij voor de<br>Vrijheid | none           | NI             | 772.746 | 16,97 | +16,97 | 4 |
|------|---|----------------------------|----------------|----------------|---------|-------|--------|---|
| list | Labour Party                                      | Partij van de<br>Arbeid    | PES            | PASD           | 548.691 | 12,05 | -11,60 | 3 |
| list | People's Party<br>for Freedom<br>and<br>Democracy | Volkspartij voor           | ELDR           | ALDE           | 518.643 | 11,39 | -1,81  | 3 |
| list | Democrats 66                                      | Democraten 66              | ELDR           | ALDE           | 515.422 | 11,32 | +7,08  | 3 |
| list | GreenLeft   | GroenLinks                 | EGP            | Greens-<br>EFA | 404.020 | 8,87  | +1,53  | 3 |
| list | Socialist Party                                   | Socialistische<br>Partij   | none           | EUL/NGL        | 323.269 | 7,10  | +0,13  | 2 |
| list | ChristianUnion  - Reformed Political Party        | ChristenUnie–SGP           | ECPM /<br>none | ECR /<br>EFD   | 310.540 | 6,82  | +0,91  | 2 |
| list | Party for the<br>Animals                          | Partij voor de<br>Dieren   | none           |                | 157.735 | 3,46  | +0,32  | 0 |

| lis | European<br>Whistle-<br>Blower Party | Europese<br>klokkenluiderspartij    | none        |                | 21.448 | 0,47 | +0,47 | 0 |
|-----|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|----------------|--------|------|-------|---|
| lis | Newropeans                           |                                     | Newropeans  | none           | 19.840 | 0,44 | +0,44 | 0 |
| lis | Libertas                             | Libertas                            | Libertas.eu | EFD            | 14.612 | 0,32 | +0,32 | 0 |
| lis | Liberal Democratic Party             | Liberaal<br>Democratische<br>Partij | none        |                | 10.757 | 0,24 | +0,24 | 0 |
| lis | The Greens                           | De Groenen                          | EGP         | Greens-<br>EFA | 8.517  | 0,19 | +0,19 | 0 |
| lis | Solidara                             |                                     | none        |                | 7.533  | 0,17 | +0,17 | 0 |
| lis | Europe Cheap! & Sustainable          | Europa Voordelig!<br>& Duurzaam     | none        |                | 4.431  | 0,10 | +0,10 | 0 |
| lis | Party for<br>European<br>politics    | Partij voor<br>Europese Politiek    | none        |                | 2.427  | 0,05 | +0,05 | 0 |
| Tot | al valid votes                       | 4.553.864                           | 100         |                | 25     |      |       |   |

| Invalid votes | 9.866      |  |
|---------------|------------|--|
| Blank votes   | 10.013     |  |
| Total votes   | 4.573.743  |  |
| Electorate    | 12.378.500 |  |
| Turnout       | 36,9%      |  |
| Source: [4]   |            |  |

# Latest municipal elections

The 2010 Dutch municipal election saw a success for the right-wing VVD, social-liberal D66 and local parties. The PVV, the most right-wing party in the Dutch parliament, only participated in two municipalities, but had a big success by becoming the first and second biggest party respectively. CDA, PvdA and SP lost the most seats, but CDA still remained the largest party in total.

# **Next elections**

The next elections in the Netherlands are planned for (in chronological order):

- House of Representatives: 9 June 2010<sup>[7]</sup> (Rescheduled from 11 May 2011 due to the fall of the cabinet Balkenende IV on 20 February 2010.)
- Provinces: 2 March 2011
- Senate (indirect elections): 23 May 2011

Municipalities: March 2014

• European Parliament: 2014

### Election results and cabinets since World War II

The following tables show the national election results and cabinets in the Netherlands since World War II. Per table, only parties that ever got seats over that period are listed (the number of participating parties in Dutch national elections is usually around 20).

The numbers give the number of seats for each party. The total number of seats in parliament is 150, so a coalition needs at least 76 seats for a majority.

In each table, the parties are split in three groups; parties that have been in government, minor parties and extinct parties. Within each group, the parties are grouped roughly according to the scheme leftwing - christian - rightwing.

# **Dutch general election, 2010**

All 150 seats to the House of Representatives
June 9, 2010

First party Second party Third party







LeaderMark RutteJob CohenGeert WildersPartyVVDPvdAPVV

| Leader<br>since  | 2006         |        | 2010        |        | 2006          |
|------------------|--------------|--------|-------------|--------|---------------|
| Last<br>election | 22<br>14.72% | seats, | 33<br>21.2% | seats, | 9 seats, 5.9% |
| Seats won        |              |        | 30          |        | 24            |
| Seat<br>change   | +9           |        | -3          |        | +15           |
| Popular<br>vote  | 1,896,5      | 69     | 1,816,64    | 47     | 1,435,349     |
| Percentage       | 20.4%        |        | 19.6%       |        | 15.5%         |

# Fourth party Fifth party Sixth party





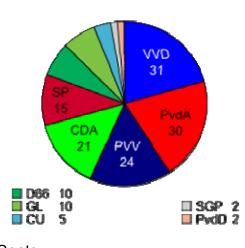


| Leader          | Jan<br>Balkene | Peter<br>ende | Emile R | loemer | Alexander<br>Pechtold |  |
|-----------------|----------------|---------------|---------|--------|-----------------------|--|
| Party           | CDA            |               | SP      |        | D66                   |  |
| Leader<br>since | 2001           |               | 2010    |        | 2006                  |  |
| Last            | 41             | seats,        | 25      | seats, | 3 seats, 2.0%         |  |
| election        | 26.5%          |               | 16.6%   |        | J 56al5, 2.0 /0       |  |
| Seats won       | 21             |               | 15      |        | 10                    |  |
| Seat<br>change  | -20            |               | -10     |        | +7                    |  |
| Popular         | 1,270,2        | 66            | 915,230 | )      | 638,562               |  |

Percentage 13.7%

9.9%

6.9%



Seats

| Previous | Prime | Minister   |
|----------|-------|------------|
| Jan      | Peter | Balkenende |

#### **Formateur**

**TBD** 

CDA

The **2010 Dutch general elections** were held on Wednesday, 9 June 2010. After the fall of the cabinet Balkenende IV on 20 February, Queen Beatrix accepted the resignation of the PvdA ministers on 23 February. Members of the CDA and CU replaced the ministers who had resigned, and have continued as a demissionary cabinet with limited powers until the elections. The 150 seats of the House of Representatives (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal) were contested, and were filled using party-list proportional representation for a nominal four-year term.

### Background

The election follows the PvdA's withdrawal in February from the coalition over the contribution of Dutch soldiers to the War in Afghanistan. According to the Dutch constitution new elections had to be held within 83 days.

#### **Debates**

The first radio debate was held on May 21, 2010. The first television debate, held on May 23, was, according to instant polls, won by Mark Rutte on 36%, with Job Cohen second on 24%, and Geert Wilders and Balkenende third, on 18%.

#### Polls

|        | 2006 |       | Politie | TNS-NIPO <sup>[5]</sup> |       |      |       |       |       |
|--------|------|-------|---------|-------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| Party  | %    | Seats | 8-6-    | Exit                    | polls | 7-6- | Exit  | 31-5- | Exit  |
|        | /0   | (150) | 2010    | (21.00 hr               | s)    | 2010 | polls | 2010  | polls |
| CDA    | 26.5 | 41    | 24      | 21                      |       | 25   | 24    | 21    | 21    |
| PvdA   | 21.2 | 33    | 30      | 31                      |       | 30   | 30    | 31    | 29    |
| SP     | 16.6 | 25    | 14      | 15                      |       | 12   | 13    | 13    | 15    |
| VVD    | 14.7 | 22    | 33      | 31                      |       | 36   | 34    | 37    | 36    |
| PVV    | 5.9  | 9     | 17      | 23                      |       | 18   | 18    | 17    | 18    |
| GL     | 4.6  | 7     | 11      | 11                      |       | 10   | 11    | 8     | 10    |
| CU     | 4.0  | 6     | 7       | 5                       |       | 6    | 6     | 9     | 6     |
| D66    | 2.0  | 3     | 10      | 10                      |       | 10   | 11    | 10    | 11    |
| PvdD   | 1.8  | 2     | 2       | 1                       |       | 1    | 1     | 1     | 1     |
| SGP    | 1.6  | 2     | 3       | 2                       |       | 2    | 2     | 3     | 2     |
| TON*   | _    | _     | 0       | 0                       |       | 0    | 0     | 0     | 1     |
| Others | 1.2  | 0     | 0       | 0                       |       | 0    | 0     | _     | _     |

<sup>\*</sup> Trots op Nederland is the party formed by Rita Verdonk after she split from the VVD in 2007 and became an independent representative.

Polls indicated that the elections were too close to call.

## Results

# National summary

| Party |  | Political Ideology Lijstti  |                               | rekker     | Votes          | Seats        |       |       | ./- | Vote % | Sea  |      |
|-------|--|---|-------------------------------|------------|----------------|--------------|-------|-------|-----|--------|------|------|
| List  | for<br>and<br>Demo<br>(Volks<br>voor                       | mocracy Conservative Ikspartij liberalism/Liberalism r Vrijheid Democratie, |                               | Mark Rutte |                | 1,929,575 3  |       | 31    | +9  | 20.5   | 20.7 |      |
| List  | Labour Party (Partij van de Social Democracy Arbeid, PvdA) |   | асу                           | Job Cohen  |                | 1,848        | 3,805 | 30    | -3  | 19.6   | 20.0 |      |
| List  |  | for<br>om<br>voor de<br>id, PVV)  | Conservative liberalism/Natio | nal        | Geert W        | ilders       | 1,454 | 1,493 | 24  | +15    | 15.5 | 16.0 |
| List  | Christ<br>Demo<br>Appea<br>(Chris                          | cratic<br>al  | Christian Demo                | ocracy     | Jan<br>Balkene | Peter<br>nde | 1,281 | 1,886 | 21  | -20    | 13.6 | 14.0 |

|      | Appèl, CDA)  |  |                        |         |    |     |     |      |
|------|--|--|------------------------|---------|----|-----|-----|------|
| List | Socialist Party<br>(Socialistische<br>Partij, SP)                | Socialism  | Emile Roemer           | 924,696 | 15 | -10 | 9.8 | 10.0 |
| List | Democrats 66<br>(Democraten<br>66, D66)                          | Social liberalism,<br>Radicalism,<br>Progressivism | Alexander<br>Pechtold  | 654,167 | 10 | +7  | 7.0 | 6.7  |
| List | GreenLeft<br>(GroenLinks,<br>GL)                                 | Green Politics,<br>Progressivism                   | Femke<br>Halsema       | 628,096 | 10 | +3  | 6.7 | 6.7  |
| List | ChristianUnion<br>(ChristenUnie,<br>CU)                          | Social-Christianity<br>/Orthodox<br>Protestantism  | André Rouvoet          | 305,094 | 5  | -1  | 3.2 | 3.3  |
| List | Reformed Political Party (Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij, SGP) | Conservatism,<br>Reformed Christian                | Kees van der<br>Staaij | 163,581 | 2  | +0  | 1.7 | 1.3  |
| List | Party for the<br>Animals<br>(Partij voor de                      | Animal rights/Animal welfare                       | Marianne<br>Thieme     | 122,317 | 2  | +0  | 1.3 | 1.3  |

|      | Dieren, PvdD)  |   |                    |        |   |    |     |     |
|------|--|---|--------------------|--------|---|----|-----|-----|
| List | Proud of the<br>Netherlands<br>(Trots Op<br>Nederland,<br>TON)           | Conservative<br>liberalism                  | Rita Verdonk       | 52,937 | 0 | +0 | 0.6 | 0.0 |
| List | Party for Human and Spirit (Partij voor Mens en Spirit, MenS)            | Spiritual politics                          | Lea Manders        | 26,196 | 0 | +0 | 0.3 | 0.0 |
| List | Pirate Party<br>(Piratenpartij)  | IP reform, Civil rights, Govt. transparency | Samir Allioui      | 10,471 | 0 | +0 | 0.1 | 0.0 |
| List | Empty list<br>(List 17 /<br>Feijen List)<br>(Lijst 17 / Lijst<br>Feijen) | Youth rights                                | Lot Feijen         | 7,456  | 0 | +0 | 0.1 | 0.0 |
| List | New<br>Netherlands<br>(Nieuw   |   | Jan-Frank<br>Koers | 2,010  | 0 | +0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |

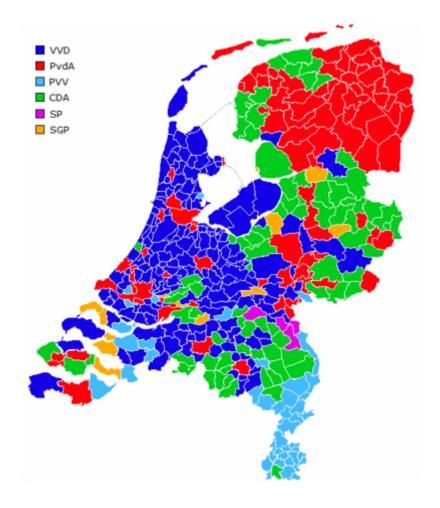
|      | Nederland)   |                |       |      |             |   |       |      |   |    |     |
|------|--|----------------|-------|------|-------------|---|-------|------|---|----|-----|
| List | Partij één   |                |       | Yes  | im Candan   | 2 | 2,042 |      | 0 | +0 | 0.0 |
| List | Heel NL  |                |       | Dais | sha de Wijs | 1 | 1,255 |      | 0 | +0 | 0.0 |
| List | Empty list (Evangelical Party Netherlands / Laclé List) (Evangelische Partij Nederland / Lijst Laclé) <sup>[a]</sup> | Evangelicalism |       | Yve  | tte Laclé   | 9 | 924   |      | 0 | +0 | 0.0 |
|      |  |                | 9,416 | ,001 | 150         | 0 | 100.0 | 100. | 0 |    |     |
|      |  |                | 26,97 | 6    | _           | _ | 0.3   | _    |   |    |     |
|      |  |                | 9,442 | ,977 | _           | _ | 75.4  | _    |   |    |     |

0.0

0.0

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[edit] Municipal Results



#### Turnout

Turnout was reported to be over 5% less than the previous elections<sup>[8]</sup> due to heavy rain and stormy weather.

#### Aftermath

Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende stepped down from his position in the CDA and resigned his parliamentary seat on the evening of the election, saying he was taking "political responsibility" for the unsatisfactory election results of his party and that "The voter has spoken, the outcome is clear."

Expectations were that the formation of a new government would take some time. Some international media speculated that "for the first time in this nation's history, a Jewish man, albeit a secular one, is on the verge of becoming the next

prime minister ... Job Cohen, who was until recently the Mayor of Amsterdam, and represents the top of the ticket for the PvdA ... is at the end of a long battle to run the country that began in February when the PvdA backed out of the ruling coalition government because it did not want to send Dutch troops back to Afghanistan." The international media also read this as a slim victory for the "austerity-minded" Liberals amidst the 2010 European sovereign debt crisis.