

# Communicating Europe Manual: The Netherlands

*Information and contacts on the Dutch debate  
on the EU and enlargement to the Western Balkans*

Supported by the  
Strategic Programme Fund  
of the UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office



Foreign &  
Commonwealth  
Office

23 November 2009

## **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 and the Western Balkans.

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 has also been 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. This text is the sole responsibility of ESI.

ESI, Amsterdam, November 2009.

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**KEY FACTS**

<b>Population:</b>	16.5 million.				
<b>Area:</b>	41,864 sq km. (4,000 km of which is covered by water).				
<b>Population density:</b>	480 people per square kilometre, one of densest in world.				
<b>Major Cities/size:</b>	<p><b>Amsterdam</b>, the capital - 730,000 inhabitants.  <b>Rotterdam</b>, largest port in EU - 600,000  <b>Den Haag/The Hague</b>, the administrative capital - 450,000.</p> <p>The <b>Randstad conurbation</b> includes the three major cities and also Leiden and several smaller towns. It has a total population of 10 million.</p>				
<b>GNP per capita:</b>	GDP per head: \$40,779 (purchasing parity – EIU figures).				
<b>Official name:</b>	<b>The Kingdom of the Netherlands</b> . It includes Aruba and the other islands of the Dutch Antilles in the Caribbean.				
<b>Head of State:</b>	<b>Queen Beatrix</b> .				
<b>Current Government:</b>	<b>Christian Democrat (CDA), Labour (PvdA) and Christian Union (CU)</b> . They have a total of 80 seats out of 150.				
<b>Prime Minister:</b>	<b>Jan Peter Balkenende</b> (Christian Democrat - CDA).				
<b>Key Ministers on EU policy:</b>	<table> <tr> <td><b>Maxime Verhagen</b></td> <td>Foreign Minister (CDA).</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>Frans Timmermans</b></td> <td>Europe State Secretary (PvdA).</td> </tr> </table>	<b>Maxime Verhagen</b>	Foreign Minister (CDA).	<b>Frans Timmermans</b>	Europe State Secretary (PvdA).
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<b>Frans Timmermans</b>	Europe State Secretary (PvdA).				
<b>National legislature:</b>	<p>The <b>States General</b> has a bicameral system:  <b>The Senate</b>, the first chamber (<b>Eerste Kamer</b>), monitors legislation. The 75 members are indirectly elected.  <b>The House of Representatives</b>, the second chamber (<b>Tweede Kamer</b>), is the key legislative body. The 150 members are directly elected.</p>				
<b>Key Parliamentarians on EU:</b>	<p><b>Harm-Evert Waalkens</b> (PvdA) Chairman of the Committee on European Affairs in the Tweede Kamer.  <b>Henk Ormel</b> (CDA) Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the Tweede Kamer.</p>				
<b>Next national election:</b>	Nationwide local elections are due in spring 2010. A General Election to the Tweede Kamer is due by May 2011.				

## THE DUTCH POLITICAL PARTIES

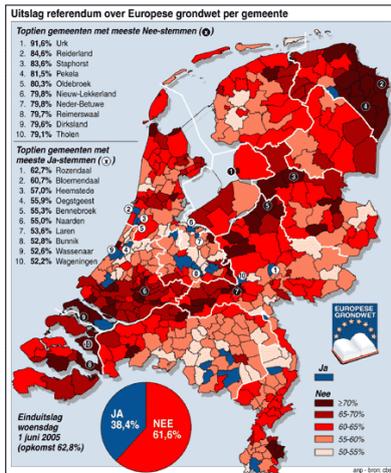
*"Dutch politics used to be so reliably dull."*  
The Economist magazine, 2002.

<i>Parties:</i>	<i>Party Leader</i>	<i>November 2006 Vote</i>	<i>Tweede Kamer seats</i>	<i>Eerste Kamer seats</i>
<i>Per cent</i>				
<i>Government parties:</i>				
<i>CDA (Christian Democrats)</i>	<b>Jan Peter Balkenende</b>	26.51	41	21
<i>Labour (PvdA)</i>	<b>Wouter Bos</b>	21.19	33	14
<i>Christian (SU)</i>	<b>André Rouvoet</b>	3.97	6	4
<i>Total Seats</i>			80	39
<i>Opposition parties:</i>				
<i>Socialists</i>	<b>Agnes Kant</b>	16.58	25	12
<i>Liberals (VVD)</i>	<b>Mark Rutte</b>	14.67	22	14
<i>Party of Freedom (PVV)</i>	<b>Geert Wilders</b>	5.89	9	
<i>Green-Left (Groenlinks) Party</i>	<b>Fernke Halsema</b>	4.60	7	4
<i>D66</i>	<b>Alexander Pechtold</b>	1.96	3	2
<i>PvD (Party for Animals)</i>	<b>Marianne Thienne</b>	1.83	2	1
<i>SGP Reformed Party</i>	<b>Bas van der Vlies</b>	1.56	2	2
<i>Independent Senate Group</i>				1
<i>Yildirim Group</i>				1
<i>Total number of deputies</i>		Excludes spoilt votes & parties not elected	150	75

## A basic Dutch political vocabulary

Allochtoon	Used widely to describe a first or second generation immigrant. Officially 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. (FT 31.10.09)
Beleid	An agreed policy position reached through overleg.
Bikkelhard	In politics it means sticking to a fixed position.
Binnenhof	The seat of the Parliament, the States General and Prime Minister's office (literally the 'inner court'). It is also the name of a Sunday TV show.
Colofon	Lists of key staff and contacts e.g. in media.
<i>de neuzen weer in dezelfde richting</i>	<i>All the noses are pointing in the same direction.</i>
Or:	Said by a chairperson when a consensus is finally reached.
<i>de klokken zijn gelijk gezet</i>	<i>All the clocks have been synchronised</i> – alternative phrase
Grachten Gordel	The three principal canals - Herengracht, Keizersgracht and Prinsengracht in Amsterdam. Homes of the elite.
Klankbord groep	Sounding group – linked to an advisory group/consultation group.
Maatschappelijk draagvlak	Support for a given policy – among decision-makers and the public.
Nieuwspoort	The club next to the parliament where media and politicians mingle off the record. The convention is: " <i>what happens in Nieuwspoort stays in Nieuwspoort.</i> "
Overleg	A process of giving all those involved in a decision the opportunity to exchange information. It is pronounced: "over-leh".
Stroperig	The process of agreement - from <i>stroop</i> , the syrup poured over pancakes.
Verzuiling	Divided society – Dutch "pillars" – Dutch society was divided into Protestant, Catholic and Liberal/Social Democratic. Now largely obsolete but vestiges remain, for example, in the structure of public TV.

## 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 has been developing since the mid 1990’s. At that time, Gerrit Zalm, the country’s longest serving Finance Minister, highlighted the fact that the Netherlands was 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.” ([http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/documents/no\\_28\\_epern-ep09\\_-netherlands.pdf](http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/documents/no_28_epern-ep09_-netherlands.pdf))

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 Eurobarometer surveys. Opposition to enlargement was mentioned by 6% 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. ([http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi\\_turkey\\_dutch\\_survey\\_paper.pdf](http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_turkey_dutch_survey_paper.pdf)).

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 stabilization on the Balkans but need to also care about stabilization 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 have written. 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.”

*Nederlanders en Europa. Het referendum over de Europese grondwet.* (Pages 85-6). Art Kees and Henk van der Kolk (2005).



Charlotte Wennekers of the Government Information Service led research on the Dutch public opinion in EU matters and presented the results in February 2009. She said focus group results revealed economic and psychological factors and a general fear of another EU enlargement. The research also showed how low general knowledge and interest in European matters is in the Netherlands/

<http://www.hum.leiden.edu/history/eu-studies/news/charlotte-wennekers-addresses-the-last-european-seminar.html>)

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.

## Eurobarometer

According to the Eurobarometer survey on the Future of Europe in 2006 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. 61 per cent thought it would improve the EU's influence in the world. *Eurobarometer 02-03/06 The Future of Europe April 2006* [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/futur\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/futur_en.htm)

<b>DUTCH ATTITUDES TO FURTHER ENLARGEMENT:</b>								
<b>EB69 Spring 2008</b>	<b>Albania</b>	<b>BiH</b>	<b>Croatia</b>	<b>Kosovo</b>	<b>Macedonia</b>	<b>Montenegro</b>	<b>Serbia</b>	<b>Turkey</b>
<b>Pro</b>	39	49	60	44	53	48	44	40
<b>Anti</b>	53	45	34	47	38	42	50	55
<b>Don't know</b>	8	6	6	9	9	10	6	5

*Eurobarometer 69* [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/archives/eb/eb69/eb69\\_part3\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb69/eb69_part3_en.pdf)

Dutch experts warn that their domestic surveys give lower pro enlargement results than 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 2006 Netherlands in Europa survey: views on the accession of:*

	<b>In favour</b>	<b>Against</b>
Croatia	35 per cent	51 per cent
Macedonia	27 per cent	55 per cent
Bosnia-Herzegovina	25 per cent	59 per cent
Serbia and Montenegro	23 per cent	62 per cent
Albania	20 per cent	64 per cent
Turkey	22 per cent	68 per cent

The same survey found that:

1. ***The Dutch attach great importance to strict application of the admission criteria.*** There is overwhelming support for strict application of the admission criteria. 75 per cent of the respondents think that “new countries should be admitted only if they meet all the criteria”.
2. ***Almost half favour extra criteria.*** 44 per cent think 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) reject 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) agree with the proposition that “the EU is big enough; only West European countries like Norway and Switzerland should still be admitted”. 39 per cent reject this proposition.

<http://www.minbuza.nl/dsresource?objectid=buzabeheer:33433&type=pdf>

#### **THE DUTCH POSITION ON ENLARGEMENT: 19 June 2009 version**

“The EU must respect the commitments it has made, including to third countries regarding their prospects for accession.”

1. The EU should be guided by the principles of consolidation, conditionality and communication, which the Commission highlighted in the proposed strategy for EU enlargement.
2. The quality of the enlargement process, not timetables or dates, should occupy centre stage. The Netherlands will advocate adoption of safeguard measures or a postponement clause if necessary to guarantee the quality of the accession process.
3. Strict application of the Copenhagen criteria is in the interests of both the EU and the acceding countries.
4. The EU’s absorption capacity will also play an important role.
5. Decision-making on enlargement must be clearly identified as such and communicated. This will take place in the Netherlands as part of the planned interactive communication strategy for Europe... Public support is very important to further enlargement.
6. The Netherlands supports the broad lines of the system proposed by the Commission for the countries of the Western Balkans, under which it is possible to offer a country with prospects for accession the status of candidate country without opening accession negotiations.

Based in part on the experience of the fifth enlargement, however, the following elements should be added to the new system:

1. The EU should only consider applications for membership from the Western Balkans if the country concerned, after signing the Stabilisation and Association Agreement, implements it well. That is, the country must have dealt with the EU’s short-term priorities as formulated in the Accession Partnership with that country. This will prevent any of the countries concerned

from applying for membership too soon.

2. The option of calling a candidate country to account for failing to meet the political criteria must be kept open throughout the process of accession negotiations.
3. In future negotiations, the Commission should open difficult chapters early in the process, to avoid having to reach decisions on these important matters under time pressure. The Commission should take account of the conclusions of the December 2004 European Council, which stipulated that in such cases the opening and closure of each chapter, should be tied to specific benchmarks.

<http://www.minbuza.nl/dsresource?objectid=buzabeheer:33430&type=pdf>

*An official letter to Parliament document in November 2009 giving the Government's response to the European Commission's enlargement package is due to be posted (in Dutch) on the Dutch Foreign Ministry's website. It forms the basis of the Dutch position for the EU Foreign Ministers' meeting (GAERC) on 7-8 December 2009.*

[http://www.minbuza.nl/nl/Actueel/Kamerstukken/2009/10/Kamerbrief\\_inzake](http://www.minbuza.nl/nl/Actueel/Kamerstukken/2009/10/Kamerbrief_inzake)

## THE NETHERLANDS AND THE WESTERN BALKANS

As well as its involvement through the EU, The Netherlands' engagement in the Western Balkan countries comprises its diplomatic missions, trade and development aid also channelled through SNV 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 TO THE WESTERN BALKANS:

Source: Netherlands Foreign Ministry, 1 October 2009:

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

**Albania:** The development programme in Albania, which deals with the environment, good governance and gender, is largely dominated by the EU accession process. The annual allocation is €5 million. As Albania is now a low middle-income country with the prospect of EU membership, we began phasing out the bilateral development programme in 2008. This process will be complete by the end of 2010. Parallel to this, the focus of bilateral policy is being broadened, with an emphasis on political dialogue, human rights and cooperation on economic, cultural and justice matters.

**Bosnia-Herzegovina:** The allocation for 2008 was €17.8 million. At least €5 million is being spent annually on Srebrenica-related projects. This support will continue even after the bilateral development relationship has been phased out (a process that is scheduled to be complete in 2011).

**Kosovo:** Kosovo will remain a partner country after 2011. The current allocation is €4 million per annum through 2011, supplemented by €1.5 million for 2009-2010 from reconstruction funds and €1.5 million per annum (for individual projects) from the Stability Fund. The emphasis is on private sector development, the environment, internal security and civil society. We anticipate deepening cooperation in northern Kosovo, in the areas of stability and socioeconomic development.

**Macedonia:** Macedonia became a partner country in the mid-1990s. As it is now a low middle-income country with the prospect of EU membership, we began phasing out the bilateral development programme in 2007. This process will be complete by the end of 2010. As it now stands, the programme focuses on promoting macroeconomic and political stability, furthering socioeconomic development and supporting the pre-accession process. It is doing so by supporting the institutional development of the public sector (especially public finances), the growth of the private sector, the education system and democratic processes. The 2009 budget is €12.5 million. For 2010 and 2011, €1.8 million and €1.1 million respectively have been set aside for a limited number of programmes (dealing primarily with education and gender).

**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 2010, focus on the rule of law (aiding the 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, ORET, ORIO, 2g@there. These include funds for supporting innovative private joint ventures and promoting investments relevant to development:

- PSI: €1.8 million (Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina, 2009)
- ORET: Albania €24.5 million, Bosnia-Herzegovina €10.3 million (through 2009). Negotiations are in progress with Serbia over a contribution of €4.85 million.
- 2g@there: €580,000 (Serbia, 2008).

### **Non-ODA and semi-ODA programmes**

#### **Human rights fund**

In 2008, approximately €770,000 was spent on human rights projects in Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia.

#### **Stability fund**

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. Today, Matra works to help candidate countries, potential candidate countries and neighbours of the EU attain European standards. Twinning is a significant instrument in this regard, between both NGOs and governments. The total 2009 budget for all countries where Matra is active was €34 million, approximately €10 million of which went to countries in the Western Balkans.

#### **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. In the Western Balkans region, these include Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia. The commitment for 2008 was €1.3 million.

## **DUTCH NON-GOVERNMENT SUPPORT TO THE WESTERN BALKANS**

The Netherlands Development Organisation, SNV, (which was officially separated from the Foreign Ministry in 2002) has 11 offices in 5 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 to 2015. It disbursed 7 million euros on capacity-building in 2008.



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<http://www.snvworld.org/en/regions/balkan/Pages/default.aspx>

### **Press Now**

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1217 AM Hilversum

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[info@pressnow.nl](mailto:info@pressnow.nl)

<http://www.pressnow.nl/default.asp>

Press Now runs the 1.6 million euro European Integration Fund in Serbia, an EU financed project to stimulate the development of quality programmes and projects that will improve the knowledge on and intensify debates on European Integration process. In Kosovo, the Independent News Centre, a



network of local radio stations, is working with support from Press Now. Albanian and Serbian stations are involved.

### **Press Now Serbia:**

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I floor

11000 Belgrade

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### **Press Now Kosovo:**

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



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<http://www.gradbeograd.eu/index.php?lang=en>

**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 of “*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](http://www.asoulforeurope.eu)

### **de Balie Debate and Cultural Centre**

Kleine-Gartmanplantsoen 10  
1017 RR Amsterdam

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



The de Balie debate and cultural centre in Amsterdam has also been active in SE Europe. Since 2008 it has launched the “*Subjective Atlas of Serbia - Subjektivni atlas Srbije*” with Dom Omladine Belgrade and the Dutch designer Annelies de Vet. De Balie is also presenting *Domino Kosovo*, about regions around the world that might follow Kosovo in becoming independence.

**Ellen Walraven**, Artistic and General Director

Tel: + 31 20 55 35 151

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### **IKV Pax Christi**

Dutch Interchurch Peace Council (IKV) and Pax Christi Netherlands (They merged in 2007).

[www.ikvpaxchristi.nl](http://www.ikvpaxchristi.nl)

3501 DH Utrecht

Tel: +31 30 233 33 46

[info@ikvpaxchristi.nl](mailto:info@ikvpaxchristi.nl)

Senior Policy Adviser: **Dion van den Berg**

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IKV Pax Christi, the largest peace movement organisation in the Netherlands, has been involved in the region since the late 1980's. During the Yugoslav wars, IKV and Pax Christi were involved in political campaigning. They are well-known for their work 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 was part of long-running work of IKV-Pax Christi to facilitate dialogue between Srebrenica survivors

and DutchBat soldiers. IKV-Pax Christi co-organises the 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 the Albanian 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.

## Trade and Business

### SPARK

Linnaeusstraat 35 F  
1093 EE Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 5682088

E-mail: [spark@spark-online.org](mailto:spark@spark-online.org)

[www.spark-online.org](http://www.spark-online.org)

Director: **Yannick du Pont**

Co-Director: **Michel Richter**

SPARK builds the capacity of local economic and educational institutions. It has a budget of 2.5 m euros and a staff of 40 with field offices in Belgrade, Mitrovica, Pristina and Skopje and SPARK-supported start-up centres in Bar, Bitola, Kragujevac, Pristina and Zenica. SPARK is currently also involved in establishing a private international vocational college in Mitrovica.

### Dutch Chamber of Commerce - Western Balkans Offices

There are Dutch Chamber of Commerce offices ([www.kvk.nl](http://www.kvk.nl)) in Albania [www.kvkal.org](http://www.kvkal.org) , Kosovo [www.kvks.org](http://www.kvks.org) , Macedonia [www.kvkmk.org](http://www.kvkmk.org), and in Montenegro, to support bilateral business relations, to increase competitiveness for its members and to promote the business 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 ( 1,000 euros)		Dutch Exports to WB states ( 1,000 euros)	
	2007	2008	2007	2008
<b>Albania</b>	27,120	18,304	30,051	35,906
<b>Bosnia-Herzegovina</b>	21,683	27,940	84,681	102,050
<b>Kosovo</b>	1,862	1,807	8052	16,736
<b>Croatia</b>	66,987	74,447	474,669	529,648
<b>Macedonia</b>	48,105	48,987	84,154	98,733
<b>Montenegro</b>	1,569	9,654	23,817	31,663

<b>Serbia</b>	80,668	103,677	307,794	367,270
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### Migration from the Balkans

There were 55,000 people who were first or second generation immigrants from the countries of former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands in 2004.

*Former Yugoslavs by country of origin, 1 January 2004*

<b>Country of origin</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> generation (1,000)</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> generation (1,000)</b>	<b>Total (1,000)</b>	<b>(%)</b>
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
<b>Total</b>	<b>54.5</b>	<b>21.0</b>	<b>75.5</b>	<b>100</b>

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 seventies to work in the shipbuilding, cleaning, metal, textile, food, drink and tobacco industries. Yugoslav women were recruited in the fish processing, leather processing and cigarette industry. Refugees tend to settle in places near their first assigned accommodation in the Netherlands, usually a reception centre for asylum seekers. These locations are more evenly 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 have higher education levels on average and have integrated better in socio-cultural respect than the group who arrived earlier. [Source: *Voormalig Joegoslaven in Nederland*. T Hessels *Bevolkingstrends* 53(1), 2005.]

### 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 upheavals in Afghanistan and Iraq and the war in Kosovo. After 2000, requests declined.

## 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 influential role in the Dutch policy-making. This gives it an important influence on Dutch policy on the EU accession of the Western Balkan states.

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 on the principle of “strict but fair.”

This has intensified 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 a long engagement in the Western Balkans. It is a major trading partner, it has large assistance programmes in the region planned to last up to 2011. Senior Dutch diplomats such as EUSR Pieter Feith are heavily engaged 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.

Currently, the Netherlands is well-known for standing out among the EU-27 in its firm stand on ICTY compliance for Serbia and Croatia and strict conditionality for all candidates. This position has cross-party support.

The Dutch debate on EU enlargement is rather different to the debate in other major EU member states. Analysis by ESI over the past five 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. 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, has put it. To engage seriously with the Dutch means engaging on their terms and understanding their unique form of consensus-building.

A recent meeting of a group of MPs from the Western Balkans with their Dutch counterparts was described as “rather sad” by a senior official who was present. The meeting had got stuck in the usual tramlines. To engage effectively with the Dutch requires an understanding of the Dutch method of deliberation.

Deliberative democracy is fundamental to political life in the Netherlands. 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” - as Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende prefers to call it.

A strong form of proportional representation in elections ensures a multiplicity of political voices. No party has held an absolute majority. Government is always through coalition, and the Prime Minister cannot overrule his ministers.

This gives rise to a political process which Dutch political scientists describe as ‘*stroperig*’, from *stroop*, the syrup poured over Dutch pancakes. 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,” as Han van der Horst describes 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.” (From *The political branch of the polder model* by Mark Kranenburg NRC Handelsblad, 1 July 1999, <http://www.nrc.nl/W2/Lab/Profiel/Netherlands/politics.html>)

The Dutch people, who have traditionally tended to talk through their problems in a peaceful and rational way and seek consensus rather than conflict – a lengthy process trait which sometimes leads outsiders to describe Dutch politics as ‘dull’.

The ‘polder model’ involves close consultation between trade unions, government and the private sector. 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 1994-1998 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 around the world. However, economic growth, which had reached around 4 per cent during the 1990s, came to a virtual standstill by late 2002. The Netherlands faced three years of rising unemployment and low growth. However, 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. But in November 2009 the Government said that the Netherlands was now out of recession; growth of 0.4 per cent was recorded from July to September 2009. (Source: Statistics Netherlands <http://www.cbs.nl/en-GB/menu/themas/dossiers/conjunctuur/publicaties/artikelen/archief/2009/2009-071-pb.htm>).

### 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.

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. (Source: Forum Institute for Multicultural Development Factbook March 2009.)

Turks and Moroccans came to the Netherlands in the 1960's and 1970's as guest workers. They subsequently started their own families or brought on relatives or marriage partners. Suriname is a former Dutch colony which became independent in 1975. The Dutch Antilles and Aruba 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% of the Dutch population. This group consists mainly of young newcomers in their twenties”. <http://www.forum.nl/international/pdf/Poles-in-the-Netherlands-June09.pdf> While Poles 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, studies 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.)

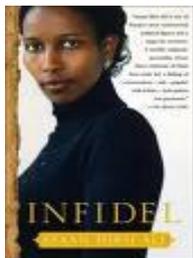
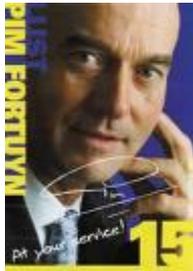
“Slowly, almost without anybody noticing, old working class Dutch neighbourhoods lost their white population and were transformed into “dish cities” linked to Morocco, Turkey and the Middle East by satellite television and the internet.”

(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. But 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) had also given a lecture, “The Multicultural Fantasy,” in 1999. All three were 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 percent 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, then 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* (Pim Fortuyn List) 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 Zoontjesfabriek (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 criticized 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.

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://www.groepwilders.com/website/details.aspx?ID=44>

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.

## THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

### THE MONARCHY

[www.koninklijkhuis.nl](http://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 political powers. 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, designate, 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, also known as the House of Representatives or the Second Chamber..

More information on the Dutch Parliament is available at:

[www.parliament.nl](http://www.parliament.nl)

<http://www.eerstekamer.nl>

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



There is an excellent guide in English, and an academic survey, available for downloading:

*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 Holz hacker**, 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.

## 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](mailto: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 (Also known as **EuZa** – **EAC** in English)

The European Affairs Committee 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. “To tell you the truth, I do not know where it was more difficult: in the Dutch Parliament or in the Council of Ministers,” Maxime Verhagen told the Brussels Correspondent of Dnevnik, Novi Sad, on 15 June 2009. Verhagen added:

“It is increasingly hard to find the right balance, but I remain firmly by my position. That is: without Ratko Mladić in The Hague, there is no full cooperation; and without full cooperation there is no implementation of the Transitional Agreement and ratification of the Stabilization and Association Agreement.”

There was a change of tone on Serbia in mid November 2009. At a meeting of the Europe Affairs Committee on 11 November, the three specialist MPs on Europe for the three coalition partners agreed to “give Maxime Verhagen room” to adjust his position regarding Serbia, under condition that they be consulted first.

Maxime Verhagen had said during the meeting: “A progress is notable... It’s still not the maximum but there is some progress.” Regarding the report to the UN from ICTY Chief Prosecutor, Serge Brammertz, which was due to be formally published on 3 December 2009, Maxime Verhagen said: “If Brammertz’s evaluation says that Belgrade authorities are doing everything they can to locate, arrest and extradite the accused fugitives Ratko Mladić and Goran Hadžić, the Netherlands would not oppose Serbia’s further approach to EU, first of all regarding the trade relations but also lifting of the visa regime.” He added: “We are strict, but we treat everyone the same.” He also said that Serbia should not apply for EU candidacy yet. (Source: Beta Tanjug news agencies, and NRC Handelsblad, 12 November 2009).



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Committee Clerk: **Joop Nijssen** -  
Committee-assistant: **M. Tili-van der Zalm** -  
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Deputy Chair: **Harry van Bommel**, Socialist Party Spokesman on Europe.  
Tel: + 31 70 318 22 11  
E-mail: [HvBommel@sp.nl](mailto:HvBommel@sp.nl)

Recent 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:



**Luuk Blom**, Labour Spokesman on Europe.  
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E-mail: [L.Blom@tweedekamer.nl](mailto:L.Blom@tweedekamer.nl)

**Alexander van Steenderen** is the party adviser. Tel:+ 31 70 3183 817.

**Luuk Blom** said, while in Belgrade on 29 November 2008, that the Dutch position blocking the next phase for Serbia joining the EU is not because the Dutch are against Serbia or Serbs, but because rules are rules. In the case of Romania and Bulgaria the rules were too easily loosened so that the two countries could join the EU and there has been serious backlash because of this decision among the Dutch population aimed at enlargement of the EU.



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Tel: + 31 70 318 22 11

E-mail [m.peters@tweedekamer.nl](mailto:m.peters@tweedekamer.nl)

She is known as an advocate of European integration. She has worked as human rights-lawyer at the OSCE-mission in BiH and later as a Dutch diplomat in Kabul.



**Raymond de Roon**, PVV Europe Spokesman

Tel: + 31 70 318 5309 (PVV faction secretary).

E-mail: [r.deroon@tweedekamer.nl](mailto: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](mailto: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

E-mail [hantenbroeke@tweedekamer.nl](mailto:hantenbroeke@tweedekamer.nl)

[www.hantenbroeke.nl](http://www.hantenbroeke.nl)

On January 22, 2008 he said “I don't agree with the attitude and actions that some European countries are undertaking to be soft on Serbia, by contemplating negotiations, signing stability accords or relieve visa-restrictions that we don't even grant to a candidate member-state like Macedonia, that coincidentally is already complying on border-control standards unlike Serbia”. The VVD has also asked detailed questions of the Government's position on Albania's candidacy in October 2009.

The list of Europe Affairs Committee members is available at:

[http://www.houseofrepresentatives.nl/members\\_of\\_parliament/committees/EU/index.jsp#0](http://www.houseofrepresentatives.nl/members_of_parliament/committees/EU/index.jsp#0)

### THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS (BUZA - FAC)



Chairman: **Henk Ormel** (CDA)  
 Clerk: **R. van der Kolk-Timmermans**  
 Deputy Clerk: **T. van Toor**  
 Tel: +31 70 - 318 20 20 / 2028  
 E-mail: [h.ormel@tweedekamer.nl](mailto:h.ormel@tweedekamer.nl)  
 E-mail: [cje.buza@tweedekamer.nl](mailto:cje.buza@tweedekamer.nl)  
[www.henkjanormel.nl](http://www.henkjanormel.nl)

**Henk Ormel** is an influential figure in CDA circles. Henk Ormel has said: "the Dutch parliament is insisting on the arrest of Mladić, not because we have something against Serbia, but because we believe that rules must be respected, and one of these rules is full cooperation with the Hague Tribunal" (30 October 2009 - after meeting with Serb deputies).



**Alexander Pechtold**, (Leader of the D66 party) - Deputy Chairman  
 E-mail: [a.pechtold@tweedekamer.nl](mailto:a.pechtold@tweedekamer.nl)

**Robbert Smet** is D66 adviser. Tel: + 31 70 318 2640.

Email: [r.smet@tweedekamer.nl](mailto:r.smet@tweedekamer.nl)

Both the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the FAC are members of the European Affairs Committee. 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](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. 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/>



The President of the Senate is **René van der Linden** (CDA). 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: [voorzitter@eerstekamer.nl](mailto:voorzitter@eerstekamer.nl)

## EUROPEAN COOPERATION COMMITTEE (ESO)

The European Cooperation Committee deals with the preparation of written proposals on European co-operation, 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](mailto:t.strik@jur.ru.nl)  
[http://www.tinekestrik.nl/index\\_moved.php](http://www.tinekestrik.nl/index_moved.php)



Deputy Chair: **Ankie Broekers-Knol**, (VVD)

Tel: + 31 23 525 10 52, + 31 71 527 76 27  
E-mail: [abroekers@planet.nl](mailto:abroekers@planet.nl), [a.broekers@law.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:a.broekers@law.leidenuniv.nl)

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



Chairman: **G.J. (Fred) de Graaf** (VVD).  
Tel: + 31 55 576 39 76, + 31 55 580 13 00.  
E-mail: [g.j.degraaf@eerstekamer.nl](mailto:g.j.degraaf@eerstekamer.nl)



Deputy Chairman: **Hans Franken** (CDA)  
Tel: + 31 71– 580 47 64  
E-mail: [h.franken@eerstekamer.nl](mailto:h.franken@eerstekamer.nl)

## 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 2006 election, the third largest party is the Socialist Party (SP), with the VVD now in fourth place. The Freedom Party, PVV, is now making waves, as it did well in the recent European Parliament elections.

## THE RULING PARTIES



Christen Democratisch Appèl (CDA) - Christian Democratic Appeal

MPs : 41

<http://www.cda.nl>

Buitenom 18

2500 GL DEN HAAG

Tel: + 31 70 342 48 88

E-mail: [leden@cda.nl](mailto: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.



**Jan Peter Balkenende** became CDA party leader in September 2001. He won the 2002 elections, a week after the assassination of Pim Fortuyn, and he has been prime minister ever since. He is now leading his fourth successive coalition government. He originally comes from the so-called "Bible Belt - De Bijbelgordel" in the north of the Netherlands where many of the country's conservative Protestants live. He is sometimes dubbed "Harry Potter" by the press. On enlargement he had said on November 5 2009:

"International security and stability begin at our own borders. The situation in some border regions is still cause for concern. Bosnia-Herzegovina is an example. The prospect of EU membership for the Western Balkan countries offers a powerful incentive for regional stability. And as with the eastern European countries, the conditions for accession are clear. Clear and non-negotiable."

The CDA is a member of the European People's Party. It won 5 seats in the June 2009 EP elections.



The Deputy CDA leader, **Lianne Dekker**, is in charge of CDA's international relations, including the party's Foreign Affairs Committee.



Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA) - Labour Party

MPs: 33

<http://www.pvda.nl>

Herengracht 54

1015 BN Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 5512160

International Secretary: **Marije Laffeber** E-mail: [mlaffeber@pvda.nl](mailto:mlaffeber@pvda.nl)

The Labour Party is a social-democratic party. Despite its name it has no formal links to the trade unions. Its foreign policy outline stated in 2006: “the PvdA supports the extension of European integration and favours enlarging the EU to the South and to the East.”

([http://www.pvda.nl/over\\_de\\_pvda/over+de+pvda/Internationaal+en+Europa/Nieuws/Foreign+policy+of+the+PvdA.html](http://www.pvda.nl/over_de_pvda/over+de+pvda/Internationaal+en+Europa/Nieuws/Foreign+policy+of+the+PvdA.html))



**Wouter Bos** has led the PvdA since 2002. In December 2005, Wouter Bos published a book explaining his continued, in-principle support for EU enlargement: "Europe is becoming larger. As long as the criteria are being strictly applied, this is a good thing. It forces countries to transform into democracies and constitutional states. It opens up markets for our economy." He was appointed as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance in February 2007. The Dutch parliamentary press chose him as the politician of 2008, largely due to his crisis management of the financial crisis that involved the nationalisation of the Fortis Bank.

The current coalition includes six PvdA ministers and six state secretaries, including the Minister for International Development **Bert Koenders**, and the State Secretary for European Affairs, **Frans Timmermans**. However, the party's support has been in decline; it lost nine seats in the 2006 national elections and much to the party's shock, it only won 3 seats in the EP June 2009 elections down on the seven seats it had before.

#### **ChristenUnie (CU) – Christian Union**

MPs : 6

<http://www.christenunie.nl>

Puntenburgerlaan 91,

3812 CC Amersfoort

Tel + 31 33 4226969

E-mail: [international@christenunie.nl](mailto: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.



**André Rouvoet**, the CU's leader, was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Youth and Family Affairs in February 2007.

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 part of Europe.

## OPPOSITION PARTIES

### **SP** Socialistische Partij (SP) – Socialist Party

MPs : 25.

<http://www.sp.nl>

Vijverhofstraat 65

3032 SC Rotterdam

Tel: +31 10 243 55 55

E-mail: [sp@sp.nl](mailto: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.



**Agnes Kant** has been leader of the SP since 2008. It was the most critical on EU integration (apart from the PVV) campaigning on the slogan; “*the Netherlands wants less Brussels.*” It sees an advantage in European co-operation on the environment, security, immigration and the economic crisis.



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

MPs : 21

<http://www.vvd.nl>

VVD International Office

Laan Copes van Cattenburch 52

P.O. Box 30836

2500 GV The Hague

Tel: +31 70 361 3005

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** 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. 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”.

**Willem van Haersma Buma** is International Programme Officer and the contact person for all Western Balkan states: Tel: +31 70 361 30 07.  
E-mail: [w.vanhaersmabuma@vvd.nl](mailto:w.vanhaersmabuma@vvd.nl))



### Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV) - Party for Freedom

MPs :9

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

Postkamer

Binnenhof 4

2513 AA Den Haag

Tel: + 31 70 3182211

E-mail: [g.wilders@tweedekamer.nl](mailto: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 nine seats in the 2006 election, making it the fifth largest party. 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). The PVV's electoral success was a major shock to the established parties. VVD's electoral prospects are the talk of the moment; both in the local elections in 2010, when it has deliberately chosen to target a small number of municipalities, and in the national election in 2011. Some analysts say that the party's success stems from Geert Wilders acute political antenna, but risks being a “one man party” - something the VVD denies.

The PVV differs from the established centre-right parties with its stance on the integration of immigrants, especially Muslim. Geert Wilders has been famously outspoken on immigration, 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.

He 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."

**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 Rosemoeller, 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 since 2002, has given the party a more radical profile, but has so far failed to reverse its waning popularity. (The Economist).

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: 3

<http://www.d66.nl>

Laan van Meerdervoort 50

2517 AM Den Haag

Tel: + 31 70 35 66 066

[info@d66.nl](mailto:info@d66.nl)

Democrats 66 (Politieke Partij Democraten 66) is a centre 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

<http://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 publicises 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.



**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

<http://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.



**Bastiaan Johannes "Bas" van der Vlies** has led the SGP since 1986. He is currently the most "senior" member / parliamentary leader.



### **Trots op Nederland (TON) - Proud of the Netherlands**

MPs :1

<http://www.trotsopnederland.com/>

Tel: + 31 70 3182211

[r.verdonk@tweedekamer.nl](mailto:r.verdonk@tweedekamer.nl)



**Rita Verdonk** established TON in 2008. Often dubbed the “Iron Lady,” Rita Verdonk was considered as the most powerful and influential Minister of the first two Balkenende Cabinets. But she was expelled from her VVD party parliamentary group in 2007. Polls initially indicated Rita Verdonk’s new party would a new political force, but her party’s popularity has shrunk. It did won some seats in local by-elections in November 2009.

## DUTCH POLICY-MAKING

### THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE



**Jan Peter Balkenende** 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](http://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.



**Richard Zwol**, appointed Secretary General in April 2007, is responsible for the administrative leadership of the Ministry. Apart from heading the Office of the Prime Minister, he is also the Intelligence and Security Coordinator.

Government Information Service (RVD - Rijksvoorlichtingsdiens).  
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)

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

### MINISTERS



The Hague: The Binnenhof (centre of picture) the home of Ministry of General Affairs. The Government meets there every Friday in the Trèves Room, the cabinet meeting room. (picture - right).



Prime Minister and Minister of General Affairs  
**Jan Peter Balkenende** (CDA)



Minister of Agriculture  
Nature and Food Quality  
**Gerritje (Gerda) Verburg**  
(CDA)



Minister of Defence  
**Eimert van Middelkoop** (CU)



Minister of Economic  
Affairs  
**Maria van der Hoeven**  
(CDA)



Minister of Education, Culture  
and Science  
**Ronald Plasterk** (PvdA)



Minister of Finance  
**Wouter Bos** (PvdA)



Minister of Foreign  
Affairs  
**Maxime Verhagen**  
(CDA)



Minister of Health, Welfare  
and Sport  
**Abraham (Ab) Klink** (CDA)



Minister of the Environment  
and Spatial Planning  
**Jacqueline Cramer** (PvdA)



Minister of Housing  
Communities and Integration  
**Eberhard van der Laan**  
(PvdA)



Minister of the Interior  
and Kingdom Relations  
**Guusje ter Horst** (PvdA)



Minister of Justice  
**Ernst Hirsch Ballin** (CDA)



Minister of Social Affairs  
and Employment  
**Piet Hein Donner**  
(CDA)



Minister of Transport, Public  
Works and Water Management  
**Camiel Eurlings** (CDA)

## STATE SECRETARIES



**Jack de Vries**  
Defence (CDA)



**Jan Kees de Jager**  
Fiscal Affairs (CDA)



**Ank Bijleveld**  
Home Affairs (CDA)



**Marja van Bijsterveldt**  
Education, Culture and Science  
(CDA)



**Jet Bussemaker**  
Health, Welfare and Sport  
(PvdA)



**Frans Timmermans**  
European Affairs  
(PvdA)



**Frank Heemskerk**  
Foreign Trade (PvdA)



**Nebahat Albayrak**  
Immigration (PvdA)



**Jetta Klijnsma**  
Social Affairs (PvdA)



**Sharon Dijksma**  
Education (PvdA)



**Tineke Huizinga**  
Transport and Water Management (CU)

## **EUROPEAN POLICY-MAKING - THE FOREIGN MINISTRY (MFA)**

[www.minbuza.nl](http://www.minbuza.nl)

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

Bezuidenhoutseweg 67, The Hague

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 Development Cooperation and the State Secretary for European affairs.



Foreign Minister: **Maxime Verhagen**. He was the CDA Chief Whip before becoming Minister. He has also been Vice-Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee. He is described in the Dutch press as an accomplished public communicator. He is the first “tweeter” in the Cabinet. For his tweets translated via Google translate: <http://twitter.com/maximeVerhagen>



**Development Cooperation Minister: Bert Koenders**. A political scientist by background he has taken a lead in examining the effectiveness of Dutch development policy and the role of politics and democracy in aid policies.



**European Affairs State Secretary Frans Timmermans** is a career diplomat. He is the only State Secretary with the automatic right to attend Cabinet meetings. He has held a variety of posts within the MFA, working for former EU Commissioner Hans van den Broek, and as advisor and private secretary to Max van der Stoep, the former OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities. He was elected as PvdA MP to the House of Representatives in 1998. Frans Timmermans' blog:

<http://www.europahoortbijnederland.nl/weblog/uitslag/#more-1919>



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. E-mail [dges@minbuza.nl](mailto:dges@minbuza.nl) **Ian de Jong** 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](mailto:dgpz@minbuza.nl) **Pieter de Gooijer** 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. E-mail [dgis@minbuza.nl](mailto:dgis@minbuza.nl) . **Ms 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](mailto:dzo@minbuza.nl)

The current policy, *The Regional Approach for the Western Balkans* for 2004-2008 ([http://www.nlembassy.org.yu/downloads/regional\\_policy.pdf](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: **Tom de Bruin**  
 Avenue Herrmann-Debroux 48  
 B-1160 Bruxelles  
 Tel: +322 679 1511  
 Tel: + 322 679 1502  
[www.eu-nederland.be](http://www.eu-nederland.be)

**Joost Flamand** is Counsellor with responsibility for enlargement of the European Union, and accession negotiations.

Tel: (32-2) 679 1607

E-mail: [bre-uitbr@minbuza.nl](mailto:bre-uitbr@minbuza.nl)

**Sladjana Pantelić** is Second Secretary (Enlargement).

Tel: + 322 679 1538

E-mail: [bre-uitbr@minbuza.nl](mailto:bre-uitbr@minbuza.nl)

## THE KEY ECONOMIC ACTORS IN THE POLDER MODEL

### Social and Economic Council - SER

<http://www.ser.nl/en.aspx> (English)

Bezuidenhoutseweg 60

2594 AW The Hague

Tel: +31 70 349 94 99



#### SER Director: **Alexander Rinnoy Kan**

He tops the Elite 2009 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](http://www.stvda.nl)

Bezuidenhoutseweg 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](mailto: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 (VDO-NCW)

[www.vno-ncw.nl](http://www.vno-ncw.nl)

Bezuidenhoutseweg 12,

2594 AV Den Haag

[www.esiweb.org](http://www.esiweb.org)

Tel: + 31 70 349 03 49

E-mail: [informatie@vno-ncw.nl](mailto:informatie@vno-ncw.nl)

Secretary General: **Bernard Wientjes** (No. 4 in Elite 2009)

E-mail: [wientjes@vno-ncw.nl](mailto:wientjes@vno-ncw.nl)

Tel: +31 70 349 03 77

Secretary for International Affairs: **Winand Quaedvlieg**

E-mail: [quaedvlieg@vno-ncw.nl](mailto: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](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](http://www.mkb.nl)

Brassersplein 1

2600 GB Delft

Tel: +31 15 219 12 12

E-mail: [beleid@mkb.nl](mailto:beleid@mkb.nl)

Chairman: **Loek Hermans**. (No. 31 in Elite 2009)

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](http://www.fnv.nl)

Naritaweg 10

1043 BX Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 581 6520

E-mail: [info@vc.fnv.nl](mailto:info@vc.fnv.nl)

Chair: **Agnes Jongerius**. (No 6 in Elite 2009)

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 the Western Balkans is available at: <http://www.fnvprojects.org/english/default.asp>.

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

[www.cnv.nl](http://www.cnv.nl)

Tiberdreef 4

3561 GG Utrecht

Tel: +31 30 751 10 01

Chair: RENÉ PAAS

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](http://www.vakcentralemhp.nl)

Multatulilaan 12

4103 NM Culemborg

Tel: + 31 345 851 900

Chairman: **Richard Steenborg**

E-mail: [r.steenborg@vc-mhp.nl](mailto:r.steenborg@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](mailto:aiv@minbuza.nl)  
[www.aiv-advies.nl](http://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](mailto:a.van.staden@law.leidenuniv.nl)

Sandra Sjoukje Volbeda is the Secretary of the Committee.

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

[www.wrr.nl](http://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 August 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: **Wim van de Donk**. He is the Queen's Commissioner of North Brabant. He has long been associated with the Faculty of Law at Tilburg University.

Tel +31 13 466 2128

E-mail: [W.b.h.j.vddonk@uvt.nl](mailto:W.b.h.j.vddonk@uvt.nl)

### 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 5 in Elite 2009. He is also a Professor of Economy at the University of Amsterdam.

E-mail: [C.N.Teulings@cpb.nl](mailto: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. It has launched a new English language website.



Director: **Paul Schnabel** is one of the country's most prominent sociologists. He is number 8 in the Elite 2009 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". Tel: +31 70 340 7787

## THE DUTCH THINK-TANK SCENE: INFLUENCING FOREIGN POLICY

### The Dutch Institute of International Affairs (Clingendael)

[www.clingendael.nl](http://www.clingendael.nl)

Clingendael 7

2597 VH

The Hague

Tel: +31-70-324 53 84



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.



**Jaap W. de Zwaan** has been Director since September 2005. He is a specialist on the EU: institutional issues, justice and home affairs, and external relations.

Tel: + 31 70 324 53 84

E-mail: [jzwaan@clingendael.nl](mailto:jzwaan@clingendael.nl)

“Reflecting the World: Impressions from a Dutch Perspective” by J.W de Zwaan, 2008.

[http://www.clingendael.nl/publications/2008/20081200\\_dezwaan.pdf](http://www.clingendael.nl/publications/2008/20081200_dezwaan.pdf)



**Mendeltje van Keulen** is a senior fellow of the Clingendael European Studies Programme, responsible for co-ordinating seminars and research projects concerning national EU policies and EU level policy-making for government officials in the Netherlands and abroad. She published *Going Europe or Going Dutch - how the Dutch government shapes European Union Policy*, Amsterdam University Press, 2006.

Tel: + 31 70 324 53 84

E-mail: [mkeulen@clingendael.nl](mailto:mkeulen@clingendael.nl)



**Jan Rood** directs the European Studies programme at Clingendael. He is Professor in International Political Economy and European Integration at the University of Utrecht. He is a member of the Commission on European Integration of the Dutch Government Advisory Council on International Affairs (AIV).

Tel: + 31 70 324 53 84

E-mail: [jrood@clingendael.nl](mailto:jrood@clingendael.nl)



**Hinke Pietersma** focuses on political developments in Central and Eastern Europe including the EU enlargement process. She develops and coordinates courses on European integration for diplomats from Central and Eastern Europe.

Tel: + 31 70 324 53 84

E-mail: [hpietersma@clingendael.nl](mailto:hpietersma@clingendael.nl)



**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. 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-the-academic-year.html>

#### **NIOD (Netherlands Institute for War Documentation)**

[www.niod.nl](http://www.niod.nl)

Herengracht 380

1016 CJ Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 523 38 00

E-mail: [info@niod.nl](mailto: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 on Srebrenica. The report, available at [http://192.87.107.36/en/a\\_index.htm](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](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 also a member of the independent Committee of Inquiry on Iraq established to investigate former Dutch Government's role in supporting the invasion of Iraq from 2002 to 2003.

**TMC Asser Institute**[www.asser.nl](http://www.asser.nl)R.J. Schimmelpennincklaan 20-22,  
2517 JN The Hague.

Tel: +31 70 34 2 03 00

E-mail: [info@asser.nl](mailto:info@asser.nl)

The TMC Asser Institute, named after the Nobel prize-winning Dutch jurist, 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 Kosovo Justice Ministry and other institutions in the justice sector.



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

Tel: +31 70 34203 18

E-mail: [fanelissen@asser.nl](mailto:fanelissen@asser.nl)

The new Inter-faculty Centre for the Law of EU External Relations (CLEER) deals with EU enlargement. It is managed by **Dr. Ramses Wessel**, Professor of EU Law Co-Director of the Centre for European Studies at Twente University.

Tel: +31 53 489 32 60 - E-mail: [r.a.wessel@utwente.nl](mailto:r.a.wessel@utwente.nl)

The Deputy Research Director: **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. 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 03 34 - E-mail: [s.f.blockmans@asser.nl](mailto:s.f.blockmans@asser.nl)**Montesquieu Institute**[www.montesquieu-institute.eu](http://www.montesquieu-institute.eu)

Lange Voorhout 86 - 32

2514 EJ

The Hague

Tel. +31 703 63 01 05 or +31 70 356 02 38

Email [info@montesquieu-instituut.nl](mailto:info@montesquieu-instituut.nl)

The Montesquieu Institute (MI) for the study of comparative European parliamentary history and constitutional development was launched in summer 2007 on the initiative of five Dutch university departments. It focuses on parliamentary history, public law and political parties. One programme is examining Dutch politics over Europe from 1945-2010.

## PARTY FOUNDATIONS (STICHTINGEN)

Wiardi Beckman Foundation

[www.wbs.nl](http://www.wbs.nl)

Emmapark 12,  
2595 ET The Hague.

Tel: +31 70 262 97 20.

The Wiardi Beckman Foundation describes itself as “the independent think tank of the Dutch Labour Party.” It is named after Herman Bernard Wiardi Beckman, a senator who died in Dachau. 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](mailto: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 enlargement. He failed to win a seat in June 2009 EP election.

E-mail: [rcuperus@wbs.nl](mailto:rcuperus@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

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

Alfred Mozer Stichting

Herengracht 54

1000 BH Amsterdam

Tel: + 31 20 551 21 55

E-mail: [ams@pvda.nl](mailto: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. In May 2009 a seminar in Montenegro included sessions on ideology, media and communications skills and EU integration.



**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](mailto:aberkvens@pvda.nl)

### The European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity

European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity

PO BOX 1310

1000 BH Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 551 21 70

E-mail: [info@europeanforum.net](mailto: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 has

[www.esiweb.org](http://www.esiweb.org)

includes Central, Eastern, South Eastern Europe and the Caucasus. It has an active seminar series in Balkan capitals.

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

[www.wi.cda.nl](http://www.wi.cda.nl)

Buitenom 18  
Postbus 30453  
2500 GL Den Haag  
Tel: +31 70 342 4872  
E-mail: [wi@cda.nl](mailto:wi@cda.nl)

WI, the Scientific Institute for the CDA, 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](mailto:gradus.wi@cda.nl)

**Eduardo Frei Foundation**

[www.cda.nl/eff/](http://www.cda.nl/eff/)

Buitenom 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. In 2009 EFF held political summer schools and conferences in the Western Balkans.



Secretary: **Bronne Pot**

Tel: 31 70 342 4888

E-mail: [pot@cda.nl](mailto:pot@cda.nl)

**Stichting Duurzame Solidariteit**

[www.groenlinks.nl/partij/](http://www.groenlinks.nl/partij/)

P.O. Box 8008  
3503 RA Utrecht  
Tel.: +31 30 239 990

It was established by the GroenLinks/GreenLeft for the Greens in the European Parliament. It is a member of the European Network of Political Foundations.



**Anne de Boer** (pictured left) 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](mailto:adeboer@groenlinks.nl)

**Telders Foundation (Teldersstichting)**

Koninginnegracht 55A.

2514 AE Den Haag.

Tel: + 31 70 363 1948.

E-mail: [info@teldersstichting.nl](mailto:info@teldersstichting.nl)



Director: **Dr. Patrick van Schie**

E-mail: [vanschie@teldersstichting.nl](mailto:vanschie@teldersstichting.nl)



The Telders Foundation is the think-tank connected with the VVD. Its President is **Frits Bolkestein**, the former VVD leader, and former European Commissioner. Frits 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)**

E-mail: [idi@d66.nl](mailto:idi@d66.nl)

IDI was established by D66 in 1989 to support democratisation and economic transition in Central and Eastern Europe. It focuses mainly on Eastern Europe, the Balkans, the Middle East and Northern Africa. Its objectives include establishing a liberal network in the Balkan region.

**NON-PARTY CENTRES****Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek (IPP)**

[www.publiek-politiek.nl](http://www.publiek-politiek.nl)

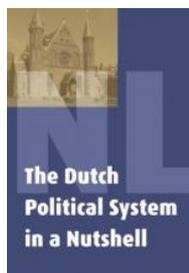
Prinsengracht 911-915

1017 KD Amsterdam

Tel. + 31 20 521 7600

E-mail: [info@publiek-politiek.nl](mailto:info@publiek-politiek.nl).

**The Dutch Centre for Political Participation (IPP)** is an independent, non-partisan organization which 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](http://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**, the Institute for Multicultural Development

[www.forum.nl](http://www.forum.nl)

Kanaalweg 86,  
3533 HG Utrecht  
Tel: +31 30 297 43 21

**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. He is described as the 139<sup>th</sup> most influential person in the country in Elite 2009.



The Head of FORUM International is **Krista Schram**. She is the author of many publications on youth policy, security and inter-ethnic tensions.

Tel: +31 30 297 42 37  
E-mail: [international@forum.nl](mailto:international@forum.nl)

## UNIVERSITIES

The Dutch education system was ranked ninth in the world in the 2008 PISA rankings. (PISA - Programme for International Student Assessment).

**The University of Amsterdam (UvA)** is the top ranking Dutch university

[www.hum.uva.nl](http://www.hum.uva.nl)

Binnengasthuisstraat 9

1012 ZA Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 525 80 80

E-mail: [info@uva.nl](mailto:info@uva.nl)



**André Gerrits** is Senior Lecturer at the Department of European Studies. He is also Chairman of the Alfred Mozer Foundation. A leading scholar of democracy assistance, he is involved in an international research project “*International Intervention, Democracy and Political Parties: The External Dimension of Democratization Processes in the Balkans and the Former Soviet Union.*”

Tel: + 31 20 525 2269/2267

E-mail: [A.W.M.Gerrits@uva.nl](mailto:A.W.M.Gerrits@uva.nl)



**Marlene Spoerri** is currently 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 Master’s thesis is on Serbia: “*From Prosecution to Persecution: Analyzing the Impact of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia on Serbia’s Political Stability,*” in 2005.

E-mail: [M.S.Spoerri@uva.nl](mailto:M.S.Spoerri@uva.nl)



**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](mailto:C.H.deVreese@uva.nl); [www.claesdevreese.com](http://www.claesdevreese.com)

**ASCoR** is the largest research institute of its kind in Europe.

<http://ascor.uva.nl>

Kloveniersburgwal 48

1012 CX Amsterdam



**Andreas Schuck** is a post-doctoral research fellow at ASCoR. He recently published papers on: How positive news framing can mobilize the skeptics; *News coverage and support for European integration, 1990-2006*; and *The Dutch No to the EU Constitution: Assessing the role of EU skepticism and the campaign*.

Tel: + 31 20 525 3283.

E-mail: [A.R.T.Schuck@uva.nl](mailto:A.R.T.Schuck@uva.nl).



**Wouter De Nooy** is Associate Professor in social science modelling. He 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. *Elite 2009* is the current edition of an annual publication.

Tel: +31 205 252 123

E-mail: [W.deNooy@uva.nl](mailto:W.deNooy@uva.nl)

#### Free University of Amsterdam - VU

De Boelelaan 1105

1081 HV Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 598 50 00

[www.vuamsterdam.com](http://www.vuamsterdam.com)



**Ben Crum** is Associate Professor in Political Theory at the Department of Political Science. 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: [bjj.crum@fsw.vu.nl](mailto:bjj.crum@fsw.vu.nl)



**Geert de Vries** argues in his PhD Thesis; "*Putting Europe on the Ballot: Examining the Impact of European Integration on National Electoral Politics*: "To what extent do attitudes towards European integration influence national vote choice – a phenomenon referred to as European Union (EU) issue voting? In recent years, European integration has become increasingly contested. It will only be matter of time before political entrepreneurs politicize the latent discontent with EU policy among public opinion in the expectation to reap electoral gains".

Tel: +31 20 598 6847

E-mail: [gc.de.vries@fsw.vu.nl](mailto:gc.de.vries@fsw.vu.nl)

#### Erasmus University Rotterdam

Erasmus University

Rotterdam PO Box 1738

3000 DR Rotterdam

Tel: +31 10 498 11 11

[www.eur.nl/english](http://www.eur.nl/english)



**Ko Colijn** is Professor of International Relations. He writes editorial comments for the *Vrij Nederland* weekly. In addition he also teaches at Clingendael Institute.

Tel: +31 10 408 2049

E-mail: [kcolijn@clingendael.nl](mailto:kcolijn@clingendael.nl)

#### University of Groningen

PO Box 72

9700 AB Groningen

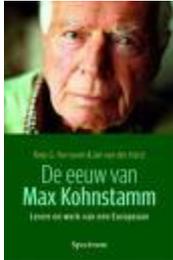
Tel: +31 50 363 9111

E-mail: [communicatie@rug.nl](mailto:communicatie@rug.nl)

[www.rug.nl](http://www.rug.nl)



**Beata Kviatek**, Assistant Professor at the Department of International Relations and International Organizations, is a member of a research project on the post-war debate on European integration within the Dutch parliament and political parties, examining the causes of the rejection of the European Constitution in 2005. Originally from Lithuania she is a specialist on European integration.



**A.G. Harryvan** lectures on European Integration. He is writing a history of the parliamentary political debate on European integration since the Second World War.

Tel: +31 50 363 6033

E-mail: [a.g.harryvan@rug.nl](mailto:a.g.harryvan@rug.nl)



**Sipke de Hoop** teaches the history of Central and East Europe. His expertise is in the South-East Europe. He organized the Balkan Winter School on New Security Challenges in cooperation with the Centre for Security Studies (CESS), Groningen.

Tel: +31 50 363 5985

E-mail: [s.de.hoop@rug.nl](mailto:s.de.hoop@rug.nl)

### University of Leiden

[www.leiden.edu](http://www.leiden.edu)

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



**Rudy Andeweg** is Professor of Empirical Political Science.

Tel: +31 71 527 3901

E-Mail: [andeweg@fsw.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:andeweg@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)

He is the author with Galen A. Irwin of: *Governance and Politics of the Netherlands*, Palgrave Macmillan, Third Edition, 2009



**Galen A Irwin** is Professor of Political Behaviour and Research Methods. His research interests include voting studies and public opinion.

E-Mail: [irwin@fsw.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:irwin@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)

Tel: +31 71 527 3930



**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](mailto:steunenberg@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)

**Radboud University**

[www.ru.nl/english](http://www.ru.nl/english)

P.O. Box 9102

6500 HC Nijmegen

The Netherlands

Tel.: +31 24 361 61 61/60 55



**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 18 11

E-mail: [w.v.meurs@let.ru.nl](mailto:w.v.meurs@let.ru.nl)

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[www.utwente.nl/en](http://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.

Tel: +31 53 489 3251 / 3270

[k.aarts@utwente.nl](mailto: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.

E-mail: [R.L.Holzacker@utwente.nl](mailto:R.L.Holzacker@utwente.nl)

**Utrecht University**

PO Box 80125

3508 TC Utrecht

Tel: +31 30 253 58 54

[www.uu.nl/english](http://www.uu.nl/english)

**Prof. Jan Rood** is Professor in International Political Economy and European Integration at the University of Utrecht and Director of Studies at the Netherlands Institute of International Relations (Clingendael).

## THE DUTCH MEDIA

This section provides an overview of relevant Dutch media, editors and journalists with an interest in the Western Balkans 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 Ooep Stichting).

[www.nos.nl](http://www.nos.nl)

Media Park Hilversum

Sunatrallaan 45

1217 GP Hilversum

Tel: +31 35 677 9222

E-mail: [voorlichting@nos.nl](mailto:voorlichting@nos.nl)



Dutch public TV has three main television channels: NED 1, NED 2 and 3, plus three specialist channels. NOS is the umbrella organisation for the public broadcasting organisations. Its main tasks are to coordinate programmes. NOS provides news and sports programmes. NOS integrated all its news departments under one roof and entered the multimedia world on January 2006. NOS is located at “Media City,” the North Holland town of Hilversum.



Chief Editor: **Hans Laroes.**

NOS Editor since 2006 and also head of the European Broadcasting Union News Committee.

Tel: +31 35 677 8064

E-mail: [hans.laroes@rtv.nos.nl](mailto:hans.laroes@rtv.nos.nl)



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

Tel: +3135 677 3223.

E-mail: [gerard.van.den.broek@rtv.nos.nl](mailto:gerard.van.den.broek@rtv.nos.nl)

Head of International Relations: **Louis Heinsman**

Tel: +3135 677 3603

E-mail: [louis.heinsman@ooep.nl](mailto:louis.heinsman@ooep.nl)

Chief Political Editor: **Toof Brader**

Tel: +31 70 342 2104.

E-mail: [toof.brader@rtv.nos.nl](mailto:toof.brader@rtv.nos.nl)

Hague Editor: **Annemarie Strijbosch.**

Tel: +3170 342 2101.

E-mail: [annemarie.strijbosch@rtv.nos.nl](mailto:annemarie.strijbosch@rtv.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.

## THE DUTCH PUBLIC SYSTEM

In the Netherlands where 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 organisation can claim, and allows in any newcomers as long as they can prove they add a legitimate voice to the public debate. 655 million euros of taxpayer's money is allocated each year.

Two newcomers are due to join the system in 2010, succeeded in getting a foot in the door: Powned, an initiative by the website [GeenStijl](http://GeenStijl.nl) (NoStyle), and Wakker Nederland (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 current affairs and the companies that provide the main news and current programming, often working in partnership. The Netherlands has a strong tradition of talk shows that combine politics, showbiz and entertainment in varying amounts.

### NOVA

[www.novatv.nl](http://www.novatv.nl)

Building 7, Media Park, Video Centrum

Sumatralaan 47

1217 GP Hilversum

Tel: +3135 677 9333

E-mail: [nova@novatv.nl](mailto:nova@novatv.nl)

**Nova /Den Haag vandaag** is a late-evening current affairs programme broadcast on Ned 2 at 22:15 nightly. It is equivalent to ARD's (German TV) or BBC (UK) Newsnight. NOS produces *Den Haag vandaag*, "The Hague Today," the news segment of the programme covering events in parliament and interviews with politicians.

Presenter: **Nynke de Zoeten**.

Tel: +31 70 342 2100

**Nova**, the first and main part of the programme, is made jointly by VARA and NOS and features news analysis and background reports.

Presenter: **Clairy Polak, Joost Karhof** and **Twan Huys**.



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

Tel: +31 35 677 5264

E-mail: [carel.kuyl@novatv.nl](mailto:carel.kuyl@novatv.nl)

Editor: **Hugo van der Parre**

## **TROS**

[www.tros.nl](http://www.tros.nl)

E-mail: [pers@tros.nl](mailto:pers@tros.nl)

Lage Naarderweg 45-47

1217 GN Hilversum

Tel: +3135 671 5715

TROS is a Dutch public broadcaster on Nederland 2. It is independent politically.

Media Director: **Julius Minnaar**

Tel: +31 35 671 5267

E-mail: [julius.minnaar@tros.nl](mailto:julius.minnaar@tros.nl)

## **Eén Vandaag**

[www.eenvandaag.nl/english](http://www.eenvandaag.nl/english)

E-mail: [redactie@eenvandaag.nl](mailto:redactie@eenvandaag.nl)

Tel: +31 35 671 5600

Eén Vandaag is a popular 30 minute current affairs programme on NED 1 at 18:20 produced by TROS & AVRO. It runs from Monday through Saturday and claims a daily audience of 850,000 viewers. It has a market-share of over 20 per cent. EénVandaag 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](mailto:redactie@eenvandaag.nl)

International Editor: **Miriam Heilenga**.

Tel: +31 35 671 5846

E-mail: [miriam.heilenga@eenvandaag.nl](mailto:miriam.heilenga@eenvandaag.nl)

## **AVRO**

[www.avro.nl](http://www.avro.nl)

s-Gravelandseweg 80

1217 EW Hilversum

Tel: +31 35 671 7911

E-mail: [info@avro.nl](mailto:info@avro.nl)

Editor: **Harro Brouwer**. Tel: +31 35 671 7776. E-mail: [harro.brouwer@avro.nl](mailto:harro.brouwer@avro.nl)

Editor: **Ruth Nederveen**. Tel: +31 35 671 7528. E-mail: [ruth.nederveen@avro.nl](mailto:ruth.nederveen@avro.nl)

## **VARA**

[www.ooep.nl](http://www.ooep.nl)

Heuvellaan 50

1217 JN Hilversum

Tel: +31 35 671 1911

E-mail: [vara@vara.nl](mailto:vara@vara.nl)

VARA is an independent public broadcaster on Nederland 3.



**De Wereld Draait Door** “The World turns Around.” It is broadcasted every day from 1930-2015 on NED 3.



Presenter: **Matthijs van Nieuwkerk**  
<http://dewerelddraaitdoor.vara.nl/Home.631.0.html>  
 E-mail: [dewerelddraaitdoor@vara.nl](mailto:dewerelddraaitdoor@vara.nl)

### Paaw & Wittemann

[www.pauwenwitteman.vara.nl](http://www.pauwenwitteman.vara.nl).



A popular daily talk show covering politics and entertainment at 17:00 hosted by **Jeroen Pauw and Paul Witteman**.

### VPRO

[www.vpro.nl](http://www.vpro.nl)  
 Mediapark  
 Sumatralaan 49  
 1217 GP Hilversum  
 Tel: +31 35 671 2911  
 E-mail: [pers@vpro.nl](mailto:pers@vpro.nl)

VPRO is a Dutch national non-profit broadcasting organisation.

Foreign Editor: **J Maris**  
 Tel: +31 35 671 2352  
 E-mail: [j.maris@vpro.nl](mailto:j.maris@vpro.nl)

### Buitenhof

[www.buitenhof.tv](http://www.buitenhof.tv)  
 E-mail: [redactie@buitenhof.tv](mailto:redactie@buitenhof.tv)

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

Presenters: **Peter van Ingen, Rob Trip and Clair Polak.**  
 Editor: **Ms B Coolen.** Tel: +31 35 671 2748. E-mail: [b.coolen@vpro.nl](mailto:b.coolen@vpro.nl)  
 Editor: **R de Lange.** Tel: +31 35 671 2748. E-mail: [r.delange@vpro.nl](mailto:r.delange@vpro.nl)

## EVANGELISCHE OMROEP

[www.eo.nl](http://www.eo.nl)

Oude Amersfoortseweg 79  
1213 AC Hilversum  
Tel: +31 35 647 4645  
E-mail: [info@eo.nl](mailto:info@eo.nl)

EO is a Dutch public broadcaster with a religious perspective broadcasting on Ned 2.

Chief of News & Current Affairs: **Arjan Lok**

Tel: +31 35 647 4706  
E-mail: [arjan.lok@eo.nl](mailto:arjan.lok@eo.nl)



**Het Elfde Uur** - The Eleventh Hour. Presented by **Andries Knevel**

<http://www.eo.nl/hetelfdeuur>

Andries Knevel  
Tel: +31 35 647 4503.  
E-mail: [andries.knevel@eo.nl](mailto:andries.knevel@eo.nl)

A serious discussion programme which has run over 500 editions. It is due to be replaced by a new discussion show in 2010.

## Knevel & Van den Brink

[www.eo.nl/kvdb](http://www.eo.nl/kvdb)

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**.

## Netwerk

[www.netwerk.tv](http://www.netwerk.tv)

s-Gravelandseweg 80  
1217 EW Hilversum  
Tel: +31 35 655 5999  
E-mail: [redactie@netwerk.tv](mailto:redactie@netwerk.tv)

Netwerk is a current affairs programme which is jointly produced by EO with NCRV, a broadcaster with a Protestant tradition. It is broadcasted at 20:25 on NL2 from Mondays to Fridays.

Editors in Chief: **Peter van der Maat (NCRV)**  
**Bertus Tichelaar (EO)**

Deputy Chief Editor: **Jelle Broekroelofs/Jeroen Illy** Tel: +31 35 671 4000.  
E-mail: [jelle.broekroelofs@netwerk.tv](mailto:jelle.broekroelofs@netwerk.tv)

Chief Foreign Editor: **Erwin Hoffmann**. Tel: +31 35 655 5929.  
E-mail: [erwin.hoffmann@netwerk.tv](mailto:erwin.hoffmann@netwerk.tv)

## DUTCH COMMERCIAL TV

The Netherlands has a thriving commercial sector.

### RTL

[www.rtl.nl](http://www.rtl.nl)

[www.rtlnieuws.nl](http://www.rtlnieuws.nl)

[www.rtlz.nl](http://www.rtlz.nl)

Sumatralaan 47

1217 GP Hilversum

Tel: +31 35 623 6842

E-mail: [redactie@rtl.nl](mailto:redactie@rtl.nl)



The main commercial broadcaster, RTL 4, and its sister stations, RTL, 5, 7 and 8 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](mailto:harm.taselaar@rtl.nl)

Head of Foreign News: **Brechtje van de Moosdijk.** Tel: +31 35 671 8718.

E-mail: [brechtje.v.d.moosdijk@rtl.nl](mailto:brechtje.v.d.moosdijk@rtl.nl)

Foreign Desk RTL News: E-mail: [rtlnieuws@rtl4.nl](mailto:rtlnieuws@rtl4.nl) - Tel: +31 35 671 8718

Main News: RTL Nieuws is at 19:30. 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.

- 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](http://www.esiweb.org)

**Radio Netherlands International**<http://www.rnw.nl/english>

As well as news and programming in English it also does a daily press review:

<http://www.rnw.nl/english/article/press-review-thursday-19-november-2009>**Thijs Papot** is Eastern Europe Editor of RNW (Radio Netherlands Worldwide). He was previously based in Warsaw covering Central and SE Europe. E-mail: [thijs.papot@rnw.nl](mailto:thijs.papot@rnw.nl)**Commercial Radio****Business News Radio**[www.bn.nl](http://www.bn.nl)

Prins Bernhardplein 173

1097 BL Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 592 8711

Airs 24 hours a day on 100.1 FM. Owned by Het Financieele Dagblad.

Chief Editor: **P Gessel**. Tel: +31 20 592 8710. E-mail: [gessel@bn.nl](mailto:gessel@bn.nl)Deputy Chief Editor: **Rens de Jong**. Tel: +31 20 592 8711. E-mail: [rens@bn.nl](mailto:rens@bn.nl)

Café Vondel - current affairs programme on Saturdays with live interviews. .

**DAILY NEWSPAPERS**

Newspapers	Circulation Jan-March 2009	Political Stance
De Telegraaf	582,000	Right of centre
De Volkskrant	233,000	Left of centre
Volkskrant Direkt (e-paper)	41,000	
AD - Algemeen Dagblad	404,000	Liberal-centrist
NRC Handelsblad	191,000	Liberal –left.
NRC Next	65,000	
Trouw	94,000	Centre left - Protestant
Het Parool	64,000	Amsterdam/national paper Centre left
FD - Het Financieele Dagblad	59,000	Financial daily
RD - Nederlands Dagblad	53,000	Christian, national morning daily paper
Nederlands Dagblad	30,000	Strong religious leaning - popular among CDA supporters
HOI Instituut voor Media Auditing	<a href="http://www.hoi-online.nl">www.hoi-online.nl</a>	

The prominent newspapers - in order of circulation:

**DE TELEGRAAF**[www.telegraaf.nl](http://www.telegraaf.nl)

Basisweg 30

1043 AP Amsterdam

Tel: + 31 20 585 9111

E-mail: [redactie@telegraaf.nl](mailto:redactie@telegraaf.nl)

Circulation: 582,000

De Telegraaf has by far the largest circulation of any Dutch newspaper. It has a 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](mailto:redactie@telegraaf.nl)  
 Chief Foreign Editor: **Bert Jan ter Braak**. Tel: +31 20 585 2103.  
 E-mail: [buitenland@telegraaf.nl](mailto:buitenland@telegraaf.nl)  
 EU Affairs Editor: **Paul Taylor**. Tel: +31 20 585 9111. E-mail: [paul.taylor@telegraaf.nl](mailto:paul.taylor@telegraaf.nl)



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

Wakker Nederland Chair: **Fons van Westerloo** (ex RTL).

### ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD

[www.ad.nl](http://www.ad.nl)

Maarten Meesweg 353  
 068 Rotterdam  
 Tel: +31 10 406 6077  
 E-mail: [ad@ad.nl](mailto:ad@ad.nl)  
 Circulation: 404,000

A centre-liberal daily with afternoon editions in The Hague and Rotterdam.

Chief Editor: **J Bonjer**. Tel: +31 10 406 6077. E-mail: [ad@ad.nl](mailto:ad@ad.nl)  
 Chief Foreign Editor: **H van Zon**. Tel: +31 10 406 6424. E-mail: [h.vanzon@ad.nl](mailto:h.vanzon@ad.nl)

### DE VOLKSKRANT

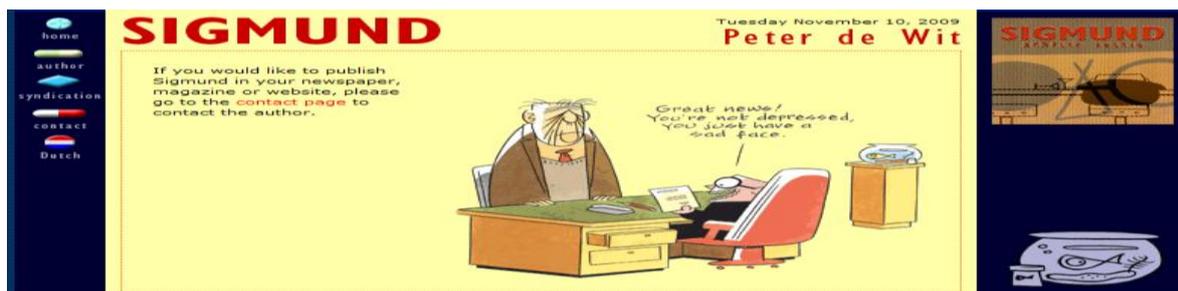
[www.volkskrant.nl](http://www.volkskrant.nl)

Jacob Bontiusstraat 9  
 1018 LL Amsterdam  
 Tel: +31 20 562 9222  
 E-mail: [redactie@volkskrant.nl](mailto:redactie@volkskrant.nl)  
 Circulation: 233,000

De Volkskrant is a centre-left national daily newspaper. It had its origins in Catholic Labour movement but now it is no longer associated with any group.

Chief Editor: **Pieter Broertjes**. Tel: +31 20 562 2540. E-mail: [p.broertjes@volkskrant.nl](mailto:p.broertjes@volkskrant.nl)  
 Foreign Editor: **Paul Brill**. Tel: +31 20 562 2540. E-mail: [p.brill@volkskrant.nl](mailto:p.brill@volkskrant.nl)  
 EU Editor: **Bert Lanting**. Tel: +32 230 59 344. E-mail: [bert.lanting@pandora.be](mailto:bert.lanting@pandora.be)  
 Opinion Page Editor: **Lidy Nicolassen** Tel: +31 20 562 9222. E-mail: [forum@volkskrant.nl](mailto:forum@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: Sigmund website <http://www.sigmund.nl/?p=author&l=eng>

## NRC HANDELSBLAD

### NRC NEXT

[www.nrc.nl](http://www.nrc.nl)

Marten Meesweg 35

3068 AV Rotterdam

Tel: +31 10 40 66111

E-mail: [nrc@nrc.nl](mailto:nrc@nrc.nl)

Circulation: 191,000 NRC Handelsblad  
65,000 NRC Next

The 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".

Chief Editor:	<b>Birgit Donker.</b>	Tel: +31 10 406 6077.	E-mail: <a href="mailto:nrc@nrc.nl">nrc@nrc.nl</a>
Foreign Desk Editor:	<b>Renée Postma.</b>	Tel: +31 10 406 7311.	E-mail: <a href="mailto:postma@nrc.nl">postma@nrc.nl</a>
EU Editor:	<b>Ahmet Olgun.</b>	Tel: +31 10 406 6077.	E-mail: <a href="mailto:olgun@nrc.nl">olgun@nrc.nl</a>
Deputy Foreign Editor:	<b>P Luttikhuis.</b>	Tel: +31 10 406 7317.	E-mail: <a href="mailto:luttikhuis@nrc.nl">luttikhuis@nrc.nl</a>
EU & Brussels Editor:	<b>Joop Meijnen</b>	Tel: +31 10 406 7362.	E-mail: <a href="mailto:meijnen@nrc.nl">meijnen@nrc.nl</a>
Chief Opinion Editor:	<b>M Huygen.</b>	Tel: +31 10 406 6331.	E-mail: <a href="mailto:m.huygen@nrc.nl">m.huygen@nrc.nl</a>
Chief Editor NRC Next:	<b>J F Nijenhuis.</b>	Tel: +31 10 406 6361.	E-mail: <a href="mailto:nijenhuis@nrc.nl">nijenhuis@nrc.nl</a>

### 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.

**Dirk Vandenberghe** provides political analysis and also covers the region.



**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.



**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](mailto:m.kranenburg@nrc.nl)



**Geert Mak** spent 1999 criss-crossing Europe in a camper van, sending dispatches to the NRC Handelsblad, which became in 2004 the best-selling book, *In Europa*. He has also written a book on Turkey: *The Bridge. A Journey Between Orient and Occident*, focussing on the Galata Bridge in Istanbul, published in 2007. He presented a TV documentary series based on the book, *In Europe*.

## **NRC INTERNATIONAL**

[www.nrc.nl/international](http://www.nrc.nl/international)

The paper's English language website has selected features and opinion pieces and articles on Europe.

## **TROUW**

[www.trouw.nl](http://www.trouw.nl)

Wibautstraat 131

1091 GL Amsterdam

Tel: +3120 562 9444

E-mail: [redactie@trouw.nl](mailto: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: **W Schoonen.** Tel: +31 20 562 3119. E-mail: [wschoonen@trouw.nl](mailto:wschoonen@trouw.nl)

Hague Editor: **E Mulder.** Tel: +31 20 562 9444. E-mail: [parlement@trouw.nl](mailto:parlement@trouw.nl)

Foreign Editor: **Martijn Roessingh** Tel: + 31 20 562 9444 E-mail: [m.roessingh@trouw.nl](mailto:m.roessingh@trouw.nl)

**Eric Brassem** is Trouw's specialist on the Western Balkans. E-mail: [e.brassem@trouw.nl](mailto:e.brassem@trouw.nl)

## **HET PAROOL**

[www.parool.nl](http://www.parool.nl)

Jacob Bontiusplaats 9

1018 LL Amsterdam

Tel: +31 20 558 4444

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.

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Chief Foreign Editor: **Stevo Akkerman.** E-mail: [s.akkerman@parool.nl](mailto:s.akkerman@parool.nl) Tel: +31 20 558 4466

Chief Political Editor: **B Soetenhorst.** E-mail: [s.politiek@parool.nl](mailto:s.politiek@parool.nl) Tel: +31 20 558 4519

## **HET FINANCIEELE DAGBLAD**

[www.fd.nl](http://www.fd.nl)

Prins Bernhardplein 173

1097 BL Amsterdam

Tel: +3120 592 8888

E-mail: [persbericht@fd.nl](mailto:persbericht@fd.nl)

Circulation: 59,000

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

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**REFORMATORISCH DAGBLAD**

Reformatorsch Dagblad

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7336 AZ Apeldoorn

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A daily national newspaper with a strong religious leaning - popular among CDA supporters.

Chief Editor: **Wim Kranendonk**. Tel: +31 55 539 0222. E-mail: [wkranendonk@refdag.nl](mailto:wkranendonk@refdag.nl)  
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Opinion Editor: **J van de Knijff**. Tel: +31 55 539 0213. E-mail: [opinie@refdag.nl](mailto:opinie@refdag.nl)

**THE AMSTERDAM / HAGUE TIMES**

[www.theamsterdamtimes.nl](http://www.theamsterdamtimes.nl)

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E-mail: [aline@theamsterdamtimes.nl](mailto:aline@theamsterdamtimes.nl)

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

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**DEN HAAG CENTRAAL**

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Korte Poten 11

2511 EB Den Haag

Tel: +31 70 364 4040

Chief Editor: **Coos Versteeg**.

An independent weekly newspaper, printed every Thursday. It claims 10,000 readers.

**FREE NEWSPAPERS****Metro Nederland**

[www.metronieuws.nl](http://www.metronieuws.nl) [www.clubmetro.nl](http://www.clubmetro.nl)

E-mail: [redactie@metronieuws.nl](mailto:redactie@metronieuws.nl)

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Free national daily newspaper with Amsterdam and Rotterdam editions.

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A free daily newspaper published since January 2007. It is distributed at train stations and busy points in cities. It has larger items than other free papers due to larger editorial staff numbers.

Chief Editor: **J Heij**. Tel: +3120 346 0560. E-mail: [redactie@depers.nl](mailto:redactie@depers.nl)

**THE WEEKLIES****Elsevier**

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E-mail: [redactie.elsevier@elsevier.nl](mailto: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.

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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.

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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](mailto:redactie@hpdetijd.nl)

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**Vrij Nederland**

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Now a centre-left current affairs magazine, *Vrije Nederland* is the oldest of the weeklies. It began as a resistance paper. 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.

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**Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau (ANP)**

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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.

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