

The Dutch debate on Turkey



First Quarter 2011

Manifesto, Turkey as Model and a Debate on Ritual Slaughtering

Dutch and Turks- Highlights of the debate

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January

6 January 2011- “Nothing to do with Gulen movement”

In an op-ed in leftist daily *Volkskrant* Mehmet Cerit rejects allegations made in an earlier letter to the newspaper that the Cosmic Montessori Lyceum, a secondary school in Amsterdam, belongs to the Fethullah Gulen community.¹ Mehmet Cerit is chairman of the Cosmic Foundation, which governs two primary and two secondary schools and is allegedly run by the Gulen movement. The movement, which originated in Turkey, is suspected by many secular Turks of covertly propagating conservative Muslim values. As Cerit claims,

“...there are no links between [Cosmicus] and the movement. However, there are individuals within the organisation that are inspired by Gulen’s ideas. Cosmicus doesn’t think this is wrong, because the importance Gulen attaches to service to society and his preference for secular institutions are harmless.”

Three weeks prior to Cerit’s letter, renowned Islam expert Marin van Bruinessen (Utrecht University) had published a report on “The Fethullah Gulen movement in the Netherlands”.² The report, commissioned by the Ministry of the Interior, had criticised the movement’s opaque organisational structure.

10 January- 2011 Manifesto about Turkish youth triggers debate

Volkskrant publishes a manifesto by ten Turkish Dutch professionals (social workers, business men, civil servants), which expresses unease about the situation of Turkish Dutch adolescents. Without giving concrete figures, the authors paint a bleak picture of the lives of young Turks, citing persistent psychological problems, domestic violence and a sense of cultural exclusion.

“They feel less valued at school, when going out and entering the labour market. The lack of representation of Turkish Dutch in administration, politics and media only serves to reinforce the image that they will have fewer opportunities. There are few Turkish Dutch with whom they can identify. That is not just the result of a failing diversity policy, but also a lack of engaging ‘leaders’ of Turkish Dutch origin.”³

The weakening of a communal support network of Turkish immigrant organisations lies at the root of the current problems, the authors claim.

“...social care, projects, and educational courses, [which] these organisations provided in the past have all but disappeared. Many migrant organisations have turned into coffee

¹ Website of *Volkskrant*, ‘We have nothing to do with the Gulen movement’ (in Dutch), at: http://opinie.volkskrant.nl/artikel/show/id/7551/Wij_hebben_niets_te_maken_met_de_G%C3%BClenbeweging. The earlier op-ed: website of *Volkskrant*, ‘Sect under wings open society’ (in Dutch), at: http://opinie.volkskrant.nl/artikel/show/id/7516/Sekte_onder_vleugels_open_samenleving//page/2

² Martin van Bruinessen, *The Fethullah Gulen Movement in the Netherlands* (in Dutch), at: <http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/ministeries/bzk/documenten-en-publicaties/kamerstukken/2010/12/14/kabinetsreactie-inzake-onderzoek-fethullah-gulenbeweging-rapport-de-fethullah-gulenbeweging-in-nederland.html>

³ Website of *Volkskrant*, Manifesto Turkish Dutch professionals' (in Dutch), at: <http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2686/Binnenland/article/detail/1790349/2011/01/10/Manifest-Turks-Nederlandse-professionals-Problematiek-jongeren-zeer-verontrustend.dhtml>

houses, leaving their former clientele in the lurch.

Mosques have partly taken on this role [...] Many mosques, especially Turkish ones, maintain close relations with the country of origin, bringing in imams from Turkey and hardly making use of the imams trained in the Netherlands [at Dutch universities' theology departments]. Through the mosques, the Turkish administration and Turkish religious organisations keep a firm grip on the lives of Turks in the Netherlands. Thus, religious and political divides in Turkey are also reinforced in the Netherlands.

The youth's loyalty to the community is called upon [by the mosques] enlisted, which increases the level of interdependence, leaving less space for individual choices and development."

The authors conclude with a call on the authorities to invest in the integration of these youngsters into Dutch society by strengthening Turkish Dutch institutions.

"Give them the guidance they need, offer them general services where possible, but also specific [i.e. aimed at Turkish Dutch specifically] services when needed. Stimulate youngsters to participate [in society] and develop into critical individuals."

The article triggers a media debate challenging the authors' claims. On the online forum of *Volkskrant*, Serdar Manavoglu, a cultural entrepreneur from Amsterdam, calls attention to the lack of data substantiating the trends described. The core of the problem, he argues, is that Turkish organisations serve primarily to instil a "pre-fab" cultural and political identity imported from Turkey.

"The Turkish Dutch individual does not seem to exist, neither does the space and the acknowledgment of his or her individual choices."⁴

In daily centre-left *Trouw*, Liberal Party members Oktay Arda and Dilan Yesilgoz protest the labelling of their peers as victims and pariahs.

"They are said to feel less welcome. But is that necessary, they are not guests after all, are they? (...) We refuse to be victimised in order to be saved."⁵

Zihni Ozdil, a young historian, accuses the manifesto's authors of misreading the situation. His *Volkskrant* op-ed, "Our lives shouldn't revolve around Turkey", argues that the focus on specific policies and activities for Turkish youth will only add to the existing segregation between Turkish Dutch and Dutch society at large. He dismisses "the querulantism" of many young Turkish Dutch who feel unwanted in the Netherlands, emphasising their lack of participation in Dutch society and general orientation on Turkey. Ozdil draws a parallel with the 1960s:

"If we do not revolt against the misplaced ultranationalism of our parents, the patriarchal gender notions of our community and the paternalistic organisations and leaders who claim to represent us, we will only sink deeper in the mud of segregation."⁶

⁴ Website of *Volkskrant*, 'Nothing new among Turks (in Dutch), at http://opinie.volkskrant.nl/artikel/show/id/7592/Niets_nieuws_onder_Turken

⁵ Website of daily newspaper *Trouw*, 'Turkish youth are not victims' (in Dutch), at <http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/4324/Nieuws/article/detail/1840237/2011/01/14/Turkse-jongeren-zijn-geen-slachtoffers.dhtml>

⁶ Website of *Volkskrant*, 'Our lives shouldn't revolve around Turkey' (in Dutch), at

In response to reactions to his op-ed, a few days later he writes:

“I call upon Turkish Dutch to no longer ‘behave as Dutch’, but to realise they already are Dutch and shouldn’t restrict themselves to Turkish culture.”⁷

13 January 2011- Turkish Minister criticises Dutch integration policy

Volkskrant’s Turkey correspondent, Arjen van der Ziel, presents the manifesto to Faruk Celik. Celik, the Turkish minister responsible for issues relevant to Turks living outside Turkey, reads the letter with “deep concern”, and harshly criticises Dutch immigration and integration policies:

“Some of the policies in the Netherlands aimed at integration have led to isolation rather than integration of immigrants.”⁸

Celik lists the high costs of residency permits, the obligatory integration exam (“inburgeringscursus”), and the fact that Turkish is not taught during regular school hours as negative aspects of Dutch integration policy. “In order to learn a foreign language,” he says, “it is important to speak one’s own language well.”

At a closer glance, Celik’s observations are not entirely accurate. In 2010 about half of a total of 384,000 Turkish Dutch were Dutch citizens and were not subject to fees for a residency permit. The integration exam, introduced in 2007 as part of a reformed integration policy, is obligatory for both newcomers from outside the EU wishing to take up residency, and for “oldcomers” without an EU passport or a permanent residency permit (if certain conditions apply).⁹ Turkish, meanwhile, is a regular school subject and is taught at Dutch secondary education institutions. It is not a language of instruction at primary or secondary schools, however. Celik’s comments disregard the fact that many second and third generation Turkish Dutch were born and/or raised in the Netherlands (and often hold Dutch citizenship). The question of defining “one’s own language” may be more complex than the Minister suggests.

Celik also dismisses claims that Turkey interferes in Turks’ religious education in the Netherlands. He argues that all Turkish imams sent to the Netherlands by Diyanet, the Turkish Directorate for Religious Affairs, have taken an integration exam. The tests, he says, cover general knowledge of Dutch history, culture and customs. The imams in question “are not alienated from Dutch society or culture,” Celik argues.

<http://opinie.volkskrant.nl/artikel/show/id/7597>

⁷ Website of *Volkskrant*, ‘Turks, take control’ (in Dutch), at

[http://opinie.volkskrant.nl/artikel/show/id/7647/Turken%2C neem het heft in eigen handen](http://opinie.volkskrant.nl/artikel/show/id/7647/Turken%2C%20neem%20het%20heft%20in%20eigen%20handen)

⁸ Website of *Volkskrant*, ‘Turkey harshly criticizes Dutch immigration policy’ (in Dutch), at

<http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2664/Nieuws/article/detail/1823905/2011/01/13/Turkije-bekritiseert-Card-Nederlands-immigratiebeleid.dhtml>

⁹ These are: between 18 and 65 years of age, not in possession of a EU passport and/or having resided less than eight years in the Netherlands before the age of 16. Exemption is possible: enrolling in vocational education, passing a State Examination for Dutch as a Second Language or a passing a Short Exemption Test. A fee is charged for courses and exams. An August 2010 ruling of the Rotterdam district court exempted Turks from having to pass the exam: based on the Association Agreement between Turkey and the EU member states, the court argued that it is not permissible to make a distinction between Turkish and EU citizens. The Minister of Housing, Communities and Integration Elmerie tilburg van Middelkoop (Christian Union) and the municipalities of Rotterdam and Vlaardingen appealed the ruling.

13 January 2011- Turkish Airlines in the picture

A feature article in daily centre-liberal newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* draws attention to the rapid expansion of Turkish Airlines (THY), a symbol of Turkey's rise and growing self-assertiveness. While European economies are reeling, the article notes, Turkey's is booming. "Turkish companies are conquering the world, from Asia to Africa, and THY is taking the lead."

The article traces the company's success to the rise of the AKP and Turkey's global ambitions. Although THY was largely privatised (51 per cent of state-owned shares were sold in 2004 and 2006), the AKP leadership has taken a keen interest in THY's expansion, the article reports.

27 January 2011- Report on Diyanet published

Thijl Sunier, Nico Landman, and Heleen van der Linden from the Free University Amsterdam and Utrecht University publish a report, "Diyanet: the Turkish Directorate for Religious Affairs in a changing environment".¹⁰ Diyanet, which reports directly to the Turkish Prime Ministry, has branches outside of Turkey. The Netherlands branch is known as Islamitische Stichting Nederland (ISN). According to 2003 statistics, of the 245 mosques that served Turkish Muslims in the Netherlands 151 were run by Diyanet.

The report was commissioned by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and forms part of a larger research project on the Islamic world. The authors conclude that the AKP's term in office has not led to an active promotion of 'Islamisation' in Turkey, defusing the fear that the AKP uses the Diyanet as an instrument thereof.

"While a recent modification of the law regulating the internal organisation of Diyanet gave the institution more possibilities to manage its own affairs – e.g. in the nomination of candidates for top functions [and no longer centrally issuing the Friday sermon] – it did not fundamentally alter the power relation between Diyanet and the Turkish government."¹¹

Both in Turkey and the Netherlands, the report argues, a process of socialisation has set in.

"The experiment with mosques as social centres that are more than places of worship is a good example of the process we have called 'the social turn'. Diyanet is more explicitly active in those fields that are located on the boundary between religious and non-religious. The same could be observed in the Netherlands, where the ISN is changing its function from a bureaucratic administrative institute into an organisation that reaches out to the local religious community. Although most Turkish mosques in the Netherlands are still places where there is no sharp distinction between religion and Turkish culture, and where 'love for the fatherland' is a self-evident element of the daily religious practice, we

¹⁰ The report (in English) can be downloaded from the website of Thijl Sunier, Free University Amsterdam, at: <http://www.fsw.vu.nl/wetenschappelijke-afdelingen/sca/medewerkers-sca/sunier/index.asp>

¹¹ Thijl Sunier et al., *Diyanet. The Turkish Directorate for Religious Affairs in a changing environment* (VU University Amsterdam and Utrecht University, January 2011), 137.

could observe an increasing emphasis on the process of ‘rooting’. Dutch is becoming more important as the common language in a variety of activities.”¹²

In the Netherlands, the report concludes, the ISN often acts independently of the Diyanet, taking into account the specific circumstances of Dutch Muslims.

“Our research findings are consistent with previous research which found that the development of Muslim communities in Europe has its own dynamic. For a long time, the strong emotional and familial attachments of many Turkish migrants in Europe provided a solid basis for organisational links between Diyanet and Turkish Muslim communities in Europe. In the course of the past twenty years, we have seen that these ties have lost much of their saliency. It is very likely that this will influence the position of organisations such as Diyanet among Muslims in Europe. In addition, Diyanet in Europe operates in a fundamentally different legal-political framework than in Turkey; this too is relevant for the position of Diyanet.”¹³

On 4 February, in reaction to the report’s findings, two parliamentarians from the Liberal Party (VVD) call on the ministers of Interior and of Social Affairs and Employment to ensure that Dutch mosques employ Dutch imams, so as to enhance the integration of Turks.¹⁴ “A predictable Pavlov reaction,” says author Nico Landman in *Trouw*, a centre-left protestant daily.

“They [Diyanet] hear the critique that Turkish imams don’t know the Dutch context, but they anticipate that. There’s a preparation programme in Turkey for Dutch society. [It is] really quite thorough, not something done casually and hurriedly.”¹⁵

¹² Thijl Sunier et al., *Diyanet. The Turkish Directorate for Religious Affairs in a changing environment* (VU University Amsterdam and Utrecht University, January 2011), 140.

¹³ Thijl Sunier et al., *Diyanet. The Turkish Directorate for Religious Affairs in a changing environment* (VU University Amsterdam and Utrecht University, January 2011), 139.

¹⁴ Parliamentary query by C. Van Nieuwenhuizen and M. Azmani, no. 2011Z02229 (2-2-2011, in Dutch), at <https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/kv-tk-2011Z02229.html>

¹⁵ Website of *Trouw*, ‘Liberal Party lambastes Turkish interference with Dutch mosques’ (in Dutch), at <http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/4324/Nieuws/article/detail/1839258/2011/02/08/VVD-hekelt-Turkse-bemoeyenis-met-Nederlandse-moskeeen.dhtml>

February

1 – 12 February 2011- Turkey as a model

A day before the March of the Millions is to take place in Egypt, Middle East expert Bertus Hendriks, based at Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, rejects the dichotomy between Islamism and military dictatorship, pointing to Turkey as a model for Islamic democracy in Egypt.¹⁶ This idea leads *Volkskrant's* temporary Egypt correspondent, Rob Vreeken, to look at election results in Islamic countries.

“When voters in an Islamic country are free to choose, they overwhelmingly vote for moderate parties [...]. It's the AKP government that has ensured since 2002 that Turkey has come into line with European notions of democracy and human rights. Sharia law does not feature in its programme.”¹⁷

Looking at Turkey's experience with Muslim parties, columnist Pieter Hillhorst of *Volkskrant* suggests including the Muslim Brotherhood in the transition process in Egypt. This, he argues, would help curb Muslim extremism and give Islam its due place in an emerging democracy.

“Turkey's democracy is robust. An election victory for an Islamic party there does not signal the end of democracy. In addition, Turkey's economy is booming. That is also necessary, because the demonstrators do not only want freedom, they want jobs, too.”¹⁸

Others fear an Iran-style transformation. In weekly right-of-centre *Elsevier*, columnist Afshin Ellian states:

“Tahrir Square is reportedly transforming into a public mosque. [...] The Islamisation of the Egyptian public domain is already taking place.”¹⁹

2 February 2011- Bilateral summit in Ankara

The annual Wittenburg Conference, a bilateral Turkish-Dutch summit takes place in Ankara. At a joint press conference, Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs Uri Rosenthal and his Turkish counterpart Ahmet Davutoglu stress good bilateral relations. The upcoming 400th anniversary of diplomatic relations in 2012 highlights the excellent economic ties and people-to-people contacts between the two countries, says Rosenthal. Committing to next year's celebration, the two ministers sign a declaration underlining their aim to enhance relations in 2012 and beyond.

Rosenthal, of the Dutch Liberal Party (VVD), also explains the Dutch coalition government between the Liberal and Christian Democrat CDA parties. Although the coalition partners

¹⁶ Hendriks as guest in current affairs programme Nieuwsuur; website of Nieuwsuur, ‘Egypt reacts with strong violence’ (in Dutch, at: <http://nieuwsuur.nl/video/214712-egypte-reageert-met-keihard-geweld.html>)

¹⁷ Website of *Volkskrant*, ‘Islamists often loose’ (in Dutch), at http://opinie.volkskrant.nl/artikel/show/id/7860/Islamisten_verliezen_vaak

¹⁸ Website of *Volkskrant*, ‘Arab spring’ (in Dutch), at <http://opinie.volkskrant.nl/artikel/show/id/7807/Arabische%20Lente%20%282%29//>

¹⁹ Website of *Elsevier*, ‘Mubarak Louis XVI of Egypt’ (in Dutch), at <http://www.elsevier.nl/web/Opinie/Afshin-Ellian/289203/Mubarak-de-Lodewijk-XVI-van-Egypte.htm>

hold a minority in parliament (31 and 21 seats respectively, out of a total 150), they can count on the support of the Freedom Party (PVV) of Geert Wilders (24 seats). Policy agreements are outlined in two crucial documents: in the agreement between the VVD and CDA; and in the so-called 'gedoogakkoord', an agreement between the CDA, VVD and PVV. In the latter, the three parties reach an understanding on certain issues, and agree to disagree on others, notably on the role of Islam.

“We have a fundamental difference of opinion [...] The Freedom Party considers Islam as a political ideology and we consider Islam as a religion.”²⁰

Davutoglu dismisses the importance of the Party for Freedom's (PVV) stance on Turkey, saying, “Our partner is the Dutch government, other parties are irrelevant.”²¹

NRC Handelsblad reports on a survey showing that 16 per cent of total respondents and 28 per cent of PVV voters actually believe Geert Wilders is a minister in the coalition government.²²

16 February 2011- Turkey as a model (2)

The Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael publishes a policy brief on the turmoil in the Arab world.²³ The hitherto overlooked potential of popular opposition has “widened the horizon of what was deemed politically possible in the Arab world.” The paper outlines the conditions and mechanism of transition processes in the context of the recent events in the Arab world. The authors stress that Islamic groups are only part of a diverse opposition movement led by young, progressive activists. Turkey's position in the region is addressed in the concluding remarks:

”The role of Turkey within this framework is interesting: the country – displeased with the EU accession process – has expanded its free trade agreements (with Syria, for example), and has liberated visa regulations for citizens of Syria, Qatar, Jordan, and Libya. Turkey is an important regional player that will unquestionably play an important role in the potential changes in the Middle East, possibly to the detriment of the EU.”

15 February 2011- Court ruling on visa regulations

In a case against the Dutch state, the district court in Haarlem rules that Turkish citizens seeking to establish themselves as self-employed workers do not require a visa to do so.²⁴ The court refers to a 1970 protocol to the 1963 Association Treaty between the then European Community and Turkey, which stipulated that the parties could not further restrict existing national laws on free labour and settlement. The protocol had entered into force in the

²⁰ Website of English-language Turkish liberal daily *Hurriyet Daily News*, ‘Turkish FM hits back at Dutch party's claims’, at <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=davutoglu-refuses-to-answer-8216irrelevant8217-question-2011-02-02>. Rosenthal's comments on the coalition weren't picked up by Dutch media.

²¹ Website of free right of centre newspaper *De Pers*, ‘Wilders is irrelevant’ (in Dutch), at <http://www.depers.nl/binnenland/542506/Wilders-is-niet-relevant.html>

²² Website of *NRC Handelsblad*, ‘One in four PVV voters thinks Wilders is minister’ (in Dutch), at <http://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2011/02/02/een-op-vier-pvv-stemmers-denkt-dat-wilders-minister-is/>

²³ Website of Clingendael, ‘The renewed Arab spring: between revolt and revolution’ (in Dutch), at <http://www.clingendael.nl/cscp/publications/policybriefs/>

²⁴ Website of free daily *De Pers*, ‘No visa obligation for Turkish self-employed’ (in Dutch), at <http://www.depers.nl/.../Geen-visumplicht-Turkse-zelfstandige.htm>

Netherlands in 1973, at a time when no visa requirement was in place. Therefore, the court rules, such a requirement cannot be applied now.

On 17 February, Gerd Leers, Minister of Immigration and Asylum, announces he will appeal the ruling. Earlier, on 28 January, the Christian Democrat (CDA) Leers and his colleague Maxime Verhagen, the Deputy Prime Minister (CDA) wrote a letter responding to a Parliament debate held in March 2009. The debate in question had centred on a similar case – concerning German visa regulations – at the European Court of Justice (*Soysal vs. Germany*²⁵) and prompted an investigation into the legal situation of Turkish nationals providing services in the Netherlands. In their letter, Leers and Verhagen argue that visa obligations were in fact applicable in 1973, referring to two previous (1953 and 1957) treaties that involved the possibility of a visa obligation.²⁶ Until re-examination by the Council of State the issue is unresolved and visa requirements remain in place.²⁷

Notwithstanding the appeal, daily newspaper *Trouw* (centre-left) reports that the ruling has been received very favourably in Turkey. “On Turkish TV channels people are being called upon to travel without a visa.”²⁸ Liberal daily *NRC Handelsblad* challenges the depiction of an atmosphere of euphoria. “It’s not as if an open call was made,” writes the paper’s Istanbul correspondent Bram Vermeulen. “The Turks didn’t go wild over it. It was mentioned on television.”²⁹

17 February 2011- “Multicultural society has failed”

Christian Democrat leader Maxime Verhagen says that multicultural society has failed.³⁰ Verhagen, Minister of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation and Deputy Prime Minister, makes the statement in a television interview, echoing earlier comments by David Cameron (UK), Nicholas Sarkozy (France) and Angela Merkel (Germany).³¹ “The Netherlands are too diluted,” Verhagen says, citing America as an example of a country whose citizens are proud to be Americans.

“In the Netherlands, that sense of pride [...] is lacking among the ‘native’ Dutch, and

²⁵ Website of European Court of Justice, ‘Case C-228/06’, at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2009:090:0002:0002:EN:PDF>

²⁶ Website of daily newspaper *NRC Handelsblad*, ‘No visa obligation for Turks travelling to the Netherlands’ (in Dutch), at: <http://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2011/02/17/geen-visumplicht-voor-turken-die-naar-nederland-reizen/>. For a legal analysis of their argument: website of independent expert weblog Publiek, Recht en Politiek (Public, Law and Politics), ‘Visa obligation for Turkish self-employed and article 94 Constitution’ (in Dutch), at: <http://www.publiekrechtenpolitiek.nl/visumplicht-voor-turkse-zelfstandigen-en-artikel-94-grondwet/>. For the formal letter of Ministers Leers and Verhagen: website of governmental information portal Overheid.nl, ‘No. 63 Letter of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Immigration and Asylum’ (in Dutch), at: <https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/kst-30573-63.html>

²⁷ Announcement on website of Dutch Consulate-General in Istanbul (in Dutch), at: http://www.nl.org.tr/visa/Zie_ook/visumplicht_Turkse_onderdanen

²⁸ Website of daily *Trouw*, ‘Turk can travel visa-free as per now’ (in Dutch), at: <http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/4324/Nieuws/article/detail/1838388/2011/02/17/Turk-kan-per-direct-zonder-visum-op-pad.dhtml>

²⁹ See *NRC Handelsblad* above at footnote 4.

³⁰ Website of weekly centre-right magazine *Elsevier*, ‘Maxime Verhagen: multicultural society failed’ (in Dutch), at: <http://www.elsevier.nl/web/Nieuws/Politiek/289371/Maxime-Verhagen-Multiculturele-samenleving-is-mislukt.htm?rss=true>

³¹ Website of TV programme *Collegetour*, at: <http://collegetour.ntr.nl/page/detailreacties/aflevering/17702/Maxime%20Verhagen>

pride in one's Dutchness is lacking among immigrants and their children [allochtonen].”

The statement receives little press coverage in the mainstream media.

17 February – 16 March 2011- Debate on Turkish youth continues

Following the publication of a manifesto on the allegedly worrying situation of Turkish youth in the Netherlands (10 January, *Volkskrant*), a wider debate unfolds among Turkish Dutch and a number of public events are held.³² Biweekly magazine for the public administration sector *Binnenlands Bestuur* reports extensively on a debate in The Hague Central Library on 3 February.³³ A mixed picture emerges. All Turkish Dutch are aware of the issues (psychological problems, social pressure, discrimination), but different generations deal with them differently. While first generation Turks are worried, young Turks are defiantly optimistic about their future. As 23-year old Makbule Orman says, “That letter by a couple of first generation Turks does not represent us, we know well how ambitious and successful we are.”

Marnix Norder, a local magistrate, cites both the widening ethnic segregation in the neighbourhoods and the inward-looking tendency of Turkish communities (and ensuing language deficiencies) as causes for concern.

“In many families only Turkish is spoken, and only Turkish television watched. With their own shops and associations, the Turks form a separate group within The Hague society, which I find an unhealthy situation.”

Baukje Prins, a lecturer on citizenship and diversity at Haagse Hogeschool (a local vocational training institute), takes a different view:

“Living in a close-knit community provides safety. As long as that community does not take a hostile position vis-à-vis the dominant society, there's no harm in it. The stronger the sense of self-respect and pride of a migrant community, the larger the interest in the outside world.”

Binnenlands Bestuur describes a group of students who are quick to clarify their identity:

“They are not Dutch, they declare immediately without have been asked; they are not real Turks either, but Turkish Dutch.”

Students Tugba Eren and Funda Ileri (both 25) explain the pressure they and their peers experience:

“The political climate demands assimilation, but Turks find that difficult to accept. People force you to make a choice, like football: are you for Turkey or the Netherlands? It's like choosing whom I love more, my father or my mother.”

³² In The Hague (3 February), Amsterdam (17 February; a report on the event can be accessed at the website of Social Cultural Planning Bureau SCP, in Dutch: http://www.scp.nl/Organisatie/Nieuws/Turkse_jongeren_in_Nederland_Feiten_en_oplossingen) and Nijmegen (15 March). See also previous chronology.

³³ Website of bi-weekly magazine *Binnenlands Bestuur*, ‘Between two worlds’ (in Dutch), at

In a separate section, the article quotes facts and figures from recent studies on education, crime and labour participation among Turks. According to these, the unemployment rate for the 20-25 age group is 29 per cent, as compared to 11 per cent among young Dutch. More than half of the roughly 4,000 Turks emigrating from the Netherlands in 2009 were between the age of 20 and 45 – 1 per cent of the country's entire 20-45 age group.

21 February 2011- Dutch real estate companies active in Turkey

Marc Guillet, Turkey correspondent of daily financial newspaper *Het Financieele Dagblad*, reports on the rapidly expanding real estate market in Turkey – and on Dutch companies profiting from Turkey's economic growth, rising middle class, and young population.³⁴

“[Dutch] real estate investment funds such as Multi Vastgoed, Corio, Wereldhave, VastNed and Redevco are active in Turkey for exactly those reasons. Corio first made an investment in 2005 when it bought 47 per cent of shares of Akmerkez, one of the most popular shopping malls in Istanbul. Redevco had a head start in 2007 with six projects. Malls and office building projects in Istanbul, Ankara, Edirne, Manisa and Erzurum involved a total investment of €1 billion. The Gordion Shopping Centre in a prime neighbourhood in Ankara was one of two new malls opened by Redevco in 2009.”

³⁴ Website of Turkey correspondent Marc Guillet, ‘Turkish commercial real estate market remains attractive for many’ (in Dutch), at: <http://www.turkijecorrespondent.nl/?p=1884>

March

2 March 2011- Provincial elections

Provincial elections are held in the Netherlands. The provincial representatives (a total of 566 after the 2011 elections, with maximum of 55 members per each of twelve provinces) choose the 75 members of the Senate from their midst. The elections are widely regarded as a litmus test for the minority coalition government of the Christian Democrat and Liberal (CDA and VVD) and its key ally, the Freedom Party (PVV). The campaigns revolve around national issues such as budget cuts, social and integration policies.

The PVV comes out as the obvious winner and fourth-largest party, gaining 12.4 per cent of the vote.³⁵ The CDA – plagued by leadership issues and in-party discontent about cooperation with the PVV – is the big loser, going from 25 in 2007 to 14.2 per cent. (Still, the party fares slightly better than in the June 2010 national elections when it won 13.6³⁶ per cent of the vote.)³⁷ The Labour Party (PvdA) comes second with 17.9 per cent, while the VVD emerges as the largest party, with 19.6 per cent.

PVV leader Geert Wilders reacts triumphantly:

“The party of Henk and Ingrid [symbolic average Dutch citizens] has secured its place. [...] We will give [the province of] Limburg back to the Limburgers, Friesland to the Frisians and the Netherlands to the Dutch.”³⁸

On 3 March, Prime Minister Mark Rutte (VVD) echoes Wilders’ words in his victory speech. “We will make sure to give this wonderful country back to the Dutch,” he says.³⁹

Nationally however, the elections result in a tie between coalition and opposition. Provincial delegates vote for the Senate on 23 May; whether the government will command a majority of 38 seats remains uncertain until then.

3 March 2011- Turkey as a model (3)

Liberal-left weekly magazine *De Groene Amsterdammer* features an essay by Istanbul-based journalist Erdal Balci on Turkey as a role model for the Arab world.⁴⁰ Balci puts Turkey’s appeal as a model down to its decades-long experiment with democracy, especially under the current AKP regime and its leader Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

³⁵ For elections results: website of *National Broadcasting Service NOS*, at: <http://nos.nl/dossier/210939-nederland-kiest/tab/128/live/#uitslagen>; website of *NRC Handelsblad*, interactive map of results per municipality, at: <http://www.nrc.nl/provinciale-statenverkiezingen-2011/>

³⁷ Website of *Elsevier*, ‘Results Provincial States: the real picture’ (in Dutch), at:

<http://www.elsevier.nl/web/Nieuws/Politiek/290858/Uitslag-Provinciale-Staten-Hoe-het-echt-zit.htm>

³⁸ Website of *Volkskrant*, ‘Wilders euphorical’ (in Dutch), at: <http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/5066/VK-dossier-Statenverkiezingen/article/detail/1854674/2011/03/03/Wilders-euforisch-PVV-nu-echt-niet-meer-weg-te-denken.dhtml>

³⁹ Website of *Trouw*, ‘Rutte has to bow for verbal slip’ (in Dutch), at:

<http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/4492/Nederland/article/detail/1858745/2011/03/11/Rutte-moet-door-het-stof-voor-verbale-uitglijder.dhtml>

⁴⁰ Website of *De Groene Amsterdammer*, ‘Democracy laboratory Turkey’ (in Dutch), at: <http://groene.nl/2011/9/democratielaboratorium-turkije> (upon log-in or payment)

“Turkey’s ruler is a man who has openly declared war on coup plotters, who has put an end to the lucrative alliance between the army and a select few Istanbul industrialists; who has opened up the market for businessmen from all cities, thereby increasing economic growth, and who has broken the very ideologically motivated judicial system.”

In spite of these recent developments, Turkey’s democracy is far from perfect, says Balci. Yet even with the looming risk of Erdogan reverting to the radical Islamism of his youth, he writes, “one can cautiously conclude that the Turkish laboratory has resulted in a unique reconciliation of democracy and Islam.”

After the elections on 12 June, the top item on Turkey’s political agenda will be a new constitution, he notes.

“Whether the constitution will turn Turkey into a Sweden or an Iran, time will tell. But it will be the first constitution not drawn up by the military. If Erdogan and his cabinet come up with a righteous constitution [...] Turkey will really be a model country for the other Islamic countries. Just as Turkey has transformed itself in 60 years’ time by imitating Europe, every Muslim country can transform itself into a democracy by looking at Turkey.”

9 March 2011- European Parliament Progress Report adopted

The European Parliament (EP) adopts its annual report on Turkey’s progress, prepared by Dutch deputy Ria Oomen-Ruijten (CDA) and based on the 2010 Progress Report submitted by the European Commission. In a press release, Oomen-Ruijten highlights the deterioration of media freedoms in Turkey.

“Freedom of press is crucial for the proper functioning of the system of checks and balances. [...] Furthermore, I call on the Turkish Government to revitalise efforts in the framework of the democratic opening to comprehensively address the Kurdish issue.”

Oomen-Ruijten welcomes Turkey’s active role in the Middle East and calls upon Catherine Ashton, EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, to step-up coordination with Turkey in this field.⁴¹

15 March 2011- Freedom of religion debated

In an interview with the free daily *De Pers*, Jeanine Hennis, an MP for the liberal VVD, calls for a debate on the separation of religion and state.⁴² Hennis, a former EU parliamentarian, suggests that religious symbols such as the headscarf be banned from town halls, universities and schools, taking Turkey as an example.

“Sometimes, when I look at how things were arranged in Turkey up until recently, I

⁴¹ Website of Ria Oomen-Ruijten, ‘Press Release. Turkey: European Parliament criticises progress in reforms’, at: <http://eppgroup.eu/press/showpr.asp?prcontroldoctypeid=1&prcontrolid=10159&prcontentid=17219&prcontentg=en>

⁴² Website of *De Pers*, ‘Don’t be hysterical’ (in Dutch), at: <http://www.depers.nl/binnenland/551962/Doe-niet-zo-hysterisch.html>

think: what on earth are we talking about? Our history of confessional segregation leads to these peculiar debates, in which the Christian parties have a distinct role, we cannot deny that.”

A debate on the separation of church and state has been placed on the parliamentary agenda, although the date of such a debate has not yet been specified.⁴³

20-25 March 2011- Boost in trade cooperation with Turkey

The Dutch State Secretary for Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation Henk Bleker (CDA) heads a trade mission to Turkey, accompanied by representatives of twenty Dutch companies. During an official seminar at the Dutch Embassy in Ankara, Bleker underlines the historic importance of 400 years of trade between the two countries, which will be commemorated with an official celebration next year. “Today, we demand a boost in this cooperation,” he says. “The year 2012 will be the top year for cooperation between the two countries.”⁴⁴

The State Secretary also meets with the chairman of the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB) Rifat Hisarciklioglu. Bleker and Hisarciklioglu express their commitment to strengthening bilateral economic ties. Bleker also announces that the Dutch Prime Minister, Mark Rutte (Liberal Party), will pay an official visit to Turkey in May 2012.⁴⁵

24 March 2011- Muslims as an important voter group

In an open letter published in the daily centre-leftist paper *Volkskrant*, a group of Muslim CDA (Christian Democrat) local administrators from different municipalities warn their party leadership about the risk of losing Muslim votes.⁴⁶ The position of Muslims within and outside of the party has deteriorated, the authors claim.

“If we continue on the current party course, more and more Muslims will turn their back on the CDA in the large cities, where many Muslims and immigrants live, where [the party] hardly has a base and does nothing to improve this. Moreover, it appears that youngsters with a Muslim and immigrant background are turning away from the party.”

The letter is an appeal to the new party leader, to be elected on 2 April.

In a separate article, political journalist Ron Meerhof analyses the CDA’s loss of the Muslim vote. From the 1990s onwards, the CDA attracted a large number of Muslim voters with a

⁴³ Website of *Trouw*, ‘Hennis (VVD) will have her headscarf debate’ (in Dutch), at: <http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/4492/Nederland/article/detail/1860135/2011/03/15/Hennis-VVD-krijgt-haar-hoofddoekjesdebat.dhtml>

⁴⁴ Website of *Turkish Daily News*, ‘Netherlands offers Turkey cooperation in stock breeding’, at: <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=netherlands-offers-turkey-cooperation-in-stock-breeding-2011-03-22>

⁴⁵ Website of Central Government, ‘Turkey and Netherlands will celebrate 400 years of diplomatic relations’ (in Dutch), at: <http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/nieuws/2011/03/21/turkije-en-nederland-gaan-400-jaar-diplomatieke-betrekkingen-vieren.html>

⁴⁶ Website of daily *Volkskrant*, ‘Allochtonous CDA members warn for exodus of Muslims’ (in Dutch), at: <http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2844/Archief/archief/article/detail/1864454/2011/03/24/Allochtone-CDA-ers-waarschuwen-voor-uittocht-moslims.dhtml>

multicultural faith-based approach. However, following the events of 9/11 and a series of disappointing election results, the party has redirected its gaze toward its traditional Christian electorate (which is based outside the large cities where most Muslims reside), says Meerhof. The letter also echoes the disappointment with which many Muslim CDA members greeted the party's alliance with Geert Wilders' anti-Islamic Party for Freedom (PVV).

30 March 2011- On the relation of state and religion

In an op-ed in *Volkskrant*, historian and prominent conservative thinker Bart Jan Spruyt argues that a parliamentary debate on the relationship between state and church – recently put on the agenda by Jeanine Hennis (Liberals) and Tofik Dibi (GreenLeft) – can hardly be disentangled from the discussion about Islam.

“Since the advent of Islam it is impossible, it appears, to be in favour unequivocally of the freedom of religion, education, association, and ritual slaughtering.”

Hennis had earlier proposed to abolish the freedom of religion (article 6 of the Constitution), as that right is already guaranteed by the constitutional freedom of association and of opinion. Spruyt disapproves:

“But if all these articles really do coalesce materially, why go through the trouble of abolishing article 6? Apparently, something else is the matter. When you abolish article 6, you may come to think of religion as just another opinion. Which is it not.”

April

1 April 2011- Muslim solidarity - or rather apathy?

In a polemical op-ed in daily centre-leftist *Volkskrant*, former *NRC Handelsblad* journalist and Labour Party member Ahmet Olgun criticises Dutch Muslims' lack of solidarity with the Arab spring.⁴⁷ Considering European or Dutch Muslims' vocal solidarity with Muslims in Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan, Olgun openly wonders whether it matters who suppresses whom.

“It appears as if Dutch Muslims do not mind oppression, as long as the oppressors are Muslims, too. [...] And the oppressed Muslims are now assisted by the hated West. The image of western saviours does not fit the simple worldview of many diaspora Muslims. Yes, these are confusing times for Dutch Muslims.”

Olgun proceeds to suggest that Dutch Muslims have instrumentalised the precarious situation of Muslims in Iraq, Palestine, and Afghanistan for “their own struggle in their new homelands.” In Olgun's analysis, the position of Libyan and Egyptian Muslims does not offer the same opportunity.

“Has the freedom of their fellow, oppressed believers never been the real concern of Dutch Muslims? Their silence during the last weeks seems to indicate precisely that.”

1 April 2011- Mohammed as key to understanding Islam

Weekly centre-rightist magazine *HP/De Tijd* publishes an article by Geert Wilders, leader of the Party for Freedom (PVV), entitled “We need to unveil Mohammed”. The piece opens with the following:

“Those who want to know why Islam is dangerous should not only look at the Koran, but also at the character of Mohammed, who has shaped the Koran and the whole of Islam.”

Wilders argues that by taking the prophet Mohammed as their example, Muslims follow in the footsteps of a murderer and child molester. “This has terrible consequences every day,” he writes. Wilders quotes an 8th century historian and 20th century psychological research to support his argument that Mohammed was essentially a psychopath.

“A public discussion about the true nature and character of Mohammed may bring insight and help Muslims worldwide leave Islam.”

2 April 2011- Start of weekly program “In Turkey”

The first episode of *In Turkey* airs on public broadcasting channel *VPRO*.⁴⁸ The weekly series (7 parts) is presented by journalist Bram Vermeulen, Turkey correspondent for daily

⁴⁷ Website of daily *Volkskrant*, ‘Polder Muslims remain silent over Arab Spring’ (in Dutch), at: http://opinie.volkskrant.nl/artikel/show/id/8193/Poldermoslim_zwijgt_over_Arabische_lente

liberal paper *NRC Handelsblad* and Dutch public broadcaster NOS. In each 50 minutes episode, Vermeulen traces a particular aspect of Turkey's rapidly changing society: the cult of Atatürk, the Kurdish and Armenian issues, the booming economy and the Turks' love of television, for instance. Every broadcasting is preceded by a feature article of Vermeulen in the weekend edition of *NRC Handelsblad*.⁴⁹ With an average viewer total of 500,000, the programme is very well received.

8 and 9 April 2011- Egemen Bagis' visit to the Netherlands

Turkish Minister of EU Affairs and chief EU negotiator Egemen Bagis pays an official visit to the Netherlands. On Friday 8 April Bagis meets with a delegation of the Dutch Senate to speak about the state of Turkey's EU negotiations and its relationship with the Netherlands, with an eye to next year's celebration of 400 years of diplomatic relations.⁵⁰ Bagis also meets with the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, Uri Rosenthal (Liberal Party), and the State Secretary of European Affairs and International Cooperation, Ben Knapen (Christian Democrat Party).⁵¹ The Dutch ministers stress the need for Turkey to fulfil the EU accession criteria, while expressing their support for Bagis' wish to open the negotiation chapter on competition.

In an interview with public broadcasting programme *Nieuwsuur*, aired on Friday evening, Bagis speaks about Turkey's reform process and its position in the Arab region.⁵² Asked about Europe's uneasiness with Turkey's Muslim identity, Bagis responds:

“Turkey was Muslim throughout the 52-year history of this relationship. [...] One needs to respond and say, good morning! Turkey did not convert to Islam recently. But the fact that Turkey is Muslim is an advantage for Europe because 10 per cent of the European population will be Muslim within a decade. Look at what's happening in Egypt, in Libya. People are demonstrating because they want to be like Turkey. [...] On the one hand, we want to support their demands for reform, and on the other we create obstacles for their source of inspiration [Turkey]. That's hypocrisy.”

On Friday evening, Bagis hosts a reception at the Amsterdam Krasnapolsky Hotel. On Saturday morning, the Minister speaks at a German Marshall Fund workshop on “EU, Turkey, and the Neighbourhood”.⁵³

13-29 April 2011- Attempts to ban ritual slaughtering

A draft law to ban ritual slaughter put forward by the Party for Animals (two MPs) is debated in parliament.⁵⁴ A majority (Party for Freedom, Socialist Party, Labour Party, social liberal

⁵⁰ Website of Europa-Nu, an online portal about EU-related news, ‘Minister for European Affairs of Turkey Egemen Bagis visits Senate’ (in Dutch), at: http://www.europa-nu.nl/id/vioc7wedx7rh/nieuws/minister_voor_europese_zaken_van_turkije?ctx=vh9hce2h6wda

⁵¹ Website of Europa-Nu, ‘Turkish EU negotiator visits The Hague’, at: http://www.europa-nu.nl/id/vioc7y13sixi/nieuws/turkse_eu_hoofdonderhandelaar_bezoekt?ctx=vh9hce2h6wda

⁵² The interview in English can be accessed at the website of Nieuwsuur, ‘The power of Turkey’, at: <http://nieuwsuur.nl/onderwerp/231505-de-macht-van-turkije.html>.

⁵³ Website of German Marshall Fund, ‘News briefs on "EU, Turkey and the Neighborhood"’, at: http://www.gmfus.org/news_analysis/view_gmf_news?newsarticle.id=1938

⁵⁴ Press statement and access to draft law at website of Party for Animals, ‘First term for draft law ban on

D66, Liberal Party and GreenLeft) is in favour of a ban, citing the suffering of animals that are not sedated before being put to death. According to many proponents, this supersedes the freedom of religion and thus the right of Muslims and Jews to follow religious regulations.⁵⁵

The Jewish community in the Netherlands is appalled. On the eve of the parliamentary debate, a European delegation of rabbis is flown in to call upon Dutch lawmakers not to adopt the proposal.⁵⁶ In an op-ed in *Volkskrant*, publicist Asher Ben Avraham points to the underlying hypocrisy of such a ban, considering the abysmal treatment of animals in the ‘regular’ meat industry and the public’s lack of interest and concern.⁵⁷

“This saddens me. And we do not soften these bitter circumstances with a ban on unsedated slaughter – even less so if we discuss such a measure in terms of a possible violation of the freedom of religion. It offers no way out. Politics should be about more than symbolism.”

Muslim organisations do not issue any statements. In daily *Trouw*, spokespersons of mosque syndicates express disappointment about not having been consulted by any of the parties.⁵⁸ The draft law leads to a heated debate on freedom of religion versus animal welfare within the Labour Party (PvdA), which has a large constituency among Dutch Muslims. Local meetings are held to discuss the party’s backing for the ban. On 29 April, the largest right-wing daily newspaper *Telegraaf* reports:

“According to youth imam Yassin Elforkani, the parliamentary faction of the PvdA should have consulted Muslims before speaking out in favour of a ban on ritual slaughtering, because Muslims are an important part of its constituency. [Elforkani] made these remarks during a debate about the pending ban on unsedated ritual slaughtering, in the Ar-Rahman mosque in Hoofddorp, attended by some 150 Muslims. ‘The biggest surprise is that the PvdA, much appreciated by us all, is in favour,’ said Elforkani. ‘It just cannot be that the PvdA, which draws many votes among Muslims and other minorities, supports such a draft law without consulting its constituency.’”⁵⁹

The Christian parties suggest consulting religious organisations about the issue before reaching a decision.

21 April 2011- Rabobank considers applying for banking license Turkey

Rabobank, one of the major Dutch banks that emerged from the financial crisis relatively unscathed, wants to expand its activities in Turkey, reports Reuters. In an interview with the

unsedated slaughter concluded’ (in Dutch), at: <http://www.partijvoordedieren.nl/recent/news/i/5602>

⁵⁵ Website of *Volkskrant*, ‘Majority Parliament in favour of ban unsedated ritual slaughter’ (in Dutch), at: <http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2664/Nieuws/article/detail/1871941/2011/04/07/Meerderheid-Tweede-Kamer-voor-verbod-onverdoofd-ritueel-slachten.dhtml>

⁵⁶ Website of *Volkskrant*, ‘Rabbis appalled by ban ritual slaughter’ (in Dutch), at: <http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2824/Politiek/article/detail/1874328/2011/04/13/Rabbi-s-ontzet-over-verbod-rituele-slacht.dhtml>

⁵⁷ Website of daily *Volkskrant*, ‘A ban on unsedated slaughter amounts to excuse politics’ (in Dutch), at: http://opinie.volkskrant.nl/artikel/show/id/8285/Een_verbod_op_onverdoofd_slachten_als_excuuspolitiek

⁵⁸ Website of daily *Trouw*, ‘Muslim organisations distressed about ban’ (in Dutch), at: <http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/5091/Religie/article/detail/1874808/2011/04/13/Moslimorganisaties-sombereren-over-verbod.dhtml>

⁵⁹ Website of right-wing *Telegraaf*, ‘Clash within PvdA on slaughtering ban’ (in Dutch), at: http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/9663421/Clash_in_PvdA_om_slachtverbod_.html

agency, CFO Bert Bruggink says Rabobank may seek licencing in Turkey, because of the large potential for financing the agriculture and food sector.⁶⁰

“[Rabobank] tried to buy a Turkish bank several years ago, but the deal fell through, Bruggink said, adding ‘we have no banking license ... we are looking at applying.’”

Rabobank’s competitor ING has been operating in Turkey since 2007 when it acquired the Turkish Oyak Bank.

26 April 2011- ‘European aid to Turkey should be reduced’

State secretary for European and Development Affairs Ben Knapen (CDA) says Turkey should be allocated fewer funds out of EU development aid resources.⁶¹ Knapen puts forward his argument in a letter to Parliament about the aid policies of the European Commission. Turkey is part of the G20 and simultaneously the largest recipient of EU development aid, he points out. Following the line of argument expressed in a recent report (‘EU external aid: who is it for?’) published by Open Europe, a British think tank, Knapen also asserts that it is time to reassess external aid to countries such as India, China and Brazil.⁶²

⁶⁰ Interview reappeared at website of Forexpros, ‘Rabobank eyes Turkey, looking at bank license’, at: <http://www.forexpros.com/news/forex-news/interview-rabobank-eyes-turkey.-looking-at-bank-license-210563>

⁶¹ Website of *Telegraaf*, ‘Knapen: European aid to Turkey to decrease’ (in Dutch), at: http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/9630714/___Minder_EU-geld_naar_Turkije_.html?sn=binnenland,buitenland

⁶² Website of Open Europe, ‘EU external aid: who is it for?’ (London, April 2011), at: <http://www.openeurope.org.uk/research/EUaid2011.pdf>