

# **It *can* be done**

**Election program 2025-2030**

The logo for the Dutch political party D66, featuring the letters 'D66' in white on a green square background. This green square is centered within a larger orange square, which is itself centered within a yellow rectangle that occupies the lower half of the page.

**D66**

# It *can* be done

# Introduction

This election program is for everyone who believes we can turn things around. That we can make people's lives better by taking action. Instead of yelling about what we can't do, we continuously ask the question: how can we make it work?

We are social liberals. This means that for us, freedom is only real when everyone has the opportunity to truly be free. We are not afraid to be decisive, because sometimes you just need to get started. We consider politics to be for the people and of the people.

We also know that this kind of freedom is not a given. We can only build houses if politicians dare to make actual decisions about nitrogen emissions. Ensuring homeownership is within reach again, for you and your children. We can only offer people security if they don't get lost in a maze of complicated rules. Enabling them to provide their loved ones with the care they need.

The world has become less safe, less certain, and less predictable. People are fleeing war and extreme weather. Autocratic leaders are attacking the opposition, judges and journalists, and sowing fear and discord. But we can't afford to be pitted against each other. That's why we're finding inspiration in people who are chasing their dreams against all odds. Because progressive politics should inspire and connect people.

Imagine that our country can once again offer everyone a roof over their heads, because we've built ten new cities. Imagine that every child gets the best possible education to get ahead in life, and gets to learn in a safe and pleasant school building. Imagine that the Netherlands generates its own, clean, and affordable energy. That we have a green economy, where people get fair wages and where we're in charge of our own data. A country where everyone can live a healthy life.

The ideas are there. Now it's up to us to deliver. D66 opts for solutions that actually help people get ahead. We know that progress begins with the ideas and creativity of as many people as possible. That's why we want to make room for all those people who are already building a better future. And if they encounter obstacles along the way, we'll make sure the government removes them.

**It's up to us. Join in. Because if we have the will, we can find the way.**

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## **Chapter 1**

# **Democracy & Security**

## What we see

We kick off our election program with democracy and security. And that is with complete conviction: they form the foundation for everything. It is only with a strong democracy and rule of law that we can realize breakthroughs in housing, climate, education, healthcare, and the economy. In recent years, we've seen what happens when politics and democracy grow weaker in the Netherlands. And we also see democracies being chipped away at in the United States and Hungary, among other places.

Our society is under pressure. From the outside, through autocratic regimes that use cyberattacks and disinformation to harm our open society. From the underworld, through criminals disrupting our neighborhoods and undermining our governing bodies. And from the inside, through populist politicians sowing discord and undercutting trust in institutions. Democracy can be broken. That is a lesson that impels us to act. To D66, it means that strengthening our liberal rule of law is step one.

## What we want

We aim to do this by building a free and resilient society. A society in which people feel safe – outside, at home, and online. Where you're free to love whoever you want and you can say whatever you like. Where you won't be judged on the basis of the color of your skin. Where everyone has a voice and a vote, and takes part in the decision-making process. A society in which we have faith in each other and in the future.

D66 chooses a democracy that works for people. We are building a society in which no one is excluded, and everyone has a say – in their neighborhood, municipality, province, and the entire Kingdom. We make sure victims get justice and criminals serve their time. We invest in art and culture that inspire and connect us. And we strengthen journalism, curb the power of tech companies, and protect free speech. That is a Netherlands where you can live freely and safely. Where you're heard, where you're never alone, and where we're all building our future together.

## What we'll do

1. We will improve the protection of our fundamental rights by giving judges the opportunity to review whether laws are in accordance with the constitution. We will increase the budget of subsidized legal assistance. We will strengthen the effectiveness of regulators, making sure everyone obeys the rules – including the government and businesses.
2. We will lower the voting age to 16. We're expanding the Lower House of Parliament from 150 to 260 members. We will enable referendums to correct or stop legislation. We will also organize more citizen assemblies, providing the opportunity for people to have a say in the important issues our country is facing.
3. We're instituting our 'Baas over eigen bits' principle, giving people control over their online life. We will implement an age restriction for addictive apps, requiring users to be at least 15 years old.
4. We will end femicide, strengthen our efforts against cybercrime and cash flows of criminals, and work on smarter punishments. We'll reduce the cell shortage by adding the option of community service or electronic detention.
5. We want a fully-fledged library in every neighborhood, more music education, and a national policy for museums: structural support for museums that showcase the diverse history and culture of the Netherlands.
6. We are one Kingdom, in which everyone participates and every voice matters. Inhabitants of Aruba, Curaçao, Sint Maarten, Bonaire, Sint Eustatius, and Saba are entitled to a secure livelihood, free from poverty and the threat of climate change.
7. We want a new anti-discrimination law, covering all forms of discrimination and including the active obligation to prevent discrimination. This obligation applies to both public and private organizations, like schools, employers, landlords, and municipalities.

## **Chapter 2**

# **Housing, Mobility & Social Security**



## **What we see**

We all want to be in control of our lives: a nice home, work to be proud of, and the financial security to not worry about rent, income, or retirement. We want to decide for ourselves when to leave home and who we share that home with. We want to be free to go wherever we please. Biking to school, taking the bus to work, walking or driving to the supermarket – whichever option is most convenient.

But that's not a given for everyone. Houses are too expensive, young people have to wait years before they can get their own place, and the elderly have trouble finding suitable housing. And if you're unlucky, you get caught up in a maze of complex rules and debt. Our country's systems are created on the assumption that everyone is always mobile, healthy, and able to speak up for themselves.

## **What we want**

That's why D66 is aiming for a breakthrough – by making housing and social security dependable. We are building a society that is accessible to everyone, whether you're able or disabled. Housing is a fundamental right, whether you're just starting out or retiring, a student or in possession of a residence permit. We help the elderly find new housing, making room for young people and families. We're giving more rights and security to tenants.

Every neighborhood will be greener, offer car sharing options, and community spaces. We're investing in public transportation and biking. And we're getting rid of the overly complex benefits system and replacing it with one set amount. That's how we'll build a society where freedom and security go hand in hand.

## What we'll do

1. We need a lot more housing. That's why D66 wants to build ten new cities, constructed with respect for nature, and including suitable facilities. Those cities won't be here tomorrow. That's why we'll start by improving what we already have. Converting empty buildings, adding floors, and redeveloping old buildings.
2. We want to create a deal between generations, for the elderly to move to more suitable housing, making room for young families. We'll do that with construction quotas for senior housing and increased financial security for older people who want to move. We'll also make it easier to share housing.
3. We will create housing that is affordable and sustainable. We want 30% of new buildings to be social housing and to phase out mortgage interest tax relief. With a large-scale insulation plan, a minimum of 1 million rental homes will be sustainably reformed by 2030.
4. We will make public transportation more accessible by introducing a single card. For a fixed, affordable price, everyone can travel all over the Netherlands using the bus, tram, metro, and train outside of rush hour.
5. We will increase the minimum wage, including the minimum youth wage. And we'll be working toward phasing out the benefits system, replacing it with one fixed amount for everyone.

## Chapter 3

# Health & Care

## What we see

Our health is the foundation for everything. We all want to feel fit and energetic, without stress and with enough energy for the day. And if you do need care, you want to have it quickly and close to home – without any complicated rules or long waiting lists. Healthcare should be provided in the right place, with people who know you and understand you – like your family doctor. That's how you'll feel supported, at every stage of life.

That's not always the case. The healthcare system is struggling, and the shortage of healthcare professionals is only increasing. In the meantime, more people are getting old and more people are dealing with chronic illnesses. Youth care can hardly keep up with demand. Stores are stocked with unhealthy food, people often neglect exercise, and more and more suffer from mental health issues.

## What we want

That's why D66 is going for a breakthrough. Our goal is to create the healthiest generation ever. And since the first step to a healthy society is preventing people from getting sick, we're investing in prevention. We want healthcare that works and improves lives instead of just looking at the numbers. We choose to trust healthcare professionals, cut down on rules, and ensure good pay. We'll make working in general practice, caring for the elderly, and district nursing more appealing. That way, good care will stay close by and accessible.

D66 provides space for healthcare that matches people's needs and is accessible, personal, and future-proof. This also means understanding that doing everything possible isn't always the best choice. Sometimes, quality of life is more important. Because it's not just about adding days to a life, it's about adding life to remaining days. We should give healthcare professionals the freedom to do what they do best and provide everyone with what they need to live a healthy life and grow old with dignity.

## What we'll do

1. Prevention is better than finding a cure. That's why we're investing in fair wages, a healthy living environment, and a strong healthcare system – improving people's health before they ever enter a doctor's office.
2. We encourage local care. With quick and accessible service at neighborhood clinics, a regular family doctor for everyone, and healthier options in the grocery store.
3. Student nurses will be compensated and we're implementing better employment benefits for healthcare personnel.
4. We want our society to take better care of our children and youngsters. That's why we're empowering families, neighborhoods, and schools, enabling them to offer the necessary care before youth care is required.
5. Abortion and euthanasia need to be removed from the criminal code. We also want the law on euthanasia to be expanded and introduce legislation for assisted dying when life is considered complete.

## **Chapter 4**

# **Education & Science**

## What we see

We're never too old to learn. From the first day of school until long after retirement, you should be able to keep growing and discovering both your talents and the world. An education provides the freedom to dream and choose your future. A good education is invaluable to our society and liberal democracy. It promises to be the great equalizer, making sure that your opportunities in life don't depend on where you were born.

But we're still not always delivering on that promise. Too often, classes are canceled because of the teacher shortage. Too many students leave school without proper skills in reading, writing, and math. Differences in school performance are stark, with some excelling year after year, and others falling behind again and again. Young people are forced at an early age to make choices that determine their opportunities later in life. Teachers have to spend too much time on issues that have nothing to do with teaching. And schools lack peace of mind and visions for the future because they have to deal with continuously changing policies.

## What we want

That's why D66 is going for a breakthrough. By prioritizing high expectations, equal opportunities, and suitable buildings. We're giving children and young people more time to discover their talents by delaying selection and providing education that matches individual needs. We give teachers the trust and space they need to do their work. Students get more security through higher supplementary grants for vocational students and more student housing.

We're investing in good school buildings that are both sustainable and accessible, and working on improving digital skills and encouraging the joy of reading. We're also investing in vocational education, colleges, and universities, preparing for the future. That way, we're creating an education system in which people will continue to learn, in whatever way they want, from birth until old age.

## What we'll do

1. Childcare will become almost free of charge. In the long term, we're working towards a single public facility for all children aged 1 to 15.
2. We'll ensure each child can have the right start in life. Lessons in language, math, citizenship, and digital skills are the priority. Every school will have its own library, and teachers will be given the time and space to teach well.
3. Young people should only have to choose a suitable learning track once they turn 15. Before then, they'll be part of a transition class with a wide variety of students. By delaying that choice, young people get more time for growth and discovery, and we will increase equality of opportunities.
4. Many of our school buildings are more than 40 years old, are badly maintained, and have poor ventilation. This affects both students and teachers: temperature and particulates have an important impact on learning. D66 wants to introduce a major plan to renovate or rebuild schools, starting with 5000 buildings constructed between 1970 and 1990. These buildings will also be made wheelchair accessible.
5. The basic student grant will be increased by €166 per month. Vocational students will receive the same supplementary grants as their peers at colleges and universities. We will implement a mandatory minimum remuneration for internships in vocational, college, and university education.
6. We want the Netherlands to regain its leading position in research and innovation. That's why we're reversing previous cutbacks and investing more in science instead.



## Chapter 5

# Climate, Energy & Economy

## What we see

A livable planet and a strong economy are not mutually exclusive. But if we continue to grow while we ignore the environment, we are actually working against prosperity. That's why D66 is going for a breakthrough. We're creating an economy that flourishes while respecting the planet's limits. But that requires making choices.

We will end anything that holds us back. Polluting production, fossil fuel subsidies, unlimited power for large tech companies, and jobs that don't pay a living wage. And we're investing in what will help us move forward: offshore wind farms, solar panels, sustainable services and products, technology focused on solving society's problems, and people who are able and willing to adapt for the sake of our future.

We're facing tremendous challenges, like global warming and the destruction of nature. Migrant workers are being exploited. There are shortages of skilled workers everywhere. But there are also so many opportunities – if only we have the guts to take a chance.

## What we want

The economy of the future is there for the taking. The more people choose sustainable products and services, the better the opportunities for entrepreneurs. Whether it's the bakery on the corner or an innovative start-up, entrepreneurs help us move forward. More than 80% of those businesses are already working to become more sustainable. And we're going to make sure their efforts are rewarded. With true pricing, we make room for what actually works. And innovators have a chance to expand into European and international markets.

We are choosing a green economy in which people, the environment, and nature are central. That also means we don't leave anyone behind. Everyone should be able to participate. That's why we're making room to learn, to live and travel sustainably, and to earn a decent and secure income. We'll build an economy that's ready for the future, for entrepreneurs, workers, and our planet.

## What we'll do

1. We will set strict limits on polluting industries. Sustainability will be the norm, and polluting will be properly taxed. We want to speed up phasing out fossil fuel subsidies and set clear deadlines per sector to end the use of fossil fuel technology.
2. We want to step up the transition to make Dutch homes energy efficient. For those with a low income, we'll offer help to do so with subsidies and energy coaches. This will help cut down on energy costs and increase the comfort of living.
3. We will make room for sustainable entrepreneurship. Sustainability can be challenging, especially for small and medium-sized businesses. That's why we're offering subsidies, investment security, and faster procedures for appeals and objections.
4. We want the Netherlands to lead the way in digital technology that contributes to a safe, fair, and green society. But that means we need to stop being dependent on large tech companies that profit from our attention, data, and addiction. We plan to do that by investing in research and development. We also want to appoint a minister for Technology and Innovation, who is committed to digital independence for the Netherlands and the European Union.
5. If you're working, you deserve to be paid fair and well. That's why we're increasing wages and lowering taxes. With a nationwide plan to address labor shortages, we want to encourage people to switch careers and choose professions where shortages are most urgent.
6. We want targeted labor migration for sectors that help us move forward. We're also committed to improve the vulnerable position of migrant workers. Too often, they have to work and live in horrible conditions and that's something we cannot accept.

## **Chapter 6**

# **Land Use, Nature & Agriculture**

## **What we see**

In the Netherlands, land is scarce and valuable. That means that how we use our land says a lot about our priorities. We want to live in green, safe neighborhoods and work toward a fair economy. We want our environment to be healthy, with clean water, affordable food, and clean air. This means we have choices to make.

We believe that people, nature, and the economy should be balanced. That means that we can't do everything everywhere. But if we use the available space wisely and divide it fairly, we can make room for what's important. Wherever possible, we use the same space for multiple purposes. Like installing solar panels on roofs and combining nature and recreational spaces in areas where we also store water. We're going for prosperity in the broadest sense of the word – including good health and clean air, and not just economic gain. And while we do that, we always consider the well-being and prosperity of future generations.

## **What we want**

For D66, agriculture plays an important part in all of this. We owe farmers new long-term prospects. That's not always easy and we won't always agree about the best way forward. D66 is laying the groundwork for a sustainable business model. We are opting for agriculture that works to restore both soil and landscape, contributes to food security, strengthens water management and biodiversity, and is serious about animal welfare.

We are building a country that is green, livable, and connected. Together with residents and entrepreneurs, and across all regions – from city to countryside, from the Wadden Sea coast to the border region.

## What we'll do

1. D66 wants to launch a nation-wide sustainability strategy. We'll add 50,000 hectares of nature – the equivalent of 70,000 soccer fields – and cut nitrogen emissions in half by 2030. We'll support the many citizen initiatives working to restore and strengthen nature.
2. Appeals procedures for construction projects should be faster and shorter. The right to appeal should not outweigh the right to housing.
3. We are banning PFAS as soon as possible, and in time will do the same with fertilizers and pesticides that are harmful to the environment. We will increase the standards to protect our soil, water, air, and biodiversity.
4. We're working on a new business model for the agricultural and dairy farming sectors. Meanwhile, we're also invested in developing alternative protein sources, like cultivated meat and fermentation.
5. We want to investigate how to get the rights of nature reserves codified into Dutch law, starting with unique and vulnerable areas. We also want to create more awareness of animal welfare and abolish practices that are harmful to animals.
6. We'll invest in our border regions, to improve quality of life, accessibility, and employment opportunities. For each individual area, we want to develop an ambitious plan encompassing all the major issues: housing, mobility, agriculture, energy, and the restoration of nature.

## **Chapter 7**

# **Europe, Defense & Migration**

## What we see

Peace, freedom, and democracy. Those are the greatest achievements of our time. But the world is more unstable than it has been in decades. The Ukrainian people are fighting Russia. Israel is committing genocide, while Palestinians have nothing left to hold on to. China threatens Taiwan. And the United States president does not share the values of our liberal democracy and continues to mock international law. Meanwhile, Putin wages a hybrid war using disinformation, cyberattacks, and sabotage. And that affects us, our democracy, and our society. It confuses, divides, and threatens us.

Around the world, over 120 million people are fleeing war, violence, and oppression. The majority ends up finding shelter in their own country or just across the border, but remains in vulnerable conditions. A small portion applies for asylum in Europe, and an even smaller one in the Netherlands.

## What we want

D66 is committed to a Europe that is strong, cooperates internationally, and shows leadership when it comes to human rights. We want a Europe that can defend itself as well as promote its values. A Europe that does not look away from war, human rights violations, or the impact of global warming. A Europe that protects refugees, prosecutes war criminals, and facilitates fair trade.

We can only have peace and freedom when the law is stronger than power. That's why we must protect peace and respect international law and human rights. The Netherlands will not sit back, but take up responsibility. We're creating the space we need to determine our own course and take control of our own security. We want to make sure that in times of uncertainty, we can live freely, be ourselves, and make our own choices.



## What we'll do

1. We want European cooperation that is effective, strategically smart, and less dependent on countries like China and the United States. Europe should spend an additional €750 to €800 billion annually to do so, investing in its own digital technology, infrastructure, and electricity grids, to be financed with joint loans.
2. In the long term, we're working towards European armed forces. In the meantime, we want a strong European position within NATO and investments in the readiness of our own national armed forces. We're also investing in the resilience of society with secure physical and digital infrastructure and strategic reserves.
3. For D66, international law guides our international policies. We will continue to offer both military and humanitarian support to Ukraine while it fights against Russian aggression. The genocide in Gaza and the large-scale destruction, murder and starvation of the Palestinians must be stopped immediately.
4. We want asylum procedures to be fast and fair, and our reception facilities to be humane and fairly distributed across the country. We will also support the implementation of the European Migration Pact in June 2026 as an important step on the way to a fair, humane, and effective asylum system across Europe. Newcomers should have the opportunity to work as soon as possible or be able to get an education.

## Chapter 8

# Government

## **What we see**

The government is often complicated, slow, and impersonal. The benefits system is too complex. Taxes hit working people harder than the wealthy. And too many people who are entitled to support are afraid to ask for it, for fear of making a mistake. This causes people to lose faith in politics and government.

The Netherlands deserves a government that doesn't just make promises, but delivers. A government that's not afraid to tackle the major challenges we're facing – from housing and climate change to education and security. A government that treats humans as more than numbers. That also means being honest about what our ambitions cost and how we'll pay for them.

## **Wat willen we**

D66 wants a strong government that knows what it's doing and will help the Netherlands move forward. That means fewer rules, a more human approach, and room to bend the rules to meet actual needs. We will create a fairer tax system, in which working really pays off and those who have more and pollute more will pay more. The benefits system will be simplified and then abolished, step by step, to be replaced with a universal basic income.

And we will change the way we budget. By taking the costs and benefits to society into account while creating new policies, we'll make smart investments in the future of the Netherlands. Our safety and defense are crucial, but can never come at the expense of the society we're looking to protect. That's why we won't cut a single euro from our education budget or the social safety net.

## What we'll do

1. The major issues we're facing, like housing, climate, and security, don't fit neatly within the confines of government departments. That's why we're breaking through those walls. We're appointing breakthrough ministers, who each have their own clear goals and budgets.
2. We will put an end to the overabundance of complex rules. When we're creating new rules, we'll also investigate which ones we can abolish. Where we can, we will simplify existing rules. And instead of coming up with exceptions to rules, we will trust organizations to know when to deviate from the rules.
3. Each municipality will get a single government service desk, bringing together as many organizations as possible. The use of understandable language by the government will be made mandatory. And we're building a modern tax administration to replace the current outdated systems.
4. As a worker, you deserve a good and fair income. That's why we're increasing the minimum wage and lowering income tax. If you work four or more days a week, you'll get a tax rebate.