

ESI's Who's Who in the Dutch Debate on EU Enlargement

Information and contacts

14 November 2011

Supported by the

**UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office, the Robert Bosch Stiftung, the European Fund for the
Balkans and European Union**



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ABOUT THIS MANUAL

Who shapes the debate on the future of EU enlargement in the Netherlands today?

This manual aims to provide an overview by introducing the key people and key institutions. It starts with a summary of core facts about the Netherlands.

It also offers an overview of the policy debates in the Netherlands on the EU, on future enlargement, the Western Balkans and Turkey.

Space is also given to the media landscape; TV, radio and print media and the internet-based media.

Any debate in a vibrant democracy is characterised by a range of views. Nonetheless, when it comes to Dutch views on EU enlargement, the people included in this manual are certainly among the most influential.

This manual draws on detailed research carried out by ESI from 2005 to 2006 on enlargement fatigue in the Netherlands and on the Dutch debate on Turkey. Fresh research was carried out in 2009, especially for the Communicating Europe workshop co-sponsored by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office with the Robert Bosch Stiftung and the European Fund for the Balkans. In 2011, we were able to update the manual thanks to financial support from the European Union.

This text is the sole responsibility of ESI.

ESI, November 2011

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KEY FACTS

Population:	16.7million.						
Area:	41,864 sq km. (4,000 km of which is covered by water).						
Population density:	494 people per square kilometre, one of densest in world.						
Major Cities/size:	<p>Amsterdam, the capital - 765,000 inhabitants. Rotterdam, largest port in EU - 585,000 Den Haag/The Hague, the administrative capital - 484,000.</p> <p>The Randstad conurbation includes the three major cities and also Leiden and several smaller towns. It has a total population of ca. 7 million.</p>						
GNP per capita:	GDP per head: \$49,720 (PPP – World Bank figures).						
Official name:	The Kingdom of the Netherlands. It includes the Caribbean islands of Aruba, Curaçao and St. Maarten.						
Head of State:	Queen Beatrix						
Current Government:	A minority coalition of Liberal Party (VVD) and Christian Democrat (CDA), supported in parliament by the Party for Freedom (PVV). The VVD and CDA have a total of 76 seats out of 150; the PVV has 24.						
Prime Minister:	Mark Rutte (Liberal Party - VVD)						
Key Ministers on EU policy:	<table> <tr> <td>Uri Rosenthal</td> <td>Foreign Minister (VVD)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ben Knapen</td> <td>European Affairs & International Cooperation (CDA)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Maxime Verhagen</td> <td>Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation (CDA)</td> </tr> </table>	Uri Rosenthal	Foreign Minister (VVD)	Ben Knapen	European Affairs & International Cooperation (CDA)	Maxime Verhagen	Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation (CDA)
Uri Rosenthal	Foreign Minister (VVD)						
Ben Knapen	European Affairs & International Cooperation (CDA)						
Maxime Verhagen	Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation (CDA)						
National legislature:	<p>The States General has a bicameral system: The Senate, the first chamber (Eerste Kamer), monitors legislation. The 75 members are indirectly elected. The House of Representatives, the second chamber (Tweede Kamer) is the key legislative body. The 150 members are directly elected.</p>						
Key Parliamentarians on EU:	<p>Raymond Knops (CDA) Chairman of the Committee on European Affairs in the Tweede Kamer; Nebahat Albayrak (PvdA) Chairwoman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the Tweede Kamer; Henk Jan Ormel (CDA) spokesperson FA and European Affairs for CDA; Harry van Bommel (Socialist Party) Vice-Chairman of the Committee on European Affairs in the Tweede Kamer, spokesperson FA and EA for SP; Han ten Broeke (VVD) Spokesperson Foreign Affairs for VVD;</p>						

Frans Timmermans (PvdA) Spokesperson Foreign Affairs, former State Secretary European Affairs;
Alexander Pechtold (Social Liberals – D66) Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the Tweede Kamer, spokesperson Foreign Affairs for D66.

Next national election: Nationwide local elections are due in spring 2014.

THE DUTCH POLITICAL PARTIES

“For a country used to the smack of firm government, this unstable construction [the current minority government coalition of VVD and CDA] is a risky venture. And yet in a way it encapsulates Dutch politics. For almost a decade many Dutch voters have supported various anti-immigration, anti-Muslim parties, while mainstream politicians have struggled to purge them from the system. With the economic crisis blowing in his sails, Mr Wilders may soon wield the influence they sought.” (*The Economist*, 1 October 2010)

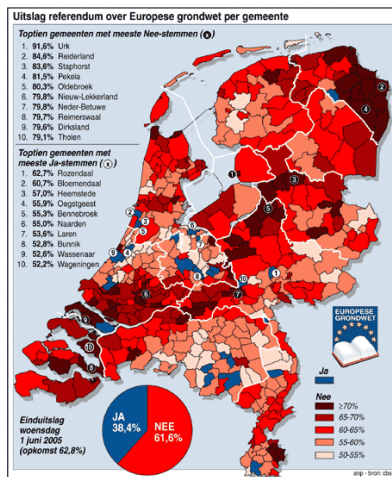
<i>Parties:</i>	<i>Party Leader</i>	<i>June 2010 Vote</i>	<i>Tweede Kamer seats</i>	<i>Eerste Kamer seats</i>
Government parties:				
<i>Liberals (VVD)</i>	Mark Rutte	20.4%	31	16
<i>Christian Democrats (CDA)</i>	Maxime Verhagen	13.7%	21	11
<i>Total Seats</i>			76	27
Supporting party:				
<i>Party for Freedom (PVV)</i>	Geert Wilders	15.5%	24	10
Opposition parties:				
<i>Labour (PvdA)</i>	Job Cohen	19.6%	30	14
<i>Socialists</i>	Emile Roemer	9.9%	15	8
<i>Christian Union (CU)</i>	Arie Slob	3.3%	5	2
<i>Green-Left (Groenlinks) Party</i>	Jolande Sap	6.6%	10	5
<i>D66</i>	Alexander Pechtold	6.9%	10	5
<i>PvD (Party for Animals)</i>	Marianne Thienne	1.3%	2	1
<i>SGP Reformed Party</i>	Kees van der Staaij	1.7%	2	1
<i>Independent Senate Group</i>				1
<i>50+ Group</i>				1
<i>Total number of deputies</i>		Excludes spoilt votes & parties not elected	150	75

A basic Dutch political vocabulary

Achterkamertjespolitiek

Allochtoon	Used widely to describe a first or second generation (non-Western) immigrant. Officially (and statistically) it refers only to someone with one or both parents who were not born in the Netherlands.
Autochtoon	A native of the Netherlands – usually white.
Beleid	An agreed policy position reached through overleg
Binnenhof	The seat of Parliament, the States General and the PM. Literally: the inner court. It is also the name of a Sunday TV show.
De neuzen wijzen in dezelfde richting	<i>All noses are pointing in the same direction.</i> Said by a chairperson when consensus is finally reached.
Or: De klokken gelijk zetten	<i>Synchronising all clocks</i> – alternative phrase
Gedogen	Quintessential Dutch phenomenon of ‘toleration’. <i>Seeing it through the fingers</i> , a Dutch expression, aptly illustrates <i>gedogen</i> .
Gedoogekabinet	Current minority cabinet supported by (<i>gedoogd</i>) the PVV
Grachtengordel	The three principal canals - Herengracht, Keizersgracht and Prinsengracht in Amsterdam. Synonym for home of the intellectual elite.
Haagse stolp	The Hague glass bell – refers to insulated Dutch politics. Also: ‘The Hague’.
Henk en Ingrid	Dutch equivalent of ‘Mr and Mrs Average’, coined by Geert Wilders. It means Henk and Ingrid.
Klankbordgroep	Sounding group – linked to an advisory group/consultation group.
Maatschappelijk draagvlak	Societal support for a given policy – among decision-makers and the public.
Nieuwspoord	The club next to the parliament where media and politicians mingle off the record. The convention is: “What happens in Nieuwspoord stays in Nieuwspoord.”
Overleg	A process of giving all those involved in a decision the opportunity to exchange information. It’s pronounced: over-leh.
Poldermodel	The system of overleg as institutionalised between e.g. the government and employers and labour unions (so-called social partners).
Stroperig	The process of reaching agreement - from stroop, the syrup poured over pancakes.
Verzuiling	Divided society – Dutch “pillars” – Dutch society was divided into Protestant, Catholic and Liberal/Social Democratic vertical pillars. Now largely obsolete but vestiges remain, for example, in the structure of public TV. Some claim the largest migrant groups, with roots in Turkey and Morocco, constitute new pillars.

DUTCH ATTITUDES TO THE EU - THE 2005 REFERENDUM AND BEYOND



The “no” vote in the 2005 referenda on the Constitutional Treaty in France and the Netherlands was a big shock. In the Netherlands on June 1 2005, 61.6 per cent voted “no” – marked red across the map (left). The Dutch result highlighted a growing trend in the country. In the 2001 Eurobarometer 57 per cent of Dutch polled had said they felt European. But only 32 per cent had said they felt attached to EU – well below the EU average.

The EU-sceptic mood had been developing since the mid 1990s. At that time, Gerrit Zalm, the country’s longest serving Finance Minister, highlighted the fact that the Netherlands was the biggest net EU contributor (in per capita terms).

The EU financial question was just one of a number of factors bubbling under the surface. In 2004, a year before the referendum,

Claes de Vreese, a Danish scholar at Amsterdam University, predicted a “no” vote in his paper *“Why European Citizens Will Reject the EU Constitution.”* He argued with some prescience that: “It may be predicted that such referendums will result in a “No” outcome under the conditions of high levels of anti-immigration sentiments, pessimistic economic outlooks, and/or the unpopularity of a government.”

There are two contradictory trends in the Dutch political scene today as Ben Crum of the Free University Amsterdam and Stijn van Kessel of Sussex University have argued:

“The results of the 2009 European Parliament elections in the Netherlands indicate that the Dutch electorate is polarised; both the most Eurosceptic party (Freedom Party) and the two most pro-European parties (D66 and GreenLeft) did well. However, it is highly questionable whether this polarisation is solely, or even to a substantial extent, driven by the issue of European integration. Although the electorates of the pro- and anti-European parties most probably agree with their parties on this issue, the explanation of this polarisation is more likely to be found in other, domestic, issues.

One of the most salient issues in the current political debate in the Netherlands is undoubtedly immigration and integration of, predominantly, the Muslim population in the large cities. In this sense, the electoral successes of D66 and Green Left can be seen as the ‘progressive’ or ‘universalistic’ answer to the cultural-nationalist position of Geert Wilders’ Freedom Party. As such, the latest European elections can still be perceived as second-order elections; the results were most likely driven by the domestic political atmosphere.....whereas the European election results confirm the Eurosceptic position of a substantial part of the Dutch population, the more important conclusion is that they have confirmed the rise of electoral support for Wilders’ party and hence have sustained his credibility as a serious political force in the Dutch political landscape.

Indeed, in a notable number of localities, the Freedom Party came out as the biggest political party. What is more, many Freedom Party voters do not seem to be ashamed anymore to publicly reveal their support for Wilders’ political ideas. The outcome also shows that the established parties remain

unsure about how to deal with the populist challenge that has marked Dutch politics over the last years. In this regard, and also taking into account the stunning results of the referendum of 2005 and previous elections, it is quite awkward to find the Christian Democratic Prime Minister Balkenende qualifying the election outcome as a 'wake-up call'.

At the same time, the results also show that there is a substantial electoral potential for the parties that dare to openly challenge the political programme of Wilders.”

The precise role of enlargement in the “no” vote in the 2005 referendum has been intensely debated. Dutch opposition to enlargement played a minor role in rejecting the EU constitution, according to Eurobarometer surveys. Opposition to enlargement was mentioned by only 6 per cent of all “no” voters. By contrast, lack of information was mentioned by 32 per cent of all “no” voters. In autumn 2005 Dutch support for further EU enlargement was at 48 per cent - 4 per cent higher than the average in the EU-15.²

A senior Dutch diplomat, citing the Government’s annual polling surveys, *Europese Verkenningen*, told ESI in 2005:

“More than 50 per cent in the Netherlands are swing-voters now. 30 per cent do not vote but IF they do, they can go in any direction. Public opinion depends a lot on the subject; people refer to sentiments and anxieties. We may have 70-80 per cent pro EU integration on meta-level, but much less on the euro, enlargement etc at the concrete level. The 2005 referendum was a vote of no confidence, it was a wake-up call for the national government: “Do not say again to us voters, that things are determined by Brussels. Do not tell us anymore; “sorry we cannot do the job anymore, it is not in our hands.” They do not want to hear that “someone else in Brussels is responsible.” Rather, the EU should be an instrument of Dutch policy. We have to take this on board. We can no longer be concerned with stabilisation on the Balkans but need to also care about stabilisation at home.”

The referendum showed: “dissatisfaction with the lack of focus and direction of the European integration process,” the academics Art Kees and Henk van der Kolk wrote. In their view, the key factors included:

“Dissatisfaction about the further enlargement and democratic content of the EU, the decision making entailed in and the introduction of the euro, and the organisation of the European internal market....a majority of Dutch citizens thought that European integration was developing ‘too quickly’ and, more specifically, that the most recent major enlargement had been a step too far.”³



Charlotte Wennekers of the Government Information Service led research on Dutch public opinion on EU matters and presented the results in February 2009. She said focus group results revealed economic and psychological factors and a

¹ The article is available for download at Van Kessel’s webpage at Radboud University, at: <http://www.ru.nl/politicologie/koppeling/kessel/#Publications>.

² Available at: http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_turkey_dutch_survey_paper.pdf.

³ Art Kees and Henk van der Kolk, *Nederlanders en Europa. Het referendum over de Europese grondwet*, 2005, pp. 85-66.

general fear of further EU enlargement. The research also showed how low general knowledge and interest in European matters is in the Netherlands.⁴

By contrast, studies from the Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis (CPB) and the Social and Cultural Planning Office of the Netherlands (SCP), however, suggest that the percentage of citizens opposed to further enlargement has stabilised again after the referendum 'dip', while the percentage of citizens who believe that European integration is developing 'too quickly' is also declining again.

After the failure of the June 2005 referendum, the Dutch ministry of Foreign Affairs initiated an online survey called 'Netherlands in Europe', which still coincides with government policy. The survey found that:

1. ***The Dutch attach great importance to strict application of the admission criteria.*** There was overwhelming support for strict application of the admission criteria. 75 per cent of the respondents thought that "new countries should be admitted only if they meet all the criteria".
2. ***Almost half favour extra criteria.*** 44 per cent thought that new countries should be admitted only if they meet "extra criteria", possibly including an extended trial membership period, during which countries could show that they genuinely meet the criteria.
3. ***No willingness to admit countries that fail to meet the criteria.*** Almost all the respondents (90 per cent) rejected the proposition that "new countries should be allowed to join even if they do not meet all the criteria".
4. ***Feeling that the European Union is big enough.*** Almost half the respondents (48 per cent) agreed with the proposition that "the EU is big enough; only West European countries like Norway and Switzerland should still be admitted". 39 per cent rejected this proposition.

Eurobarometer

According to the Special Eurobarometer 251 survey on the Future of Europe in 2006,⁵ 55 per cent of Dutch said that overall, enlargement is something positive. The average across the EU was 61 per cent. Asked about the impact of future enlargement, 62 per cent of Dutch said it would increase problems in the jobs market, while 61 per cent thought it would improve the EU's influence in the world.

The Eurobarometer 69 (spring 2008) showed the following results for questions about the candidate countries:

⁴ Website of MA European Studies, Leiden University, at: <http://www.hum.leiden.edu/history/eu-studies/news/charlotte-wennekers-addresses-the-last-european-seminar.html>.

⁵ Eurobarometer 02-03/06, *The Future of Europe, April 2006*, available for download at: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_special_260_240_en.htm.

DUTCH ATTITUDES TO FURTHER ENLARGEMENT:*EB69**Spring 2008⁶*

	Albania	BiH	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia	Montenegro	Serbia	Turkey
<i>Pro</i>	39	49	60	44	53	48	44	40
<i>Anti</i>	53	45	34	47	38	42	50	55
<i>Don't know</i>	8	6	6	9	9	10	6	5

In January 2010 (Eurobarometer 73), Dutch support for enlargement had dropped slightly to 45 per cent, compared to an EU average of 46 per cent. Six in ten said they have confidence in the EU, considerably more than the EU average of 48 per cent. In spring 2011 (Eurobarometer 75), this figure had dropped to 50 per cent, compared with an average of 41 per cent of EU citizens who said they have confidence in the EU.

Dutch experts warn that their domestic surveys give lower pro enlargement results than the Eurobarometer. **Jan Rood**, Director of Studies at the Netherlands Institute of International Relations said in June 2009:

“My general view is that the Dutch are kind of suspicious and critical about further European integration. You won't find that by looking at the results of the Eurobarometer. In these polls, the Dutch seem to be quite positive about Europe. This is because the single market has turned out to be a big advantage for the Netherlands. But suggestions about more integration and moves towards a common foreign policy or a common monetary policy touch a sensitive spot.”

THE DUTCH POSITION ON ENLARGEMENT

On 28 October 2011, the Dutch government presented its annual ‘appreciation’ of the Europe Commission’s Progress Reports and Strategy, a formal letter to Parliament. In the letter, the cabinet stated its priorities as ‘the rule of law, human rights and administrative reforms’, and expressly, their implementation.

“Track record’ is the key word. The Netherlands is strict and fair. First the red lines. Then the red carpet. The cabinet values the Dutch (trade) interests and the transformative power of a qualitative and strict enlargement policy. Such a policy contributes to the realisation of the three pillars of foreign policy: security, welfare in the world and freedom.”

⁶ The Eurobarometer 69 is available at:

http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb69/eb69_part3_en.pdf.

This reflects the words of the minister of Foreign Affairs Uri Rosenthal (a Christian Democrat) to Commissioner Stefan Füle in early October 2011.⁷

“Rosenthal underlined that these countries [Serbia and Montenegro] have to continue with the necessary reforms in the area of rule of law. ‘Those changes are the most difficult to achieve. That is the lesson from previous enlargements.’”

In the letter to parliament, the cabinet assessed the track record of the candidate countries.

Croatia: “The Netherlands will see to it that Europe keeps a strict eye on Croatia. Monitoring ‘with teeth’ is needed.” Special focus on LGBT rights in Croatia.

Montenegro: Unlike the Commission, the cabinet is “not convinced that Montenegro maintains a credible track record that is needed to open the accession negotiations. (...) The Netherlands points out that a large number of new laws and reforms are very recent. Montenegro needs to show that the reforms are indeed implemented and irreversible.”

Serbia: “The cabinet considers a decision about the opening of accession negotiations with Serbia to be premature.” Concern is raised about Serbia’s tenuous relations with Kosovo, the rule of law and combating corruption and organised crime.

Turkey: “The policy line of this cabinet remains unchanged: the goal of the accession negotiations is Turkey’s accession – conform to the 2005 negotiation framework. This is an open-ended process, the outcome of which cannot be guaranteed beforehand. The Netherlands has agreed to the perspective of membership for Turkey, if it fulfills *all* criteria. The cabinet will not revise its previous assurances. It’s Turkey’s turn now.”

Macedonia: “After the recent elections, Macedonia will have to continue with reforms and ensure their actual implementation”, especially in the area of the public sector and judiciary, corruption and press freedom.

Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo:

“2011 was a lost year for Albania’

“The cabinet continues to discourage Bosnia-Herzegovina to apply for (premature) membership.”

“The cabinet underlines that Kosovo will have to fulfill the strict criteria for visa liberalisation if it wants to be eligible for actual liberalisation.”

⁷ Website of the central government, ‘Rosenthal: enlargement EU strict and fair’, 4 October 2011, at: <http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/ministeries/bz/nieuws/2011/10/04/rosenthal-uitbreiding-eu-strict-en-fair.html>.

THE NETHERLANDS AND THE WESTERN BALKANS

As well as its involvement through the EU, the Netherlands' engagement in the Western Balkan countries takes place through its diplomatic missions and trade and development aid, which is also channelled through the development organisation SNV (founded in 1965 under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as *Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers*, Foundation of Netherlands Volunteers, but no longer working with volunteers nor under the government) and other NGOs.

Embassies in Western Balkans

The Netherlands has embassies in Belgrade, Pristina, Skopje, Sarajevo, Tirana and Zagreb. The embassy in Belgrade also covers Montenegro.

Support for the Western Balkans

Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia are major recipients of Dutch official development aid. This will continue at least until the end of 2011. After that time Kosovo will remain a partner country for bilateral development co-operation.

A number of Dutch non-ODA and semi-ODA programmes are also open to the region. It is not possible to quantify Dutch assistance fully as it includes Dutch contributions to international organisations (the EU, the UN, the IFIs, the OSCE, and the Council of Europe) and Dutch national organisations.

DUTCH OFFICIAL ASSISTANCE (ODA) TO THE WESTERN BALKANS:

Source: Netherlands Foreign Ministry, November 2011

“Dutch aid can be seen as a facet of the Netherlands' ‘strict but fair’ policy on EU accession.”

Please note: In March 2011, the government introduced a revised development strategy. The Netherlands will drastically decrease the number of countries that receive structural bilateral development aid from 33 to 15. The phasing out of the programme has commenced in 2011 and is expected to be completed in 2014. None of the Western Balkan countries will remain a Dutch partner country.

Albania: The development programme in Albania deals with the environment and good governance. The annual allocation is roughly €4.5 million. In addition the Netherlands contributes to the regional environment programme for the Western Balkans.

Bosnia-Herzegovina: The annual allocation the development programme for BiH is €15 million. At least €5 million is spent annually on Srebrenica-related projects. The focus is on enhancing sustainable, transparent and responsible government structures. The EU accession criteria are providing the direction.

Kosovo: The Netherlands focuses on projects that support cooperation and reconciliation between Kosovar Albanians and Kosovar Serbs.

Macedonia: For years the Netherlands maintained a development aid relationship with Macedonia. Since the mid-1990s Macedonia has received ca. €200 million, aimed at enhancing stability and economic and social development.

Western Balkans region: The Dutch Embassy in Belgrade manages the Regional Balkan Programme (RBP) and the Regional Environmental Programme (RMP), each of which receives €7 million a year. The two programmes, which will run until the end of 2011, focus on the rule of law (aid to victims of war crimes, mediation, enforcement of judicial decisions), the private sector

(helping new businesses and supporting regional networks) and the environment (clean-up projects, collaborative ventures with universities, environmental education and capacity building).

Economic instruments

Various private-sector stimulus programmes are available to the Western Balkans, such as PSI and ORIO. These include funds supporting innovative private joint ventures and promoting investments relevant to development:

- PSI (private sector investment): €1.5 million (Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia, 2011)
- ORIO (infrastructure development): €60 million (Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia)
- MMF (match-making facility): Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia

Non-ODA and semi-ODA programmes

Human rights fund

The total budget in 2010 was €27.5 million. Around a fifth of it is spent on projects in Eastern European countries. The Western Balkans is an important area because of the perspective of EU membership. In 2009, €140,000 was spent on two projects in Montenegro, and over €600,000 on 17 projects in Serbia. Turkey was another major recipient with ca. €400,000 spent on 16 projects.

Stability fund

Total budget in 2010 was €83.3 million. In 2008, €4.9 million went to the Western Balkans for projects related to security, including Security Sector Reform, veteran reintegration, peace missions and arms control.

Matra

Matra, which is an abbreviation for *maatschappelijke transformatie* (social transformation), is a programme that was established in 1993 to support the various dimensions of the transition process in the former Eastern bloc. The general objective of the Matra programme is to contribute to the development of a pluralistic democracy, grounded in the rule of law, with room for dialogue between government and civil society; to build capacity and strengthen the institutions of civil society and government; and to strengthen bilateral relations. The Matra programme supports countries in the Western Balkans and Turkey in their efforts to meet EU norms and standards in the social and governance areas. Twinning is a significant instrument in this regard, between both NGOs and governments. For the Western Balkans and Turkey, Matra focuses on the theme of Justice & Home Affairs. As a result of a debate on the efficiency of development aid and overall cutbacks on government expenditures, the Matra programme was modernised in 2009. No new funds have been made available, and the number of countries eligible has been reduced. The total 2010 budget for all countries where Matra is active was €33.2 million, for 2012 it will be €32.8 million.

Constituency support

Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Montenegro are part of the Dutch Constituency at the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. As such these countries receive support, mainly in the shape of technical cooperation e.g. in the area of public finance management. The commitment in 2009 was €1.5 million.

International Public Cooperation (G2G)

Through the G2G programme, the Netherlands provides technical support to governments. The programme is open to participation by Serbia and Turkey.

DUTCH NON-GOVERNMENT SUPPORT TO THE WESTERN BALKANS

SNV

The Netherlands Development Organisation SNV (which officially separated from the Foreign Ministry in 2002) has 11 offices in five Balkan countries. The Balkans regional head office is in Tirana. There are field offices in BiH, Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro. SNV is committed to working in the Balkans until 2015.

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Free Press Unlimited is the result of a merger between Radio Netherlands' Training Center, Free Voice and Press Now in 2011. FPU runs programmes in Kosovo and Turkey, cooperating with local organisations. FPU supports the cooperation of a Turkish and Armenian television station. In Kosovo, the Independent News Centre, a network of local radio stations, is working with support from FPU. Albanian and Serbian stations are involved.



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Felix Meritis Foundation, one of the main debate centres in Amsterdam, is active in Serbia and across Europe. It has helped initiate GRAD – the European Centre for Culture and Debate - in Belgrade.



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GRAD is a joint project of the Cultural Front Belgrade and the Felix Meritis Centre in Amsterdam. It is financially supported by the Matra programme and the Belgrade Savski Venac community.

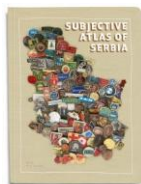


Felix Meritis is also the Dutch partner in *a soul for europe*, engaging partners in Belgrade, Berlin, Brussels, Porto and Tbilisi in an international network of European cities and regions. It brings together the cultural sector and business as well as European policy-makers. www.asoulforeurope.eu

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De Balie Debate and Cultural Centre

Kleine-Gartmanplantsoen 10
1017 RR Amsterdam
Tel: +31 20 553 5151
www.debalie.nl/



The De Balie debate and cultural centre in Amsterdam is an important debating centre in Amsterdam and has also been active in SE Europe. In 2008, it launched the “*Subjective Atlas of Serbia - Subjektivni atlas Srbije*” with Dom Omladine Belgrade and the Dutch designer Annelies de Vet.

Youri Albrecht, Artistic Director

Dianne Zuidema, General Director
<http://subjectiveatlas.wordpress.com/>

IKV Pax Christi

Dutch Interchurch Peace Council (IKV) and Pax Christi Netherlands (they merged in 2007)
www.ikvpaxchristi.nl/
3501 DH Utrecht
Tel: +31 30 233 33 46
info@ikvpaxchristi.nl

Senior Policy Adviser: **Dion van den Berg**
E-mail: vandenBerg@ikvpaxchristi.nl

IKV Pax Christi, the largest peace movement organisation in the Netherlands, has been involved in the region since the late 1980s. During the Yugoslav wars, IKV and Pax Christi were involved in political campaigning. They are well-known for their focus on Srebrenica, working over many years with the Women of Srebrenica, engaging with Dutch MPs and other opinion formers.

In June 2009, 20 women from Srebrenica and 10 former DutchBat soldiers visited ICTY together. It has been the aim of IKV-Pax Christi to facilitate dialogue between Srebrenica survivors and DutchBat soldiers. IKV-Pax Christi co-organises an annual Srebrenica commemoration in The Hague, and co-ordinates a Dutch delegation to the annual commemoration in Potocari/Srebrenica. IKV Pax Christi also supports city twinning between Srebrenica and the two Dutch municipalities of Heumen and Winschoten. Previously, IKV Pax Christi implemented programmes for democratisation in Eastern Croatia and for revitalisation of the city of Tuzla.



In Serbia, IKV Pax Christi has been setting up a civil society building project in Sandzak. It also works extensively at the municipal level. In Kosovo it works with partners to encourage cooperation between Albanians and Serbs. One of the target groups is young people from Serbia, Kosovo and the enclaves. IKV Pax Christi is one of the partners in Rock School Mitrovica.

Platform Spartak

Nutshuis

Riviervismarkt 5

Den Haag

www.platformspartak.euinfo@platformspartak.eu

Tel: +31 70 3889970

Platform Spartak, founded in 2003, is an interdisciplinary platform for individuals interested in Eastern Europe. Spartak's main goal is to strengthen the bond between Eastern and Western Europe in the broadest sense: culturally, politically and socially. Emphasis is placed on direct individual involvement, by bringing together young aspiring Europeans from all parts of the continent. Platform Spartak is a voluntary association coordinates the European Voluntary Service (EVS) and publishes a quarterly magazine about Eastern Europe, *Donau* (Dutch for Danube).

Trade and Business**SPARK**

Linnaeusstraat 35 F

1093 EE Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 5682088

E-mail: spark@spark-online.orgwww.spark-online.orgDirector: **Yannick du Pont**Co-Director: **Michel Richter**

SPARK builds capacity of local economic and educational institutions. It has a budget of €11 million and a staff of ca. 40, with field offices in Belgrade and Pristina. SPARK has supported the establishment of a private international vocational college in Mitrovica.

Dutch Chamber of Commerce - Western Balkans Offices

There are Dutch Chamber of Commerce offices (www.kvk.nl) in Albania www.kvkal.org, Kosovo www.kvkks.org, Macedonia www.kvkkmk.org, and in Montenegro, to support bilateral business relations, to increase the competitiveness of its members and to promote a business-friendly environment. The Netherlands is a significant economic player in the Western Balkans.

Trade between the Netherlands and the Western Balkans:

	Dutch imports from WB states (in 1,000s euros)		Dutch exports to WB states (in 1,000s euros)	
	2007	2008	2007	2008
Albania	27,120	18,304	30,051	35,906
Bosnia	21,683	27,940	84,681	102,050
Kosovo	1,862	1,807	8052	16,736
Croatia	66,987	74,447	474,669	529,648
Macedonia	48,105	48,987	84,154	98,733
Montenegro	1,569	9,654	23,817	31,663
Serbia	80,668	103,677	307,794	367,270

Migration from the Balkans

There were 76,000 people who were first or second generation immigrants from the countries of former Yugoslavia in the Netherlands in 2004.

Former Yugoslavs by country of origin, 1 January 2004

Country of origin	1 st generation (1,000s)	2 nd generation (1,000s)	Total (1,000s) and percentage	
Bosnia	25.2	6.7	31.9	42.3%
Croatia	6.4	3.4	9.8	13.0%
Macedonia	3.2	1.9	5.0	6.6%
Montenegro	1.7	0.6	2.3	3.1%
Slovenia	0.9	0.6	1.4	1.9%
Serbia excl. Kosovo	10.8	5.7	16.5	21.8%
Kosovo	6.5	2.1	8.5	11.3%
Total	54.5	21.0	75.5	100

Estimates of the number of former Yugoslavs (by present borders) presented to the UN Social and Economic Council in April 2008. Source: Statistics Netherlands.

Many Yugoslav men settled in Rotterdam as early as the 1970s to work in the shipbuilding, cleaning, metal, textile, food, drinks and tobacco industries. Yugoslav women were recruited to the fish processing, leather processing and cigarette industries. Refugees tended to settle in places near their first assigned accommodation in the Netherlands, usually a reception centre for asylum seekers. These centres are distributed across the country

A study of former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands has shown that the group who arrived during or after the Balkan wars is on average better educated and has integrated better in socio-cultural respects than the group who arrived earlier.⁸

Asylum Seekers

The number of asylum seekers, around 15, 000 in 2008, rose sharply in the first half of the 1990s after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the break-up of Yugoslavia. After a decline in the mid-nineties, it began to rise again due to the war in Kosovo. Since 2000, requests have declined.

⁸ *Voormalig Joegoslaven in Nederland*. T. Hessels *Bevolkingstrends* 53(1), 2005.

THE NETHERLANDS AND TURKEY

The relationship between Turkey and the Netherlands dates back to the early 17th century. The first Dutch ambassador to the Ottoman Empire was installed in 1612, which marked the beginning of diplomatic and soon after trade relations that last until today. In 2012, both countries will celebrate 400 years of diplomatic relations. The Netherlands is currently one of the major investors in the Turkish economy, and an important trading partner of Turkey within the EU (which accounts for over 40 per cent of Turkey's total trade volume). On a diplomatic level, Turkey and the Netherlands maintain a stable working relationship. Politically, the rise of anti-Islam, anti-immigration sentiments has led to some concern on the part of Turkey about the position of Turkish Dutch.

The Turkish Dutch community numbers just under 400,000. Up until the 1960s there was no significant presence of Turks in the Netherlands, which rapidly changed when the first labour contracts were concluded between the Turkish and Dutch governments in 1964 and thousands of Turkish labourers came to work in Dutch factories and industry. Family reunification and 'import brides' in the 1970s and 1980s led to an increasing Turkish presence, especially in the *Randstad* (conurbation in the Netherlands comprising Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht and the surrounding areas) and eastern cities.

Second-generation Turkish Dutch are generally regarded as well integrated into Dutch society in terms of education, socio-economic status and political participation. The Turkish community has a high level of self-organisation with up to 1500 entrepreneurs' associations, social organisations, student associations and other associations. However, the high level of self-organisation and strong ties with Turkey has also led to an orientation towards Turkey among many Turkish Dutch, which arguably contributes to socio-cultural segregation.

The Netherlands has an embassy in Ankara, and a consulate-general in Istanbul. The diplomatic posts are allocated modest budgets to support cultural and Matra projects. Through Agency NL, the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation makes available financial support for G2G and private sector programmes.

THE DUTCH PARLIAMENT AND POLITICAL CONSENSUS-BUILDING



The House of Representatives, the second chamber (in Dutch: *Tweede Kamer*) of the Dutch Parliament (*States General*), plays an important role in Dutch policy-making. It has a high degree of influence on Dutch policy on the EU accession of the Western Balkan states and Turkey.

Dutch ministers regularly appear before it defending their policies. Committees have powers to challenge government ministers. The Prime Minister attends a formal meeting of the European Affairs Committee before taking part in each European Council.

Since the 2005 referendum on the Constitutional Treaty, in which 61.6 per cent of the public voted "nee", while three quarters of deputies had previously voted in favour of the Treaty, most mainstream Dutch political parties have become more cautious on Europe, partly to avoid being out-flanked by the Freedom Party (PVV) of Geert Wilders. The Parliament has taken an increasingly strict stance on enlargement based on the principle of "strict but fair."

This attitude has become more uncompromising since the accession of Bulgaria and Romania in 2007:

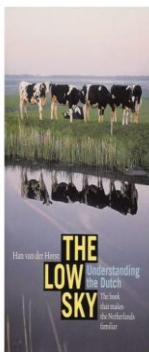
“The House of Representatives was critical following the agreements made at the time of the accession of Bulgaria and Romania... The EC semi-annual reports on these countries show little progress in combating organised crime and corruption and reforming the justice sector. This gives rise to concern in the House of Representatives and this is why the House is closely following developments in these countries.”(Source: House of Representatives)

The Netherlands has been engaged in the Western Balkans for a long time. It is a major trading partner, and it has run large assistance programmes in the region. Senior Dutch diplomats such as EUSR Pieter Feith are working in the region. The Hague is the host-city of ICTY. The Srebrenica massacre in 1995 and the role of the Dutch is still a sensitive issue. The Netherlands also has strong relations to Turkey as one of the major investors in Turkey and an important trading partner of Turkey in the EU.

The Dutch debate on EU enlargement is rather different to the debate in other major EU member states. Analysis by ESI over the past years suggests that there is much less of an “information problem” among the Dutch elite than in almost any other EU country, irrespective of whether these countries are supportive or sceptical. There is less of a need to make “the basic case” in the Netherlands. Dutch elites are well-informed, and serious debates are part of the national culture. “We Dutch are most impressed by people with a nuanced political attitude,” as the former MP Ari Oostlander (CDA) has put it. To engage seriously with the Dutch means engaging on their terms and understanding their unique form of consensus-building.

Deliberative democracy is fundamental to political life in the Netherlands (see below). It dates back to the development of the country from the 12 United Provinces and the strong social divisions – the Catholic, Protestant and Liberal “pillars” of society. The Netherlands is famous for its “Polder Model” - or “the Rhine Delta Model”. A strong form of proportional representation in elections ensures a multiplicity of political voices. No party has ever held an absolute majority. Government is always through coalition, and the Prime Minister cannot overrule his ministers.

Decisions are taken jointly, through elaborate consultations and the search for compromises. The Dutch term for this process of consensus-building is ‘overleg’ pronounced: *over-leh*. It is not an easy term to translate: the closest English expression is ‘consultation’, a process which aims first and foremost at giving the parties involved the opportunity to exchange information.



“The Dutch spend many of their working hours in overleg,” write Han van der Horst in his book on the Dutch, “The Low Sky”: “At the end of overleg, everyone has an idea of what the other wishes to achieve... Often the chairman will conclude with satisfaction that “de neuzen weer in dezelfde richting wijzen” - “all noses are pointing in the same direction”.

Overleg is a painstaking process that ends, ideally, in beleid – a policy position. Because of the time and effort invested in achieving beleid, the agreed position is invested with great importance by the stakeholders, and becomes very difficult to change. “It is always possible to change beleid eventually, but it cannot be achieved overnight. Every single measure has, after all, been discussed at great length.”

Han Van der Horst, *The Low Sky: Understanding the Dutch*.

On foreign policy the Dutch combine Atlanticist views with a pro-European consensus. They are in favour of free trade and also have a strong tradition of internationalist idealism. It has been summed up well as “*Peace, Profits and Principles*” in the title of a book on Dutch foreign policy by Joris Voorhoeve, a former Minister of Defence. “The Merchant versus the Vikar” (priest) is another common phrase. The Dutch belief in free trade has deep roots, dating back to the period when the United Provinces ruled a global trading empire. Today, the Netherlands has one of the most open economies in the world with exports amounting to 60 per cent of its GDP. Idealism also plays a role in its policies. The national self-image rests upon ideals of justice, tolerance and fairness. That is one reason why the 1995 Srebrenica massacre was such a shattering experience for Dutch self-perception.

THE POLDER MODEL

The 'polder model' is the name given to the Dutch form of consensus building. It is a long tradition going back to the management of the United Provinces. According to some Dutch historians it goes back to the water management systems of the polders. The journalist Mark Kranenburg has written: "It is not without reason that the Water Boards and their polder pumping installations are the oldest tiers of government in the country. In his book, *Hollands Welbehagen, The Well-being of Holland*, Herman Pleij, Professor of historical letters, writes: "The Netherlands owes its existence to the democracy of dry feet."⁹

The Dutch people have traditionally tended to talk through their problems in a peaceful and rational way and to seek consensus rather than conflict. This can be a lengthy process which sometimes leads outsiders to describe Dutch politics as 'dull'. The 'polder model' involves close consultation between government, trade unions and the private sector – the so-called 'social partners'. One of the great advantages of the system is that it helps to maintain economic stability. In 1982 when unemployment was very high, the government and the two sides of industry agreed to try to restore employment through pay restraint. The agreement is best known as the Wassenaar Agreement. It led to a major reform of the social security system to widen the income gap between benefit claimants and people in work to create a greater incentive to work. Tough restraints on public expenditure were also agreed. The reforms were the springboard for the 1990's boom.

The Dutch economy performed well in the mid-1990s. Average annual economic growth in from 1994 to 1998 was 3.2 per cent higher than the EU average. U.S. President Bill Clinton praised the Dutch economic performance as a global model at the 1997 G8 summit. The "Dutch miracle" was discussed across the world. However, the economic growth, which had reached around 4 per cent during the 1990s, had come to a virtual standstill by late 2002. The Netherlands faced three years of rising unemployment and low growth. In 2006 and 2007 growth was again over 3 per cent. It fell in 2008 and there was a recession until the first half of 2009. Economic growth picked up slightly again after that and is currently (winter 2011) around 2-3 per cent. Unemployment, at around 5.5 per cent, is low compared to the EU average.¹⁰

Immigration, Multiculturalism, Islam and Consensus Democracy



"Even the official statistics in Amsterdam are remarkable. In 1999, 45 per cent of the population was of foreign origin. If the projections are right this will be 52 per cent in 2015. And the majority will be Muslim."

Ian Buruma, *Murder in Amsterdam. The death of Theo van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance*, 2006.

⁹ Mark Kranenburg, "The political branch of the polder model", *NRC Handelsblad*, 1 July 1999 <http://www.nrc.nl/W2/Lab/Profiel/Netherlands/politics.html>.

¹⁰ Dossier Macro-Economics, Statistics Netherlands, at: <http://www.cbs.nl/nl-NL/menu/themas/macro-economie/publicaties/dne/default.html>

20 per cent of the whole Dutch population is of foreign background, 9 per cent of Western and 11 per cent of non-Western origin, according to the 2009 Statistics Yearbook. A total of 1.7 million people are first or second generation immigrants from non-Western countries. Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans/Arubans make up nearly two thirds of these non Western-minorities.¹¹

Turks and Moroccans came to the Netherlands in the 1960s and 1970s as guest workers on labour contracts between the Netherlands and their respective countries. They subsequently started their own families or brought relatives or marriage partners. Suriname is a former Dutch colony which became independent in 1975. The Caribbean islands of Aruba, Curaçao and St. Maarten are still part of the Netherlands.

In addition there are 387,000 people from the Dutch East Indies, now Indonesia. From 1945 to 1970, between 300,000 and 330,000 Indonesian people came to the Netherlands. After a difficult transition they are generally regarded as the most integrated of the minorities.

*“Poles are a relatively new group of immigrants. In the last couple of years their number has increased considerably and is still rising, in spite of the economic recession. Registration is not complete, but their number is estimated at 150,000 or 1 per cent of the Dutch population. This group consists mainly of young newcomers in their twenties”.*¹²

While Poles, and increasingly Romanians and Bulgarians, are not popular in some quarters, the debate in the Netherlands has focussed on immigrants of Muslim origin. At the heart of the discussion has been the policy of multiculturalism, which had evolved as part of Dutch consensus politics.

“Muslims in Holland were being allowed to form their own Pillar in Dutch society, with their own schools and their own way of life, just like Catholics and Jews. They were left politely alone to live in their own world. ... There was a sense among the Dutch that society should behave with decency and understanding. ... The result was that immigrants lived apart, studied apart, socialised apart. They went to separate Muslim schools or ordinary schools in the inner city, which other families fled.”

Ayaan Hirsi Ali, *Infidel*, 2007.

“Slowly, almost without anybody noticing, old working class Dutch neighbourhoods lost their white population and were transformed into ‘dish cities’ linked to Morocco, Turkey and the Middle East by satellite television and the internet.”

Ian Burma, *Murder in Amsterdam*, 2006.

The long-standing Dutch policy of multiculturalism was challenged by Paul Scheffer in an explosive essay, the “Multicultural Drama” in NRC Handelsblad in 2000. It caused a huge shock to the prevailing consensus. It highlighted the dangers of isolated foreign communities undermining Dutch social cohesion. Paul Scheffer was not alone in making such comments.

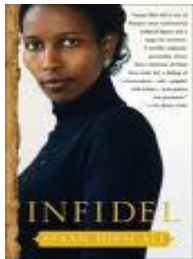
The VVD leader Frits Bolkestein had been the first politician to raise the immigration issue. He wrote *Islam en Democratie* in 1994 and *Moslim in de Polder* in 1997. The sociologist Paul Schnabel, the head of the SCP (State Planning Bureau), gave a lecture, “The Multicultural Fantasy,” in 1999. All three were

¹¹ Forum Institute for Multicultural Development, Factbook, March 2009.

¹² Website of FORUM, at: <http://www.forum.nl/international/pdf/Poles-in-the-Netherlands-June09.pdf>

lambasted for their controversial interventions. Paul Schnabel says of himself and Paul Scheffer: “At that time, both of us were attacked as ‘racist’ and were told: ‘You are on the wrong track.’ We said, “There is a big problem, we are not a multicultural society.’ But that was still seen as politically incorrect.” (ESI interview, 2005/6)

Public fears of Islamist fundamentalism have reached acute levels following September 11, 2001. Economic conditions contributed. Growth, which had reached around 4 per cent during the 1990s, came to a virtual standstill in 2002. In this climate of soul-searching, doubt and concern, Pim Fortuyn, a flamboyant sociology lecturer and columnist, rose to rapid prominence in 2001/2. He declared that Islam was a backward ('retarded') culture. He said on TV that Muslims in the Netherlands needed to accept living *together* with the Dutch and that if this was unacceptable for them, they were free to leave. I want to live together with the Muslim people, but it takes two to tango.” He argued that European enlargement was to the detriment of the Netherlands and that immigration constituted a major threat to the Dutch way of life. Pim Fortuyn critique directly challenged the Netherlands’ “consensus democracy”. Then, on 6 May 2002, just nine days before his newly created party *LPF* (List Pim Fortuyn) was to come second in the national elections, Pim Fortuyn was murdered by Volkert van der Graaf, an animal rights activist – the first political assassination in 350 years.



Pim Fortuyn was not alone in his criticism of Islam. Ayaan Hirsi Ali, originally from Somalia and of Muslim origin, emerged as a passionate critic of Islam and its treatment of women in particular. She published many newspaper articles, and became a frequent speaker on television and in public debate forums throughout the Netherlands. She wrote a controversial book entitled *De Zootjesfabriek (The Son Factory: About Women, Islam and Integration)*. She was elected an MP for the VVD and continued to make controversial statements about Islam. She wrote the script and provided the voice-over for *Submission*, the short film produced by Theo van Gogh, which criticised the treatment of women in Islamic society. It was shown on Dutch public TV on 29 August 2004. Theo van Gogh was brutally murdered on 2 November 2004 by a Dutch Moroccan extremist, Mohammed Bouyeri.

The events of 11 September 2001, the murder of Theo van Gogh and the discovery of some extremist Islamist networks in the Netherlands have all contributed to the current debate on Islam in the Netherlands. No-one has been more forthright than the PVV leader Geert Wilders.

The events of 11 September 2001, the murder of Theo van Gogh and the discovery of some extremist Islamist networks in the Netherlands have all contributed to the current debate on Islam in the Netherlands. No-one has been more forthright than the PVV leader Geert Wilders.

Speaking in Parliament on 6 September 2006 Geert Wilders said:



“Islam is the Trojan Horse in Europe. If we do not stop Islamification now, Eurabia and Netherabia will just be a matter of time. One century ago, there were approximately 50 Muslims in the Netherlands. Today, there are about 1 million Muslims in this country. Where will it end? We are heading for the end of European and Dutch civilisation as we know it. Where is our Prime Minister in all this? In reply to my questions in the House he said, without batting an eyelid, that there is no question of our country being islamified. Now, this reply constituted a historical error as soon as it was uttered. Very many Dutch citizens, Madam Speaker, experience the presence of Islam around them. And I can report that they have had enough of burkas,

headscarves, the ritual slaughter of animals, so-called honour revenge, blaring minarets, female circumcision, hymen restoration operations, abuse of homosexuals, Turkish and Arabic on the buses and trains as well as on town hall leaflets, halal meat at grocery shops and department stores, Sharia exams, the Finance Minister’s Sharia mortgages, and the enormous overrepresentation of Muslims in the area of crime, including Moroccan street terrorists. In spite of all this, Madam Speaker, there is hope. Fortunately the majority of Dutch citizens have become fully aware of the danger, and regard Islam as a threat to our culture. My party, the Freedom Party, takes those citizens seriously and comes to their defence.” <http://forum-voor-de-vrijheid.nl/vrijheid/archive/index.php/t-4090.html>

Wilders is a hugely controversial figure, and is under round the clock protection. Like Pim Fortuyn his remarks are also seen as directly challenging Dutch consensus democracy, given the popularity of his messages. The ultimate impact on the Dutch model is not yet clear. Wilder's Party for Freedom (PVV), or rather movement as Wilders himself is the only official member, has risen to formal prominence in the Dutch parliament after the June 2010 elections, gaining 24 (out of 150) seats. Subsequently, the PVV gained 9.6 per cent of the vote in the March 2011 provincial elections. The provincial representatives elect the Senate members from their midst, which has resulted in a tight majority for the coalition partners and the PVV in the Dutch Senate or First Chamber (Eerste Kamer).

The PVV is especially strong in Limburg, the southernmost province from where Wilders himself hails, and other peripheral areas where voters feel deserted by traditional politics and political elites in The Hague. Wilders' electorate may be primarily attracted by the PVV's stance on migration and Islam, its conservative leftist, strongly anti-elitist view on social policies and Europe have played a major role in its rising popularity.

THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

THE MONARCHY

www.koninklijkhuis.nl

The Dutch Royal House is the House of Orange-Nassau, whose fortunes have been closely tied to those of the Netherlands since the 15th century. Since that time, the Oranges have made a major contribution to the government as kings and queens, and as stadholders - a uniquely Dutch title.



Queen Beatrix has been Head of State of the Netherlands since 1980. She has no formal political powers, although her political leverage is thought to be considerable. Apart from representing the Netherlands abroad and meeting the Prime Minister and speaking regularly with ministers and state secretaries, she signs Acts of Parliament and Royal Decrees, appoints the PM, designates, and formally chairs the Council of State, the government's main advisory body. She will be succeeded by her eldest (of three sons), **Prince Willem-Alexander**, the Prince of Orange.

The highest body is the **Council of State (Raad van State)** which advises the Government and Parliament on legislation and governance, and is also the country's highest administrative court with general jurisdiction. The Queen is the President of the Council of State. The Council consists of the Vice-President, **Herman Tjeenk Willink**, who is in actual fact in charge, and up to 28 members, known as State Councillors who are appointed for life by the Queen, on the nomination of the Government and on the recommendation of the Council itself.

THE STATES GENERAL

The Dutch Parliament is bi-cameral, comprising the Eerste Kamer, which is also called the Senate, or Upper House, and the key legislative body, the Tweede Kamer, known also as the House of Representatives or the Second Chamber.

More information on the Dutch Parliament is available at www.tweedekamer.nl or www.houseofrepresentatives.nl www.eerstekamer.nl/begrip/english_2

There is an excellent guide in English, and an academic survey, available for down-loading:



The Dutch Political System in a Nutshell, 2008, the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy and the Institute for Political Participation,
<http://www.nimd.org/document/211/the-dutch-political-system-in-a-nutshell>

Parliamentary Scrutiny in the Netherlands over EU Issues by **Ronald Holzacker**, CES Working Paper 5/04, University of Twente.
<http://www.mb.utwente.nl/ces/research/WorkingPapers/WPaper5-04.pdf>

There are two comprehensive books covering the Dutch political system:

Going Europe or going Dutch: how the Dutch Government shapes European Union Policy-making by **Mendeltje Van Keulen**, University of Amsterdam Press, 2006.

Governance and Politics of the Netherlands by **Ben Andeweg** and **Galen Irwin**, Palgrave Macmillan. Third edition, 2009.



In 2010, the Dutch journalist and former Middle East correspondent Joris Luyendijk wrote a short book on the interplay between parliament, media and lobbyists. Called *Je hebt het niet van mij...* (I didn't tell you, but...) Luyendijk's is an often hilarious account of his month among politicians, lobbyists and journalists in Nieuwspoord, the private club next to the Parliament where the three groups meet. Luyendijk offers an intriguing insight in the political scheming that the ordinary Dutch citizen only knows as 'the The Hague bubble'.

SECOND CHAMBER - TWEEDE KAMER

"In the Netherlands, spectacle and parliamentary debate do not go hand in hand. Sessions of the Second Chamber are usually more akin to a library board meeting, than a serious political discourse: very solid, never emotional. It all conforms to the traditional Dutch saying: "Just be normal, that's crazy enough". As a result, the Parliament does not hold debates. Rather, it deliberates."(**Mark Kranenburg**, "The political branch of the polder model." NRC Handelsblad, 1 July 1999)



Gerardina (Gerdi) Alida Verbeet has been President since 2006.
 E-mail: voorzitter@tweedekamer.nl

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES

Much of the deliberation happens within the Committee process. There are 21 committees with considerable powers. Each committee is responsible for monitoring developments in the EU within its area of competence.

THE COMMITTEE ON EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

The European Affairs Committee (also known as EuZa – EAC in English) oversees Parliamentary reviews of Government responses to new legislative proposals from the European Commission and the transposition of EU legislation into Dutch law. It also co-ordinates Europe-overleg: the dialogue with the Government before a meeting of the EU's Council of Ministers:

“The European Affairs Committee organises a series of meetings on the Thursday preceding a Council assembly. This series of meetings is called the Europe-overleg. In these meetings Parliament is represented by the European Affairs Committee and all the relevant sectoral committees...During this debate Parliament has the possibility to suggest changes in the intended Dutch position.”
Parliamentary Scrutiny, Montesquieu Institute, 9 June 2008.

“The EAC meets as a whole two or three times a month in an open meeting with the prime minister, the minister for foreign affairs, or the state secretary for foreign affairs. In the committee, the agenda of upcoming meetings of the European Council, the General Affairs Council and the Justice and Home Affairs Council are discussed.”

Ronald Holzhaacker, Parliamentary Scrutiny in The Netherlands over EU Issues, 2004.

Enlargement policy is one of the areas where the members of the Committee on European Affairs broadly agree on the Government's tough stance on conditionality. In May 2011, a delegation from the EAC visited Serbia, Kosovo and Albania.



Chairman: **Raymond Knops**(CDA).

Tel: + 31 70 318 3020

E-mail: H.Waalkens@tweedekamer.nl

Committee Clerk:**M. van Keulen**

Tel: + 31 70 318 20 24

E-mail: cie.eu@tweedekamer.nl



Deputy Chair: **Harry van Bommel**, Socialist Party Spokesman on Europe.

Tel: + 31 70 318 3044

E-mail: HvBommel@sp.nl

Statements on the Western Balkans:

“Albania is clearly not ready for EU membership candidacy.” (28 September 2009)

“The accession of Croatia to the EU in 2010 is unrealistic...Croatia is still more corrupt than Bulgaria and Romania, who are still struggling with their membership requirement... There are still many issues to be resolved before the Balkans can be part of the EU.” (17

October 2009).

The members of the Committee with an interest in South East Europe include:



Henk Jan Ormel (CDA)

Tel: + 31 70 318 3020

E-mail: h.ormel@tweedekamer.nl

Former chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Spokesperson CDA on European Affairs.



Raymond de Roon, PVV Europe Spokesman
Tel: + 31 70 318 5309 (PVV faction secretary).
E-mail: r.deroon@tweedekamer.nl

The PVV said in October 2009: "The members of the PVV group believe that EU enlargement does not benefit the Netherlands



Joël Voordewind, Christian Union spokesman on Europe.
Tel: + 31 70 318 22 11
E-mail: j.voordewind@tweedekamer.nl

On 24 April 2008 he said: he hoped that that Foreign Minister Verhagen "will not rashly put his signature" on Serbia's SAA.



Han Ten Broeke, VVD spokesman on Europe
Tel: + 31 70 318 22 11
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www.hantenbroeke.nl

On 26 May 2011 he said:

"As far as the VVD is concerned this is good news [the arrest of Ratko Mladic], but the door to EU membership does not swing open all of a sudden. Only if Serbia fulfils all criteria for membership (...) will lead to the next step. 'One swallow in the sky does not mean it's summer'. We want to be shown that Serbia is serious about fulfilling all demands. The pressure is on, until Serbia has met all criteria."

The list of Europe Affairs Committee members is available at:

http://www.houseofrepresentatives.nl/members_of_parliament/committees/european-affairs

THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS (BUZA - FAC)

Chairman: **Nebahat Albayrak** (PvdA)
Tel: +31 70 318 3025



Albayrak is former State Secretary of Justice in which capacity she was responsible for implementing asylum policy.

Clerk: **R. van der Kolk-Timmermans**
Deputy Clerk: **T. van Toor**
Tel: +31 70 - 318 20 20 / 2028
E-mail: n.albayrak@tweedekamer.nl
E-mail: cje.buza@tweedekamer.nl



Alexander Pechtold, (Leader of the D66 party) - Deputy Chairman
E-mail: a.pechtold@tweedekamer.nl
Robbert Smet is D66 adviser. Tel: + 31 70 318 2640.
E-mail: r.smet@tweedekamer.nl

Alexander Pechtold heads the D66 group in parliament (10 seats). He is a sharp debater and is often called the head of the opposition.

There is considerable overlap in membership of the two committees. The list of Foreign Affairs Committee members is available at:

http://www.houseofrepresentatives.nl/members_of_parliament/committees/BUZA/index.jsp#0

THE SENATE - EERSTE KAMER

The Senate was first established in 1815 at the time when Belgium and the Netherlands were one country. The 75 members of the Senate are elected by the members of the twelve Provincial Councils every four years (lastly in May 2011). The Senate's main role is to monitor draft legislation. Its members do not have the right to amend bills. They can only either accept or reject them. Senate debates can contribute to the interpretation of a law. Members can put written questions to the Government.

The Senate

Binnenhof 22

2513 AA Den Haag

Tel: +31 70 312 9200

<http://www.eerstekamer.nl/>



Chairman: **Fred de Graaf** (VVD). Former chair of the Foreign Policy, Defense and Development Cooperation Committee (BDO). He was mayor of Apeldoorn until October 2011.

E-Mail: voorzitter@eerstekamer.nl or g.j.degraaf@eerstekamer.nl



René van der Linden (CDA) is former chair of the Senate. He was previously chair of the European Cooperation Committee (ESO). He was Chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe from 2005 to 2008 and State Secretary for Europe from 1986 to 1988. He has been an advocate of Turkey's EU accession.

E-mail: rlinden2@home.nl

EUROPEAN COOPERATION COMMITTEE (ESO)

The European Cooperation Committee deals with the preparation of written proposals on European cooperation, including European treaties. The committee is responsible for examining all European Commission proposals sent to the Senate by the Government. The committee also consults the State Secretary responsible for European cooperation.



Chair: **Tineke Strik**(Green Left). Appointed in November 2009. She is a researcher at the Centre for Migration Law at Radboud University in Nijmegen where she specialises in European Asylum and Migration Law.

Tel: + 31 24 361 5533

E-mail: t.strik@jur.ru.nl

<http://www.tinekestrik.nl>

Deputy Chair:**Nico Schrijver** (PvdA)

Tel: +31 71 527 89 36 / 7578

E-mail: n.j.schrijver@planet.nl

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Development (BDO)

Chairman: **Frank van Kappen**(VVD)

E-mail: f.e.van.kappen@freeler.nl

Deputy Chairman: **Hans Franken** (CDA)

Tel: + 31 71- 580 47 64

E-mail: h.franken@eerstekamer.nl

Mobile Tel:+ 31 652 435 062.

POLITICAL PARTIES

There are currently ten political parties represented in the House of Representatives. Traditionally, the three largest are the Christian Democratic Alliance (CDA), a merger of three confessional parties that bases its ideas on religious principles; the Labour Party (PvdA), a social democratic party, and the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD), a right-leaning liberal party that gives high priority to individual freedom. However, after the 2010 election, the third largest party is the Freedom Party (PVV), with the CDA now in fourth place. The minority coalition is formed by VVD and CDA with backbench support on most major issues by the PVV.

The most significant changes in recent years have been the decline of the CDA, for decades a mainstay in Dutch politics, and more generally the inability of traditional parties to provide an answer to the anti-Islam, anti-immigration populism of first the LPF and later the PVV. After the elections almost all parties changed leadership and many a figurehead of Dutch politics in recent years left the political scene.

THE RULING PARTIES



Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD) - Liberal People's Party for Freedom and Democracy

MPs: 31

VVD International Office

Laan Copes van Cattenburch 52

P.O. Box 308362500 GV

The Hague

Tel: +31 70 361 3005, www.vvd.nl

The VVD was founded in 1948 to represent liberal conservatism. It embraces free-market capitalism and liberal internationalism. It takes a tough position on controlling public spending and is the only mainstream party in the Netherlands to have expressed critical views on European political integration. In the 2009 EP elections its campaign leader **Hans Van Baalen** (currently MEP) described the party's stance as "Euro-critical." He also said there would have to be a pause in enlargement to 2014. Support for the VVD peaked in the 1990s under the leadership of Frits Bolkestein. Analysts say it has found it hard to position itself in the political marketplace after Geert Wilders split to found the PVV (Freedom Party). VVD won 3 seats at the European Parliament 2009 elections.



Mark Rutte leads the VVD since May 2006 and is Prime Minister (the first Liberal PM in Dutch history) since October 2010. He narrowly beat Rita Verdonk, "Iron Rita," in a ballot of VVD members in 2006. As the Economist put it: "Mr Rutte represents a more liberal and conciliatory voice within the party, whereas Ms Verdonk, who was expelled from the party by Mr Rutte in September for failing to toe the party line, represented the more right wing supporters of the party". Verdonk split from the VVD to found the TON (trots op Nederland – Proud of the Netherlands, which did not win any seats in de 2010 elections and was dissolved in October 2011).

Mark Rutte heads a minority cabinet, a first in the Netherlands, with the backbench support of PVV. Whereas coalition partner CDA is impaired by internal dissent over the cooperation with PVV, VVD seems to be doing well and public support remains strong. The cabinet's main agenda is to push through tax cuts and reductions in benefits spending worth €18 billion during its term.

Ole Heil is International Programme Officer and the contact person for all Western Balkan states: Tel: +31 70 361 30 07. E-mail: o.heil@vvd.nl

VVD stresses the importance of fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria and the absorption capacity of the EU. About future enlargement, VVD states that: "The only country with a perspective on accession in Croatia." Turkey's 'closer ties with Iran and Palestinian Hamas in Gaza' are a cause of concern.



Christen Democratisch Appèl (CDA) - Christian Democratic Appeal

www.cda.nl/

Buitenom 18

2500 GL DEN HAAG

Tel: + 31 70 342 48 88

E-mail: leden@cda.nl

The Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), which describes itself as a modern Christian-Democratic People's Party, was formed in 1977 as an alliance of the mainstream Roman Catholic and Protestant parties. The CDA promotes centrist policies and has been the leading political force since the war.



Maxime Verhagen became CDA party leader in June 2010. He succeeded Jan Peter Balkenende, who had run for a fourth term in office during the June general elections campaign. The elections dealt a heavy blow to the CDA and halved their electoral support.

Verhagen hails from the southern province of Limburg and is a Roman Catholic. He is currently deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation – the largest department. In the previous cabinet Verhagen was Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The CDA is a member of the European People's Party. It won 5 seats in the June 2009 EP elections. CDA is of the opinion that 'Turkey belongs to Europe. The fact that Europe has a Judeo-Christian and humanistic culture, and Turkey an Islamic culture, should not pose any problems.' The party underlineunderscores the importance it attaches to Turkey's reforms in the area of human rights and freedom of religion.



Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV) - Party for Freedom

MPs: 24

www.pvv.nl/

Postkamer

Binnenhof 4

2513 AA Den Haag

Tel: + 31 70 3182211

E-mail: g.wilders@tweedekamer.nl



The Party for Freedom (PVV) is a right-wing political party, which is making all the political headlines through its controversial founder, **Geert Wilders**. His party won 24 seats in the 2010 election, making it the third largest party. The PVV is the so-called 'gedoogpartner' of the coalition, supporting the cabinet on a number of issues (including major cutbacks on government spending and restricting immigration), and agreeing to disagree on some others, e.g. the standpoint on Islam. The minority construction is officialised in a 'gedoogakkoord'.

The PVV came second in 2009 European Parliament elections, winning 4 seats. (It also won enough votes to be allocated one unallocated seat available after the Lisbon Treaty is in force). After the 2011 provincial elections, the PVV obtained 10 seats in the Senate. The PVV's electoral success was a major shock to the established parties. Some analysts say that the party's success stems from Geert Wilders acute political antenna, but risks being a "one man party" - something the PVV denies although formally Wilders is the only party member.

The PVV differs from the established centre-right parties with its stance on the integration of immigrants, especially Muslims. Geert Wilders has been famously outspoken on immigration, security, freedom of speech, the fundamental beliefs of Islam, and the behaviour of Moroccan youth. His controversial 2008 short film about Islam in the Netherlands, *Fitna*, depicting Islam as a violent religion, and comparing the Koran to Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf" faced international criticism.

Wilders has vehemently denied accusations made that the party is racist or is a threat to Dutch democracy as claimed in a report prepared for the Ministry of Interior by three academic researchers, which was leaked in November 2009 to the Volkskrant newspaper.

The PVV is certainly Eurosceptic – Dutch style. On July 9, 2009, Geert Wilders said,

"I think that no other country should join Europe. I'm even in favour of Romania and Bulgaria to leave the EU. My party voted against the ratification treaty in the Dutch parliament for the accession of Romania and Bulgaria. ...I believe that those countries were not ready at all and very corrupt as well."

From the 2010 election programme: "EU: Turkey in, the Netherlands out". And on foreign policy: "The battle against Islam should be at the centre of our foreign policy."

The PVV's party outline on EU enlargement states:

“No enlargement. The European Union is far too big. Enough is enough. Every new country means even more money to Europe and less sovereignty for the Netherlands. So no more countries in the EU. Corrupt states such as Romania and Bulgaria should be out.”

The PVV's anti-Europe stance is reinforced by the apparent inability of the EU to adequately solve the eurocrisis in the aftermath of the world financial crisis of 2008-09 and the 2011 eurocrisis.

OPPOSITION PARTIES



Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA) - Labour Party

MPs: 30

www.pvda.nl

Herengracht 54

1015 BN Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 5512160

International Secretary: **Marije Laffeber** E-mail: mlaffeber@pvda.nl

Party leader since March 2010 is **Job Cohen**, the popular former mayor of Amsterdam. As mayor, Cohen was generally effective in 'keeping the city together' first after 9/11 and especially at the time of the murder of filmmaker and Islam critic Theo van Gogh in November 2004. As party leader he has been less successful. An initial upsurge in support for the PvdA eventually dwindled when elections were there. In the face of the populist rhetoric of main opponent Geert Wilders, Cohen was unable to shake off his image of a 'tea-drinking, multiculti-cuddling Cohen', as Wilders dubbed him, and did not strike a strong figure in televisionised elections debates.¹³ The PvdA came out second after the victorious VVD, which meant a 'purple' (liberal blue and social-democrat red) cabinet seemed a possibility. Eventually however a centre-right coalition was forged between losing party CDA and VVD, with the support of the PVV.

The Labour Party is a social-democratic party. Despite its name it has no formal links to the trade unions. On foreign policy regarding Europe the party states:

“The greatest force of the EU is to bring peace, stability and prosperity to those countries that have the ambition to become a member of the EU. That force will only be effective if countries wishing to join fulfil all criteria for membership.”

And on Turkey's accession, the party outline states:

“A democratic, safe and stable and Europ-oriented Turkey has an important added value for the EU. (...) In addition, this would provide insight and trust in the possibility of a country with an overwhelmingly Muslim population to develop into a stable and democratic constitutional state.”

¹³ Website of *New York Times*, 'The Integrationist', at:

<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/30/magazine/30Mayor-t.html?pagewanted=all>

(...) *The EU accession criteria are strict and thus setting a date for Turkey's accession is out of the question.*"

ChristenUnie (CU) – Christian Union

MPs: 5

www.christenunie.nl

Puntenburgerlaan 91,

3812 CC Amersfoort

Tel + 31 33 4226969

E-mail: international@christenunie.nl

The Christian Union (CU), a small Christian party with a largely religious/ethical agenda, was established in 2000 as an alliance between two conservative reformed parties: the Reformed Political Alliance and the Reformatory Political Federation. The CU combines a conservative point of view on ethical issues, with more centre left ideas on economic, migration, social and environmental issues and puts an emphasis on responsibility.



Arie Slob has been leader of the party since April 2011, succeeding the popular André Rouvoet.

The CU is a member of the European Christian Political Movement. Its MEPs sit in the Independence and Democracy group. The CU and SGP ran together and won two seats at the EP June 2009 elections. The Christian Union-SGP took a Euro-critical view during the EP campaign, stressing that Europe should not become a super-state and that Turkey should not become a member of the EU because the country is not geographically, nor historically or culturally part of Europe.

Socialistische Partij (SP) – Socialist Party

MPs: 15

www.sp.nl

Vijverhofstraat 65

3032 SC Rotterdam

Tel: +31 10 243 55 55

E-mail: sp@sp.nl

The Socialist Party (SP) was founded as a grass roots Marxist-Leninist movement in 1972. It was first elected to the TK in 1994. Although it has modified its programme, the party opposes globalisation, is Eurosceptic, and is against Dutch participation in international peacekeeping. At every subsequent election from 1994 to 2006 the party has grown, and it came third in the November 2006 elections, with 25 seats (16.6 per cent of the vote). However it only won 7.7 per cent of the vote in the 2009 EP elections leading some analysts to believe that the SP has peaked. In the 2010 elections SP came fifth with 15 seats.



Emile Roemer has been leader of the SP since March 2010. SP is critical on EU integration, campaigning for 'less Brussels' although it has let go of the anti-Europe standpoint of the past. SP is a strong proponent of a strict observance of the subsidiarity principle in EU matters; the EU should 'lose weight and reform'. It sees an advantage however in European co-operation on the environment, security, immigration and the economic crisis. For the time being, Croatia is the

www.esiweb.org

only candidate eligible to join the EU. Accessions after 2014 should be put to referendum in the Netherlands.

GROENLINKS GroenLinks (GL) – Green-Left

MPs : 7 <http://www.groenlinks.nl>

Oudegracht 312

3511 PK Utrecht

Tel: + 31 30 2 39 99 00

The Green Left Alliance was formed in 1989 by three left-wing parties, the Communist Party, the Pacifist Party and the Radicals. Paul Rosemöller, the party's leader from 1994 to 2002, raised its profile through his effective performance in Parliament; its electoral achievements have so far been disappointing.



Femke Halsema, the leader from 2002 until 2010, gave the party a more radical profile, but failed to reverse its waning popularity. After the elections of June 2010, a share in power as coalition party seemed a possibility. When that failed however, Halsema eventually left politics and was succeeded in December 2010 by economist **Jolande Sap**.

The Green Left describes itself as “green”, “social”, and “tolerant”. GL is for European integration, but critical about the current policies of the European Commission. A leading former MEP, Joost Lagendijk, and a serving MP, Mariko Peters, have accused the government of double standards in its tough conditionality for the Balkans compared to its policies on China.



Democraten 66 (D66) - Democrats 66

MPs: 10

www.d66.nl

Laan van Meerdervoort 50

2517 AM Den Haag

Tel: + 31 70 35 66 066

info@d66.nl

Democrats 66 (Politieke Partij Democraten66) is a social liberal party with a volatile history since its creation by a group of Amsterdam intellectuals in 1966. It reached electoral peaks of 15 per cent in 1994 and fell to a low point of 4 per cent in 2003. It is now on the up again. It is the most pro enlargement of the parties. D66 favours a Federal Europe and more European co-operation on the environment, immigration policy and foreign policy.



D66's articulate leader, **Alexander Pechtold**, has sometimes been called "the leader of the opposition" by the press. Campaigning in the 2009 EP elections on the slogan; "*Europe is not the problem, Europe is the solution to many of our problems,*" D66 won 3 EP seats. It has recently been scoring well in opinion polls. Alexander Pechtold is one of the few politicians to take on Geert Wilders directly. He says the PVV is “populist” and claims that some of Geert Wilders' statements are “racist” – something Wilders hotly denies.



Partij voor de Dieren (PvdD) - Party for Animals

MPs: 2

www.partijvoordedieren.nl/

Partij voor de Dieren

Postbus 16698

1001 RD Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 530 3870

The Party for Animals, which was established in 2002, lobbies for animal rights and animal welfare, though it claims not to be a single-issue party. The party does not seek to gain political power, but publicise its beliefs. The PvdD is the first party in the world to win parliamentary seats on an animal rights agenda. However, it failed to win any seats in the EP 2009 elections. The PvdD has one seat in the Senate.



Marianne Thieme has chaired the PvdD since 2006. She was voted Political Talent of the Year 2006 by the Dutch parliamentary press. Women's magazine Viva awarded her the title of 'Most Spicy Politician of the Netherlands.' (Source: PvdD website).

Source: <http://www.partijvoordedieren.nl/content/view/129#ixzz0Vv2ZJuX7>



Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij (SGP) - The Political Reformed Party

MPs: 2

www.sgp.nl

Burgemeester van Reenensingel 101

2803 PA Gouda

Tel: + 31 182 69 69 00

The Political Reformed Party (Dutch: *Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij*, - SGP) is an orthodox Protestant Dutch political party established in 1918. The term *Reformed* is not a reference to political reform, but is a synonym for Calvinist. The SGP is the oldest political party in the Netherlands in its current form, and has always been in opposition. The party does not seek to be in government, but instead uses parliament to express its principles. The SGP is surrounded by some controversy because it does not allow women to become party members. The SGP has one seat in the Senate, but a crucial one: the coalition plus the PVV together hold 37 seats out of 75, which renders the conservative SGP an important ally.



Kees van der Staaij has led the SGP since March 2010.

DUTCH POLICY-MAKING

THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE



Mark Rutte is Prime Minister and Minister of General Affairs. He presides over the cabinet meeting and a weekly press conference after the cabinet meeting, traditionally on Fridays. The Prime Minister attends the European Council meetings accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the State Secretary for Europe. The Prime Minister is accountable to Parliament for his actions as member of the European Council. He consults Parliament before and after each European Council.

Binnenhof 20
Postbus 20001
2500 EA Den Haag
Tel: +31 70 356 4100
www.minaz.nl

The Ministry of General Affairs is responsible for co-ordinating overall government policy. The ministry also houses the Government Secretariat. It is the smallest Dutch ministry. It includes the Prime Minister's Office, the Government Information Service and the co-ordinating office of the WRR research centre, the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy.



Kasja Ollongren, appointed Secretary General in August 2011, is responsible for the administrative leadership of the Ministry. Apart from heading the Office of the Prime Minister, she is also the Intelligence and Security Coordinator.

Government Information Service (RVD - Rijksvoorlichtingsdienst)
Binnenhof 19
2500 EA Den Haag
Tel: + 31 70 356 4000



The RVD communicates government policy with the media and the public. The RVD is headed by the Director General, **Henk Brons**, who is also communications adviser to the Prime Minister.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CABINET

www.government.nl

<http://www.government.nl/government>

MINISTERS

The Hague: The Binnenhof (picture left), the home of Ministry of General Affairs. The Government meets there every Friday.



Prime Minister, Minister of
General Affairs
Mark Rutte (VVD)



Deputy Prime Minister,
Minister of Economic Affairs,
Agriculture and Innovation
Maxime Verhagen (CDA)



Minister of Foreign Affairs
Uri Rosenthal (CDA)



Minister of the Interior and
Kingdom Relations
Piet Hein Donner (CDA)



Minister for Immigration and
Asylum
Gerd Leers (CDA)



Minister of Security and Justice
Ivo Opstelten (VVD)



Minister of Education,
Culture and Science
**Marja van Bijsterveldt-
Vliegthart** (CDA)



Minister of Finance
Jan Kees de Jager (CDA)



Minister of Social Affairs
and Employment
Henk Kamp (VVD)



Minister of Health, Welfare
and Sport
Edith Schippers (VVD)



Minister of Infrastructure and the Environment
Melanie Schultz van Haegen – Maas Geesteranus (VVD)



Minister for European Affairs and International Cooperation (SS)
Ben Knapen (CDA)



Minister for Agriculture and Foreign Trade (SS)
Henk Bleker (CDA)



State Secretary for Finance
Frans Weekers (VVD)



State Secretary for Security and Justice
Fred Teeven (VVD)



State Secretary for Infrastructure and the Environment
Joop Atsma (CDA)



State Secretary for Education, Culture and Science
Halbe Zijlstra (VVD)



State Secretary for Social Affairs and Employment
Paul de Krom (VVD)



State Secretary for Health, Welfare and Sport
Marlies Veldhuijzen van Zanten – Hyllner (CDA)

EUROPEAN POLICY-MAKING - THE FOREIGN MINISTRY (MFA)

www.minbuza.nl

all e-mails: name.surname@minbuza.nl

Visiting address: Bezuidenhoutseweg 67, The Hague

Postal address: 2500 EB The Hague, The Netherlands

Tel: +31 70 348 6486

The Minister of Foreign Affairs is responsible for Dutch foreign policy. He is assisted by the Minister for European affairs and International Cooperation.



Foreign Minister: **Uri Rosenthal**. Formerly chairman of the Institute for Security and Crisis Management and former senator for the VVD. Known for his pro-Israel stance.



Minister of European Affairs and International Cooperation: **Ben Knapen**. Former editor in chief of liberal daily *NRC Handelsblad* and member of the Scientific Council for Government Policy. In Dutch, his dossier is called European Affairs and Development Cooperation and it is the latter on which Knapen has been most visible, introducing reforms in Dutch development policy. In a guest lecture at Maastricht University in European policies in March 2011, Knapen stressed the need for comprehensive EU immigration policies:

“This government will work on measures to ensure that our external borders to the south are well patrolled and to improve the match between immigrants and our society. Well educated people who can help meet our healthcare needs, for example. And last but not least, immigrants themselves, of course, benefit from participating in our society.”¹⁴



The Ministry's most senior civil servant is the **Secretary-General, Ed Kronenburg**. He has worked for former EU Commissioner Hans van den Broek and as Director of the Private Office of NATO's Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer. From 2001 to 2004, he was Deputy Director-General for European Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

There are 3 Directorates-General:

The **Directorate-General for European Cooperation** (DGES) develops and coordinates Dutch policy on Europe and the European Union. It is responsible for the Netherlands' relations with other EU member states and candidate countries.

¹⁴Website of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ‘Speech by Ben Knapen, Maastricht University, 23 February 2011’, at: <http://bit.ly/vmRDvP>

E-mail dges@minbuza.nl **Robert de Groot** is the Director- General for European Cooperation.

The **Directorate-General for Political Affairs** (DGPZ) develops policy on peace and security matters, and advises on Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), the Common European Security and Defence Policy (CESDP) and the political role of NATO and the UN. E-mail dgpz@minbuza.nl **Karel van Oosterom** is the Director-General for Political Affairs.

The **Directorate-General for International Cooperation** (DGIS) is responsible for development cooperation policy, its coordination, implementation, and funding. Email: dgis@minbuza.nl. **Yoka Brandt** is Director-General for International Cooperation.

The Southeast and Eastern Europe and Matra Programme Department (DZO) comprises:

- Eastern Europe and Central Asia Division (DZO/OE);
- The Western Balkans Division (DZO/WB), which deals with Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo and Montenegro. dzo@minbuza.nl

Turkey is part of the Division Western and Central Europe. dwm@minbuza.nl

The current policy, *The Regional Approach for the Western Balkans* for 2004–2008 (http://www.nlembassy.org.yu/downloads/regional_policy.pdf) is being evaluated by the Foreign Ministry's Policy and Operations Evaluation Department working with the consultants Deloitte. A final report is due in late 2010

Brussels - Permanent Representation of the Netherlands to the EU



The Dutch Permanent Representative: **Pieter de Gooijer**
Avenue Herrmann-Debroux 48
B-1160 Bruxelles
Tel: +322 679 1511
Tel: + 322 679 1502
www.eu-nederland.be

Euwke Faber is Counsellor with responsibility for enlargement of the European Union, and accession negotiations.

Tel: (32-2) 679 1607

E-mail: bre-uitbr@minbuza.nl

Jan de Boer is Second Secretary (Enlargement).

Tel: + 322 679 1538

E-mail: bre-uitbr@minbuza.nl

THE KEY ECONOMIC ACTORS IN THE POLDER MODEL

Social and Economic Council - SER

www.ser.nl/en.aspx (English)

Bezuidehouthoutseweg 60
2594 AW The Hague
Tel: +31 70 349 94 99



SER Director: **Alexander Rinnooy Kan**

No. 2 in annual *Volkskrant* Elite 2010 list. He was Chairman of VNO-NCW from 1991 to 1996, and served on ING Group Executive Board from 1996 to 2006.

The SER is at the heart of the “Polder model”. The SER consists of three groups - representatives of employers’ organisations, employees’ organisations and representatives appointed by the government - each with 11 members. Two *ex officio* Crown representatives of the council are the Governor of the Dutch Central Bank and the Director of the CPB, a semi-autonomous office for economic policy analysis.

Agreements on social and economic policy are reached through consultation at a number of different levels. Within companies, the Works Council consults with management. At the sectoral level, trade unions consult with employers’ organizations. At national level, the Social and Economic Council - SER consults with the Labour Foundation (Stichting van de Arbeid). Consultation also takes place between employers, employees and the government.

The Economist wrote in 2002: “The SER is supposedly nothing more than an advisory body. Even so, as Hermann Wijffels, its (then) chairman, puts it, if its members agree on a policy, for example on social security or health-care reform, it is not easy for the government to ignore it”.

The Labour Foundation- Stichting van de Arbeid

www.stvda.nl

Bezuidehouthoutseweg 60
2594 AW The Hague
Tel: +31 70 3 499 499

Secretary: **J.M.A. Mooren**

Tel:+ 31 70 349 95 77; E-mail: j.mooren@stvda.nl

The Labour Foundation, which was established in 1945, is the most important consultative body of the trade union confederations and the central employer organisations. The seats on the Foundation’s board are equally divided between employer and employee organisations. They meet every spring and autumn to discuss the outlines of policy. These talks are usually also attended by a senior government delegation. In some cases these consultations can lead to the formulation of a non-binding Central Agreement that influences local negotiations.

THE EMPLOYERS

The Confederation of Netherlands Industry and Employers (VNO-NCW)

www.vno-ncw.nl

Bezuidehouthoutseweg 12
2594 AV Den Haag
Tel: + 31 70 349 03 49

E-mail: informatie@vno-ncw.nl



Secretary General: **Bernard Wientjes**(No. 1 in Elite 2010)
E-mail: wientjes@vno-ncw.nl
Tel: +31 70 349 03 77

Secretary for International Affairs: **Winand Quaedvlieg**
E-mail: quaedvlieg@vno-ncw.nl
Tel: +31 70 349 0440

The Confederation of Netherlands Industry and Employers is the largest employers' organisation. It represents more than 115,000 enterprises, including more than 80 per cent of all medium-sized companies in the Netherlands and nearly all of the larger corporate. VNO-NCW has seven representatives in the Social and Economic Council.

EUROPE CAN BE A WINNER!

55 recommendations from Dutch business for 2009-2014

Dutch companies have also been supportive of enlargement. In *"Europe Can be a Winner! 55 recommendations from Dutch business for 2009-2014,"* published in January 2009, VNO-NCW and MKB have recommended:

"The Accession of Croatia and the other Western Balkan countries and Turkey in the course of the next decade, as soon as all existing conditions are met, in order to strengthen the economic potential of Europe".

http://www.vno-ncw.nl/SiteCollectionDocuments/Brochures/europe_can_be_a_winner.pdf

Royal Association of Small and Medium-sized Enterprises

MKB-Nederland

www.mkb.nl

Brassersplein 1
2600 GBDelft

Tel: +31 15 219 12 12

E-mail: beleid@mkb.nl

Chairman: **Loek Hermans**. (No. 29 in Elite 2010)

With some 135 trade organisations and 250 regional and local business associations, it covers around 186,000 entrepreneurs. MKB has 3 representatives in the Social and Economic Council.

THE TRADES UNIONS

Just under a quarter of employees (24 per cent) are union members in the Netherlands. The proportion has been gradually falling in recent years. There are three main trade union confederations in the Netherlands: the FNV with 1.4 million members; the CNV with 350,000 members; and the MHP with 160,000 members. The FNV and the CNV both organise manual and non-manual workers. The members of the MHP come from staff and managerial grades. Neither the FNV nor the CNV have formal ties with any political parties although the FNV is closer to the PvdA and the CNV to the Christian Democrats. The MHP has no political connections.

<http://www.worker-participation.eu/National-Industrial-Relations/Countries/Netherlands/trade-unions>



FNV Vakcentrale

www.fnv.nl

Naritaweg 10

1043 BX Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 581 6520

E-mail: info@vc.fnv.nl

Chair: **Agnes Jongerius**. (No.7 in Elite 2010)

FNV, the Labour Movement Federation was founded in 1976 as a federation of two unions. It is the largest TU federation in the Netherlands, comprising fourteen affiliate unions. Its total membership of 1.4 million comprises 60 per cent of organised workers. It played a key role in the economic crisis during the 1980s when it supported the 1982 Wassenaar Accords when employees accepted lower wages in exchange for more employment. The FNV has 8 representatives in the Social and Economic Council. An overview of FNV projects in Serbia and Kosovo is available at www.fnvprojects.org/english/default.asp.



The National Federation of Christian Trade Unions in the Netherlands (CNV)

www.cnv.nl

Tiberdreef 4

3561 GG Utrecht

Tel: +31 30 751 10 01

Chair: **Jaap Smit**

CNV has 11 affiliates with 350,000 members. It has 2 representatives in the Social and Economic Council.



The Federation of Managerial and Professional Staff Unions (MHP)

www.vakcentralemhp.nl

Multatulilaan 12

4103 NM Culemborg

Tel: + 31 345 851 900

Chairman: **Reginald Visser and Bob van der Wal**

E-mail: r.visser@vc-mhp.nl, b.vanderwal@vc-mhp.nl

The Federation of Managerial and Professional Staff Unions was established in 1974. It has 4 affiliates and 160,000 members. The MHP has one representative in the Social and Economic Council.

RESEARCH CENTRES

Advisory Council on International Affairs (AIV)

Bezuidenhoutseweg 67

PO Box 20061

2500 EB The Hague

Tel: +31(0)70 - 348 5108 / 6060

E-mail: aiv@minbuza.nl; www.aiv-advies.nl

The **Advisory Council on International Affairs (AIV)** is an independent body, which advises government and parliament on foreign policy. Ministers are expected to send a government response to an AIV report to parliament within three months. Requests for advice, AIV reports and the government responses are all made public. The AIV is an umbrella organisation comprising four permanent committees: on human rights (CMR), peace and security (CVV), development cooperation (COS) and European integration (CEI).



AIV is chaired by Frederik "Frits" Korthals Altes, leader of the VVD in 1975-1981 and Minister of Justice from 1982-89.



The European Integration Committee is chaired by Professor Alfred van Staden, Professor of International Relations at Leiden University. He is a former director of Clingendael. He is also a chairman of the Netherlands Society for International Affairs. Tel: +31 71 527 8937 E-mail: a.van.staden@law.leidenuniv.nl

Arjan Uilenreef is the Secretary of the Committee, a.d.uilenreef@minbuza.nl

WRR - Scientific Council for Government Policy (Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid)

www.wrr.nl

Lange Vijverberg 4-5

2500 EA The Hague

Tel: 070-3564600

WRR, which is independent of the Government, is free to study any issue the government deals with, or should deal with. The government may also ask the Council for an advisory opinion. After the Dutch referendum on WRR produced a report *Rediscovering Europe in The Netherlands* in which it proposed ways to strengthen the social embedding and legitimacy of EU policy in the Netherlands:

"For Dutch citizens, European policy results have remained largely invisible; they felt inadequately represented and had major doubts about the way in which 'Europe' accounts for its policy choices. Although for many years there has been diffuse support for European cooperation, this had not led to a genuine identification with the European Union. ...Major issues such as the enlargement of the EU and the introduction of the Euro only added to the existing discontent."



Wendy Asbeek Brusse took over as Director on 15 Aug 2009. Dr Brusse was Senior Policy Adviser in the Department of Integration Policy and Integration of the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment. She was involved in the WRR reports on Europe in the Netherlands (2007), Dynamics in Islamic activism (2006), The European Union, Turkey and Islam (2004) and Towards a European Union-wide (2001).



WRR Council Chairman: **André Knottnerus**. He is professor of General Practice at Maastricht University, and Chairman, Medicine section, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW).

CPB Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis (CPB)

<http://www.cpb.nl/eng/>

Centraal Planbureau
Van Stolkweg 14
2585 JR The Hague
Tel: +31 70 338 33 80



The CPB was established in 1945 at the government's instigation by Nobel Prize-winner Jan Tinbergen. He considered economics a branch of engineering and sought to make economic processes quantifiable. He embodied the pragmatic, utilitarian approach of post-war policy making. The role of the CPB is to produce hard facts for policy makers and build macroeconomic models to predict the future.

CPB Director: **Coen Teulings**. He is No. 9 in Elite 2010. He is also a Professor of Economy at the University of Amsterdam.
E-mail: C.N.Teulings@cpb.nl

Netherlands Institute for Social Research -SCP (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau)

<http://www.scp.nl/english>

Parnassusplein 5
2511 VX
The Hague
Tel: + 31 70 340 7000

The Netherlands Institute for Social Research – the new English name for what was known as the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) is a government agency which conducts research into the social aspects of all areas of government policy. The main fields studied are health, welfare, social security, the labour market and education. SCP reports are widely used by the government, civil servants, MPs local authorities and academics.



Director: **Paul Schnabel** is one of the country's most prominent sociologists. He is number 11 in the Elite 2010 ranking. He was one of the first people to break the taboo on challenging multiculturalism, in a ground-breaking lecture in 1999. He says: "I focus on the interface of politics, society, science and policy. The relationship between these fields is my daily work."

E-mail: p.schnabel@scp.nl

Tel: +31 70 340 7787

THE DUTCH THINK-TANK SCENE: INFLUENCING FOREIGN POLICY

Netherlands Institute of International Affairs Clingendael

www.clingendael.nl

Clingendael 7

2597 VH

The Hague

Tel: +31 70324 5384



The Netherlands Institute of International Relations, (Clingendael) is the country's best-known international relations centre, acting as a think-tank as well as a diplomatic academy. It is based at a seventeenth-century building in the east of The Hague. The Institute acts in an advisory capacity to the government, parliament and social organisations, holds conferences and seminars. It has 75 staff.



Prof. Dr. **Ko Colijn** has been Director since May 2011. He is also Head at the Clingendael Security and Conflict Programme (CSCP). Ko Colijn is a well-known journalist, as well as a regular commentator for Dutch and foreign public news services. His main area of expertise is international security affairs, which he teaches at Erasmus University Rotterdam.

Tel: + 31 70 324 5384

E-mail: kcolijn@clingendael.nl



Dr. **Adriaan Schout** is Head at the European Studies Programme at Clingendael (CESP). Schout has combined research and consultancy on European governance questions for national and European institutions for many years. He won the UACES prize for 'Best Book in European Studies 2007' for *The coordination of the European Union: Exploring the capacities of networked governance* (Oxford University Press).

Tel: + 31 70 324 5384

E-mail: aschout@clingendael.nl



Suzan Nollen is deputy at the CESP. Nollen is involved in the development of tailor made programmes on European integration issues for Dutch and foreign civil servants and other interested groups.

Tel: + 31 70 324 5384

E-mail: snollen@clingendael.nl



Prof. Dr. **Jan Rood** is head of Strategic Research at Clingendael, leading a four year project which focuses specifically on the position of the Netherlands in a changing international system and on the implications of these changes for Dutch foreign policy. Previously, Rood was Head of the European Studies Programme (2005-09). He is a member of the Commission on European Integration of the Dutch Government Advisory Council on International Affairs (AIV). He is the editor of Clingendael publication *Internationale Spectator*.

Tel: + 31 70 324 5384.

E-mail: jrood@clingendael.nl



Dr. **Sarah Wolff** is a Research Fellow at the Clingendael European Studies Programme (CESP). Her research and training projects at Clingendael focus on the EU's external relations and Justice and Home Affairs. Wolff's areas of expertise are Justice and Home Affairs and European Neighbourhood Policy.

Tel: + 31 70 324 5384

E-mail: <mailto:swolff@clingendael.nl>

Dr. **Ben Bot** is President of Clingendael. He is one of the elder statesmen of the Dutch foreign policy establishment. He was foreign minister from 2003-7. He worked for the Foreign Ministry as a diplomat



from 1963-2002 serving over time as Secretary General of the Ministry, Permanent Representative to the EU and as Ambassador to Turkey. Bot is known to be a proponent of Turkey's accession to the EU. In a speech at Leiden University to open the 2009 academic year he said that, although he viewed EU enlargement in positive terms, he considered that it should not happen too quickly. First, prior to further enlargement the EU, should be deepened and the internal processes should also be strengthened.

[http://www.hum.leiden.edu/history/eu-studies/news/dr-bernard-bot-opens-](http://www.hum.leiden.edu/history/eu-studies/news/dr-bernard-bot-opens-the-academic-year.html)

[the-academic-year.html](http://www.hum.leiden.edu/history/eu-studies/news/dr-bernard-bot-opens-the-academic-year.html)

NIOD (Netherlands Institute for War Documentation)

www.niod.nl

Herengracht 380

1016 CJ Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 523 3800

E-mail: info@niod.nl

The Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD), founded over sixty years ago, studies and disseminates knowledge of the history of the Netherlands during the two world wars and their long-term effects on society. It has been part of the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences since 1999 and houses the Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies.

NIOD was commissioned in 1996 to carry out a study of Srebrenica. The report, available at http://192.87.107.36/en/a_index.htm, was made public in 2002 and led to the fall of the Government of Wim Kok, who stated that the government was accepting "co-responsibility" for what happened in Srebrenica, but stressed that it was not guilty: "The guilt lies wholly with the Serbs, and with General Mladić in particular." (http://192.87.107.36/en/a_index.htm)



Director **Marjan Schwegman** is Professor of Politics and Culture in the Twentieth Century at Utrecht University. She is a member of the Advisory Council of the National history Museum. She was also a member of the independent Committee of Inquiry on Iraq established to investigate the former Dutch Government's role in supporting the invasion of Iraq from 2002 to 2003.

E-mail: m.schwegman@niod.knaw.nl

TMC Asser Institute

www.asser.nl

R.J. Schimmelpennincklaan 20-22,

2517 JN The Hague.

Tel: +31 70 34 2 03 00

E-mail: info@asser.nl

The TMC Asser Institute, named after the Nobel prize-winning Dutch jurist (1911), focuses on International Law and European law and EU integration issues. Located close to the Peace Palace it contributes to strengthening The Hague's aim to be the legal capital of the world. The TMC Asser Institute has recently taken part in two projects in the Western Balkans:

- Strengthening the Albanian Ministry of European Integration (January 2007–May 2009).
- Support to the National Judicial Academy in Serbia and Macedonia.



General Director: **Prof. Dr. Frans Nelissen**, Professor of International Environmental Law at the University of Groningen.

Tel: +31 70 342 0318

E-mail: f.a.nelissen@asser.nl



The Inter-faculty Centre for the Law of EU External Relations (CLEER; founded 2008), attached to the Asser Instituut, deals with EU enlargement. It is (co-)managed by **Dr. Ramses Wessel**, Professor of EU Law Co-Director of the [Centre for European Studies](#) at Twente University.

Tel: +31 53 489 3260.

E-mail: r.a.wessel@utwente.nl



Head of Department of Research: **Dr. Steven Blockmans**. He combines his academic research with consultancy activities and training in EU law at the Centre for the Law of EU External Relations (CLEER), which is attached to the TMC Asser Institute and of which Blockmans is a founding member. In his book *Tough Love: the European Union's Relations with the Western Balkans* (TMC Asser Press 2007), he argues that the EU must offer all countries of the Western Balkans a realistic perspective on EU membership - with strict conditionality. He is a member of the Reference Group on the Foreign Ministry's Balkan policies, due to report in late 2010.

Tel: +31 70 342 0334.

E-mail: s.blockmans@asser.nl

Montesquieu Institute

www.montesquieu-institute.eu

Lange Voorhout 86 - 32

2514 EJ

The Hague

Tel. +31 703 63 0105

E-mail: info@montesquieu-instituut.nl

The Montesquieu Institute (MI) for the multidisciplinary study of comparative European parliamentary history and constitutional development was launched in summer 2007 as an initiative of four Dutch universities. It focuses on parliamentary history, political culture, public law and political parties of the EU. One of the founders, the Parliamentary Documentation Centre at Leiden University, runs an information website on the EU, www.europa-nu.nl, in cooperation with the European parliament Information Bureau.

Director of Research: Dr. **Arco Timmermans**. E-mail: atimmersmans@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

PARTY FOUNDATIONS (STICHTINGEN)

Wiardi Beckman Foundation

www.wbs.nl

Emmapark 12

2595 ET The Hague

Tel: +31 70 262 9720

The Wiardi Beckman Foundation describes itself as “the independent think tank of the Dutch Labour Party” or PvdA. It is named after [Herman Bernard Wiardi Beckman](#), a senator who died in Dachau in 1945. It researches, analyses and advises the PvdA on policy issues, basic social-democratic principles and the party platform.



Director: **Monika Sie**.

E-mail: MSie@wbs.nl



René Cuperus is a prominent commentator and Labour party thinker linked to the Wiardi Beckman Foundation. He is known for his Eurosceptic views and as a critic of EU enlargement. He failed to win a seat in June 2009 EP election. In 2009 he published *The World Citizen doesn't exist. Why the Revolt of the Elites undermines Society*. E-mail: rcuperus@wbs.nl



Jan Marinus Wiersma is research fellow at WBS. Wiersma was MEP for the PvdA from 2005-09. Together with Joost Lagendijk (MEP for the Dutch GreenLeft from 1999-2010, he wrote three books on EU enlargement and EU relations with its Muslim neighbours.

E-mail: jwiersma@wbs.nl

The Dutch Labour Party runs two organisations dealing with the Western Balkans: the Alfred Mozer Foundation and the European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity.

Alfred Mozer Foundation

www.alfredmozerstichting.nl

Herengracht 54

1000 BH Amsterdam

Tel: + 31 20 551 21 55

E-mail: ams@pvda.nl

The Alfred Mozer Stichting, named after the first international secretary of the PvdA, was established the year after the fall of the Berlin Wall, in 1990. The AMS aims to support the development of democracy through the training and schooling of (social) democratic political parties. Together with its partners Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and the European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity, the AMS has been organising seminars for young and promising politicians and members of social democratic parties from the countries of former Yugoslavia and Albania since 2003.



Arjen Berkvens is the Director of AMS and coordinator of the European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity.

Tel +31 20 551 2121

E-mail: aberkvens@pvda.nl

The European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity

www.europeanforum.net

Postbus 1310

1000 BH Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 551 21 70

E-mail: info@europeanforum.net

Another PvdA offshoot, the Amsterdam-based European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity, unites 12 social democratic foundations and 20 social democratic parties. It was founded in January 1993 by the social democratic parties and political foundations from EU countries. Its network of contacts includes Central, Eastern, South Eastern Europe and the Caucasus. It has an active seminar series in Balkan capitals. The Forum is run by the Alfred Mozer Stichting staff.

Wetenschappelijk Instituut - WI/CDA (Scientific Institute of the CDA).

www.wi.cda.nl

Buitenvorm 18

Postbus 30453

2500 GL Den Haag

Tel: +31 70 342 4872

E-mail: wi@cda.nl

WI, the Scientific Institute for the CDA (Christian Democratic Appeal), is arguably the most influential of the party institutes. The Institute is independent but it provides policy research to the CDA.



Director: **Dr. Raymond Gradus**, Professor of Economy at the Free University of Amsterdam.

Tel.: + 31 70 342 4874

E-mail: gradus.wi@cda.nl

Eduardo Frei Foundation

www.cda.nl/eff

Buitenvorm 18

2512 XA The Hague



The Eduardo Frei Foundation, also linked to the CDA, was established in July 1990. It is named after one of the founders of the Christian Democratic Party of Chile and former President of Chile. EFF regularly organises political summer schools and conferences in the Western Balkans.

Secretary: **Bronne Pot**

Tel: +31 70 342 4888

E-mail: pot@cda.nl

Wetenschappelijk Bureau GroenLinks

www.wetenschappelijkbureau.groenlinks.nl

Oude Gracht 312

3511 PK Utrecht

Tel: +31 30 23 9990

The Scientific Bureau provides independent policy research to GroenLinks, both about national and international themes.



Since January 2010, well-known sociologist and publicist **Dick Pels**, is director of the Bureau. Pels previously founded the Waterland Foundation, a leftist liberal thinktank. He has published several books on Dutch politics and society, including *The Spirit of Pim* (2003) on the political thinking of Pim Fortuyn.

E-mail: dpels@groenlinks.nl



Anne de Boer is responsible for GroenLinks projects in Central and Eastern Europe. The focus is on activities in the Balkans and the Black Sea region, notably Croatia and Turkey.

E-mail: adeboer@groenlinks.nl

Telders Foundation (Teldersstichting)

Koninginnegracht 55A

2514 AE Den Haag

Tel: + 31 70 363 1948.

E-mail: info@teldersstichting.nl



Director: **Dr. Patrick van Schie**

E-mail: vanschie@teldersstichting.nl



The Telders Foundation is the think-tank connected with the VVD, the Dutch Liberal Party. Its President as of May 2011 is former diplomat **Frans Engering**, replacing **Frits Bolkestein**. The former VVD leader and former European Commissioner Bolkestein is a staunch opponent of Turkey's membership in the EU and was known for reservations about further EU enlargement while still Commissioner. In 2005 he said: We have lost the ability to say 'no'. Foreign ministers just think of how to be nice."

The International Democratic Initiative Foundation (IDI)

Hoge Nieuwstraat 26

2514 EL Den Haag

Nederland

Tel: +31 70 356 6066

E-mail: idi@d66.nl

IDI was established by social liberal party D66 in 1990 to support democratisation and economic transition in Central and Eastern Europe. It focuses mainly on the Balkans and Turkey. Its objectives include establishing a liberal network in the Balkan region. Chairman of IDI is **Robert Farla**, International Secretary of D66. E-mail: r.farla@d66.nl. Coordinator is **Maartje Jansen**, e-mail: m.jansen@d66.nl

NON-PARTY CENTRES

Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy NIMD

www.nimd.nl

Passage 31

2511 AB The Hague

Tel: +31 70 311 5464

E-mail: info@nimd.org

The Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) is a democracy assistance organisation of political parties in the Netherlands for political parties in young democracies. It was founded in 2000 by seven Dutch parties; its team of programme managers consists mainly of reps from the parties. It focuses on projects in Africa and Latin America, but recently launched a programme in Georgia.

Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek (IPP)

www.publiek-politiek.nl

Prinsengracht 911-915

1017 KD Amsterdam

Tel. + 31 20 521 7600

E-mail: info@publiek-politiek.nl.

The Dutch Centre for Political Participation (IPP) is part of the Huis voor Democratie en Rechtsstaat (House for Democracy and Rule of Law), an independent, non-partisan organization that promotes and organises debates, meetings and conferences on topical political issues. IPP's projects focus on encouraging political participation by immigrants, youth political participation and political education, balanced representation of men and women in the political systems of Slovakia and Turkey.



IPP has produced with NIMD a guide to the Dutch political system: *The Dutch Political System in a Nutshell*. IPP also runs activities increasing awareness of the Dutch role and position in the European Union and the world and EU citizenship in cooperation with grass-roots social and political organisations. Through www.votematch.net, it provides information on European elections, monitors the Dutch members of the EP through *Testbeeld Europa* and facilitates public debates on European affairs via the *OpinieWijzer*.

FORUM, Institute for Multicultural Affairs

www.forum.nl

Kanaalweg 86

3533 HG Utrecht

Tel: +31 30 297 43 21

E-mail: informatie@forum.nl

FORUM is the largest NGO in the field of integration policy in the Netherlands. Its social mission is threefold, i.e. to promote: social cohesion, shared citizenship and a multi-ethnic society of equal citizens.



Sadik Harchaoui chairs the Board of Directors. The former public prosecutor is described as the 58th most influential person in the country in *de Volkskrant* Top 200 of 2010.

E-mail: s.harchaoui@forum.nl

Turkije Instituut

www.turkije-instituut.nl

Laan van Meerdervoort 70

2517 AN Den Haag

Tel: +31 70 3122090

E-mail: info@turkije-instituut.nl

The Turkey Institute Foundation was established in 2007 with the support from Dutch multinationals and the municipality of The Hague. The Turkey Institute is an independent organisation aiming to inform a diverse Dutch audience about developments in Turkey and its political, economic and strategic relevance for the Netherlands and Europe.

Floris Maljers, former chair of Unilever, chairs the board of which Laurens Jan Brinkhorst (former Euro commissioner and Minister of Economic Affairs) is vice chair. Erik Jan Zürcher, professor of Turkish Studies at Leiden University and director of the International Institute of Social History, is a member of the institute's advisory council.

UNIVERSITIES

The Dutch education system was ranked approx. tenth in the world in the 2009 PISA rankings. (PISA - Programme for International Student Assessment). The Netherlands counts a total of fourteen universities.

The University of Amsterdam (UvA) is the top ranking Dutch university (56th on QS World University Ranking in 2010)

Spui 21

1012 WX Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 525 9111

E-mail: persvoorlichting@uva.nl

AISSR (Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research)

Kloveniersburgwal 48

1012 CX Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 525 2262 / 2745

E-mail: aissr@uva.nl

The AISSR results from a merger of the Amsterdam School for Social Science Research (ASSR), the Amsterdam Institute for Metropolitan & International Development Studies (AMIDSt) and the Institute for Migration & Ethnic Studies (IMES).



Otto Holman is Associate Professor of International Relations and European Integration and Director of the Msc programme European Union in a Global Order. Otto Holman's research interests include the role of transnational social forces in emerging patterns of European governance, peripheral capitalism and EU enlargement, and the regional impact of core-periphery relations in Europe.

E-mail: o.h.holman@uva.nl



Annette Freyberg-Inan is Associate Professor and the Director of the Master's Program in Political Science. Her research interests center on European integration and EU enlargement, post-communist transition, and the theoretical and normative aspects of International Relations and International Political Economy. In December 2010 Freyberg-Inan was awarded a European Commission subsidy to conduct research on the effects of Europeanisation in Turkey. The project entitled *EU and*

www.esiweb.org

Turkey: Challenges and Opportunities focuses on the position of religious minorities in Turkey. The project is a joint venture of UvA, Gediz University in Izmir, and Friedrich Schiller University in Jena. Results are expected to be published in February 2012.

E-mail: a.freyberginan@uva.nl



Catherine de Vries is Associate Professor of Political Behavior and Quantitative Methods. Her general research interests include political behavior, political communication, European integration and quantitative research methodology. She has been awarded a VENI grant from the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) to conduct a cross-national study into the politicization of issues relating to European integration in national election campaigns from 1988 to 2008. Her dissertation was titled *European Integration and National Elections: Examining the Impact of EU Issue Voting on National Electoral Politics* (2007). De Vries is currently affiliated with the University of Geneva. E-mail: Catherine.devries@unige.ch



Maja Nenadovic is a PhD candidate at the European Studies Department, Faculty of Humanities, UvA. Prior to starting her PhD research she was working in the civil society sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina. She is part of an NWO-funded research project entitled *International Intervention, Democracy and Political Parties: The External Dimension of Democratization Processes in the Balkans and the Former Soviet Union*. Her research project is titled "Installing Democracy in the Balkans: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Democratic Party Systems by Foreign Design." E-mail: m.nenadovic@uva.nl



Marlene Spoerri is a PhD candidate at the European Studies Department, faculty of Humanities, UvA. She is part of the same research project as Nenadovic. Her research covers post-communist Serbia in the run up to and aftermath of the seminal Presidential elections of September 2000. E-mail: M.S.Spoerri@uva.nl

ASCoR (Amsterdam School of Communication Research) is the largest research institute of its kind in Europe.

www.ascor.uva.nl

Kloveniersburgwal 48

1012 CX Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 525 3680

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Claes de Vreese is Professor of Political Communication and Scientific Director of the Amsterdam School of Communications Research, *ASCoR*. He is the author and editor of *Framing Europe, Framing the Referendum Issue* and *Referendum Campaign Dynamics*.

Tel: + 31 20 525 2426, E-mail: C.H.deVreese@uva.nl



Andreas Schuck is an Assistant Professor for Political Communication at the Department of Communication Science at the University of Amsterdam. His research focuses on public opinion dynamics during election campaigns, electoral mobilisation, public support for EU integration, and the news media. His Ph.D. dissertation investigated the role of the news media in affecting vote choice, turnout and support for direct democracy during the Dutch 2005 EU Constitution referendum campaign.

Tel: + 31 20 525 3283, E-mail: A.R.T.Schuck@uva.nl



Wouter De Nooy, an Associate Professor in social science modelling is the leading Dutch expert on social network analysis. In a joint project with the Dutch newspaper *De Volkskrant* entitled *Power and Influence in the Netherlands*, he investigated the composition and networks of the Dutch elite, collected and analysed membership in important boards and committees in all social domains in The Netherlands.

Tel: +31 205 252 123, E-mail: W.deNooy@uva.nl

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1081 HV Amsterdam

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Ben Crum is Associate Professor in Political Theory at the Department of Political Science, specialised in European Union studies. He is a member of the research programme 'Multi-layered governance in Europe and beyond'. He is also taking part in the 'Reconstituting Democracy in Europe' project.

Tel +31 20 598 6821

E-mail: b.j.j.crum@vu.nl



Thijl Sunier is Professor of Islam in Europe at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and an expert on Islam and politics, migration, ethnicity and Turkey. He is chairman of ISIS, an interuniversity research network for the study of Islam. He edited a report on Turkey's Directorate of Religious Affairs Diyanet since the advent of AKP to Turkey's government in 2002. The report was published in January 2011.

E-mail: j.t.sunier@vu.nl



André Krouwel is Associate Professor at the Political Science Department, Free University. Krouwel wrote his PhD on the transformation of political parties in Western Europe, entitled 'The catch-all party in Western Europe. A study in arrested development' and published widely on presidential elections, political parties, social movements and political institution-building processes and democratisation in East and Central European countries as well as local elections and government. In his research, Krouwel focusses primarily on the changing role of political parties in European democracies and the rise (and fall) of new political parties and political entrepreneurs. Krouwel designed the first European voting pass, based on the Dutch instrument Kieskompas.

Tel: +31 20 59 86823, E-mail: a.p.m.krouwel-moredalaguna@vu.nl

UvA and VU founded the Amsterdam University College in 2008. The small-scale AUC (max. 600 students) offers a three-year Liberal Arts programme.

Erasmus University Rotterdam

www.eur.nl

Postbus 1738

3000 DR Rotterdam

Tel: +31 10 498 1111



Ko Colijn is Professor of International Relations. He is also director of Netherlands Institute for International Relations Clingendael in The Hague. He writes editorial comments for the *Vrij Nederland* (VN) weekly.

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University of Groningen

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E-mail: communicatie@rug.nl

www.rug.nl

The Faculty of Arts offers an interdisciplinary BA and MA programme in International Relations and International Organisations (IRIO).



Anjo Harryvan lectures on European Integration. He published a biography of Max Kohnstamm (2008, pictured left) and is currently writing a history of the parliamentary political debate on European integration since the Second World War, both together with colleague Jan van der Harst.

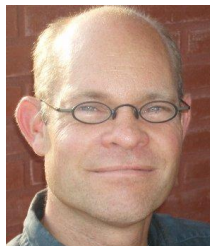
Tel: +31 50 363 6033

E-mail: a.g.harryvan@rug.nl

Jan van der Harst is Professor of History and Jean Monnet Chairholder in the History and Theory of European Integration.

Tel: +31 50 363 6015

E-Mail: j.van.der.harst@rug.nl



Herman Hoen is Professor of International Political Economy. He is a Member of the board of the Centre for European Security Studies (CESS) in Groningen. His research focuses on the political economy of transformation from a centrally planned to a market economy in Central and Eastern Europe.

Tel: +31 50 363 6019

E-mail: h.w.hoen@rug.nl



Sipke de Hoop teaches the history of Central and Eastern Europe. His expertise is on the Balkans. He organised the Balkan Winter School on New Security Challenges in cooperation with the Centre for Security Studies (CESS). He is also affiliated with the Royal Military Academy as Associate Professor Conflict management and Reconstruction.

Tel: +31 50 363 5985

E-mail: s.de.hoop@rug.nl

University of Leiden

www.leidenuniv.nl

Rapenburg 70
2311 EZ Leiden

Tel: 31 71 527 27 27

Leiden is the oldest Dutch university, established in 1575 by William Orange.



Rudy Andeweg is Professor of Empirical Political Science. He is a member of the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences (KNAW). He is the author (with Galen A. Irwin) of: *Governance and Politics of the Netherlands*, Palgrave Macmillan, Third Edition, 2009.

Tel: +31 71 527 3901

E-mail: andeweg@fsw.leidenuniv.nl



Rob de Wijk is Professor of International Relations. He is also director of the Centre for Strategic Studies in The Hague. He is a well-known commentator in Dutch media on security issues and European integration.

Tel: +31 70 318 4840

E-mail: onderwijs@fsw.leidenuniv.nl



Bernard Steunenberg is Professor in the Public Administration Department. He co-researched *Compliance in the EU enlargement process: The limits of conditionality*. He says EU conditionality is not equally effective throughout the period of preparation of a candidate for accession.

Tel: +31 71 527 3819

E-mail: steunenberg@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

The **Europe Institute** was established in 1957 and is the oldest European institution devoted to the study of European Law.

Rick Lawson is Professor of European Law and Human Rights, and Dean of the Law Faculty.

Tel: +31 71 527 7741

E-mail: r.a.lawson@law.leidenuniv.nl

Laurens-Jan Brinkhorst is Professor of European Administration Law. He is a prominent senior politician of social liberal party D66 and held several positions, lastly as Minister of Economic Affairs (2003-06). Brinkhorst is still an influential figure in Dutch politics and runs his own consultancy.

Tel: +31 71 527 4647

E-mail: l.j.brinkhorst@law.leidenuniv.nl



Erik-Jan Zürcher is Professor of Turkish Languages and Cultures at Leiden University's Institute of Area Studies, and Director of the Amsterdam-based International Institute for Social History (IISG). His *Turkey*. Zürcher is a leading expert on Turkey's history. *A Modern History* (2004) is internationally considered the standard handbook on Turkish history. Zürcher contributed to a WRR study on Europe, Islam and Turkey in 2004 with a report on the role of Turkish Islam in Turkey's accession process.

Tel: +31 71 527 2026

E-Mail: e.j.zurcher@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Radboud University

www.ru.nl/english

P.O. Box 9102

6500 HC Nijmegen

Tel: +31 24 361 6161/6055



Wim van Meurs is Associate Professor of European History and Politics at Radboud University and a Research Associate of the Centre for Applied Policy Research in Munich. He has published widely on Balkan affairs, including *Plan B – B for Balkans. State Building and Democratic Institutions in Southeastern Europe* (Nijmegen 2007), together with Alina Mungiu-Pippidi and Vladimir Gligorov, and *The Europeanisation of the Balkans. International Peace Plans for the Balkans – a Success?*

Tel: + 31 24 361 1811, E-mail: w.v.meurs@let.ru.nl

Stijn van Kessel is lecturer in the Political Science Department of Radboud University. He wrote his dissertation on populism and populist parties in Europe, titled *Supply and demand. Identifying populist parties in Europe and explaining their electoral performance* (2011).



Tel: +31 24 3613067, E-mail: s.vankessel@fm.ru.nl

University of Twente is foremost a technical university.

www.utwente.nl/en

P.O. Box 217

7500 AE Enschede

Tel: +31 53 489 54 89



Kees Aarts is Professor of Political Science at the School of Management and Governance. He is also Head of the Department of Political Science and Research Methods. He co-wrote:

“Understanding the Dutch ‘No’: the Euro, the East, and the elite”, PS: Political Science and Politics, vol.39, No.2 (2006).

Tel: +31 53 489 3251 / 3270

k.aarts@utwente.nl

Ronald Holzacker is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science, at the Centre for European Studies. He has written extensively on the role of the Dutch Parliament. He is also Director of the European Research Colloquium of the Netherlands Institute of Government at the Erasmus University Rotterdam.

E-mail: R.L.Holzacker@utwente.nl

Utrecht University

PO Box 80125

3508 TC Utrecht

Tel: +31 30 253 58 54

www.uu.nl/english

Utrecht University founded the first international Liberal Arts honours college in the Netherlands, Utrecht University College, in 1997.



Mathieu Segers is Assistant Professor of International Relations and European Integration. He wrote his PhD thesis on the West-German position during negotiations over the Rome Treaties. Segers was a visiting fellow at the Center for European Studies at Harvard University in 2010.

Tel: +31 30 253 6493

E-mail: m.l.l.segers@uu.nl

Maastricht University

Minderbroedersberg 4-6

6211 LK Maastricht

Tel: +31 43 388 2222

E-mail: pers@maastrichtuniversity.nl

Maastricht University, situated almost on the border with Germany and Belgium, has a strong European orientation. Its Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences offers MA programmes in European Studies and European Public Affairs.



Tannelie Blom is Professor of European Integration and head of the Department of Political Science. Tel: +31 43 3883312/19

E-mail: blom@politics.unimaas.nl

THE DUTCH MEDIA

This section provides an overview of relevant Dutch media, editors and journalists with an interest in the Western Balkans, Turkey and EU issues. Most of these journalists speak English. The Dutch are some of the most avid consumers of news and newspapers in the world. There is a high readership for daily newspapers and viewership of TV News. The Dutch like to deliberate and discuss issues seriously – the media is the main channel for national conversations.

DUTCH TELEVISION

DUTCH PUBLIC TV – NOS (Nederlandse Omroep Stichting)

www.nos.nl

Media Park Hilversum

Sumatrалаan 45

1217 GP Hilversum

Tel: +31 35 677 9222

E-mail: voorlichting@nos.nl



Dutch public TV has three main television channels: NED 1, NED 2 and NED 3. NPO (Nederlandse Publieke Omroep) denotes the Dutch public broadcasting system as a whole. The NPO Board manages the public television and radio channels and digital portal Nederland 24. Until 2010 NOS was its executive branch. NOS is the umbrella organisation for the public broadcasting organisations and was legally part of NPO until 2010, when it became an independent entity. NOS is one of two task-based public broadcasting organisations and is charged with providing news and sports programmes. It also

runs three specialist digital channels from platform Nederland 24: Journaal 24, Politiek 24 and Sport 24. NOS integrated all its news departments under one roof and entered the multimedia world on January 2006.



Editor in Chief: **Marcel Gelauff**

Tel: +31 35 677 8064

E-mail: marcel.gelauff@nos.nl



Foreign & EU Editor: **Gerard van den Broek**

Tel: +31 35 677 3223

E-mail: gerard.van.den.broek@nos.nl

Foreign & EU Deputy Editors: **Michiel Hartzuiker** and **Stef Hehemann**

E-mail: michiel.hartzuiker@nos.nl and stef.hehemann@nos.nl

NPO Head of International Relations: **Louis Heinsman**

E-mail: louis.heinsman@omroep.nl

Chief Political Editor The Hague: **Bart Leferink**
E-mail: bart.leferink@nos.nl

Head of Politiek 24: **Toof Brader**
E-mail: toof.brader@nos.nl

Foreign News Desk Turkey, Greece: **Aniete Coelingh**
E-mail: aniete.coelingh@nos.nl

Foreign News Desk Balkans: **Hans Brom**
E-mail: hans.brom@nos.nl

Turkey Correspondent in Istanbul: **Bram Vermeulen**
E-Mail: bvermeulen@nrc.nl

Balkans Correspondent in Belgrade: **David Jan Godfroid**

European Foreign Affairs Correspondent in Brussels: **Chris Ostendorf**
E-Mail: chris.ostendorf@nos.nl

News Programmes



NOS Journaal is the most popular TV news programme in the Netherlands. The 20:00 flagship edition of Journaal has an audience of 1.5 to 2.0 million viewers. There are editions of Journaal at 16:00 and 22:00 and bulletins on the hour.

DUTCH PUBLIC TV – NTR (NPS, Teleac and RVU)

www.ntr.nl

NTR

Media Park Hilversum
Sumatrалаan 45
1217 GP Hilversum
Tel: +31 88 100 3100
E-mail: communicatie@ntr.nl

NTR is the second task-based public broadcasting organisation, charged with providing education, culture, and information programmes. NTR broadcasts since September 2010. The organisation's name is an amalgam of three previously independent state broadcasters that joined forces in 2010.

Director: **Paul Römer**
Tel: +31 35 677 2089

THE DUTCH PUBLIC BROADCASTING SYSTEM

In the Netherlands every five years the public broadcasting system is opened up to any organisation that succeeds in gathering 50,000 signatures. The Dutch system distributes the available airtime on the three public channels NED 1, 2, 3 according to how many members a broadcasting association can claim, and allows in any newcomers as long as they can prove they add a legitimate voice to the public debate. Apart from the associations and two task-based broadcasting organisations NOS and NTR, a number of small religious, regional or other specialist broadcasters are allocated airtime. The system originates in the early 20th century segregation of society known as pillarisation. Each pillar

(Protestant, Catholic, socialist, liberal) had its own institutions including broadcasting organisations. Most of these still exist, even if the confessional or ideological origin has by and large become obsolete. Circa €650 million of taxpayer's money is allocated each year.

Two newcomers joined the system in 2010: [Powned](#), an initiative by the website [GeenStijl](#) (NoStyle), and [Wakker Nederland](#) (WNL, Alert Netherlands) set up by the country's largest newspaper, *De Telegraaf*. Both are part of the Telegraaf Media Group. Both Powned and Wakker Nederland say they want to add "a less leftish voice" to the airwaves.

The following is a list of the main news and current affairs programmes and the companies that produce them, often working in partnership. The Netherlands has a strong tradition of talk shows that combine politics, showbiz and entertainment in varying amounts.

Nieuwsuur

www.nieuwsuur.nl

Postbus 29200

1202 MP Hilversum

Tel: +31 35 6775264

E-Mail: nieuwsuur@nieuwsuur.nl

Nieuwsuur ('News Hour') is a late-evening current affairs programme broadcast on Ned 2 at 22:00 nightly. It is the equivalent to ARD's Tagesthemen (German TV) or BBC (UK) Newsnight. *Nieuwsuur* is produced by NOS and NTR. The programme features news analysis and background reports on Dutch and foreign politics and economic affairs. *Nieuwsuur* first aired on 6 September 2010, replacing late-night programme Nova. *Nieuwsuur* claims a daily audience of approx. 720,000 viewers.

Presenters: **Twan Huys**, **Mariëlle Tweebeeke** and **Joost Karhof**



Chief Editor: **Carel Kuyl**. (pictured)

Tel: +31 35 677 5264

E-mail: carel.kuyl@nieuwsuur.nl

Deputy Editor: **Rob Koster**

E-mail: rob.koster@nieuwsuur.nl

Foreign editor: **Dieuwke van Ooij**

E-mail: dieuwke.van.ooij@nieuwsuur.nl

Special Correspondent EU: **Saskia Dekkers**

TROS

www.tros.nl

Lage Naarderweg 45-47

1217 GN Hilversum

Tel: +3135 671 5715

E-mail: pers@tros.nl

TROS is the largest (in terms of members) Dutch public broadcaster on NED 1, 2 and 3. It was established in 1964 and is politically independent.

Media & Production Director: **Peter Kuipers**

Tel: +31 35 671 5267

E-Mail: peter.kuipers@tros.nl

AVROwww.avro.nl

's Gravelandseweg 80
1217 EW Hilversum
Tel: +31 35 671 7911
E-mail: info@avro.nl

Avro is a Dutch public broadcaster on NED 1, 2 and 3. It was established in 1927 and is regarded as positive towards liberal politics.

Director: **Willemijn Maas**

In early May 2011, TROS and Avro announced their intention to merge.

Eén Vandaagwww.eenvandaag.nl/english

E-mail: redactie@eenvandaag.nl
Tel: +31 35 671 5600

EénVandaag is a popular 30-minute current affairs programme on NED 1 at 18:15 produced by TROS & AVRO. It runs from Monday through Saturday and claims a daily audience of 940,000 viewers. Eén Vandaag also has an online opinion panel to which viewers can sign up.

Chief Editor: **Jan Kriek**

Tel: +31 35 671 5612
E-mail: redactie@eenvandaag.nl

Senior Editor Foreign Desk: **Miriam Heijenga**

Tel: +31 35 671 5612
E-mail: miriam.heijenga@eenvandaag.nl

Senior Editor The Hague: **Henk Schipperheijn**

Tel: +31 35 671 5853
E-mail: henk.schipperheijn@eenvandaag.nl

VARAwww.omroep.nl/vara

Heuvellaan 50
1217 JN Hilversum
Tel: +31 35 671 1911
E-mail: vara@vara.nl

VARA is an independent public broadcaster on NED 1, 2 and 3. VARA was originally affiliated with the social democrat and socialist movement.

De Wereld Draait Door (DWDD)www.dewerelddraaitdoor.vara.nl

E-mail: dewerelddraaitdoor@vara.nl

A hugely popular talkshow, *DWDD* ('The World turns Around') is broadcast every weekday from 19:30-20:15 on NED 3. DWDD first aired in 2005. It claims close to a million viewers daily with a combination of fast-paced interviews with prominent guests (media, politics), music and entertainment.





Presenter: **Matthijs van Nieuwkerk**



Pauw & Wittemann

www.pauwenwitteman.vara.nl

pauwenwitteman@vara.nl

A popular daily talk show covering politics and entertainment at 23:00, hosted by **Jeroen Pauw** and **Paul Witteman**.

Editor: **Herman Meijer**

VPRO

www.vpro.nl

Mediapark

Sumatralaan 49

1217 GP Hilversum

Tel: +31 35 671 2911

E-mail: pers@vpro.nl

General Director: **Lennart van der Meulen**

Director: **Marieke Schoenmakers**

VPRO is a leftist progressive public broadcasting organisation established in 1926.

Buitenhof

www.buitenhoftv.nl

E-mail: redactie@buitenhoftv.nl

Buitenhof is a Sunday morning political interview show at 12:10. It is produced by Avro, VARA and VPRO and broadcast on NED 1 or NED 2. *Buitenhof* features interviews with senior politicians, policy makers, social partners and opinion makers.

Presenters: **Peter van Ingen**, **Pieter Jan Hagens** and **Clairy Polak**.

Editor: **Corinne Hegeman**

Producer: **Barbara Duives**. Tel: +31 35 671 2651(Thurs-Sun)

Editor: **Herman Schulte Nordholt**. E-mail: h.schulte@vpro.nl

Tegenlicht


 The logo for Tegenlicht, featuring the word 'tegenlicht' in a stylized font. 'tegen' is in black and 'licht' is in orange.

www.tegenlicht.vpro.nl

VPRO Tegenlicht

Postbus 11

1200 JC Hilversum

Tel: +31 35 6712188

E-mail: tegenlicht@vpro.nl

Tegenlicht ('Backlight') is a weekly investigative journalism programme on 'future affairs' produced by VPRO. Each 50-minute episode centers on a certain theme, e.g. globalisation, Europe, economic crisis or Arab Spring, and provides interviews with leading international intellectuals and policy makers. All episodes and themed dossiers are available online.

Editors in Chief: **Jos de Putter**, Tel:+31 35 671 2188, E-mail: tegenlicht@vpro.nl

Henneke Hagen. Tel:+31 35 671 2188. E-mail: h.hagen@vpro.nl

EVANGELISCHE OMROEP

www.eo.nl

Oude Amersfoortseweg 79

1213 AC Hilversum

Tel: +31 35 647 4747

E-mail: info@eo.nl

EO is a Dutch public broadcaster with a religious perspective broadcasting on NED 1, 2 and 3.

Director: **Arjan Lock**

Tel: +31 35 647 4706

E-mail: arjan.lock@eo.nl

Knevel & Van den Brink

www.eo.nl/kvdb

Melkpad 29

1217 KA Hilversum

Tel: +31 35 6263 000

E-mail: info@kvdb.tv



Knevel & Van den Brink is a talk show from EO shown on NED 1 at 23:00 on weekdays covering politics, culture showbiz and sport presented by **Andries Knevel** and **Tijs van den Brink**. It is broadcasted during the summer recess of **Pauw & Witteman**.

Andries Knevel (pictured)

Tel: +31 35 647 4503.

E-mail: andries.knevel@eo.nl

OMROEP WNL

www.omroepwnl.nl

Editorial Staff WNL

Basisweg 30

1043 AP Amsterdam

E-mail: redactie@redactiewnl.nl

WNL is owned by largest daily De Telegraaf. WNL gained access to the Dutch public broadcasting system in September 2010.

Chief Editor: **Jaap Hofman**, formerly with BNR Radio.

Uitgesproken

www.uitgesproken.nl

E-mail: uitgesproken@eo.nl

E-mail: uitgesproken@vara.nl

E-mail: uitgesproken@wnl.nl

Uitgesproken is a current affairs programme produced jointly by EO, VARA and WNL. It is broadcast at 20:25 on NED 2 from Mondays to Fridays and first aired in September 2010. On 21 April 2011 it was announced that *Uitgesproken* will be discontinued after September 2011.

Editors in Chief: **Bertus Tichelaar (EO)**
 Wim van Klaveren
 Jaap Hofman (WNL)

Presenters: **Andries Knevel and Tijs van de Brink (EO)**
 Jan Tromp (VARA)
 Joost Eerdmans (WNL)

PowNed

www.powned.tv

Plantage Kerklaan 36

1018 CZ Amsterdam

Tel: +3120 52 41150

E-mail: info@powned.tv

PowNed joined the system in September 2010 and is an initiative of the owner of website www.geenstijl.nl, Dominique Weesie. It is an acronym for Publieke Omroep Weldenkend Nederland En Dergelijke ('Public Broadcasting Well-thinking Netherlands And the Like'). It dismisses the existing Dutch media system as dominated by the baby boomers of the 40s and 50s and claims to serve the younger so-called network generation.

PowNews is a daily (Mo-Fri) half-hour news and entertainment show with a focus on domestic issues and a deliberately provocative style. It is broadcast on NED 3 at 22:50. Prominent reporter is **Rutger Castricum** (ex GeenStijl).

DUTCH COMMERCIAL TV

The Netherlands has a thriving commercial sector.

RTL

www.rtl.nl

www.rtlnieuws.nl

www.rtlz.nl

Sumatrалаan 47

1217 GP Hilversum

E-mail: redactie@rtl.nl



The main commercial broadcaster, RTL 4, and its sister stations, RTL, 5 and 7 are all part of Holland Media Group. RTLZ is a daily programme broadcast on RTL7 with economic and financial news in addition to general news.

The Dutch commercial scene is one of the most competitive in Europe. Since its launch in 1989, commercial production companies have produced some of the best known TV shows in the world.



John de Mol is the most successful Dutch TV producer. Forbes magazine named him as one of the 500 richest people in the world in 2005. John de Mol is one of the co-founders of the production companies Endemol which created Big Brother and Deal or No Deal among many successful formats. He is still one of the shareholders in Endemol which is now a global entertainment business.

Editor in Chief: **Harm Taselaar**. Tel: +31 35 671 8826. E-mail: harm.taselaar@rtl.nl

Head of Foreign News: **Brechtje van de Moosdijk** and **Erik Smink**.
Tel: +31 35 671 8952/8852.
E-mail: brechtje.van.de.moosdijk@rtl.nl, erik.smink@rtl.nl

The Hague Editor: **Kees Berghuis**.
Tel: +31 70 3643500
E-mail: nieuwshaagseredactie@rtl.nl

Main News: RTL Nieuws is at 19:30, with circa 1,2 million viewers. RTL's other news shows are at 16:00, and 18:00. There are also news bulletins on RTL 4, RTL Z, RTL 7 and on the daily news magazine Editie NL.

DUTCH RADIO

NOS NOS Radio

Postbus 20018

2500 EA Den Haag

Tel: +31 70 318 3022

The main news-based station is Radio 1, www.radio1.nl.

- Radionieuws, a radio news bulletin every hour on the public channels.
- Radio 1 Journaal, a current affairs programme on Radio 1
- Met het Oog op Morgen (With a View to Tomorrow), a late-night current affairs programme.

www.esiweb.org

Villa VPRO/Bureau Buitenland

Sumatralaan 49
1217 GP Hilversum
Tel: +31 35 671 2911
E-mail: foreigndesk@vpro.nl

Bureau Buitenland ('Foreign Desk') brings foreign news twice weekly, on Wednesdays and Sundays, broadcast on Radio 1.

Senior Editor Bureau Buitenland/VPRO Radio 1: **Ellen van Dalen**
E-mail: e.van.dalen@vpro.nl

Senior Editor European Affairs: **Fred Stroobants**
E-mail: f.stroobants@vpro.nl

Foreign Editor: **Jacqueline Maris**
Tel: +31 35 671 2352
E-mail: jacmar77@hotmail.com or j.maris@vpro.nl

Wereldomroep/ Radio Netherlands International

www.rnw.nl/english
Witte Kruislaan 55
1217 AM Hilversum
Tel: +31 35 672 4211
wereldomroep@rnw.nl

As well as news and programming in English, RNW provides a daily press review:
<http://www.rnw.nl/english/article/press-review-wednesday-27-april-2011>

Coordinator Correspondents: **Martine van Hagen**

EU Correspondent in Brussels: **Tijn Sadée**
E-mail: tijn.sadee@rnw.nl

Balkans Correspondent in Belgrade: **David-Jan Godfroid**. Godfroid is also correspondent for NOS.
E-mail:

Thijs Papot is Eastern Europe Editor of RNW (Radio Netherlands Worldwide). He was previously based in Warsaw covering Central and SE Europe. E-mail: thijspapot@gmail.com

**Commercial Radio
Business News Radio**

www.bnr.nl
Prins Bernhardplein 173
1097 BL Amsterdam
Tel: +31 20 592 8500
Airs 24 hours a day on 100.1 FM. Owned by Het Financieele Dagblad.

Chief Editor: **Paul van Gessel**. Tel: +31 20 592 8710. E-mail: gessel@bnr.nl
Deputy Chief Editor: **Rens de Jong**. Tel: +31 20 592 8711. E-mail: rens@bnr.nl

Foreign Affairs Commentator: **Bernard Hammelburg**

BNR Europa – current European affairs with live interviews

DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers	Total Paid Circulation Oct - Dec 2010	Political Stance
De Telegraaf	565,144	Right of centre
AD - Algemeen Dagblad	398,237	Liberal-centrist
De Volkskrant	242,653 37,572	Left of centre
Volkskrant Direkt (e-paper)		
NRC Handelsblad	182,794	Liberal –left.
NRC Handelsblad (e-paper)	17,796	
NRC Next	71,558	
Trouw	96,651	Centre left - Protestant
Het Parool	65,301	Amsterdam/national paper Centre left
FD - Het Financieele Dagblad	59,188	Financial daily
FD (e-paper)	4,170	
RD – Reformatorisch Dagblad	50,988 3,785	Christian, national afternoon daily paper
RD (e-paper)		
Nederlands Dagblad	29,248	Christian, national morning paper
Nederlands Dagblad (e-paper)	1,213	
HOI Instituut voor Media Auditing	www.hoi-online.nl	

The prominent newspapers - in order of circulation:

DE TELEGRAAF

www.telegraaf.nl

Basisweg 30

1043 AP Amsterdam

Tel: + 31 20 585 9111

E-mail: redactie@telegraaf.nl

Circulation: 565,000

De Telegraaf has by far the largest circulation of any Dutch newspaper. Populist style, right of centre, with a respected financial/economic section.

Chief Editor: **Sjuul Paradijs**. Tel: +31 20 585 9111.

E-mail: redactie@telegraaf.nl

Chief Foreign Editor: **Menzo Willems**. Tel: +31 20 585 2103

E-mail: buitenland@telegraaf.nl

EU Affairs Editor: **Herman Stam**. Tel: +31 20 585 2103.

E-mail: stamh@telegraaf.nl or buitenland@telegraaf.nl

Chief Political Affairs: **Paul Jansen**

Jansen is considered one of the most influential commentator on Dutch politics. He writes a weekly column.

Rome-Based correspondent **Maarten van Aalderen** covers Turkey-related news. E-mail:

buitenland@telegraaf.nl



De Telegraaf's front-page, the day they announced they had collected the 50,000 signatures needed to apply for a TV station under the public broadcasting rules. Wakker ('awake') Nederland is the TV station of De Telegraaf.

Omroep WNL Chair: **Fons van Westerloo** (ex RTL).

ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD

www.ad.nl

Maarten Meesweg 353

3068 AV Rotterdam

Tel: +31 10 406 6077

E-mail: ad@ad.nl

Circulation: 400,000

A centre-liberal daily with seven regional afternoon editions including The Hague, Utrecht and Rotterdam.

Chief Editor: Christiaan Ruesink. Tel: +31 10 406 6077. E-mail: ad@ad.nl

Chief Foreign Editor: **Hans van Zon**. Tel: +31 10 406 6424. E-mail: h.vanzon@ad.nl, buitenland@ad.nl

Europe Correspondent in Brussels: **Frans Boogaard**. E-mail: f.boogaard@hotmail.com

Turkey Correspondent (AD and FD): **Marc Guillet**. E-mail: guillet.marc@gmail.com

DE VOLKSKRANT

www.volkskrant.nl

Jacob Bontiusstraat 9

1018 LL Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 562 9222

E-mail: redactie@volkskrant.nl

Circulation: 243,000

De Volkskrant (The People's Newspaper) is a left of centre national daily newspaper. It had its origins in the Catholic Labour movement but now it is no longer associated with any group. Its website features an extensive Opinion Forum.

Chief Editor: **Philippe Remarque**.

Tel: +31 20 562 2540

E-mail: p.remarque@volkskrant.nl

Foreign Affairs Commentator: **Paul Brill**

Tel: +31 20 562 2540

E-mail: p.brill@volkskrant.nl

Chief Foreign Desk: **Bert Lanting**

Tel: +31 20 562 9222

E-mail: b.lanting@volkskrant.nl

Chief Parliamentary Desk: **Raoul du Pré**

Tel: +31 70 346 9401

E-mail: r.dupre@volkskrant.nl

Political Affairs Commentator: Martin Sommer

Tel: +31 70 346 9401

E-mail: m.sommer@volkskrant.nl

Opinion Page Editor: **Sander van Walsum**

E-mail: s.vanwalsum@volkskrant.nl or forum@volkskrant.nl

Turkey, Greece Correspondent in Istanbul: **Arjen van der Ziel**

E-mail: arjen.c.vanderziel@gmail.com

Brussels Correspondent: **Marc Peeperkorn**

E-mail: m.peeperkorn@volkskrant.nl

The Sigmund cartoon in De Volkskrant, with acerbic comments, a cynical psychotherapist, **Sigmund**, is the country's most famous newspaper cartoon. The author is **Peter de Wit** who also draws the "Burka babes" cartoons.



Source: <http://www.watisinwatisuit.nl/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/sigmund.jpg>

NRC HANDELSBLAD

www.nrc.nl

nrc.next

www.nrcnext.nl

Marten Meesweg 35

3068 AV Rotterdam

Tel: +31 10 406 6333

E-mail: nrc@nrc.nl

E-mail: blog@nrc.nl

Circulation: 191,000 NRC Handelsblad

65,000 nrc.next

NRC Handelsblad is a liberal afternoon daily paper and arguably the country's most serious daily. It is an influential newspaper in political circles. The name originated when the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* joined with the *Algemeen Handelsblad* in 1970. A compact morning edition, *nrc.next*, is published on weekday mornings with shorter articles. It also runs a popular cynical-style cartoon Fokke & Sukke – "Birdie and Duck".

The paper's English section, *NRC International*, was discontinued after June 2010. NRC claimed financial difficulty in keeping up the online service.

Chief Editor: **Peter Vandermeersch**

Chief Editor nrc.next: **Rob Wijnberg**

Foreign Desk Editor: **René Moerland**

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E-mail: r.moerland@nrc.nl

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E-mail: f.vermeulen@nrc.nl

Political Affairs Editor: **Pieter van Os**
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E-mail: p.vanos@nrc.nl

EU & Brussels Editor: **Mark Beunderman**
E-mail: m.beunderman@nrc.nl

Chief Opinion Editor: **Maarten Huygen**
Tel: +31 10 406 6331
E-mail: m.huygen@nrc.nl

Foreign Desk, Middle East Specialist: **Carolien Roelants**
E-mail: c.roelants@nrc.nl

Correspondents covering South East Europe:



Belgrade: **Marloes de Koning** covers former Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and Greece since returning to Belgrade in May 2009. She had been based there from 2005-2008 for the Netherlands Press Association covering the Balkans and parts of Central Europe.
Blog (in Dutch): <http://bureaubelgrado.blogspot.com/>



Istanbul: **Bram Vermeulen** is NRC's (and NOS) Turkey correspondent since early 2010. The award-winning journalist was previously based in South Africa. Vermeulen presented a well-received TV-series called *In Turkey* in April and May 2011. The series was produced by VPRO.
E-mail: b.vermeulen@nrc.nl

Cees Banning has covered the work of ICTY in the Hague since 1999. He is currently covering the Karadzic trial. He previously reported for NRC Handelsblad on the war in Bosnia and Kosovo. He and **Petra de Koning**, now a Brussels Correspondent, wrote *Balkan aan de Noordzee. Over het Joegoslavië-tribunaal, over recht en onrecht*, 2005. It critically analyses the work of ICTY. Petra de Koning covered Kosovo in November 2009. E-mail: p.dekoning@nrc.nl



Mark Kranenburg, the Diplomatic Editor, is a former Brussels correspondent and a former op-ed editor. He is a well-known columnist.
E-mail: m.kranenburg@nrc.nl

TROUWwww.trouw.nl

Wibautstraat 131
 1091 GL Amsterdam
 Tel: +3120 562 9444
 E-mail: redactie@trouw.nl
 Circulation: 94,000

Trouw is a centre-left protestant compact newspaper originally founded by the Dutch wartime Resistance. It is interested in religious and ethical issues, and overseas development.

Chief Editor: **Willem Schoonen**. Tel: +31 20 562 3119. E-mail: w.schoonen@trouw.nl
 Foreign Editor: **Stevó Akkerman**. Tel: + 31 20 562 2735. E-mail: s.akkerman@trouw.nl or buitenland@trouw.nl
 The Hague Editor: **Cees van der Laan**. Tel: +31 70 311 8311.
 E-mail: c.vanderlaan@trouw.nl or parlement@trouw.nl
 Opinion Editor: **Wilma Kieskamp**. Tel: +31 20 562 2751. E-mail: w.kieskamp@trouw.nl

Eric Brassem is Trouw's specialist on the Western Balkans. E-mail: e.brassem@trouw.nl

Erdal Balci is Trouw's correspondent in Turkey. E-mail: ebalci777@hotmail.com

HET PAROOLwww.parool.nl

Jacob Bontiusplaats 9
 1018 LL Amsterdam
 Tel: +31 20 558 4300
 Circulation: 64,000

Het Parool is a left of centre (social democratic) national daily paper with a strong focus on Amsterdam news. The majority of its readership is in the Amsterdam area. Its reputation dates back to its foundation by the Resistance during the war.

Chief Editor: **Barbara van Beukering**. E-mail: redactie@parool.nl. Tel: +31 20 558 4300
 Chief Foreign Editor: **Addie Schulte**. E-mail: a.schulte@parool.nl Tel: +31 20 558 4524
 Chief Political Editor: **Nathan Vos**. E-mail: n.vos@parool.nl Tel: +31 70 318 3114

HET FINANCIEELE DAGBLADwww.fd.nl

Prins Bernhardplein 173
 1097 BL Amsterdam
 Tel: +3120 592 8888
 E-mail: persbericht@fd.nl
 Circulation: 59,000

Het Financieele Dagblad is the leading financial newspaper. It owns commercial news radio BNR. is aiming to reach a wider readership and in particular young readers.

Chief Editor (ad interim): **Job Woudt**. Tel: +31 20 592 8715. E-mail: woudt@fd.nl
 Foreign Editor: **Hans Verbraeken**. Tel: +31 20 592 8736. E-mail: verbraeken@fd.nl
 EU Editor: **Jule Hinrichs**. Tel: +31 20 592 8732. E-mail: hinrichs@fd.nl
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 Opinion Editor: **Henk Snyders**. Tel: +31 20 592 8763. E-mail: optiek@fd.nl
 Columnist FD Weekend: **Michiel Goudswaard**. E-mail: goudswaard@fd.nl

REFORMATORISCH DAGBLAD

www.refdag.nl

Laan van Westenenk 12

7336 AZ Apeldoorn

Tel: + 31 55 539 02 22

Circulation: 51,000

A daily national afternoon newspaper with a strong religious (Protestant) leaning - popular among ChristenUnie (Christian Union) and the orthodox SGP (Reformed Political Party) supporters. Its website is closed on Sundays.

Chief Editor: **Wim Kranendonk**. Tel: +31 55 539 0222.

E-mail: wkranendonk@refdag.nl

Foreign Editor: **Richard Donk**. Tel: +31 55 539 0222. E-mail: buiten@refdag.nl

Opinion Editor: **Willem van Klinken**. Tel: +31 55 539 0222. E-mail: opinie@refdag.nl

NEDERLANDS DAGBLAD

www.nd.nl

Hermesweg 20

3771 ND Barneveld

Tel: +31 342 411 711

E-mail: redactie@nd.nl

Circulation: 29,000

A daily national newspaper based in the Dutch 'Bible belt' town of Barneveld. Strong religious (Protestant) leaning. Its small readership consists mainly of CDA (Christian Democrat) and ChristenUnie (Christian Union) supporters.

Chief Editor: **Pieter Bergwerff**

Foreign Desk Editor: **Herman Veenhof**, Tel: +31 342 411711. E-mail: veenhof@nd.nl

THE HOLLAND TIMES

www.theholland.nl

Postbus 531

2150 AM Nieuw Vennep

Tel: +31 20 584 9020

E-mail: aline@theamsterdamtimes.nl

Circulation: 115,000

A free monthly English language publication in Amsterdam, The Hague and Rotterdam.

Chief Editor: **Laura Owings**. Tel: +31 20 584 9020. E-mail: editorial@thehollandtimes.nl

FREE NEWSPAPERS

Metro Nederland

www.metronieuws.nl

Nachtwachttlaan 20 – 8th floor

1058 EA Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 511 4000

E-mail: redactie@metronieuws.nl

In 1999, Metro was the first free national daily newspaper in the Netherlands. It has Amsterdam and Rotterdam editions. Part of Metro International.

Chief Editor: **Robert van Brandwijk**. Tel: +31 20 511 4062.
E-mail: Robert.van.brandwijk@metronieuws.nl
Foreign Desk: **Ruben Eg**. Tel: +31 20 511 4022. E-mail: ruben.eg@metronieuws.nl

Spits

www.spitsnieuws.nl

Postbus 2620

1000 CP Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 585 3045

E-Mail: redactie@spitsnieuws.nl

Launched around the same time as Metro, Spits was first distributed on train stations in 1999. Part of Telegraaf Media Group.

Chief Editor: **Willem Schouten**
Foreign Desk: buitenland@spitsnieuws.nl

De Pers

www.depers.nl

Anthony Fokkerweg 61-63

1059 CP Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 346 0560

E-mail: redactie@depers.nl

A free daily newspaper published since January 2007, founded by investor Marcel Boekhoorn. Distributed at train stations and busy points in the Randstad area only. Larger items than other free papers and about a third independent news coverage due to larger editorial staff numbers. Prominent VVD (Liberal party) member **Hans Wiegel** is political columnist for De Pers.

Chief Editor: **Jan Jaap Heij**. Tel: +3120 346 0560. E-mail: redactie@depers.nl
Foreign Desk: **Eva Ludemann, Mark van Assen, Marcia Nieuwenhuis**. E-mail: buitenland@depers.nl
The Hague Editor: **Kustaw Bessems**. E-mail: kustaw.bessems@depers.nl or denhaag@depers.nl

THE WEEKLIES

Title	Circulation Oct - Dec 2010	Political Stance
Elsevier	135,490	Right of centre
Vrij Nederland	52,489	Centre-left
HP/De Tijd	22,825	Left of centre
De Groene Amsterdammer	17,757	Left-liberal
HOI Instituut voor Media Auditing	www.hoi-online.nl	

Elsevier

www.elsevier.nl

Radarweg 29

1043 NX Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 515 9944

E-mail: redactie.elsevier@elsevier.nl

The country's top weekly magazine. Its political coverage is to the right of centre. It has taken a strong stance against Turkish EU accession. It regularly covers EU-related issues. It was at a lecture co-organised by Elsevier on 6 November 2009 that the Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende reiterated his view that: "For future enlargement to the Western Balkans, the entry standards are clear and non-negotiable"



Chief Editor: **Arendo Joustra**.

Arendo Joustra has been Editor in Chief since 2000. He worked previously as Brussels Correspondent. His experience there formed the basis of his book, *The Court of Brussels* about the power games in the EU.

Tel: +31 20 515 9918.

E-mail: arendo.joustra@elsevier.nl



Chief Foreign Editor: **Robbert de Witt**

Tel: +31 20 515 9461.

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Chief Netherlands/Political Editor: **Gertjan van Schoonhoven**

Tel: +31 20 515 9944.

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Commentator: **Sip Wynia** writes columns, commentaries and on politics, economics and society, often in an international context. In the 1990's he was Brussels Correspondent for Het Parool.

E-mail: sip.wynia@elsevier.nl

Vrij Nederland

www.vn.nl

Raamgracht 4

1011 KK Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 551 8711

E-mail: redactie@vn.nl

Now a centre-left current affairs magazine, *Vrij Nederland* is one of the oldest of the weeklies. It began as a resistance paper in 1940. The heyday of its influence in the Dutch political debate was arguably during the 1970s and 1980's when its outspoken leftist articles were widely read.

Chief Editor: **Frits van Exter**. Tel: +31 20 551 8711.

E-mail: redactie.vn@weekbladpers.nl

Foreign Editor: **Rudie Kagie**. Tel: +31 20 551 8711. E-mail: redactie.vn@weekbladpers.nl

**HP/ De Tijd**

www.hpdetijd.nl

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1096 CJ Amsterdam

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Weekly current affairs magazine covering current affairs and politics from a liberal perspective.

Chief Editor: **Jan Dijkgraaf**. Tel: +31 20 572 1520. E-mail: redactie@hpdetijd.nl

Political Commentator: **Dirk Jan van Baar**. Tel: +31 20 686 3028. E-mail: djvanbaar@hetnet.nl

De Groene Amsterdammer

www.groene.nl

Singel 464

1017 AW Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 524 5524

E-mail: redactie@groene.nl

The liberal-left *De Groene Amsterdammer* (The Green Amsterdammer) is the oldest weekly magazine dating from 1877. It claims a modest readership with a strong reputation for (international) political affairs and culture.

Chief Editor: **Xandra Schutte**. E-mail: schutte@groene.nl

Political Editor: **Aart Brouwer**. E-mail: brouwer@groene.nl

Foreign Editor: **Joeri Boom**. E-mail: boom@groene.nl

NEWS AGENCIES

Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau (ANP)

www.anp.nl

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E-mail: nieuwsdienst@anp.nl

ANP News agency provides news stories for the Dutch media. ANP has 200 staffers. It is based in Rijswijk (The Hague). ANP has bureaux in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague (Government) and Brussels.

Chief Editor: **Erik van Gruijthuijsen**. Tel: +3120 558 4300.

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