History of the Netherlands as a Tax Haven, 1914-1996

Its rise, heyday, downfall and revival after the Second World War

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Table of contents

Tab	Tables, graphs and diagrams		11
Intr	oducti	on	13
Cha	pter 1		
Rise	e of the	Netherlands Tax Haven, 1914-1918	19
1.1	Suppl	ier for the German war economy	20
1.2	Condu	iit country the Netherlands	22
1.3	Flight	capital to the Netherlands	24
1.4	Arriva	l of German financial institutions	25
1.5	Defen	se of secrecy	27
1.6	No im	port ban on foreign securities	29
Cha	pter 2		
Hey	day of	the Netherlands Tax Haven, 1918-1938	33
2.1	Flight	capital	33
2.2	Germa	an banks invasion	35
	2.2.1	Establishment of branches and daughter companies	35
	2.2.2	Mendelssohn	36
	2.2.3	Assets ex-emperor Wilhelm	37
	2.2.4	Loans to Germany	38
	2.2.5	Capital cycle	38
2.3	Ways	of getting capital out of Germany	39
2.4	Effect	iveness of German measures against capital flight	41
2.5	The D	utch participation exemption	42
2.6	Germa	an companies in the Netherlands	43
	2.6.1	IG Farben	44
	2.6.2	AKU	45
	2.6.3	Krupp and Rheinmetall	48
	2.6.4	Dornier and Fokker	50
	2.6.5	Siemens and Zeiss	51

Chapter 3	3
-----------	---

Defe	nse of	the Netherlands Tax Haven, 1922-1940	53
3.1	Meani	ng of banking secrecy	53
3.2	Strong	ly defended banking secrecy	55
3.3	Free-ri	ders	56
3.4	Torped	loed tax treaty with Germany	58
	3.4.1	Start of negotiations	59
	3.4.2	First agreement	60
	3.4.3	Corporate world and Council of State oppose data	
		exchange	62
	3.4.4	New negotiations with Germany	64
	3.4.5	Second agreement	66
	3.4.6	Scathing advice of the Council of State	68
3.5	Failed	tax treaty with the United States	69
	3.5.1	The Netherlands wants a tax treaty with the US	70
	3.5.2	Starting of the negotiations	76
	3.5.3	Agreement	80
	3.5.4	Keeping Americans in suspense	80
3.6	Safe de	posit box	82
3.7	-		
3.8	Bankir	ng secrecy under pressure	84
	3.8.1	Refuge for foreign tax evaders	84
	3.8.2	Coupon Tax Act and the Stamp Act	85
	3.8.3	Continuation of banking secrecy in defense prepara-	
		tion bill	88
	3.8.4	Minister promises advice Economic Council	89
3.9	Econor	nic Council as mouthpiece of the financial sector	90
	3.9.1	_	90
	3.9.2	Does lifting banking secrecy generate more tax revenue?	93
	3.9.3	Disadvantages of abolishing banking secrecy	94
	3.9.4	Mouthpiece of the financial sector	96
3.10	Failed	downsizing of the participation exemption	97
Chap	oter 4		
Dow	nfall o	f the Netherlands Tax Haven, 1938-1940	101
4.1		capital is leaving the Netherlands	101
4.2	-	sche Bank helps with capital flight and tax evasion	103
4.3	War th	reat	105
4.4	German occupation 10		

6 |

Chapter 5

Ban	king Secrecy after World War II	109
5.1	Banking Secrecy abolished	109
5.2	A number of parliamentarians want banking secrecy again	110
5.3	Financial sector and Chambers of Commerce want banking	
	secrecy again	111
5.4	Banking secrecy maintained in tax treaties	114

Chapter 6

Tax	Haven	Curaçao, 1950-1980	117
6.1	Initiat	ive of the Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij (NHM)	117
6.2	Creati	on and buildup of the Curaçao tax haven	118
	6.2.1	Special legislation	118
	6.2.2	Tax treaties	120
	6.2.3	Banking secrecy and rulings	121
6.3	Growt	h of the Curaçao offshore	121

Chapter 7

ona	Pter /			
Emo	ergence	and Gro	wth of the Dutch Postwar Tax Haven,	
194	5-1980			123
7.1	Tax tre	eaty netw	ork	123
	7.1.1	Growing	g number of tax treaties	124
	7.1.2	Tax trea	ty with United States	126
		7.1.2.1	Influence of the financial sector	128
		7.1.2.2	Agreement	130
	7.1.3	Tax trea	ty policy and dividend tax	132
		7.1.3.1	Revision of tax treaty with United States	134
		7.1.3.2	Revision of tax treaty with Switzerland	135
		7.1.3.2.1	The Dutch revision draft	137
		7.1.3.2.2	Treaty termination?	137
		7.1.3.2.3	Consequences of treaty termination for the	
			Netherlands	138
		7.1.3.2.4	Consequences of treaty termination for	
			Switzerland	139
		7.1.3.2.5	Start of negotiations	140
		7.1.3.2.6	The Netherlands threatens to terminate the	
			treaty	142
		7.1.3.2.7	Agreement after new negotiations	145
7.2	Partici	ipation ex	emption	147

Table of contents

7.3	Ruling	gs	149
7.4	Trust	offices	150
7.5	Custo	mer acquisition	151
	7.5.1	Customer acquisition by the ATK	151
	7.5.2	Customer acquisition through conference attendance	152
7.6	Free a	dvertising by tax haven guides	153
7.7	Start a	and growth of the offshore activities	155

Chapter 8

Ame	erican P	Pressure on Netherlands and Netherlands Antilles,	
197	9-1993		159
8.1	Gordor	n report: ending or revising tax treaty with tax haven	
	Nether	lands	159
8.2	Negoti	ations on revision of the US-Antillean Treaty, 1979-1988	161
8.3	Negoti	ations on the amending of the BRK, 1981-1985	162
8.4	Negoti	ations on amending the Canadian-Dutch Treaty, 1982-1987	164
	8.4.1	Wish list of financial sector and multinationals	167
	8.4.2	Agreement on treaty amendments	168
8.5	Negoti	ations on amendment of the American-Dutch Treaty,	
	1981-1	993	174
	8.5.1	Financial sector against Article 16	175
	8.5.2	Start of the negotiations	176
	8.5.3	Large corporations and financial sector in USA against	
		Article 16	178
	8.5.4	Continuation of negotiations	179
	8.5.5	Influence of the financial sector and large enterprises	181
	8.5.6	Dutch response to new American proposals	183
	8.5.7	Difficult rounds of negotiations	187
	8.5.8	Problems concerning the dividend payments received	
		by Philips from the US	188
	8.5.9	Resumption of negotiations	190
	8.5.10	Agreement on new tax treaty	193
	8.5.11	An empty preliminary draft	195
	8.5.12	Agreement on Protocol	198
Cha	ntor 0		
	pter 9 ch Moo	sures Offensive, 1994-1996	201
9.1		re for measures to strengthen the attractiveness of Dutch	201
2.1		-	201
	offshore 201		

8 |

| 9

9.2	Legisla	tive and regulatory offensive	203	
	9.2.1	Extension of dividend withholding tax exemption	203	
	9.2.2	Unlimited forward set-off of business losses	205	
	9.2.3	Lower dividend tax for foreign headquarters and hold-		
		ing companies	205	
	9.2.4	Broader depreciation possibilities for foreign companies	206	
	9.2.5	Write-down of loss-making participations permitted,		
		obligation to calculate profit in guilders removed, and		
		low rate for group financing	207	
9.3	Extens	ion of the tax ruling policy	209	
Chaj	oter 10			
Con	tinued	Growth of the Dutch Tax Haven, 1981-1996	211	
10.1	Extens	ion of the treaty network	211	
10.2	Custor	ner acquisition	212	
	10.2.1	Propagating Dutch tax facilities	213	
	10.2.2	Acquisition via dubious tax arrangements	215	
	10.2.3	English-language brochures	218	
10.3	Growt	h of the offshore activities, 1981-1996	219	
Con	clusion		223	
Sources and literature 233				

Introduction

When publications mention the Dutch tax haven, it almost always pertains to the current tax haven. However, its history is much older than commonly assumed and has undergone several stages of development. It emerged during the First World War, thrived in the interwar period, declined in the late 1930s, revived in the 1950s, and since then has become one of the most significant tax havens in the world. By examining its evolution, I identify the central factors in the development of tax havens. The phases are investigated based on the following research question: Which endogenous and exogenous factors contributed to the rise, growth and decline prior to the Second World War, and which factors explain its postwar resurgence and growth?

The only history of the Dutch tax haven based on archival research was written by J. Vleggeert and H. Vording. Their article 'How the Netherlands Became a Tax Haven for Multinationals' is limited to post-1945 developments.¹ In contrast, my study covers the period from 1914 to 1996 and is based on extensive archival research. This study reaches several key conclusions. First, it shows that the tax haven emerged by chance during the First World War when foreign capital took advantage of pre-existing facilities, such as banking secrecy. Furthermore, it demonstrates that both the financial sector and the government effectively protected banking secrecy during the subsequent boom. Additionally, the study highlights that the decline of the tax haven was primarily due to the uncertainty brought about by the impending Second World War. At the same time, this study reveals that the revival of the offshore sector in the 1950s was made possible by factors such as the availability of facilities like the participation exemption, the tax treaty network, and favorable rulings from the tax authorities.² Another significant finding is that the growth of the tax haven thereafter

^{1.} J. Vleggeert and H. Vording, 'How the Netherlands Became a Tax Haven for Multinationals' (2019) p. 6, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_ id=3317629, accessed 30 Nov. 2021.

^{2.} The terms tax haven, offshore and offshore financial centre (OFC) are interchangeable and refer to the same centres. Source: R. Palan, R. Murphy and C. Chavagneux, *Tax Havens: How Globalization Really Works* (Ithaca and London (2010) 23, 24.

can be attributed to various factors, including favorable tax legislation, customer acquisition efforts by a government agency, and the utilization of the Antilles route.

This route involved the untaxed flow of dividends from third countries through the Netherlands to Curaçao (see diagram 1). Due to a symbiotic relationship between the Dutch financial sector and the Curaçao offshore, a separate chapter in the study is dedicated to that tax haven.

In terms of the research question, my research indicates that most of the factors that contributed to the different stages of development in the Dutch tax haven also appeared in other tax havens. I arrived at this conclusion by comparing the factors found with those listed in tables 1 and 2. These tables were extracted from my dissertation and were based on the factors identified in international literature that influenced the emergence, growth, and decline of tax havens.³ The tables provided here are slightly more comprehensive than the ones in my dissertation, as they include eight additional factors. The factors related to concluding tax treaties, rulings, and the termination/ revision of tax treaties were derived from my research on the history of the Curaçao tax haven. The factor effective defense tax haven was sourced from a study by C. Farquet.⁴ The factors of neutrality, war, and capital flight due to tax increases in Table 1 were based on a study by S. Guex.⁵ The factor war in Table 2 came from a study by S. Watteyne.⁶ Most of the factors mentioned in the tables are self-explanatory; however, the term agglomeration effect requires some clarification. It describes how financial firms can benefit from the availability of complementary services from lawyers, accountants, and other facilities. These services enhance the international reputation and competitive position of a tax haven.⁷ Based on my research on the Dutch tax

^{3.} M.J.C. van Beurden (2018). *De Curaçaose offshore: Ontstaan, groei en neergang van een belastingparadijs, 1951-2013.* PhD dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 59-64.

^{4.} C. Farquet, *La Défense du paradis fiscal Suisse avant la Seconde Guerre Mondial: une histoire internationale* (Neuchâtel 2016).

^{5.} S. Guex, 'The Emergence of the Swiss Tax Haven, 1816–1914', *Business History Review* 96 (2022) 353-372.

^{6.} S. Watteyne, 'Emergence of, and Threats to, the Belgian Tax Haven During *La Belle Epoque*, 1890–1914', in S. Guex and H. Buclin eds., *Tax Evasion and Tax Havens since the Nineteenth Century* (Lausanne 2023) 73-92.

^{7.} R. Roberts, 'The Economics of Cities of Finance', in H. Diederiks and D. Reeder eds., *Cities of Finance* (Amsterdam/New York 1996) 7-19 there 11-13; A.E. Tschoegl, 'The Benefits and Costs of Hosting Financial Centres', in: *International banking and financial centres*, ed., Yoon S. Park and M. Essayyad (Amsterdam 1989). Cited in Palan, et al., *Tax Havens*,182.

haven, I have identified 13 factors that were not mentioned in Tables 1 and 2. In the case of nine of these factors, it is evident that they also played a role in other tax havens. However, four factors are unique: the absence of withholding tax on interest and royalties; the non-taxation of foreign capital; a generous participation exemption; and customer acquisition by a government agency.

With my research, I also aim to contribute to studies that examine the history of a specific tax haven. Alongside the article by Vleggeert and Vording, the following studies are of interest:

- M. Hampton's dissertation on the Jersey tax haven.⁸
- A. Hudson's dissertation on the emergence and development of offshore activities on the Bahamas and the Cayman Islands.⁹
- C.R. Schenk's article on the history of the Singapore tax haven.¹⁰
- An article by C. Boise and A. Morriss that discusses the rise, growth, and decline of the Curaçao offshore.¹¹
- T. Freyer and A. Morriss' article that investigates the development and expansion of the offshore sector on the Cayman Islands.¹²
- The books by C. Farquet which primarily focus on the evolution of the Swiss tax haven.¹³
- My dissertation on the history of the Curaçao offshore.
- The article published by J. Jonker and me on the symbiotic relationship between the Dutch financial sector and the Curaçao offshore.¹⁴

^{8.} M.P. Hampton, *The Offshore Interface: Tax Havens in the Global Economy* (Basingstoke 1996).

^{9.} A.C. Hudson, Globalization, Regulation and Geography: The Development of the Bahamas and the Cayman Islands Offshore Financial Centres (Cambridge 1996).

^{10.} C.R. Schenk, 'The Origins of the Asia Dollar Market 1968–1986: Regulatory Competition and Complementarity in Singapore and Hong Kong', *Financial History Review* 27 (2020): 17-44.

^{11.} C.M. Boise and A.P. Morriss, 'Change, Dependency, and Regime Plasticity in Offshore Financial Intermediation: The Saga of the Netherlands Antilles', *Texas International Law Journal* 45-2 (2009) 377-456.

^{12.} T. Freyer and A.P Morriss, 'Creating Cayman as an Offshore Financial Center: Structure & Strategy since 1960', *Arizona State Law Journal* (Sep. 2013).

^{13.} C. Farquet, *Histoire du paradis fiscal suisse* (Paris, 2018); Farquet, *La Défense du paradis fiscal Suisse*.

^{14.} Van Beurden, *De Curaçaose offshore*; T. van Beurden and J. Jonker, 'A Perfect Symbiosis: Curaçao, the Netherlands and Financial Offshore Services, 1951–2013', *Financial History Review* 28 (2021) 67-95.

- S. Guex's article on the key factors contributing to the rise of the Swiss tax haven.¹⁵
- S. Watteyne's article on the Belgian tax haven, 1890-1914.¹⁶

Endogenous	Exogenous
Legislation	War
Flexible regulation	Capital flight due to tax increases
Secrecy	Initiative to set up OFC often externally
Concluding tax treaties	Growing Eurodollar and Eurobond market
Rulings	
Effective defense tax haven	
Location: time zone, neighboring countries	
Small jurisdiction	
Sufficient fiscal autonomy	
Image of political stability	
Good cooperation state and off- shore sector	
Neutrality	
Agglomeration effect	
Economies of scale	

TABLE 1. Endogenous and exogenous factorsfacilitating rise or attenuation of decline

SOURCE: Van Beurden, *De Curaçaose offshore*, 64 Table 8, 332; Farquet, *La Défense du paradis fiscal Suisse*, 467; Guex, 'The Emergence of the Swiss Tax Haven', 362, 364.

^{15.} Guex, 'The Emergence of the Swiss Tax Haven'.

^{16.} Watteyne, 'Emergence of, and Threats to, the Belgian Tax Haven'.

Endogenous	Exogenous
Failing cooperation state and off- shore sector	Measures/legislation other countries
Lack of adaptability	Measures international organizations
	Competition other tax havens
	Termination/revision of tax treaties
	War

TABLE 2. Endogenous and exogenous factorsthat weakened growth or caused decline

SOURCE: Van Beurden, *De Curaçaose offshore*, 64 Table 9, 336; Watteyne, 'Emergence of, and Threats to, the Belgian Tax Haven', 90.

The chapters are arranged as follows. The first two chapters describe the rise (1914-1918) and the heyday (1918-1938) of the Netherlands as a tax haven. The third chapter explains how the financial sector and its political allies defended the facilities offered by the Dutch fiscal safe haven. The fourth chapter discusses the downfall from 1938 to 1940. The fifth chapter focuses on the abolition of banking secrecy after the Second World War and the failed attempts of the financial sector to reintroduce it. The sixth and seventh chapters discuss the rise and growth of the Curaçao and Dutch postwar tax havens until 1981. The eighth chapter turns to American pressure on the Netherlands and the Netherlands Antilles (1979-1993) to amend several tax treaties. The ninth chapter describes the extensive package of measures that the Netherlands introduced from 1994 to 1996 to make the offshore more attractive. The final chapter examines the continued growth of the tax treaty network and the extent of offshore activities after 1981.

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