

CRISIS MANAGEMENT OPERATIONS IN FRAGILE STATES
THE NEED FOR A COHERENT APPROACH

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Foreword

This report is a response to the government's request for advice on the 'compatibility of political, military and development objectives in crisis management operations' of 13 June 2008 (see Annexe 1). It also addresses the Dutch Senate's question regarding the relationship between humanitarian aid and reconstruction raised during the 3D debate of the government and the Senate on 3 June 2008.

In earlier advisory reports, the AIV has maintained that post-conflict reconstruction requires an integrated approach. In its report on the Netherlands and European development policy of May 2008, the AIV notes that this involves 'the simultaneous and coherent deployment of political, military, development-related and diplomatic instruments'.¹ In addition, the AIV regards the call in the present request for advice to examine this coherent approach in the light of recent literature, research and best practices in the Netherlands and elsewhere as an invitation to elaborate on its earlier reports in this area.

The AIV cannot escape the impression that the Netherlands' experiences in Afghanistan, and the problems that have arisen in this context, had a strong impact on the formulation of the request for advice. The fact that this report focuses mainly on the Dutch mission in Afghanistan should therefore be attributed not only to the major political and operational interests of the Netherlands that are currently at stake there, but also and above all to the possibility that this operation, despite its in many ways unique character, can provide lessons for developing a more coherent approach in the Netherlands and at international level.

In its request for advice, the government asks the following nine specific questions:

1. How do the political, military and development objectives of complex crisis management operations relate to each other in theory and practice? To what extent are these objectives compatible with a coherent approach?
2. How should an integrated approach ideally be put into practice?
3. In what ways could the Netherlands' current operational approach be improved?
4. How realistic are society's expectations that complex² crisis management operations will achieve their objectives?
5. How can more realistic expectations be encouraged?³
6. In this connection and in view of the answer to the central question, is society sufficiently well informed about the various objectives of complex operations and the relations between those objectives?

1 AIV, *The Netherlands and European Development Policy*, advisory report no. 60, The Hague, May 2008, p. 45.

2 In this report, 'complex operations' refers to operations or interventions involving all aspects of the 3D approach.

3 In its earlier report *Society and the Armed Forces* (in a footnote to the government's request for advice), the AIV states that the government should ensure that there is sufficient public support before Dutch participation in a crisis management operation begins.

7. In the term 'provincial reconstruction team', is 'reconstruction' the best word to use? Given expectations, would the word 'stabilisation' be more appropriate?
8. To what extent should an integrated approach prioritise security and stability, democracy and the rule of law, human rights and economic development?
9. Should sustainable poverty reduction be an independent objective, or can it be integrated with the objectives of a complex crisis management operation? In the latter case, how does it relate to the other objectives?

The report also addresses the following question from the Dutch Senate:

10. Can the AIV also examine the relationship between humanitarian aid and reconstruction in its advisory report on the 3D approach?

In Chapter I – 'Orientation' – the AIV starts by explaining what is understood by crisis management operations, the conflict cycle and fragile states. It also examines Dutch goals for crisis management operations (including the contribution of development cooperation to such operations) in relation to the desired moderation in formulating political and other objectives. Next, it highlights the need for national and international cooperation and a coherent approach in fragile states and asks why so little has been done to satisfy this long-acknowledged need. Finally, it examines the many and often confusing concepts that are employed in this area.

In Chapter II – 'The complex reality' – the AIV describes how the objectives of the coherent approach relate to each other in theory and practice (Question 1). It then proceeds to explore the local sphere (i.e. the area of deployment), emphasising that circumstances may differ from case to case. In this context, it answers Question 8 and discusses the concept of counterinsurgency. Next, it describes the relationship between sustainable poverty reduction, humanitarian aid and reconstruction in the context of crisis management operations (Questions 9 and 10). A description of the relevant international organisations highlights the complexity of the situation. Finally, the AIV calls on the government to follow a step-by-step approach with realistic objectives when intervening in fragile states.

Chapter III – 'The Dutch interpretation' – focuses on Question 3. It gives a brief overview of interministerial cooperation in some of the Netherlands' key partner countries before discussing Dutch interministerial cooperation and cooperation with NGOs and the private sector. Finally, it briefly describes the funding of activities at the intersection of security and development.

In Chapter IV – 'Society's Expectations' – the AIV first discusses Question 4 and then considers Questions 5, 6 and 7 in succession.

Chapter V – 'Conclusions and recommendations' – can also be regarded as a summary. It focuses on Question 2 and provides the Dutch government with a number of concrete recommendations for improving crisis management operations in practice.

The report was prepared by a joint committee of the AIV chaired by Lieutenant General M.L.M. Urlings (rettd.). The other members of the committee were: D.J. Barth, Dr B.S.M. Berendsen, Dr I. Duyvesteyn, Dr P.P. Everts, Professor W.J.M. van Genugten, Professor D.J.M. Hilhorst, Professor K. Koch, Rear Admiral R.M. Lutje

Schipholt (retd.), Dr C.M. Megens, Ms C.F. Meindersma, J. Ramaker, Lieutenant General H.W.M. Satter (retd.) and Ms M. Sie Dhian Ho. The civil service liaison officers were J.J.P. Nijssen and J.E. van Wieren on behalf of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and M.W.M. Waanders on behalf of the Ministry of Defence. The executive secretary was J.M.D. van Leeuwe, assisted by H. Honnef, S. van Hoof, Ms A. Wijers and Ms S. van Woerden (trainees).

In preparing this advisory report, the AIV consulted many people and visited the Permanent Representation of the Netherlands to the European Union and the Permanent Delegation of the Netherlands to NATO in Brussels. A list of the persons consulted appears in Annexe III. The AIV greatly appreciates their contribution.

The AIV adopted this report on 13 March 2009.

In Memoriam

On 29 September 2008, at the outset of the advisory process, our original choice as chair of the joint committee, Relus ter Beek, chair of the Peace and Security Committee (CVV) and vice-chair of the AIV, died after a short illness. He will be remembered as a skilled administrator and a congenial person who had contributed a great deal to the AIV since its establishment in 1998.

*'As a strong, prosperous and free country we have a major international responsibility. Conflicts and emergencies in the world call for an active response from the Netherlands. Together with other countries we are helping to maintain the international legal order.'*⁴

Speech from the Throne 2006

I Orientation

I.1 Crisis management operations in fragile states

At the government's request, this report focuses on 'the integrated approach that has developed in crisis management operations, where the defence, diplomatic and development communities collaborate closely throughout the conflict cycle'.⁵ In line with the request for advice, this report takes a broad approach to crisis management operations. According to this approach, the aim of such operations, which encompass political, civil and military activities, is to contribute, in accordance with international law and international humanitarian law, to preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in order to achieve internationally agreed political objectives. In policy documents and speeches, the government also uses the term 'peace operations' to describe crisis management operations. For the sake of clarity and in view of its wide acceptance, the AIV uses the term 'crisis management operations' in this report.⁶

There is no universal blueprint for the conflict cycle referred to in the request for advice, although it is often divided into three – potentially overlapping – phases: intervention, stabilisation and normalisation (see also Figure 1).⁷ These three phases may be

4 The Hague, 19 September 2006.

5 Request for advice on the compatibility of political, military and development objectives in crisis management operations, 13 June 2008.

6 NATO distinguishes between Article 5 and non-Article 5 crisis response operations (NA5CROs). In the Netherlands, the term NA5CROs is translated as 'crisis management operations', which can in turn be subdivided into peace support operations, such as conflict prevention, peacekeeping (under Chapter VI of the UN Charter), peacebuilding and peace-enforcing (under Chapter VII of the UN Charter), and other activities and tasks such as humanitarian aid, emergency withdrawal, evacuation of non-combatants and support for civilian authorities. Experience of international operations over the last 10-15 years teaches that such operations can no longer be strictly identified, for example, as peacekeeping, peace-enforcing or humanitarian operations. These tasks often overlap, and almost all operations include aspects of other types of operations. In addition, the security situation can change drastically from one moment to the next, and the situation in one part of a country or region can differ drastically from the situation in another part. Although distinctions based on mandate (Chapter VI or VII of the UN Charter) still apply, reference is increasingly made to conflict phases (intervention, stabilisation and normalisation, if necessary preceded by preventive measures), as a result of these experiences. This report refers to these conflict phases in its analysis.

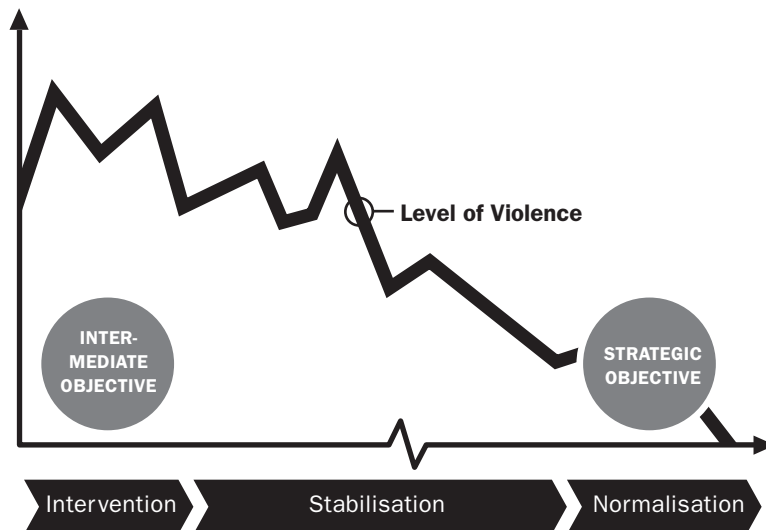
7 Centre de Doctrine d'Emploi des Forces, French Army, 'Winning the Battle, Building Peace: Land Forces in Present and Future Conflicts', Paris, 2007.

preceded by preventive measures.⁸ Diplomatic, military and civilian resources play a key role in all phases, although the emphasis may shift depending on the phase. When properly deployed, these resources are part of the political process that focuses on achieving political objectives. Diplomacy thus plays a key role in every phase.

In the *intervention phase*, the emphasis is on military action. In this phase, there will often also be a need for humanitarian aid. If the military action is successful, the level of violence will gradually decline and the operation will enter the next phase.

In the *stabilisation phase*, the emphasis shifts from military action to the deployment of all the available resources for realising the political objectives of the mission. In this phase, especially in conflicts like those in Iraq and Afghanistan, fighting, often heavy, will usually also be needed to establish security. The use and impact of military force should therefore always be geared to the use and impact of the instruments of diplomacy and reconstruction.

Figure 1



The third phase is *normalisation*. In this phase, the emphasis is on sustainable development, and the military contribution to the operation is gradually scaled back, culminating in a full withdrawal.

Crisis management operations always have a political objective. In the short term, it may be to contain the crisis in question, for example by mediating a political truce between the warring parties and monitoring its observance. In extreme cases, it may even include intervention in a sovereign state that is unable to protect its population. However, humanitarian intervention is a very controversial and emotionally charged concept.⁹

8 The AIV notes that preventive measures often receive too little attention. However, this report focuses on the coherent approach in the three conflict phases mentioned above.

9 See AIV/CAVV, *Humanitarian Intervention*, advisory report no. 13, The Hague, April 2000; and AIV, *Reforming the United Nations: A Closer Look at the Annan Report*, advisory report no. 41, The Hague, May 2005.

The 'responsibility to protect' was first laid down in the final declaration of the 2005 UN World Summit.¹⁰ This principle focuses, first and foremost, on the responsibility of the territorial state to protect its own population from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. However, it also emphasises that the international community has a responsibility to protect populations from such large-scale violations of human rights, and that it could potentially intervene on the basis of Chapter VII of the UN Charter if national authorities are manifestly failing to protect their populations. According to the UN Secretary-General, however, the responsibility to protect is still only a normative concept, not an established policy.¹¹ It is therefore difficult to put this concept into practice.¹²

Experience teaches that good governance lays the foundation for lasting peace. The exact meaning of good governance is the subject of a long-running debate within the international community. However, analysis of the causes of internal conflict indicates that good governance should at the very least create the conditions that make it possible to meet the needs of all of a country's population groups for physical security, access to the political system, economic participation and freedom of cultural and religious expression. It generally takes many years to achieve lasting peace.

The military is not designed to perform such tasks as stimulating the economy, establishing a functioning political and legal system and setting up other vital institutions in the civilian sphere, but in practice it often has to perform 'civilian tasks' on a temporary basis due to the security situation. However, the primary task of the military is to establish a sufficiently safe environment so that the civilian sphere can carry out these essential tasks. In addition, the military contribution focuses chiefly on training the country's military and advising the civilian authorities on the structure and responsibilities of the ministry of defence.

Crisis management operations can only be successful in the long term if local institutions for conflict management and resolution are effective and the local population is offered a serious prospect of a better life. In other words: 'Contemporary crisis management aims at a social, political, and economic transformation to reach a comprehensive conflict resolution. The tasks today range from humanitarian aid, physical protection of individuals, and ensuring the rule of law and the functioning of political institutions to the establishment of stable and self-sustainable social and economic structures.'¹³

10 UN General Assembly resolution 60/1 (2005) 2005 World Summit Outcome, 24 October 2005, points 138-40.

11 UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, 'Responsible sovereignty: international cooperation for a changed world', speech, Berlin, 15 July 2008.

12 The responsibility to protect relates not only to intervention but also to prevention and reconstruction. See also the forthcoming joint advisory report of the AIV and the Advisory Committee on Issues of Public International Law (CAVV) on transitional justice.

13 Christian Mölling, 'Comprehensive approaches to international crisis management', *CSS Analyses in Security Policy* 3: 42 (October 2008), p. 1.

Security and development in fragile states

Fragile states are countries where the central government, if existent, is unable or unwilling to perform such basic tasks as poverty reduction, development, security and protection of human rights. Crisis management operations in fragile states, which encompass diplomatic, civilian and military efforts, should be part of a wider national and international policy to help these states develop and reduce poverty independently, which would contribute to lasting peace. The AIV accordingly sees a clear overlap between this advisory report on crisis management operations in fragile states and the government's strategy for the Dutch commitment in fragile states (the 'fragile states strategy'), which was recently sent to Parliament.¹⁴

In recent years, various developments have highlighted the importance and necessity of crisis management operations in fragile states. The Netherlands has partly shifted the focus of its development policy from aid to countries with good governance to providing aid to and in fragile states. In recent years, the Netherlands has also received an increasing number of requests to participate in military operations in fragile states, due particularly to the perceived rise in the terrorist threat and the need to maintain and promote the international legal order.

The fragile states strategy declares, among other things, that 'the Netherlands and the international community can contribute to security in fragile states, for example, by dispatching international peace missions and implementing programmes in the fields of security sector reform (SSR) and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR)'. It further notes that 'international crisis management operations can increase security and restore the legal order. They can also lay the foundations for socioeconomic development.'¹⁵

It is no coincidence that the request for advice for this report and the fragile states strategy both express the desire to strengthen the Dutch government's integrated foreign policy. Combining forces in the pursuit of peace, security and development is in fact one of the objectives mentioned in the policy programme of the fourth Balkenende government.¹⁶ This report therefore frequently refers to the government's fragile states strategy.

1.2 Ambitions, sobriety and moderation

Dutch ambitions

The Netherlands has enshrined its international ambitions in the Dutch constitution: 'The Government shall promote the development of the international legal order.'¹⁷

14 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister for Development Cooperation and Minister of Defence, 'Veiligheid en ontwikkeling in fragiele staten, Strategie voor de Nederlandse inzet 2008-2011' (Security and development in fragile states: Strategy for the Dutch commitment in 2008-2011), The Hague, November 2008.

15 Ibid, p. 7.

16 Objective 1.2 of the policy programme of the fourth Balkenende government 2007-2011, 'Samen werken, samen leven' (Working together, living together), The Hague, 14 June 2007.

17 Article 90 of the Constitution. Article 97 of the Constitution, which concerns the armed forces, refers to the need to 'maintain and promote the international legal order'.

This clearly expresses a moral aspiration, which manifests itself, for example, in the Minister of Foreign Affairs' efforts to step up Dutch human rights policy. In addition, the Netherlands is one of very few countries worldwide that sets aside 0.8% of its Gross National Product (GNP) for development cooperation. The 2008 Commitment to Development Index notes that the Netherlands leads by example in this area.¹⁸

The Ministry of Defence's contribution to the international legal order manifests itself in the past or continued participation of large and small Dutch military contingents in more than 100 missions since 1991.¹⁹ The Netherlands wishes to make a proportional contribution to international efforts and not be a free-rider. Other ministries, like the Ministries of the Interior & Kingdom Relations, Justice and Economic Affairs, provide experts that contribute to the development of the international legal order.

These efforts are obviously not entirely devoid of self-interest. As the world's 16th largest economy and ninth largest exporter, the Netherlands depends on the international legal order for its prosperity and security. In its fragile states strategy, the government emphasises that Dutch efforts to improve the situation in such states are based in part on 'enlightened self-interest'.²⁰ This is because instability in fragile states can lead to cross-border crime, arms proliferation, refugee flows, disease and terrorism. In a recent speech, Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs Maxime Verhagen described this two-pronged approach to foreign policy as 'a realistic policy guided by a moral orientation'.²¹

The AIV notes that foreign policy is always beset with dilemmas and tensions that require political choices to be made between – sometimes incompatible – objectives, and that such choices always have undesirable consequences. There are no standard solutions or procedures in this regard. Each case must be politically evaluated on the basis of the prevailing conditions. For example, Dutch Minister for Development Cooperation Bert Koenders recently said that 'the Netherlands does not give a single penny to corrupt governments'.²² However, Afghanistan is one of the Netherlands' nine key fragile partner countries, despite being one of the most corrupt countries in the world. This is not an isolated example. Such contradictions in government policy will remain common, as 'it is impossible by definition to chart a fixed course in a changing world. There are too many uncertainties, which in turn render priorities uncertain.

18 Centre for Global Development (CGD), 'Commitment to Development Index 2008', 8 December 2008.

19 This varies from a few members of the military, for example in Congo, Mozambique and Rwanda, to large units in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Cambodia, Iraq, Kosovo and other countries. The purposes of these missions include emergency humanitarian aid (e.g. Pakistan), humanitarian intervention (e.g. northern Iraq in 1991), stabilisation and reconstruction following armed conflict (e.g. Bosnia) and stabilisation and reconstruction in time of conflict (e.g. the current mission in Afghanistan).

20 Fragile states strategy, p. 3.

21 Minister of Foreign Affairs, 'Veranderende wereld, vaste waarden: buitenlands beleid in de 21e eeuw' (Fixed values in a changing world: foreign policy in the 21st century), address at the opening of the academic year at Leiden University, 1 September 2008.

22 Minister for Development Cooperation, 'Internationale Samenwerking 2.0: agenda voor armoedebestrijding' (International cooperation 2.0: agenda for poverty reduction), lecture, 8 November 2008.

Compromise is unavoidable, and knowing how and when to compromise is an art in itself.²³ This may well be true, but the AIV believes that any decision to deviate from a moral standard, such as not supporting corrupt regimes, needs to be explained and justified.

Sobriety and moderation

Dilemmas and tensions like these make complex crisis management operations in fragile states especially difficult. In particular, the government's often bold and wide-ranging political ambitions are in tension with practical experiences that demand sobriety and moderation. This report examines in separate boxes several of the many dilemmas and tensions that affect crisis management operations.

In its fragile states strategy, the government writes: 'The ultimate objective is to enable government to ensure the security of the population, the functioning of the legal order, the observance of human rights and the provision of basic services.'²⁴ This is obviously a very praiseworthy goal, but experience teaches that such changes are slow to materialise and often work out differently than anticipated, despite all good intentions.²⁵ Peacebuilding in the wake of an armed conflict fails within five years in more than 40% of cases and within ten years in more than 50% of cases.²⁶ In the remaining cases, the process is generally much slower than allowed for even under the most pessimistic scenario.

At a time when the possibilities of large-scale social engineering in the Netherlands are increasingly questioned, it is especially important not to lose sight of these lessons elsewhere. After all, there is even less reason to believe that society can be moulded in fragile states. As former MP Farah Karimi writes, 'There can be a huge difference between what we say in the House in The Hague about countries like Afghanistan and what is actually happening there.'²⁷

Although the AIV does not question the goal of promoting the international legal order, we would warn emphatically against expecting too much of crisis management operations in fragile states. Experience shows the need for moderation. It is already quite an achievement if a strife-torn country is able to establish a certain level of stability, improve the legal order and reduce disease and poverty within five to ten years.

23 J.L. Heldring, 'Verhagen in een veranderende wereld' (Verhagen in a changing world), *NRC Handelsblad*, 4 September 2008.

24 Fragile states strategy, p. 6.

25 See, for example, Bas de Gaay Fortman and Arie de Ruijter, 'Van overkant tot overkant: Onderzoek naar aard en aanpak van de IOB-evaluatie van het Nederlands Afrikabeleid Bilateraal 1998-2006' (Study of the nature and approach of the IOB (Policy and Operations Evaluation Department) evaluation of Dutch bilateral policy in Africa 1998-2006), 18 October 2008, p. 2.

26 'Human Security Brief 2006', no. 4, available at: <<http://www.humansecuritybrief.info/>>; Roy Licklider, 'The consequences of negotiated settlements in civil wars 1945-1993', *American Political Science Review* 89: 3 (1995), pp. 681-90; Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler and Mans Soderbom, 'Post-conflict risks', working paper, Centre for the Study of African Economies, Department of Economics, University of Oxford, 2006, available at: <<http://www.exlegi.ox.ac.uk/anke%20hoeffler.pdf>>.

27 Farah Karimi, *Slagveld Afghanistan* (Battlefield Afghanistan) (Amsterdam: Nieuw Amsterdam Uitgevers, 2006), p. 23.

Whether and how development subsequently takes shape depends largely on the local authorities, institutions and population. Outsiders can at most lend a helping hand. The need for sobriety and moderation is one of the main themes throughout this report.

There is an understandable political desire to formulate appealing and wide-ranging objectives in crisis management operations, but practical experience shows the need for a dispassionate assessment of the likelihood of attaining them and, thus, for restraint.

1.3 Cooperation and coherence

As early as the beginning of the 1990s, when the age of 'modern' crisis management operations began, it was clear that peacebuilding was easier said than done. The need arose for greater cooperation and coherence. In 1992, for example, Minister of Defence Relus ter Beek noted during a joint visit with the then Minister for Development Cooperation Jan Pronk to Dutch units in Cambodia that development cooperation and defence would henceforth become increasingly intertwined in such operations.²⁸

The idea that the various ministries need to cooperate in crisis management operations, as emphasised in the request for advice, is thus far from new. It has been recurring for years in various letters to Parliament and policy memorandums: from the 1995 Dutch foreign policy review²⁹ and the 2005 Memorandum on post-conflict reconstruction³⁰ to the recent fragile states strategy. Incidentally, it is hardly surprising that the national debate on this issue runs more or less parallel to international developments and thinking in other countries.

In 1992, for example, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali published a report entitled 'An agenda for peace', which states: 'Peacemaking and peace-keeping operations, to be truly successful, must come to include comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures which will tend to consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among people.'³¹ Since then, the need for greater cooperation and a more coherent approach has been highlighted in countless international meetings and policy documents. The AIV too believes that improvements should be sought in this area.

The basic premise of the coherent approach is that all activities aimed at promoting security and development should be harmonised with one another, even if they are implemented in different phases. Reconstruction and sustainable development activities can only be successful if the society that they are targeting has achieved a guaranteed minimum level of security and is also making efforts to strengthen the rule of law. Establishing a secure environment is primarily the responsibility of the military. However,

28 Relus ter Beek, *Manoeuvres: herinneringen aan Plein 4* (Amsterdam: Balans, 1996), p. 117.

29 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Review of Dutch foreign policy, 1995.

30 Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Economic Affairs, Memorandum on post-conflict reconstruction, June 2005.

31 Report of the Secretary-General, 'An agenda for peace: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping', A/47/277 - S/24111, 17 June 1992.

a military ‘victory’ does not constitute a political solution, and every military intervention has an – often disruptive – impact on local political relations.

From the beginning of a mission, opportunities for political, social and economic development should therefore be explored and exploited. The aim should be to establish a civil society characterised by good governance and a level of law and order that facilitates further social and economic development,³² while respecting local practices and customs regarding decision-making and legitimacy. Every intervention that does not meet these conditions is doomed to failure.

An interesting overview produced by the Center for Security Studies (CSS) in Zürich summarises the most notable recent changes in crisis management operations as follows:

- The number of tasks has increased. Traditional peacekeeping focused mainly on the military containment of conflicts, while contemporary crisis management also focuses on social, political and economic factors in order to establish a lasting peace. The tasks range from humanitarian aid, establishing a stable and secure living environment, state-building and promoting respect for the rule of law to establishing stable social and economic structures.
- The timelines of crisis management operations have expanded. Crisis management nowadays ranges from attempts at conflict prevention to post-conflict management, and each phase has its own dynamic and complexities. Moreover, the various forms of crisis management, such as humanitarian aid, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, increasingly overlap.
- The number of actors involved has increased enormously. This is partly due to the increase in the number of tasks. Contemporary crisis management requires specific expertise and tools that can only be provided by different international actors. Local actors are also becoming increasingly involved in security and reconstruction. These actors come from government in all its manifestations, as well as from the many representatives of the local community, that is to say, civil society.³³

Due to this expansion of tasks, timelines and actors, as well as the exponential increase in their interactions, crisis management is becoming increasingly complex. The CSS refers to this as ‘complexity management’. As noted, the need for ‘greater cooperation and coherence’ has been recognised since the 1990s.³⁴ The obvious question therefore is why so little has been done over the years to put this apparently widely-shared realisation into practice. Chapter II examines this question in greater detail.

1.4 Definitional issues

In recent years, various terms have been used at national and international level to describe the need for ‘greater cooperation and coherence’, including the ‘whole of government’ approach, the ‘whole of actors’ approach to peacebuilding, the

32 Joris Voorhoeve, ‘From war to the rule of law’, *Verkenningen nr. 16*, Advisory Council on Government Policy (WRR), (October 2007).

33 Mölling, op. cit.

34 Ibid.

'3D' approach (which stands for diplomacy, defence and development) and the comprehensive, integrated, coordinated, coherent or consistent approach. However, the actors concerned (e.g. international organisations, individual states, ministries and NGOs) often ascribe a range of different meanings to these terms. It is doubtful whether the constant invention of new terms contributes to policy in this area, as it creates confusion and may even lead to irritation between the various actors.³⁵ The request for advice that forms the basis of this report also fails to distinguish between three concepts, namely: (a) the coherent approach; (b) the integrated approach; and (c) the 3D approach.

To give an example of the conceptual confusion: the term 'integrated approach', which the government uses in its request for advice, literally means 'to combine various instruments into a whole'. Does the government's pursuit of an integrated approach to foreign policy mean that the relevant ministries and other organisations should be merged? This is probably not what the government has in mind, so what does it mean? If the organisations do not need to be integrated, perhaps they 'only' need to coordinate their activities. In that case, however, which minister would have overall responsibility?

To achieve mutual understanding and effective cooperation among the various actors, it is therefore important to ensure that these concepts are used with care, that there is agreement on their meaning and that subsequent actions are in accordance with this meaning. Based on a literal definition, integrated policy can only be achieved if the activities undertaken in a particular context are part of a single strategy that falls under a single hierarchical structure. However, the AIV believes that integrated policy also exists when there is a joint ultimate objective or direction and each individual actor has a clear understanding of its role in achieving this goal (unity of effort). Coordination assumes that one person or body is doing the coordinating. In such cases, it matters whether the coordinator has a deciding vote if the need arises. If not, any attempt to coordinate diverse interests quickly runs into problems. Chapter III examines this issue in greater detail.

In order to avoid misunderstanding as much as possible, the AIV uses the more neutral terms 'greater cooperation and coherence' and 'coherent approach' in this report. It only uses terms like integrated or coordinated policy when that is exactly what it seeks to convey. In the course of this report, the AIV will describe the cooperation between the various actors in greater detail.

The term '3D approach' raises questions

Until now, the Netherlands has generally used the term '3D approach' (which stands for diplomacy, defence and development) to describe the coherent approach to crisis management operations. The AIV believes that it is appropriate to pause for a moment to consider this term. The acronym strongly suggests that cooperation in these areas is essential to the successful implementation of crisis management operations. It also reveals an understandable desire to use a catchy term for communication purposes.

However, the term 3D also raises questions. Although it implies that the various instruments should be deployed in a coherent manner, it is unclear precisely what the

³⁵ A. Jansen, 'Geïntegreerd buitenlands beleid (3D) voorbij: contextspecifieke wederopbouw' (Beyond integrated foreign policy (3D): context-specific reconstruction), *Internationale Spectator* 62: 4 (April 2008), pp. 191-6.

term refers to. For example, the D of diplomacy covers much more than diplomacy alone. The main issue in the field is governance at various levels. The P of politics also falls under this heading. The political process, the main factor in all crisis management operations, is thus in danger of being obscured by a catchy marketing term. Moreover, the D of defence refers mainly to the promotion of security.³⁶

The D of development also conceals a wide range of activities. This is because a successful outcome depends not only on economic development but ultimately also on development in the broadest sense of the word. This covers the social sphere (human rights and gender equality), the sphere of governance and the rule of law. In principle, in addition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, other ministries, the private sector and NGOs also play a key role in this area. They should therefore also be an inseparable part of the coherent approach.

Finally, the frequent emphasis in common parlance on different aspects of this complex issue further heightens the confusion. In the debate on the 3D approach on 3 June 2008 of the Senate and the government (in this case the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defence and the Minister for Development Cooperation), for example, questions emerged over the precise meaning of 3D.³⁷ It is therefore likely that there is also an undesirable and possibly avoidable lack of clarity within society as a whole concerning the meaning of 3D and, in particular, the priorities that are established in this area. This observation is especially relevant to the AIV's response to the questions in the request for advice concerning the expectations of crisis management operations (see Chapter IV).

36 In Afghanistan, for example, international efforts focus on three tracks: governance, development and security.

37 Report of the policy debate in the Senate on the '3D approach', 3 June 2008.

*'The West is both a large part of the solution and a large part of the problem in our efforts to restructure the world order.'*³⁸

Kishore Mahbubani

II The complex reality

II.1 Theory and practice of the coherent approach

The previous chapter notes that the need for greater cooperation among the various actors and greater coherence among the various activities in response to the stubborn problems of crisis management operations has been recognised since the 1990s. In recent years, moreover, the call for greater cooperation has only become louder. Among other questions, this chapter examines why the international community, in particular, nevertheless clearly has done relatively little – and at any rate not enough – in recent years to put this realisation into practice.

Question 1: How do the political, military and development objectives of complex crisis management operations relate to each other in theory and practice? To what extent are these objectives compatible with a coherent approach?

In theory, diplomatic, military and development objectives are compatible and actually reinforce each other in the pursuit of the ultimate political objective of the crisis management operation, which all actors share. However, this chapter will demonstrate that in practice the situation is much more difficult. The AIV sees a clear connection between Question 1 and Question 8 and also, to a certain extent, between Question 1 and Questions 9 and 10, since they all relate to the functional relationship, hierarchy and sequence of political, military and development objectives. For the sake of clarity, the AIV addresses each of these questions in succession in this chapter.

Three key issues: the ultimate political objective, the approach and the necessary resources

At the outset, the political debate on whether or not to participate in a crisis management operation should always focus on three issues: (1) the ultimate objective; (2) the coherent approach to achieving this objective; and (3) the resources needed to achieve it. This is how retired British General Sir Rupert Smith summarises the problem in his standard work *The Utility of Force*.³⁹ There is a clear hierarchy between these three issues: the political objective is paramount, while the approach (i.e. the way in which diplomatic, military and development means are deployed) and the subsequent selection of the necessary resources are meant to serve this objective.

Coherence among these three elements is vital. If the approach and the resources are not compatible with the ultimate political objective, for example, the operation will end in failure and disappointment. Alternatively, the objective may be too ambitious or the

³⁸ Kishore Mahbubani, *The New Asian Hemisphere: The Irresistible Shift of Global Power to the East* (New York: Public Affairs, 2008), p. 8.

³⁹ Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World* (London, Penguin Books Ltd., 2005), pp. 210-7.

available resources may be too limited. In addition, resources may be deployed without thought for the ultimate political objective. Smith therefore warns that 'one must avoid the trap of confusing activity with outcome'.⁴⁰

From the profusion of official declarations at the start of every operation, it appears that all the local and international stakeholders always explicitly endorse the need for a coherent approach in order to achieve the chosen objective.⁴¹ However, these declarations are often drafted in very general terms. At the start of a crisis management operation, for example, all the participating states rally in principle behind a UN Security Council resolution that formulates the operation's political and other objectives, but this does not mean that all the partners subsequently interpret and/or pursue those objectives in the same way. In practice, they often have different political priorities, follow their own approach and are not all equally willing to make the necessary resources available. This is possible because many UN resolutions are intentionally drafted in such a way that they are open – within certain limits – to different interpretations; otherwise they would never be adopted.

For example, the donors and the host state have in theory all rallied behind the Afghan National Development Strategy (ANDS). In practice, however, they are sharply divided on the implementation of the strategy. More than 60 countries with widely diverging views are trying to make a contribution in Afghanistan. Moreover, development is not just a matter for governments and various government organisations but is also inconceivable without the help of many local and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs and INGOs).⁴²

In practice, there is an intricate network of relationships between bilateral and multilateral donors, UN agencies, NGOs and private contractors. The complex environment in a crisis area containing many different actors is characterised not only by differences with local customs but also by often major cultural and organisational differences between civilian and military actors and among civilian actors themselves, including NGOs, donors, contractors, regional organisations and the United Nations. All this acts as an obstacle to coordination and agreement on the objectives and approach that are to be pursued. This is also apparent from the AIV's response to Question 10, which is considered in conjunction with Question 9 later in this chapter.

This complex reality manifests itself in three spheres. For the Netherlands, these are: (a) the local sphere, i.e. the areas where the Netherlands is involved in crisis management operations; (b) the international sphere of which the Netherlands is part; and (c) the

40 Ibid.

41 See, for example, the report of the North Atlantic Council (NAC) meeting on 2-3 December 2008, and the statement of the International Conference in Support of Afghanistan, Paris, 12 June 2008.

42 The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) estimates that there are more than 37,000 such organisations worldwide. See Report of the UN Secretary-General, 'Strengthening of the United Nations: an agenda for further change', A/57/387, 9 September 2002, available at: <<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/UN/UNPAN005675.pdf>>.

Dutch domestic sphere.⁴³ This chapter examines the local and international spheres. Chapter III discusses the domestic sphere.

II.2 The local sphere: every situation is unique

Question 8: To what extent should an integrated approach prioritise security and stability, democracy and the rule of law, human rights and economic development?

More than 2000 years ago, Sun Pin wrote:

Employing one form of conquest to conquer the myriad forms (dispositions) is not possible. That by which one controls the form is singular, that by which one conquers cannot be single.⁴⁴

In its 2005 Memorandum on post-conflict reconstruction, the Dutch government also notes that there is no universal blueprint for conflicts and that every situation is unique. The ambiguous and not very meaningful conclusion that lasting security is impossible without development and that development is impossible without security is often cited in this context. It is in fact true that a basic security level is essential for a state's development.

In this regard, the AIV therefore concurs with certain views that have recently been expressed by others as well, including the American professor of sociology and international relations Amitai Etzioni. In his recent book *Security First*, he writes that, based on the principle of 'the primacy of life', priority should be given to basic security in fragile states. This applies not only to physical security but also to basic socioeconomic services and basic respect for human rights and the rule of law. In this context, the often vulnerable position of women and girls merits particular attention.

Basic security is thus more important than democratisation.⁴⁵ After all, 'if we seek to democratize the world, at least initially most of the world will resist or not cooperate – if we aim to provide security for one and all, the majority of the nations and the citizens of the world will share this goal.'⁴⁶ The opposite argument, that development must come before basic security, is flawed. There can be no development without a secure foundation, and development as such does not provide security. Basic security does not mean that all threats need to have been eliminated. However, they need to be kept at a level that enables society to function and facilitates reconstruction, including strengthening the legal order.

43 See also the government's letter on the state of affairs in Afghanistan of 20 June 2008, which makes the same distinction between the operational, international and Dutch spheres.

44 Sun Pin (c. 380-316 BC), *Military Methods*, translated by Ralph Sawyer (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), pp. 230-1.

45 Amitai Etzioni, *Security First: For a Muscular, Moral Foreign Policy* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2007).

46 Ibid.

If the objective of the intervention is first and foremost to create a regime in which basic security is guaranteed, it will often not be democratic or only to a limited extent.

From the outset, attention should be devoted to strengthening local institutions. For example, security sector reform (SSR) is essential to improving the security level.⁴⁷ Special attention should be devoted to strengthening the police, the judicial authorities and the legal system. A related activity is the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) process, which can be launched at various stages of the conflict cycle. Soon after the end of a violent conflict, DDR can be used to reduce the often large numbers of armed combatants. In time, DDR takes on a different function. In the context of a broader approach to security, it is more often used to reduce the size of the security organisations to the numbers necessary for performing certain specific tasks. This size should also be in line with the available financial resources.

The long-term affordability of security organisations is a key issue of institution-building in the security sector. For example, the planned size, strengthening and maintenance of the Afghan National Army (ANA) will account for so much of the country's budget that long-term international funding will be indispensable.⁴⁸ This raises the question how likely it is that such funding can be ensured indefinitely.

Who owns what

In principle, it is ultimately the local population itself that sets the priorities and determines the pace of change, while the intervention force can only act as a catalyst. Societies are not built; they build themselves.⁴⁹ In order to achieve sustainable development, it is essential that peacebuilding enjoys local support, is carried out at local level and strengthens local institutions.⁵⁰ The principle of local ownership is an established paradigm, even in the case of crisis management operations.⁵¹

47 The aim of SSR is to enable the armed forces, police, judicial authorities, intelligence and security services, legal system and so forth to carry out their tasks and guarantee control over the security sector. The military contribution to reconstruction focuses mainly on training the country's military and advising the civilian authorities on the structure and responsibilities of the ministry of defence. Reforming other security organisations also requires the support of the police, judges, public prosecutors and advisors on the prisons system and customs issues.

48 Barnett R. Rubin and Ahmed Rashid, 'From great game to grand bargain', *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2008.

49 Dorothea Hilhorst, 'Saving lives or saving societies? Realities of relief and reconstruction', Wageningen University, 2007.

50 Hannah Reich, "'Local Ownership" in conflict transformation projects: partnership, participation or patronage', Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management, 2006.

51 The Netherlands follows the OECD's approach, as laid down in the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, which states that partner countries should exercise effective leadership over their development policies and strategies and coordinate development actions.

In practice, however, problems also arise in this area, precisely because some or all sections of the local population, the authorities and the leadership of fragile states are often unwilling or unable to engage in peacebuilding. Yet if the intervention force supports certain local actors and organisations, this automatically constitutes external interference in a domestic problem (conflict), which in turn leads to the exclusion of other groups of persons. In addition, the selection of certain local partners reflects the principles, values and interests of the Western outsiders: it is impossible to operate in a politically neutral way.

Another feature of fragile states is that central government and its local representatives often possess little or no legitimate authority and that real power is in the hands of other networks and groups organised, for example, on the basis of clientelism and patronage.⁵² All these local actors have their own agenda and try to safeguard their own interests.⁵³ It may be assumed that established elites will oppose changes that harm their interests and that they will only be interested in pragmatic cooperation. Corruption, which is often pervasive, hampers rational cooperation and the strict application of the local ownership principle.

The position of women is often very vulnerable in fragile states. In parts of Afghanistan, for example, local traditions include marrying off young girls and giving away women in compensation for a crime. Although these practices are prohibited under Afghan and Islamic law, such local traditions are difficult to combat, especially in remote areas.⁵⁴ In many conflicts, such as in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Darfur, and during their aftermath, rape is often used as a means to disrupt society. Such war crimes against women hamper the reconstruction process.

In 2000, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. This constitutes an important step towards recognising the role of women in conflict management, peacekeeping and post-conflict peacebuilding.⁵⁵ Experience teaches that focusing more on the specific experiences of women leads to reconstruction processes that are not only more just but also more effective. In practice, however, improving the position of women in fragile states often proves to be an extremely slow and difficult process, despite all the good intentions of the international community.⁵⁶

Women are often treated as victims rather than as proper interlocutors. However, female leaders often operate behind the scenes in local communities. It is important to cooperate with these key women leaders in practice and to ensure that there are enough women in the intervention force to establish contacts with them.

52 Roel van der Veen, *Afrika, van de Koude Oorlog naar de 21e eeuw* (Africa: from the Cold War to the 21st century) (Amsterdam: KIT, 2002).

53 See, for example, Ahmed Rashid's book on the Taliban's rise in Afghanistan: Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press 2001).

54 'Traditie sterker dan vrouwenrechten in Afghanistan' (Tradition is stronger than women's rights in Afghanistan), *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, 14 January 2009.

55 UN Security Council Resolution 1325, 'Women and peace and security', 31 October 2000.

56 See, for example, 'Idea of Afghan women's rights starts taking hold', *New York Times*, 3 March 2009.

Focusing on the rights and position of women is essential to promoting development and respect for human rights. Experience teaches that women can make an effective contribution to conflict mediation and that their voices, if heard, can foster political dialogue and peace. However, efforts to bolster their position and rights can also rouse suspicion regarding the motives of foreign aid providers and fuel resistance to their interference.

It is difficult to obtain a clear insight into local power structures or, in other words, into who owns what. When such insight is lacking, external interventions may actually – perhaps unintentionally – fuel conflicts.⁵⁷ For example, placing a water pump in a tribal area can influence the local balance of power. A good understanding of various issues, including political relations, social processes and local culture, is therefore essential. To give another example, organising elections in countries without any electoral tradition may actually exacerbate problems and bring about the opposite of what is intended.

The term ‘local ownership’ should therefore be scrutinised more carefully, as a key premise that nonetheless does not offer any concrete guidelines for solving problems. If the local ownership paradigm is fully implemented, there is a good chance that things will not go well. On the other hand, if the intervention is too radical – if the intervention force decides what needs to be done (probably with the best intentions) – it may well be compared to neocolonialism.

Successful intervention in fragile states often requires striking a precarious balance between the country’s culture and history and the culture and mandate of the intervention force. An environment needs to be created in which local actors and institutions are willing to cooperate with the intervention force and the peacebuilders because they too have a great deal to gain from the new situation. However, this gives rise to a new dilemma, because local interests and customs may conflict, for example, with international human rights standards and values or Western concepts of good governance. If these differences cannot be overcome and no acceptable compromise can be found, the crisis management operation is doomed to failure.

Local ownership is a prerequisite for successful, sustainable peacebuilding. However, the interests, standards and values of local rulers may be at odds with international agreements and the interests, standards and values of the intervention force and those involved in reconstruction.

This explains the comments of NATO Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer in a recent opinion piece in the *Washington Post*: ‘The basic problem in Afghanistan is not too much Taliban; it’s too little good governance. But we have paid enough, in blood and treasure, to demand that the Afghan Government take more concrete and vigorous action to root out corruption and increase efficiency, even where that means difficult political choices.’⁵⁸

57 Policy and Operations Evaluation Department (IOB) of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ‘Dutch humanitarian assistance: an evaluation’, IOB Evaluation no. 303, 2006.

58 NATO Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, ‘Afghanistan: we can do better’, *Washington Post*, 18 January 2009.

This chapter opens with a citation from the former Singaporean diplomat Kishore Mahbubani, from his book *The New Asian Hemisphere*, in which he seeks ‘to explain the world as it is seen through non-Western eyes, so that the 900 million who live in the West appreciate how the remaining 5.6 billion view the world’.⁵⁹ Mohammed Ayoob, a Muslim of Indian origin who is a professor of international relations at Michigan State University in the United States, emphasises that foreign governments and aid organisations should exercise great restraint when it comes to projecting Western ideas about state and socioeconomic structures onto fragile states.⁶⁰ In a book describing his experiences as the UN High Representative in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Paddy Ashdown also strongly criticises the way in which Western ideas are sometimes unthinkingly imposed on third states: ‘When I arrived in Bosnia I found a young group of committed, hard-working, highly talented international lawyers writing the new criminal codes for the country based on English common law. Their product ... had no connection whatsoever with the established traditions of Balkan and ex-Yugoslav law, or with the European legal system into which the country’s judicial structures were going to have to fit.’⁶¹

In short, local ownership cannot be imposed from outside. ‘The demand for local ownership, if viewed as a concrete project objective, in fact tends to hinder the attainment of the goal of sovereignty of local actors in externally funded projects’.⁶² This is because all good intentions in this area are undermined by other factors and inconsistencies, which in practice often cause the West to opt for overly ambitious political objectives and too much interference. Finding a way for local actors and institutions and international actors to cooperate effectively is accordingly one of the greatest challenges facing crisis management operations in fragile states.

Human security and state-building in fragile states

As we noted earlier, a basic level of security is needed before reconstruction and development can take place. Establishing or restoring the state’s monopoly on the use of force is a prerequisite for state-building. This may involve the use of military force, as certain actors, such as local warlords, may have a vested interest in opposing such changes, as discussed above. Building a stable state may therefore require measures, certainly in the short term, that may contribute to the security of the state concerned but undermine the security of individuals and communities (i.e. human security).

State-building is often a very violent process, but in some cases it develops from below.⁶³ In Western countries, this process lasted several centuries. In the case of external interventions in fragile states, the intervention force sometimes tries to take

59 Mahbubani, op. cit., p. 8.

60 Mohammed Ayoob, ‘Humanitarian intervention and international society’, *Global Governance* 7 (2001), pp. 225-30.

61 Paddy Ashdown, *Swords and Ploughshares: Building Peace in the 21st Century* London: Phoenix (2008).

62 Reich, op. cit., p. 7; see also Timothy Donais, ‘Empowerment or imposition? Dilemmas of local ownership in post-conflict peacebuilding processes’, University of Windsor, 2007.

63 Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997); Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990-1990* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990); Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

over various functions of the state, such as providing order and security, on a temporary basis. However, in doing so, it simultaneously risks undermining the authority of the existing state institutions.⁶⁴ The same problem applies to NGOs. If they assume the state's function of providing medical care, for example, they may simultaneously weaken the state that they are trying to support. It is therefore very important that the intervention force and international NGOs do everything possible to strengthen the local authorities and other local actors (such as civilian, religious, women's and human rights organisations) and involve them in security and development activities, so that local actors are themselves able to bring about improvements in their country.

Counterinsurgency

In conflicts like those in Afghanistan and Iraq, local resistance during the stabilisation phase may take on the character of an insurgency, in which adversaries use a combination of subversion, terrorism and guerrilla warfare to achieve their political objectives.⁶⁵ These activities are often intertwined with criminal activities, such as cultivating and trafficking drugs, illegal mining and arms dealing.

Insurgencies also present the local population with the dilemma of having to choose between the insurgents and the authorities backed by the international coalition. It is often unclear how long the intervention force will remain in the country. This is therefore not a simple choice, as it may literally be a matter of life or death.

Peacebuilding and development require a long-term commitment. Without this certainty, the local population will not dare to rely on the international intervention force for fear of reprisals by the insurgents. However, the prolonged presence of a military intervention force may also cause it to be regarded as an occupying force.

First and foremost, counterinsurgency operations should offer the political prospect of a lasting peace, which cannot be achieved by military means alone.⁶⁶ Without this prospect, there is even a risk that the peacekeeping force will become part of the problem rather than part of the solution.⁶⁷ This can happen, for example, if sight is lost of the ultimate political objective or insufficient account is taken of the vital importance of acceptance by the local population.

Counterinsurgency operations are very complex and have to contend with a high threat level. In Iraq and Afghanistan, for example, this is demonstrated by the regular use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs). The military action takes place in the midst of the

64 David Lake, 'Building legitimate states after civil wars: order, authority and institutions', paper prepared for the Workshop on Building Peace in Fragile States, University of California, 1-2 December 2006, p. 20; Jan Angstrom, 'Inviting the Leviathan: external forces, war and state-building in Afghanistan', *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 19: 3 (2008), pp. 375-97.

65 M.W.M. Kitzen, 'Westerse militaire cultuur en counter-insurgency' (Western military culture and counterinsurgency), *Militaire Spectator* 3 (2008), p. 128.

66 David Petraeus and James F. Amos, *Counterinsurgency*, U.S. Army and Marines Field Manual 3-24 (Boulder: Paladin Press, 2006).

67 Interview with former NATO envoy Daan Everts, 'Veel minder soldaten, en veel meer opbouw' (Far fewer soldiers and much more reconstruction), *NRC Handelsblad*, 18 November 2008.

population, where the irregular enemy forces conceal themselves. Rupert Smith refers to this as 'war amongst the people'.⁶⁸ This calls for restrained, professional action on the part of the armed forces, because every military action can have serious political consequences. The political objective is after all to win the hearts and minds of the local population, so that they choose the side of the authorities. However, past experience has repeatedly shown how difficult it is 'to apply military force to this objective, since by its nature it is lethal, massive and tends to be arbitrary.'⁶⁹ What is the utility of force in such cases?

The presence of sufficient ground forces is essential to creating a secure environment by means of a counterinsurgency operation. A key principle in this regard is the clear-hold-build strategy: clear an area of insurgents, keep control of the area and start reconstruction. If there are not enough ground forces, the reconstruction process will be slow to get started and they will often be heavily dependent on air support, which increases the risk of civilian casualties. This undermines the local population's vital support for the international force. Afghan President Hamid Karzai and the UN Special Representative for Afghanistan, the Norwegian Kai Eide, have repeatedly called on the West to exercise great restraint in the use of air power, because otherwise the international community will lose the trust of the local population.⁷⁰

The first task of a crisis management operation is to put an end to violence and restore order, but the required measures may actually undermine support within the local population, especially if there are civilian casualties.

David Kilcullen notes that counterinsurgency is more politicised today than in the past due to the influence of the global media, the increased importance of public perception and the outcome of political processes relating to events on the battlefield.⁷¹ Every combat action almost instantly conveys a new political message. This once again highlights the importance of effective coordination between political, civil and military activities and of strategic communication. Chapter IV considers the issue of communication in greater detail.

II.3 Sustainable poverty reduction, humanitarian aid and reconstruction

Question 9: Should sustainable poverty reduction be an independent objective, or can it be integrated with the objectives of a complex crisis management operation? In the latter case, how does it relate to the other objectives?

Question 10: Can the AIV also examine the relationship between humanitarian aid and reconstruction in its advisory report on the 3D approach?

68 Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World* (New York: Knopf, 2007), p. 3.

69 Ibid., p. 389.

70 See, e.g., 'Afghans in hospital dispute U.S. account of raid', *International Herald Tribune*, 26 January 2009.

71 David Kilcullen, 'Counterinsurgency redux', *Survival* 48 (winter 2006-7), pp. 111-30. Kilcullen, a former Australian army officer, has made a name for himself as an expert on counterinsurgency.

Sustainable poverty reduction, i.e. achieving self-sustaining and -reinforcing sustainable development, is the main objective of development cooperation. When properly implemented, sustainable development devotes attention to all aspects of development, including material issues like food, clean water, housing, health and education and intangible issues like legal certainty and legal protection for women, minorities and others. Sustainable development also makes responsible use of the limited environmental space and takes account of the interests of future generations.

In effect, the previous chapter already provides an answer to Question 9, namely that the objective of crisis management operations in fragile states is to bring about security and stability with a view to meeting humanitarian needs and eventually laying a foundation for sustainable development and poverty reduction. This is also the gist of the government's fragile states strategy, which states that it may be necessary to carry out crisis management operations in order to achieve the aims in view. Sustainable poverty reduction and crisis management operations in fragile states are thus inextricably bound up with each other.

In humanitarian emergencies in fragile states, the emphasis is on people's immediate survival and the restoration of security, rather than on sustainable poverty reduction or development. Such humanitarian and/or crisis management operations accordingly focus on alleviating humanitarian needs and curbing violence as swiftly as possible. The aim is to arrive at a situation that is sufficiently secure and stable to facilitate reconstruction and further, more sustainable development. In order to achieve this, existing local capacity must be used from the very outset as much as possible. As a rule, some of the aid will be used to strengthen the capacity of local aid organisations and – in so far as possible – local and central government, so that they can assume responsibility for guaranteeing security and supplying basic needs like food, medical care, shelter and transport.

The intention is always to transform emergency aid into reconstruction and start – or revive – sustainable development as swiftly as possible. For a certain period, however, these different forms of aid will exist alongside each other. If security and stability can be guaranteed for a sufficiently long period (often longer than ten years), these forms of aid may ultimately lead to a process of sustainable development. For this to happen, the authorities concerned must be able to provide basic services and a physical infrastructure. Within this framework, the private sector should be able to function and generate economic growth and employment and the institutions should provide legal certainty and checks and balances for national government, in part through the existence of an active civil society.

Once again, however, all this is true only in theory. In practice, the process often stalls when it hits the gap between humanitarian aid and reconstruction, so that the step is never made from humanitarian aid to self-sustaining local development. Attention has been drawn to this problem since the 1990s, and the need for an integrated approach has consistently been highlighted.⁷²

The government's fragile states strategy, which can also be regarded as a response to the Senate's question (Question 10), deals specifically with the gap between

⁷² AIV, *Humanitarian Aid: Redefining the Limits*, advisory report no. 6, The Hague, November 1998, p. 35. See also IOB, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

humanitarian aid and reconstruction. This is not surprising, as the government formulated this strategy following the 3D debate of the Senate and the government on 3 June 2008, during which Senator Arjan Vliegthart of the Socialist Party posed this question to Minister for Development Cooperation Bert Koenders.⁷³ In its fragile states strategy, the government suggests that the UNDP could play a key role in closing this gap. However, the AIV believes that this problem is much larger and much more complicated. In addition to linking up activities in the fields of humanitarian aid and reconstruction, for which the government holds the UNDP responsible, there are also problems relating to operational models and cooperative frameworks. The response to humanitarian emergencies is based on humanitarian principles. Aid is frequently provided from outside, is top-down in nature and is for the most part funded in cycles that last only a few months.

The deployment of the armed forces to provide humanitarian aid in crisis situations is governed by UN guidelines.⁷⁴ According to these guidelines, military involvement in humanitarian aid should be very limited and is only desirable when civilian actors are unable to reach victims. The basic premise of these guidelines is that humanitarian aid should be neutral and independent.

In the course of the transition from humanitarian aid to reconstruction (during the stabilisation phase), members of the armed forces may find themselves in a situation, unintentionally and without any preparation, in which they are responsible in practice for setting up and guiding the local civil authorities.⁷⁵ At this stage, the situation is often still very unstable, the local authorities are barely functioning and civilian aid and development NGOs are still largely absent. Examples include IFOR in Bosnia, KFOR in Kosovo, more recently ISAF in southern Afghanistan and, more specifically, Uruzgan between 2006 and 2008.⁷⁶ As soon as this initial phase is over, the military can restrict its civilian role to providing various services and carrying out reconstruction work, but only with a view to increasing force acceptance and force protection and not for the purpose of launching sustainable development. The core task of the military is and remains ensuring security and stability.

The role of international NGOs (INGOs) also shifts during this phase. In the case of humanitarian aid, for example, they often exercise restraint when working with local authorities, especially if these authorities are directly involved in hostilities. When it comes to reconstruction, however, INGOs will often seek to strengthen local structures, including government. On the other hand, they are often obliged to work in parallel structures, at least on a temporary basis until the authorities are able to take over these tasks, in order to support the local population. The drawback is that, if the authorities continue to be dominated by the INGOs, these structures can undermine the legitimacy

73 *Fragile states strategy*, op. cit., p. 35. See also the report of the 3D debate, op. cit., pp. 46 and 53.

74 'Guidelines on the use of military and civil defence assets to support United Nations humanitarian activities in complex emergencies', UN OCHA, 2003/2006.

75 Thijs W. Brocades Zaalberg, *Soldiers and Civil Power: Supporting or Substituting Civil Authorities in Modern Peace Operations* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

76 The examples of IFOR and KFOR are substantiated in Brocades Zaalberg, *ibid.*

and consolidation of effective government. 'It is always quite easy to enter as an aid provider. The problem is: when do you leave?'⁷⁷

During the reconstruction phase, aid providers like to work with legitimate authorities. However, they are often obliged, on a temporary basis, to work in parallel structures that may undermine the legitimacy and consolidation of effective government.

Humanitarian emergencies should also receive attention during the reconstruction phase. This often entails the continuation of international emergency aid, since it is a humanitarian imperative not to postpone the alleviation of life-threatening emergencies until there is sufficient response capacity at local level. It is important to organise emergency aid in such a way that normal markets and income-generating activities can continue to function as much as possible.

The gap between emergency aid and reconstruction relates not only to activities but also to the entire underlying system of funding and cooperation. Closing the gap also requires reform in this area and should lead to better preparation for reconstruction while humanitarian aid is being provided, such as the early mobilisation and development of local capacity. In practice, the recipe for closing the gap between humanitarian aid and reconstruction by means of greater cooperation and coherence comes up against limitations. Like other aspects of crisis management operations, emergency aid and reconstruction are characterised by a highly complex, often unclear and very dynamic reality in which all sorts of interests are constantly competing for priority.

II.4 The international sphere

There is no unity of command

By definition, Dutch ideas and ambitions concerning crisis management operations are formulated – and restricted – in an international context. This may be a cliché, but it always bears repeating: there is no such thing as *the* international community. Sovereign states, including the Netherlands, each have their own national interests and continue to play the lead role in the international sphere, while the actions of international organisations like the UN and NATO usually represent the common denominator of their member states' interests. Moreover, the US and NATO (for example) are not willing to place their troops under the authority of a senior UN official in crisis management operations and thus establish unity of command. There is accordingly no such thing as *the* UN, *the* EU or NATO as such, although in principle they are well-defined institutions with rules and guidelines, a specific membership, executive bodies, objectives and tasks.⁷⁸

It is difficult enough getting senior UN officials and military commanders to speak with one voice. In practice, donor countries and individual organisations like NGOs tend to stick to their own approach or tasks instead of adapting to the situation in the mission area. They accordingly look for the best solution in their own narrow spheres and do

⁷⁷ Interview with Willem van der Put, 'De Taliban waren goedwillende boertjes' (The Taliban were well-intentioned small farmers), *NRC Handelsblad*, 31 January 2009.

⁷⁸ See also Karimi, op. cit., p. 89.

not devote sufficient attention to the need for unity of effort.⁷⁹ This is partly inevitable, due to internal forces in the countries concerned. According to NATO's Director of Policy Planning, Jamie Shea, 'each country should be allowed to formulate its own specific goals within a comprehensive framework. This could help the parliamentary debate in each country.'⁸⁰

It is advisable for various reasons to plan action in fragile states in a multilateral framework, but multilateral action is often slow to develop and has many limitations.

The following description of the international organisations concerned focuses mainly on their shortcomings and the lack of cooperation within them. In spite of this, the AIV is also aware of the positive sides of these organisations.

The United Nations

More than 90,000 troops, police officers and observers are currently involved in 17 UN peace missions around the world.⁸¹ The United Nations thus has a strong interest in ensuring the best possible cooperation between all those involved, which should be based, as has rightly and repeatedly been emphasised, on coherence between the political objective of the UN mission, its approach and the available resources.

The UN plays a coordinating role in several countries, including Afghanistan, where it is in charge of coordinating international aid.⁸² Just three months after commencing his duties as UN Special Representative, however, Norwegian diplomat Kai Eide openly stated that, in practice, this agreement was not bearing much fruit. 'What can we as the UN do when donor countries don't accept our coordinating role?', he asked rhetorically.⁸³ In December 2008, the UN announced that it would double its budget for Afghanistan in 2009, but only time will tell if this also helps to strengthen its coordinating role.

The UN's power is limited, as its almost 200 member states generally call the shots. As regards crisis management operations, the Security Council is particularly important, due to its formal power to adopt binding resolutions. Within the UN, however, the Department of Political Affairs (DPA), the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), the Peacebuilding

79 Sebastiaan J.H. Rietjens, Netherlands Defence Academy, 'Managing civil-military cooperation: experiences from the Dutch Provincial Reconstruction Team in Afghanistan', *Armed Forces & Society* 34: 2 (2008), p. 22.

80 Citation from the report of the meeting in The Hague with Jamie Shea on 'The road to NATO's 60th anniversary summit' on 19 November 2008, *Atlantisch Perspectief* 8 (2008), p. 29.

81 See: <<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/bnote.htm#minurso>> (last visited December 2008). This site presents a comprehensive overview of all missions, including their mandate, troop strength and participating states.

82 See, for example, the statement of the International Conference in Support of Afghanistan, Paris, 12 June 2008.

83 'On patrol with NATO in Afghanistan', *NRC Handelsblad International*, 22 September 2008.

Commission (PBC) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) vie with each other for primacy.⁸⁴

The problems encountered by the UN while implementing its various projects are due chiefly to the size of the organisation, the parallel structure of its subsidiary organisations and its limited means of control. Referring to the UN as a whole, Kofi Annan noted: 'a separate review conducted late in 2005 by external experts found major weaknesses in culture, management oversight and controls, including outdated procurement processes ... a poor governance structure and lack of sufficient resources'. He also spoke about isolated 'silos' – the specialised agencies that do not coordinate or sometimes even communicate with each other – and 'a damaged culture which is seen as limiting creativity, enterprise, innovation and indeed leadership itself'.⁸⁵ There is thus clearly a problem of coordination.

In order to improve this situation, the UN has taken various initiatives under the slogans 'Delivering as One' and 'One UN' to arrive at an intra-agency comprehensive approach and an Integrated Missions framework.⁸⁶ However, this does not eliminate the second basic problem of national conflicts of interest and member states' refusal to accept the UN's coordinating role and authority.

Although the UN's operational capabilities are thus limited, especially with regard to operations at the higher end of the spectrum of force, it nevertheless plays a very important role in legitimising crisis management operations through decision-making in the UN Security Council. This is important not only in maintaining the international legal order but also for obtaining public support for operations in the countries concerned. (On the issue of public support, see Chapter IV)

The European Union

The European Union is currently contributing to approximately 20 missions, which are mostly civilian in nature. Like the UN, the EU has a wide range of military and civilian instruments at its disposal, for example in the areas of development cooperation and trade relations.⁸⁷ On paper, the EU is thus highly capable of implementing an integrated approach. In practice, however, it has so far achieved very little in this regard. This is because the European Union is no more effective than its 27 member states allow it to be, while in practice all decision-making in the politically sensitive area of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) takes place on the basis of consensus.

84 Mölling, *op. cit.*, at p. 2.

85 Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart, *Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

86 See, for example, the report of the Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on UN System-wide Coherence, 'Delivering as One', 9 November 2006.

87 See, for example, Conclusions of the Council and the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting within the Council on Security and Development, 14903/07, 14 November 2007, p. 3.

Internally, the EU also has to contend with a complicated governance structure that hampers cooperation.⁸⁸ For example, development cooperation falls under the European Commission, but military missions come under the authority of the Council of Ministers and the High Representative.⁸⁹ Various EU representatives may therefore be involved in the same EU mission, and this comes at a cost. According to the former NATO representative in Afghanistan, Daan Everts, 'representatives of various European bodies are operating in Afghanistan who do not cooperate effectively'.⁹⁰ This interferes with the EU's desire to adopt an integrated approach, to which it pays so much lip service, and prevents it from making the kind of political contribution to strengthening the international comprehensive approach that might be expected of it on the basis of its economic potential.⁹¹

NATO

NATO's interest in the comprehensive approach has increased significantly as a result of ISAF. In August 2003, NATO took on a leading role in Afghanistan, possibly without properly realising in advance that the timely presence of civilian actors from the fields of diplomacy and reconstruction in crisis management operations is also of vital importance. However, NATO has gradually come to realise this. At the 2006 Riga summit, for example, it highlighted the importance of the comprehensive approach. However, it was only at the NATO summit in Bucharest in April 2008 that the organisation presented a comprehensive approach, which included a request to provide more support to other organisations like the UN and the EU.

The most far-reaching form of cooperation is the fully integrated approach, which is only truly possible under unity of command. As a military organisation with a hierarchical structure, NATO in principle appears to meet this condition more than other international organisations, at least in so far as military resources are concerned. Here too, however, in practice there are stubborn problems. Forty-one countries (including 26 NATO member states) are participating in ISAF and have all rallied behind the mission. Nevertheless, every lead nation is implementing the mission in accordance with its own, national approach. Thus, each one focuses primarily on its own province. Examples of this include the Netherlands in Uruzgan, Canada in Kandahar and the UK in Helmand. Incidentally, the Netherlands has undertaken activities aimed at achieving a regional approach and has given considerable financial support to the government in Kabul.

All lead nations have established Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in their areas of responsibility, but the PRTs are all 'mirrors of their capitals'. The national PRTs each

88 See, for example, AIV, *The Netherlands and European Development Policy*, advisory report no. 60, The Hague, May 2008, p. 47.

89 For more information on the European Union's pillar structure, see: <<http://europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/eu-pillars-en.htm>>.

90 'Samenwerking in Afghanistan verbrokken' (Cooperation in Afghanistan has disintegrated), *Trouw*, 6 February 2008.

91 Under the Lisbon Treaty, which has not yet been adopted, the pillar structure would be abolished. This could be beneficial for coordination within the European Union. However, it remains to be seen whether the treaty will enter into force in the near future and how the comprehensive approach would subsequently take shape within the European Union.

have different forms and missions. As such, they are a good example of how various countries can still interpret a joint concept in a unique, national way. The advantage is that these countries are getting to know the terrain and the local population and that they are linking military action to development aid. According to the NATO Secretary-General, however, the disadvantage is that these different approaches undermine effectiveness and sometimes put a strain on solidarity.⁹² (For more on PRTs, see Chapter IV.) From an operational perspective, moreover, national caveats (restrictions concerning the use of national forces) can seriously harm the effectiveness of NATO action. In total, 102 national caveats have been issued in relation to ISAF (including the PRTs).⁹³

Economic development and the role of the World Bank

Without economic development, the prospect of sustainable development disappears.⁹⁴ The World Bank plays a key role in providing financial and technical support to developing countries and, as such, is inextricably bound up with every coherent development strategy in fragile states. One example is the World Bank's central role in drafting the Afghanistan National Development Strategy (ANDS), which has been adopted by the government of Afghanistan and all donors.⁹⁵

The World Bank is often criticised for taking too little account of local culture and needs. In 2002, for example, the World Bank and UN persisted in their decision that there should be no investment in higher education – and very little in secondary and vocational education – in Afghanistan due to the focus on primary education in the Millennium Development Goals. At present, it is also becoming clear how much the country depends on technical assistance (TA) from international organisations and NGOs. The failure in this context to invest sufficiently in the training, for example, of public servants and future leaders is currently giving rise to another significant problem in the state-building process.⁹⁶

NGOs

Many NGOs and other humanitarian organisations are reluctant to participate in a coherent approach, as this would jeopardise their independence and neutrality, for example because their activities might be identified with the military actions of one of the warring parties. After all, warring parties can also use humanitarian aid as a weapon.⁹⁷ According to international principles on the provision of humanitarian aid, all parties must respect the NGOs' humanitarian space, so that they are free to decide

92 *Washington Post*, 18 January 2009.

93 Rietjens, op. cit., p. 238.

94 Ghani and Lockhart, op. cit.

95 The World Bank also chairs (and contributes to) a consortium of international donors that funds one of the most successful programmes in Afghanistan. The National Solidarity Program aims to establish Community Development Councils in villages and communities throughout the country. The participation of women is mandatory.

96 Ghani and Lockhart, op. cit.

97 Linda Polman, *De crisiscaravaan: achter de schermen van de noodhulpindustrie* (The crisis caravan: behind the scenes of the emergency aid industry) (Amsterdam: Balans, 2008).

where to provide aid depending on people's needs and regardless of political or strategic considerations. This usually applies to humanitarian NGOs that supply basic essentials like food and water.

Incidentally, many NGOs are involved in reconstruction and long-term development, which by definition are based on a political agenda. The call for humanitarian space is less relevant in such cases, although NGOs should still remain free to cooperate with parties other than the established authorities. Incidentally, the relationship between troops and NGOs is also highly dependent on local circumstances. For example, there was little tension between NGOs and troops in the DRC, and in Kosovo they worked together as a matter of course. It thus transpires that coordination and cooperation are often less problematic in the field than in the offices in the capitals or in the international arena, where institutional interests are more prominent.

NGOs and private contractors that are willing and able to operate at local level and have knowledge and experience of the local situation and culture play a key role in reconstruction and development in fragile states. In practice, financial aid generally flows directly from the donors and international organisations to these NGOs and private contractors. In some cases, this leads to the establishment of a subcontracting chain with several links. There is thus a risk that a great deal of the money will be skimmed off.⁹⁸

The large number of NGOs involved in the provision of aid can make effective coordination difficult. Despite promising signs of improvement, the field of NGO aid is still highly fragmented.⁹⁹ Aid organisations tend to conclude separate agreements with the various ministries in the recipient country and often develop parallel structures for delivering services. NGOs may thus actually cause fragmentation. In such cases, they are part of the problem rather than the solution.

Another key task of international NGOs is to contribute to an active civil society and support local organisations such as independent media, human rights and minority organisations. By curbing or regulating such civil forces, the authorities hinder the establishment or restoration of the rule of law, under which good governance applies not only to the government but also to its interactions with an active civil society with adequate checks and balances. However, when international NGOs dominate local civil organisations rather than just assisting them, the NGOs' legitimacy is called into question because they are standing in the way of local ownership.

II.5 Preference for an approach based on a limited number of objectives

At the end of this chapter, which discusses the reality of crisis management operations in fragile states, the AIV concludes that they are complex processes with 'messy partnerships, strategic alliances, expanding networks and coalitions with shifting focal

98 Matt Waldman, 'Falling short: aid effectiveness in Afghanistan', ACBAR Advocacy Series, March 2008. According to this report, 40% of the money donated to Afghanistan flows back to the donor countries.

99 See, for example, the lecture by Minister for Development Cooperation Bert Koenders, 'Internationale Samenwerking 2.0: Agenda voor moderne armoedebestrijding' (International cooperation 2.0: An agenda for modern poverty reduction), 8 November 2008.

points'.¹⁰⁰ In 2006, the well-known economist William Easterly published a critical book entitled *The White Man's Burden* – with a nod to Rudyard Kipling's famous poem of 1899 – on what he regards as the exaggerated ambitions of development aid.¹⁰¹

The AIV believes that aid policies should not be based on some vague grand design but should focus on specific, manageable interim and long-term objectives and provide insight into the roles and tasks of the military and civilian partners. Where possible, interim and long-term objectives should be identified in consultation with local actors. Furthermore, the government should not commit itself to a single approach in advance but should be willing and able, if necessary, to gradually achieve its objectives by other means.

In this context, the AIV points to certain parallels in its recent advisory report on the universality of human rights of November 2008, which states: 'Even though universality of human rights can be considered a cornerstone of the human rights system, this does not mean that it is a foregone conclusion and self-evident. The AIV prefers to see it as the product of a process.'¹⁰² Human rights cannot be imposed from above and should be supplemented by means of a bottom-up approach: 'When developing human rights policies in respect of the situation in other States, the Netherlands may thus want to bear in mind that top-down imposition of human rights standards that are not widely supported might sometimes be effective but will often lack the desired impact in the long run. Therefore, resources should also be made available to support pressure from below, since laws that reflect popular conceptions have more legitimacy and a larger chance to become effective.'¹⁰³ The report also states that 'a successful Netherlands human rights strategy is based on acknowledgement of cultural diversity, on a process-oriented dialogue, and on support for grassroots initiatives'.¹⁰⁴

In short, the emphasis in crisis management operations in fragile states should be on a step-by-step approach to development that is conceived in terms of decades rather than a few years. Chapter III examines how the Netherlands is trying to implement the concept of 'greater cooperation and coherence'.

100 De Gaay Fortman and De Ruijter, op. cit., p. 3.

101 Rudyard Kipling, 'White man's burden', 1899, available at: <<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/Kipling.html>>; William Easterly, *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006).

102 AIV, *Universality of Human Rights: Principles, Practice and Prospects*, advisory report no. 63, The Hague, November 2008, p. 8.

103 Ibid., p. 14.

104 Ibid., p. 30.

*'The challenge is to bring about a cultural shift of such proportions, at political as well as administrative level, that the focus is on producing a joint product by means of ministerial contributions rather than a ministerial product by means of joint contributions.'*¹⁰⁵

Joint Committee on Integrated Foreign Policy.

III The Dutch interpretation of 'greater cooperation and coherence'

III.1 There are various forms of cooperation and coherence

Question 3: In what ways could the Netherlands' current approach be improved?

The previous chapters have emphasised that crisis management operations in fragile states are very complex and that they cannot be tackled using a single, uniform approach. However, the government asserts that an 'integrated approach' is required. As indicated in Chapter I, the search for a precise definition of this concept can give rise to problems. A lack of clarity also causes problems, because it allows every actor to interpret the desired degree of cooperation and coherence in its own way.

In its fragile states strategy, the government quotes at length, and not for the first time, from Paul Collier's recent book. *The Bottom Billion*.¹⁰⁶ Among other things, Collier says: 'The main challenge is that these policy tools span various government agencies, which are not always inclined to cooperate.' In the words of Arthur Docters van Leeuwen: 'A key issue is that, as far as I am aware, not a single government agency has been designed with a view to cooperation. They have all been designed as if they are meant to go through life alone.'¹⁰⁷ Collier accordingly notes that a whole of government approach is required to make policy coherent and continues: 'To get this degree of coordination requires heads of government to focus on the problem.'¹⁰⁸

Before examining the Dutch interpretation of 'greater cooperation and coherence', this chapter first takes a brief look at its implementation in several key partner countries of the Netherlands.

It is notable that each country organises the management of crisis management operations in its own way, ranging from a fairly flexible interministerial approach to more centralised direction by the prime minister.

¹⁰⁵ Joint Committee on Integrated Foreign Policy in the framework of the Changing Government programme, 'Samenhangend internationaal beleid' (Coherent international policy), 6 June 2005, p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can Be Done About It* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 12.

¹⁰⁷ Arthur Docters van Leeuwen, 'Populisme in politiek en journalistiek' (Populism in politics and journalism), Kees Lunshoflezing, 10 December 2008.

¹⁰⁸ Collier, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

- **United Kingdom:** The UK has a Stabilisation Unit. This is a permanent coordinating body in which the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), the Ministry of Defence (MOD) and the Department for International Development (DFID) work together in the area of crisis management operations, drawing on a joint budget.¹⁰⁹ At first sight, this arrangement appears to solve the problem of coordination between the ministries concerned, but it has other disadvantages. For example, it can only succeed if the political leadership of the unit is in the hands of a forceful minister who backs it up in the parent ministries when difficult decisions need to be made. In the UK there is no specific minister responsible for leading the unit, which gives the parent ministries leeway to chart their own course. However, one of the unit's undeniable advantages is that the representatives of the various ministries get to know and understand each other better. In addition, the Stabilisation Unit regularly organises training exercises that test mutual cooperation. The unit also invites foreign observers to these exercises.
- **Canada:** The large-scale Canadian deployment in Afghanistan has given a strong impetus to a different national approach to crisis management operations. At the beginning of 2008, the Manley report was published in the midst of the political debate in Canada on extending the mission to Afghanistan.¹¹⁰ The report assigns a prominent role to the Canadian Prime Minister: 'To ensure systematic and sustained political oversight and more effective implementation, a better integrated and more consistent Canadian policy approach should be led by the Prime Minister, supported by a special cabinet committee and a single full-time task force involving all key departments and agencies.' The Canadian government has implemented these recommendations by giving primary responsibility to the Prime Minister – as yet only for the mission in Afghanistan – and establishing its own version of the Stabilisation Unit.
- **United States:** The National Security Council (NSC) is responsible for coordinating US foreign security policy. Due to the dominant role of the various Departments concerned, however, the NSC does not always manage to achieve this coordination. A key factor in this regard is the strong position of the Pentagon, especially under the previous Administration. It has meanwhile become something of a cliché, but the entry into office of the new Administration may provide an opportunity to improve the cooperation between the various US Departments.
- **Germany:** In Germany, there is no permanent body like the Stabilisation Unit in the UK and no centralised management structure as in Canada. However, regular consultations on complex missions take place between the State Secretaries of the Federal Chancellery, the Federal Foreign Office and the Federal Ministry of Defence. The senior officials of the relevant ministries meet on a weekly basis. In addition, officials from the Federal Foreign Office and the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development have been seconded to the Federal Ministry of Defence.

III.2 Organisational structure in the Netherlands

It is clear from this overview that these key partners of the Netherlands have all organised the national management of crisis management operations in their own way. This shows that there is clearly no blueprint for this purpose. Each country organises

¹⁰⁹ Paddy Ashdown, op. cit.

¹¹⁰ Report of the Independent Panel on Canada's Future Role in Afghanistan (Manley report), January 2008, p. 38.

matters in a way that is best suited to its national circumstances. Compared to all the partners, the situation in the Netherlands has most in common with that of Germany.

In the case of a broad subject like crisis management operations, the Dutch coordination model focuses on two issues: the involvement of all the political actors in The Hague (the ministries, parliament and the cabinet) and ministerial autonomy, which means that every ministry is responsible in principle for its own policy area. However, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has the power to coordinate activities in this area.¹¹¹ According to a recent evaluation of the Dutch EU Presidency, this is a tried and tested approach.¹¹²

In addition to the discussions on complex crisis management operations between the three relevant ministers, consultations occasionally take place between the Prime Minister, the (currently) two Deputy Prime Ministers and the three relevant ministers. At administrative level, the interministerial coordination of complex crisis management operations takes place in three steering committees:

- The Steering Committee for Security Cooperation and Reconstruction (SVW), which comprises representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence, the Interior & Kingdom Relations, Economic Affairs, Finance and Justice, normally meets once a quarter to determine the Dutch 'whole of government' approach to security and reconstruction at a strategic level. It is chaired by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- The Military Operations Steering Committee (SMO), which comprises representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence and General Affairs, is much more operational in nature and meets on a weekly basis to discuss current military operations and forthcoming missions. The SMO is the oldest and – in institutional terms – most important steering committee, because its members include key figures like the Chief of the Defence Staff (CDS/DEF) and the Director-General for Political Affairs (DGPZ/BZ) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is chaired alternately by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence.
- The Police and Rule of Law Steering Committee, which comprises representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, General Affairs, the Interior & Kingdom Relations, Justice, Defence and Finance, as well as of the Public Prosecution Service (OM), actually functions as a kind of steering committee on civilian missions and has in practice met once every six weeks during the past year. This steering committee makes recommendations on participation in police operations and deployments in support of the rule of law. It is chaired by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Unlike some other countries, the Netherlands has thus not established a permanent interministerial body or given special coordinating powers to one minister. The government believes that the Ministry – not the Minister – of Foreign Affairs can play a coordinating role in strengthening international cooperation as well as interministerial cooperation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs (including Development

111 Letter to Parliament on the evaluation of the Ministry of Defence's SSR pool, 9 November 2007.

112 IOB, 'Primus inter pares: een evaluatie van het Nederlandse EU voorzitterschap' (Evaluation of the Dutch EU Presidency [in 2004]), evaluation report no. 34, July 2008. In this report, incidentally, the IOB concludes that policy coordination was not effective in two of the three areas examined (p. 15). In response to the report, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Ministers for Development Cooperation and European Affairs stated in a letter to Parliament of 16 September 2008 that they considered these conclusions 'neither sound nor useful'.

Cooperation), Defence, Economic Affairs, the Interior & Kingdom Relations, Finance and Justice in the areas of integrated security policy and the 3D approach.¹¹³

Due in part to the Dutch mission in Afghanistan, there have been some changes in the structure and organisation of the three steering committees in the past two years. For example, the expansion of the SVW to include representatives of the Ministries of the Interior & Kingdom Relations, Finance and Justice, which was announced in 2005, finally took place in 2008. The Ministry of General Affairs is notably absent from this body. In 2008, the SMO was expanded to include an official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whose main contribution is in the area of development cooperation. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also chairs the SVW and the Police and Rule of Law Steering Committee on a permanent basis, which has enabled it to engage in more effective coordination. The chairmanship of the SMO still rotates between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence.

This approach fits seamlessly into the ‘polder model’ of Dutch governance culture: nobody is more important than anyone else, nobody has sole decision-making power and everyone helps solve the problems. However, the question is whether this is the right approach and whether things are moving fast enough.

III.3 Comments on interministerial cooperation

On the basis of several sources, including a large number of interviews with those concerned (see Annex III), the AIV has several comments to make on the situation in the Netherlands. This includes the observation that progress has been made in the area of interministerial cooperation in recent years.

There needs to be greater and better cooperation

Various government policy memorandums, including the fragile states strategy, identify the ‘integrated approach’ as the ideal way to tackle complex problems. Chapter I notes that, if this concept is taken literally, it can only be implemented effectively if the activities undertaken in this framework are part of a single strategy and fall under a single hierarchical authority. However, that is not the intent of the government, which indicates that there simply needs to be greater and better cooperation. The AIV endorses the government’s conclusion, as long as it is actually put into practice. In Chapter V, the AIV suggests how this can be done.

There is no coordinating authority

At political level, there is not a specific minister who has the authority to coordinate crisis management operations. As noted, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs plays a coordinating role in two of the three steering committees, but this only works in so far as the other ministries are willing to accept its coordination. For the past two years, for example, the various ministries have been discussing – with little result – a standard arrangement for posting officials from other ministries, such as police officers or agricultural experts, to mission areas. In addition, they have been discussing for several years the formation of a general pool of civilian experts to succeed the expert pools of the various ministries without taking any concrete political decision.

113 Letter to Parliament on the evaluation of the Ministry of Defence’s SSR pool, 9 November 2007.

Limited deployable civilian capacity and the formation of a single pool of experts

The limited capacity to deploy civilian officials in developing countries, in general, and in countries where crisis management operations are being carried out, in particular, has been regarded as a problem for some time. For example, the Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in Uruzgan initially received very little support from diplomats and civilian experts. As a result, the military was initially forced to take on too much responsibility for preparing and performing reconstruction tasks. A diplomat was only appointed to head the PRT in March 2009. This is troublesome, because reconstruction is chiefly the responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The number of diplomats has increased gradually during the course of the operation and will amount to approximately 12 by mid-2009.

Although lessons have been learned and improvements made in this area, there was clearly a problem at the start of the operation. At the outset, the Dutch embassy in Kabul was also unable to cope with the additional tasks created by the large Dutch contribution to ISAF. The actual implementation of a coherent approach in fragile states places other demands on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' policymakers. It demands, in particular, the adoption of a different, more practically oriented mindset. The ministry should be able to swiftly deploy sufficient numbers of suitable and experienced diplomats, from the very outset of an operation. In addition to its own diplomats, it can also employ private civilian experts. However, the involvement of a large number of ministry diplomats is essential.

Under the current set-up, several ministries have their own pool of experts. In addition to its own diplomats, for example, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs currently has an expert pool for short missions. The Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations has a pool of civilian police officers; the Ministry of Justice has a pool of legal experts, including judges and prison officers; and the Ministry of Finance has a pool that includes customs experts. The Ministry of Defence's military experts in the SSR pool constitute a separate category. However, all pools have their own specific legal regulations and particularities, which delay the needed rapid deployment of civilian experts.

A report published by the Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael' in February 2008 (the Biesheuvel report) notes that these various pools are unable to provide the required quality or quantity of expert support.¹¹⁴ It therefore recommends establishing a single pool of experts that covers all aspects of development and security, rather than SSR alone. The government has partly adopted this recommendation in its fragile states strategy but limits itself to expressing 'an explicit intention' in this regard. However, the ministries are still discussing the decision to merge the pools and supplement the resulting pool with external experts. In the meantime, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has started to expand its expert pool for short missions.

The capacity of the Ministry of Defence is limited

As demonstrated by the operation in Afghanistan, the Netherlands' military capacity for expeditionary operations is also limited. Although the Dutch armed forces have so far performed exceptionally well under very difficult conditions, the large-scale deployment in the province of Uruzgan, in particular, is taking its toll. The operation relies heavily on the staff and resources of the Royal Netherlands Army, in particular, as well as on the helicopter capacity of the Royal Netherlands Air Force, and this is eroding their

114 'Analysing Options for Implementing an Inter-Departmental Security Sector Reform Approach in the Netherlands', Netherlands Institute for International Relations 'Clingendael', February 2008, p. 2.

reserves. The impact of the deployment on the personnel concerned is also a key issue in this regard. To reduce operating costs, the decision was made to sell off operational equipment.¹¹⁵ The limitations of the armed forces are also apparent from the fact that they depend on private military companies to perform certain tasks of the operation in Uruzgan.¹¹⁶ Since April 2009, for example, the military has needed to lease essential military equipment such as remotely piloted vehicles (RPVs).¹¹⁷

In response to parliamentary questions on this issue, the State Secretary for Defence wrote that the RPV platoon was downsized the year before due to cutbacks.¹¹⁸ The Minister of Defence accordingly takes a hard line regarding the end of the Netherlands' major military contribution to the mission in Uruzgan in 2010, stating that 'the army will not immediately be ready for the next operation'.¹¹⁹ The Minister of Foreign Affairs therefore previously advocated raising the defence budget in order to increase the deployability of the armed forces.¹²⁰

It is expected that, in the future, the Netherlands will continue to be asked on a regular basis to contribute militarily to crisis management operations in fragile states. There is a great need for ground troops in such operations, which often target irregular forces. In this context, US Secretary of Defense Robert Gates recently stressed the importance of ensuring that the armed forces are prepared for deployment against irregular forces: 'the danger is not that modernisation will be sacrificed to fund asymmetric capabilities, but rather that in the future we will again neglect the latter'.¹²¹

Greater cooperation from the outset

According to the Article 100 letter, the objective of ISAF, of which the Dutch units are part, is 'to serve as a stabilisation force and thus facilitate the country's reconstruction'. The letter further states that this is 'a mission with real military risks'.¹²² In the summer

115 Ministry of Defence, 'Beleidsbrief Wereldwijd dienstbaar' (Policy letter 'Service Worldwide'), 18 September 2007.

116 See AIV, *Employing Private Military Companies: A Question of Responsibility*, advisory report no. 59, The Hague, December 2007.

117 Letter from the State Secretary for Defence, 'Inhuur luchtgrondwaarnemingscapaciteit' (Leasing air-to-ground surveillance capacity), 12 January 2009.

118 State Secretary for Defence, Answers to questions on leasing air-to-ground surveillance capacity, 21 January 2009.

119 The Minister of Defence in a parliamentary committee meeting on 22 January 2009, *NRC Handelsblad*, 23 January 2009.

120 Minister of Foreign Affairs, 'Openingstoepspraak Defensieverkenningen' (Opening speech at the defence policy review), Julianakazerne, The Hague, 16 December 2008.

121 US Department of Defense, News Briefing with Secretary of Defense Robert Gates and Adm. Mullen from the Pentagon, Arlington, 31 July 2008.

122 See the Article 100 letter concerning Uruzgan, Parliamentary Papers 27925, no. 193, 22 December 2005.

of 2006, however, the insurgency escalated sharply, and it gradually became clear that reconstruction would take a long time to achieve. With hindsight, the Dutch presence should have focused more from the start of the mission on the preparations for long-term reconstruction. This should also have been reflected in the number of diplomats and civilian experts that were attached to the mission.

In addition to diplomats, as mentioned above, experts in such fields as the rule of law, good governance, agriculture and education also make a major contribution to reconstruction. Such experts were initially not part of the mission, which was therefore dependent on national and international NGOs. Due to the deteriorating security situation, however, there were hardly any NGOs in Uruzgan. Most of them were based in northern Afghanistan.

Until now, the Article 100 letters that the government sends to the House of Representatives during the decision-making process on participation in crisis management operations have focused mainly on the military aspects of such operations and devoted less attention to diplomacy and development. In addition, they have not examined the local situation in the area of deployment in detail, at least not in as much detail as may be expected from a civil assessment (see below).

Knowledge of the situation on the ground

A good understanding of the situation in the area of operations and the region is key to evaluating the feasibility of the operation and deciding on political, military and development objectives. Before a decision is taken on whether to participate in a crisis management operation, a civil assessment (an assessment of the state of society, broadly defined) must therefore be prepared, with the involvement of all the relevant ministries, NGOs, the private sector and other actors.¹²³

In the case of Afghanistan, however, this otherwise excellent assessment was only sent to the House of Representatives on 20 October 2006, after a large majority of the House had already rallied behind the government's decision in favour of deployment. In the case of the recent decision to contribute marines to the EU mission in Chad, the government sent no civil assessment to the House of Representatives at all. While the Dutch contribution to this mission had a very limited objective, size and duration, this does not render the civil assessment superfluous.

Interministerial cooperation in the three steering committees

In the case of the interministerial steering committees mentioned above, the first rule is that, when it comes to mutual cooperation, personal relationships are much more important than organisational structures, although the latter do play a major role. The AIV makes the following comments:

- On the face of it, the SVW should be the most important body, since it includes representatives of most ministries and is supposed to discuss the strategic agenda for the future of crisis management operations in fragile states in the context of the

¹²³ In this context, it is worth mentioning the Schokland initiative to establish a Knowledge Network for Peace, Security and Development. The aim of this network is to gain insight into the local situation through a new cooperative framework encompassing government, civil society, representatives from the private sector and academic institutions in order to carry out effective and efficient action in fragile states.

broader issue of 'security and reconstruction'. In practice, there is considerable room for improvement as regards the way the substantive agenda is set, the frequency of meetings and the level of representation.

- There is no clear division of labour between the three steering committees, which cooperate chiefly on an informal basis.
- The organisational structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is based on a matrix consisting of regional departments (e.g. the European Affairs Department) and policy theme departments (e.g. the Security Policy Department – DVB).¹²⁴ Coordination problems are inherent to this structure, which enables different departments to be involved in the same operation. For example, reconstruction in Afghanistan falls under the Fragile States and Peacebuilding Unit (EFV), which was established in 2008, while the Asia and Oceania Department (DAO) is responsible for bilateral relations with Afghanistan and DVB is primarily responsible for military operations, deployments and missions. This structure is especially difficult to understand for other actors such as other ministries, NGOs and the private sector.

Well over three years ago, the Joint Committee on Integrated Foreign Policy concluded in its final report that 'many still regard interministerial coordination as a hurdle that needs to be overcome. In coordination meetings, people often still defend their own turf. Interactions between ministries are frequently characterised by territoriality and compromises struck between special interests. As a result, there is sometimes a lack of attention to the selection of strategic objectives.'¹²⁵

Judging by the way the fragile states strategy was drafted, the AIV also believes that there is considerable room for improvement. The SVW only discussed this strategy, which calls for an integrated approach, during the initial and final phase of its development. In the end, it was 'only' signed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister for Development Cooperation, on their own behalf and on behalf of the Minister of Defence. In order to emphasise the desired joint approach, the AIV believes that it would have been better if the letter had been sent on behalf of all the ministers represented in the SVW. Moreover, only the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister for Development Cooperation subsequently signed the government's response to parliamentary questions on the strategy. This counts as a missed opportunity to add real substance to the joint approach. At any rate, there is considerable support among diplomats, troops and development workers in the field for a joint approach starting at ministerial level.

This picture of interministerial cooperation is incompatible with the government's ambition to pursue an integrated foreign policy. Integrated policy requires strong political leadership, despite the fact that this is less highly developed in Dutch political culture. In the Netherlands, it is often noted that we have come a long way compared to other countries, because we have already integrated foreign affairs and development cooperation in a single ministry. However, this ignores the fact that there are three ministers at the head of this ministry and that, in practice, cooperation still very much depends on the personal relationships between them.

124 See the organisational chart on the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at: <<http://www.minbuza.nl/binaries/en-pdf/organogr-03092008-en.pdf>>.

125 Joint Committee on Integrated Foreign Policy, op. cit. p. 11.

The role of the Ministry of General Affairs

The relatively modest position of the Ministry of General Affairs in the administrative structure is also striking. At present, its involvement is limited to a single senior adviser who covers crisis management operations 'on the side'. Under the Dutch constitutional system, all ministers have their own political responsibility. However, in line with the recommendations of the Council for Public Administration (ROB) of July 2008, all eyes quickly turn to the Prime Minister when major decisions on crisis management operations, such as whether to join or extend them, need to be made.¹²⁶ 'You should listen to me,' Dutch Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende accordingly said in January 2009 when political uncertainty arose after different ministers made different statements about the possibility of Dutch military units' prolonging their stay in Afghanistan.¹²⁷

In the event of a serious incident, such as an accident or an attack in the area of deployment, the Prime Minister will have to take a position on behalf of the government almost immediately. One of the main roles of the Ministry of General Affairs is to act as an early warning system for the Prime Minister in such cases.

Cultural differences

In the interviews conducted by the AIV during the preparation of this report, some experts drew attention to the cultural differences that exist between the various ministries, especially between the staff at the Ministry of Defence and the development experts at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They cited the typical example that the military focuses mainly on managing outputs with quantifiable objectives within a relatively short time span, while development experts focus mainly on managing inputs with more abstract, long-term objectives. Incidentally, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs recently formulated its first set of concrete development objectives for the mission in Afghanistan.

One of the interviewees emphasised the importance of uniting different cultures as follows: 'The personal aspect cannot be emphasised enough. To bring the two cultures together, the two sides first need to feel each other out and conduct discussions.' Incidentally, on the basis of these interviews, the AIV notes that cooperation has gradually improved in recent years and is going smoothly in the field.

III.4 Cooperation with NGOs and the private sector

The development role of NGOs and other civil society organisations in fragile states was examined in the previous chapter. This section focuses on cooperation with the Dutch authorities. Because the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has almost no deployable development capacity of its own, it depends largely on others for the implementation of development policy. As noted by Minister for Development Cooperation Koenders,

126 Council for Public Administration, 'Beter besturen bij rampen: een passende verantwoordelijkheidsverdeling bij rampenbestrijding en crisisbeheersing' (Better government in the event of disasters: a suitable division of responsibilities for disaster response and crisis management), July 2008.

127 'Premier corrigeert minister Defensie' (Prime Minister corrects Minister of Defence), *NRC Handelsblad*, 17 January 2009.

the problem then arises of how these third-party organisations can be directed and monitored.¹²⁸

In this context, it is worth noting that there are two separate consultation frameworks for NGOs and the private sector for issues relating to Afghanistan: the Afghanistan Platform for consultations between the government and NGOs and the Working Group on Economic Reconstruction in Afghanistan (WEWA) for consultations between the government and the private sector (see below for more on the WEWA). Incidentally, such institutionalised consultation frameworks do not exist for other crisis management operations. As a result of experiences with the reconstruction of Afghanistan, the Dutch parliament called on the government, in a motion submitted on 13 September 2008 by Maarten Haverkamp, to establish a permanent 'platform for post-conflict economic reconstruction, which would include representatives from all relevant ministries, NGOs and the private sector, for the purpose of coordinating procedures and instruments'.¹²⁹

The role of the private sector

The coalition agreement of the fourth Balkenende government states, among other things, that more attention will be devoted to cooperation with the private sector on strengthening integrated security and development policy.¹³⁰ Minister for Development Cooperation Bert Koenders highlighted the link between economic growth and poverty reduction in a recent speech: 'It is impossible to combat poverty effectively without economic growth. And economic growth is impossible without the business community, because that is where growth is created.'¹³¹ The fragile states strategy also devotes attention to private sector development.

As highlighted in a previous AIV advisory report, the quality of domestic institutions is by far the most important factor in economic growth.¹³² The rule of law, political stability, public sector effectiveness and control of corruption are all relevant in this regard. They determine the quality of the investment climate: the specific local factors that enable companies to invest, expand and provide employment and enable citizens to develop as entrepreneurs, employees and consumers.

Like other fragile states, Afghanistan has a sizeable informal economy, which is characterised by a lack of formal structures, certainty and protection. The economy is also characterised by its small scale, low productivity, poor infrastructure and, especially, large risks. This means that until the situation improves, the international

128 See remarks of the Minister for Development Cooperation, Report of the 3D debate, 3 June 2008.

129 Motion submitted by Maarten Haverkamp and others, Parliamentary Papers 31700 V, no. 34, 3 November 2008.

130 Objective 1.2 from the coalition agreement of the fourth Balkenende government 2007-2001, 'Samen werken, samen leven' (Working together, living together), The Hague, 14 June 2007, p. 12.

131 Speech by the Minister for Development Cooperation, 'The role of companies in poverty alleviation', 10 September 2008. See also Collier, *op. cit.*, p. 11; and J. van Nederpelt, 'Hoe ontwikkelingshulp in te zetten tegen armoede' (How to mobilise development aid in the fight against poverty), *Internationale Spectator*, September 2008, pp. 487-9.

132 AIV, *Private Sector Development and Poverty Reduction*, advisory report no. 50, The Hague, October 2006.

business community will play an active role in the economy only, or predominantly, in the context of development cooperation. Yet its involvement is vital for achieving growth and development. Dutch policy in this area should focus, in particular, on promoting employment and enterprise, even on a very small scale, in order to generate income. It is also important to stimulate the transition to a formal economy through legislative and other means. In addition, it is important to make extra investments in education, healthcare, infrastructure and financial sector development, especially in poor regions and in sectors that employ many poor people (e.g. agriculture).

A policy study published by the Netherlands Institute for International Relations 'Clingendael' in December 2007 argues that Dutch companies should play a more systematic role in post-conflict areas and that reconstruction policy in general should follow a more economic approach.¹³³ It advised the government to draw up a policy memorandum on post-conflict reconstruction.

Private sector actors can also actively contribute to post-conflict reconstruction on their own. In the case of Afghanistan, as mentioned above, representatives of the Dutch private sector established the WEWA at the end of 2007, under the auspices of the Confederation of Netherlands Industry and Employers (VNO-NCW). Among other initiatives, this working group focuses on establishing agricultural chains in Uruzgan, training bank staff and preparing studies on solar energy and the water sector. The Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality is also involved in promoting growth and employment, particularly in the agricultural sector. In cooperation with the Ministry of Economic Affairs, moreover, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs established the Uruzgan Economic Reconstruction Fund (FEOU) in September 2008. However, no use was made of this special subsidy scheme during its initial months.¹³⁴

III.5 Funding activities at the intersection of security and development

The international activities of various ministries are consolidated and jointly evaluated under the Homogeneous Budget for Development Cooperation (HGIS), which distinguishes between expenditure that meets the criteria for Official Development Assistance (ODA) and other expenditure (non-ODA). ODA is linked to gross national product (GNP). As noted in Chapter I, as of 2008 the Netherlands sets aside 0.8% of its GNP for development assistance. This amount is devoted entirely to ODA expenditure. The estimate for 2009 is 0.81%.¹³⁵ This makes the Netherlands the world's sixth largest donor in absolute terms.¹³⁶

133 Mariska van Beijnum et al., 'Economische wederopbouw na gewapend conflict: een beleidsverkenning' (Post-conflict economic reconstruction: a policy study), Conflict Research Unit, Netherlands Institute for International Relations 'Clingendael', December 2007, p. 54.

134 'Koenders steunt investeringen Nederlandse bedrijven in Uruzgan' (Koenders supports investment by Dutch companies in Uruzgan), press release, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 11 September 2008; 'Bedrijven blijven weg uit Uruzgan' (Companies staying away from Uruzgan), *NRC Handelsblad*, 20 November 2008.

135 HGIS policy document for 2009, 16 September 2008, p. 22.

136 OECD, 10 November 2008.

In 2004-2005, donors regularly discussed the possibility of adjusting the ODA criteria. In the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC), they repeatedly pointed to the relationship between security and development.¹³⁷ This is because security is one of the challenges in the field of development, as well as being essential for effective and sustainable poverty reduction. At the same time, development usually leads to an increase in security, although it does not guarantee it. Development and security thus cannot be regarded as entirely separate policy areas with their own objectives and corresponding instruments. In every development situation, it needs to be determined whether security can have an impact on sustainable poverty reduction and whether an integrated approach encompassing security, governance and socioeconomic development is advisable.

The DAC most recently adjusted the ODA criteria in the area of security and development in 2005, adding efforts to control, prevent and reduce the proliferation of small arms and light weapons and peacebuilding and conflict prevention activities to the list of ODA activities. Since then, the DAC has decided not to discuss further adjustments of the criteria, as widening them involves too great a risk of financing activities unrelated to development from development funds. The Netherlands is also unwilling to reopen this discussion at present.

In any event, thinking on the policy implications of the widely shared conceptualisation of the relationship between security and development *and* on how to design effective funding instruments for this purpose is still in its infancy. For example, in addition to the Netherlands (Stability Fund), only the United Kingdom (Conflict Prevention Pool and Stabilisation Aid Fund), Canada (Global Conflict Prevention Fund) and, in a sense, the European Union (African Peace Facility) have mixed ODA/non-ODA funds at their disposal that actually enable them to finance development-related security activities across the entire security spectrum.

The Stability Fund was established in 2004 as a special funding instrument for activities at the intersection of peace, security and development. It does not formally distinguish between ODA and non-ODA budgets when evaluating activities that qualify for funding. The size of the fund is modest, although it has grown from EUR 60 to 100 million a year in recent years. This represents an important initial step on the path towards a flexible and effective funding instrument at the intersection of security and development.

The AIV has previously drawn attention to the financial implications of a coherent policy based on an integrated approach to security and development.¹³⁸ In this connection, the AIV refers to its recent advisory report on the finances of the European Union, which also gives priority to increasing non-ODA resources for external policy without making a corresponding cut in ODA expenditure.¹³⁹

137 See, for example, *Security System Reform and Governance*, DAC Guidelines and Reference Series (Paris: OECD, 2005).

138 AIV, *The Netherlands and European Development Policy*, advisory report no. 60, The Hague, May 2008, p. 58.

139 AIV, *The Finances of the European Union*, advisory report no. 58, The Hague, December 2007, Recommendation no. 13.

*'I have noticed that we sometimes believe that, within two to three years, we can establish Western-style democracy in Afghanistan and Sudan, with friendly people, the full emancipation of women and so forth. This is entirely the wrong way to look at things. I believe that our basic approach towards fragile states should be "first things first" and that we should be happy if the presence of Western or other actors does not make the situation worse instead of better.'*¹⁴⁰

Bert Koenders, Minister for Development Cooperation

IV Society's expectations

Question 4: How realistic are society's expectations that complex crisis management operations will achieve their objectives?

IV.1 Defining 'expectations'

Without further specification, 'expectations' is a catch-all term that can lead to confusion. The first question that arises is: whose expectations? Those of the government, parliament, the general public in the Netherlands or in the area of deployment, the media or some combination of the above?¹⁴¹ It is apparent from the government's follow-up questions (Questions 5 and 6 below) that it is primarily concerned about public support within Dutch society.

However, this may oversimplify the problem, as society's expectations of a specific crisis management operation are largely determined in interaction with what the government, parliament and the media say and write about its objectives and results. It is impossible to separate one from the other. The government can thus fall victim to the expectations that it – and the political parties that support it – previously raised.

Another source of confusion is the frequently made connection between expectations and political and public support for an operation. Expectations only play a limited and often indirect role in this respect. In an earlier advisory report on society and the armed forces, the AIV noted that public support for military operations is determined by a limited number of factors: 'The AIV therefore advises the government to make every effort to mobilise the greatest possible public support for each military operation. To this end the government must clearly and openly express its views on the five factors mentioned above, namely legitimacy, interests and values, success, leadership and costs, in relation to its decisions on military operations.'¹⁴²

As regards these five factors, expectations depend largely on the values and objectives to be achieved or defended – and the probability of success in this regard – and

¹⁴⁰ Minister for Development Cooperation, Report of the 3D debate, 3 June 2008.

¹⁴¹ There is a similar lack of clarity in the case of the term 'support'. See AIV, *Society and the Armed Forces*, advisory report no. 48, The Hague, April 2006, p. 7.

¹⁴² AIV, *Society and the Armed Forces*, advisory report no. 48, The Hague, April 2006, p. 14. In this report, the AIV states that public support can only be said to exist in the case of a military operation if there is not only parliamentary support but also the support of an absolute majority in society.

accordingly have an indirect impact on the level of political support. Expectations can be high or low depending on the popularity of the chosen objectives as well as on the results achieved (or the perceived probability of achieving them).¹⁴³ The two are of course connected. If the objectives are limited, the chances of success will usually increase, while the opposite is also true. From a policy perspective, however, it makes a big difference whether one tries to resolve observed discrepancies or tensions concerning expectations by moderating one's objectives or by reining in expectations of success.

Incidentally, there is no general answer to the question whether society has realistic expectations of what complex crisis management operations will achieve or what should be done when those expectations go unmet. However, what can be noted – and has been noted often enough – is that the feasibility of changing society through government policies is generally open to question, especially when it comes to attempts from outside to bring about fundamental change in other societies. As noted, moreover, it makes a big difference from a policy perspective whether one responds to expectations that prove unrealistic by moderating one's objectives, lowering expectations of their attainment, or extending the deadline for achieving success. Timing is also important. Should expectations be discussed before or during the mission?

IV.2 Society's expectations are not realistic

In his speech at the AIV's annual seminar in 2007, Minister of Defence Eimert van Middelkoop concluded that society's expectations of crisis management operations are not realistic, albeit without referring to a specific operation.¹⁴⁴ He is thus the second minister to have given his own answer to the government's question. His speech also advocated lowering expectations, albeit without going into detail or indicating how this should be done.

The speech referred to the role of parliament and the media. In the minister's opinion, they devote too much attention to the legal basis of the political decision to deploy military units and too little attention to 'far more troublesome issues like how to attain our objectives, what final result we should aim at and what handover strategy is appropriate'.¹⁴⁵ He also noted that the emphasis on parliamentary support and an adequate legal basis for operations causes the government and parliament 'to close their eyes to the intractability, predictable disappointments and slowness that are inherent in military interventions'.

The minister thus maintains – in the AIV's opinion correctly – that politicians are partly to blame for the problem of excessive expectations, since they do not pay enough attention to the feasibility of the specific objectives of crisis management operations.

143 There is also disagreement in the academic literature as to whether the level of public support is determined by results that have already been achieved or by expected future results.

144 Minister of Defence Eimert van Middelkoop, 'Recente ervaringen met crisisbeheersingsoperaties' (Recent experiences of crisis management operations), opening speech at the AIV seminar 'Naar een ander buitenland' (Towards new international relations), 1 June 2007.

145 Ibid.

The AIV adds that society should not be reproached for something that is clearly not adequately recognised at political level. Furthermore, it appears that there may also be other discrepancies between the government's declared objectives for a specific mission and what society thinks of them. In the case of Afghanistan, for example, the government states that the first objective is to protect our own safety (by contributing to the international fight against terrorism) and that reconstruction should be seen mainly in this light.¹⁴⁶ Former German Federal Minister of Defence Peter Struck phrased this argument as follows: 'German security is also being defended in the Hindu Kush'.¹⁴⁷ However, if there is a discrepancy between this objective and society's expectations, it is because they are too low rather than too high. According to an opinion poll conducted by the Ministry of Defence, only about 10% of the Dutch population gives credence to the proposition that the operation in Afghanistan enhances Dutch security.¹⁴⁸

The government should clarify that involvement in crisis management operations must always be long-term. However, the logic of politics usually tempts governments to obtain approval for an operation by restricting its duration ('the last troops will leave in...'), even though they will subsequently come under pressure to stay. This cycle not only undermines the troops' effectiveness in the field but ultimately also harms the government's credibility at home.

Expectations among the local population

It is noteworthy that, in the government's request for advice, the question on expectations focuses only on the Netherlands, thus ignoring expectations in the country where the mission is taking place. It goes without saying, after all, that winning the 'hearts and minds' of the local population is crucial for the success of peace support operations, especially in the case of insurgencies.

IV.3 More realistic expectations

Question 5: How can more realistic expectations be encouraged?

As noted above, society's expectations of crisis management operations are one of the factors that determine the level of public support for them and are most closely related to their interests and values (or objectives) and past or expected achievements, or lack thereof. The more widely shared the values and objectives concerned and the greater the success, the higher the expectations will be. In this context, the AIV warned in its 2006 advisory report that '[t]he success factor is in fact not always easy to measure. In the case of [crisis management operations like the one in Afghanistan], success is

146 Minister of Foreign Affairs Maxime Verhagen, 'We moeten meer investeren in defensie' (We need to invest more in defence), *NRC Handelsblad*, 1 September 2008.

147 Peter Struck, press conference Berlin, 5 December 2002.

148 'Monitor steun en draagvlak: publieke opinie missie Uruzgan' (Public support monitor: public opinion concerning the Uruzgan mission), Ministry of Defence, September 2008.

often something that can take time to achieve.’¹⁴⁹ The AIV believes that this comment deserves to be repeated here.

If an operation’s chances of success increase due to the adoption of a coherent approach to attaining several different objectives, it becomes harder to define success. However, measurable success is essential for maintaining the necessary public and political support.

In principle, if the diagnosis of unrealistic expectations is correct, there are two ways to solve the problem, as suggested above:

1. moderating or adjusting the objectives during the course of the operation; or
2. communicating the importance of the objectives and the fact that results cannot be expected in the short term.

Both solutions are problematic, for different reasons. In the case of the first solution, there appears to be a dilemma – one of the many that need to be faced and resolved – between the need to unite all the relevant actors behind a coherent plan on which they all agree before launching an operation (‘look before you leap’) and the equally important need to be sufficiently flexible to improvise, learn from experience and replace whatever is not working during the operation. If necessary, the government must accept a loss of political face. Otherwise, the only argument for continuing is the famous saying from the First World War: ‘we’re here because we’re here’.

As regards the second solution, the AIV does not consider itself expert enough to offer advice in the field of communication. As highlighted in Chapter I, however, the need for strategic communication is clear. The problem is that our opponents in the area of operations, such as Al Qaida and the Taliban in Afghanistan, can spread lies freely and with impunity, while the West must – rightly – be politically accountable. The Taliban’s primary goal is to undermine public support in NATO countries for the deployment of the armed forces. Killing NATO troops is of secondary importance to the Taliban and serves as a means to undermine public support for deployment.

In this context, special attention should be devoted above all to civilian casualties. However much the ISAF forces in Afghanistan try to avoid causing civilian casualties, they are unfortunately not always successful in this regard. Al Qaida and the Taliban exploit this fact in a very clever and unscrupulous way. They deliberately foster civilian casualties because they know that this has serious repercussions for ISAF. They are too smart to use civilians as human shields, because they know that ISAF will not attack in such situations. Instead, they create situations in which civilians remain hidden from ISAF and die as a result of hostilities. Moreover, they do not hesitate to kill civilians themselves and blame ISAF for their deaths.¹⁵⁰

149 AIV, *Society and the Armed Forces*, advisory report no. 48, The Hague, April 2006, p. 11. See, for example, ‘Over 25 jaar is succes pas duidelijk’ (Success will only be clear after 25 years), interview with former Uruzgan Task Force Commander Colonel Richard van Harskamp, *NRC Handelsblad*, 16 August 2008.

150 Air Chief Marshal Sir Jock Stirrup, Annual Chief of the Defence Staff Lecture, Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), 1 December 2008.

Strategic communication, the correction of the image presented by the enemy, has also proved to be a formidable challenge in past counterinsurgency operations. Based on his experiences in Algeria in the 1950s, for example, David Galula states: 'If there was a field in which we were definitely and infinitely more stupid than our opponents, it was propaganda.'¹⁵¹ In the past, members of the military and others have repeatedly claimed – though often wrongly – that wars were lost not on the battlefield but due to failure on the home front, which was misled by inaccurate reports.

It seems clear to the AIV that, at the start of a difficult operation, governments are understandably inclined to highlight the positive aspects of the mission and start from rosy expectations, rather than the opposite. They will rightly obtain little political support if they admit at the outset that they are embarking on a difficult and perhaps impossible mission. It is equally understandable that, during an operation, governments are keen to keep the public's spirits up and convince both it and themselves that there is light at the end of the tunnel. However, all this can of course have a fatal impact on society's indispensable faith in a good outcome and erode public support if reality proves to be more intractable.

Given that society receives many reports from the area of deployment via journalists and the internet, it is vital that the discrepancy between image and reality is not too great, or else the legitimacy of the mission will be undermined. At the very least, the government will therefore have to make it clear from the outset that it may take a long time to achieve the final political objective, that there will undoubtedly be setbacks and that significant results may sometimes take several years to materialise. In addition, the government should clarify that the Netherlands and the countries with which it is working in crisis management operations are only willing to commit themselves for an extended period if there is a *reasonable* prospect of improvement, and that other contingents will only enjoy the fruits of 'our' labour after we are gone. However, the problem is how to define the prospect of success when that success sometimes takes decades to materialise. Incidentally, it is not inconceivable that all the qualifications that we are advocating will dampen the public's initial enthusiasm for embarking on an operation.

As already noted, winning the hearts and minds of the local population is vital for the success of counterinsurgency operations, as their basic strategy is to isolate the insurgents from the local population and thus remove their natural 'cover'. However, the population will only be inclined to distance itself from the insurgents if it considers the available alternative, or at least the prospect of it, more attractive.

However, the Netherlands' efforts only have a limited impact on attaining the ultimate political objective, as it is usually part of a coalition. In an earlier advisory report, the AIV noted that the actions of a single private military contractor can jeopardise an entire operation.¹⁵² Even if the Netherlands could rule out making any mistakes of its own – which it cannot – the success of the mission would still depend to a great extent on the actions of partner countries and the host country. In this context, it is especially important that all coalition partners act in accordance with international law.

151 Ambassador Eric Edelman, 'A comprehensive approach to modern insurgency: Afghanistan and beyond', 27 March 2007. David Galula (1919-1969) was a French officer and a leading expert on counterinsurgency.

152 AIV, *Employing Private Military Companies: A Question of Responsibility*, advisory report no. 59, The Hague, December 2007.

IV.4 Giving society a clear picture of operations' goals

Question 6: In this connection and in view of the answer to the central question, is society sufficiently well informed about the various objectives of complex operations and the relations between those objectives?

It could be argued that society is *never* sufficiently aware of the ins and outs of complex operations, whether the issue is education, health care, the financial crisis or an operation like the one in Afghanistan. As far as the AIV can judge from opinion polls, support is slow to materialise not because the public has a poor grasp of the various objectives of the operation but due to entirely different factors and considerations.¹⁵³ Incidentally, although like the other questions in the government's request for advice this question has been formulated in general terms, it clearly refers to the specific case of Afghanistan, the only country where the Netherlands is currently participating in a large-scale operation.

In contrast to earlier complex peace support operations (with the exception of Iraq), there was from the outset no majority support in society for the operation in Afghanistan.¹⁵⁴ The government was aware of this but believed that the situation would gradually improve (as it explained in its response to the AIV's advisory report on society and the armed forces).¹⁵⁵ However, this did not happen. Although there is no firm evidence, the fact that society believes that the operation in Afghanistan is part of the highly unpopular war in Iraq has probably been a key factor in its unpopularity.¹⁵⁶ The impact of the reverse free rider argument – why should we do all the dirty work if others are not willing to do their share? – which has also not been studied sufficiently, also seems to be a factor.

As the government correctly notes in a footnote to the request for advice, the AIV stated in its earlier advisory report on society and the armed forces that, on the basis of political and moral considerations, the government should do its best to secure majority support for Dutch participation in military operations (and in the case of difficult operations substantial majority support). For the record, however, the AIV currently notes that the lack of such support in the case of Afghanistan has thus far not caused any major political problems. There has been no organised opposition, let alone protest. Society even appears to have a sense of realism about Dutch casualties. Many people seem inclined to think that, while casualties are unfortunate, these risks are part of the job.

On the face of it, this attitude within Dutch society puts the government in a comfortable position, as it does not have to fear serious opposition. In the long run, however, it

153 For a detailed overview of the results of public opinion polls on support for military operations (including Afghanistan), see Philip Everts, *De Nederlanders en de wereld: Publieke opinies na de Koude Oorlog* (The Dutch and the world: public opinion since the Cold War) (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2008), Chapter 5.

154 *Ibid.*, pp. 162-86 and (since 2006) the Ministry of Defence's Public Support Monitor.

155 Ministry of Defence, government response to the AIV, *Society and the Armed Forces*, The Hague, 23 August 2006.

156 Strategic Advisors Group, 'Saving Afghanistan: an appeal and plan for urgent action', Atlantic Council of the United States, March 2008.

could cause a deep gulf to develop between the government and voters, which would jeopardise the government's ability to continue pursuing an active foreign policy. Only a deployment of a Dutch military expeditionary force that is perceived as successful will guarantee the public's continued support for such a policy. In addition, the impact of limited or dwindling public support on the morale of the forces in the area of deployment can never be emphasised enough.

IV.5 Reconstruction or stabilisation?

Question 7: In the term 'provincial reconstruction team', is 'reconstruction' the best word to use? Given expectations, would the word 'stabilisation' be more appropriate?

This is the only question in the advisory report that relates directly to a specific Dutch crisis management operation, namely the one in Afghanistan, as this is the only place where Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) are currently active. NATO's PRT concept in Afghanistan is based on the US model of joint reconstruction teams. The aim of PRTs is to provide security, support central government and facilitate reconstruction. Lakhdar Brahimi, the former Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan, described PRTs as 'second best to a straightforward extension of ISAF, as we have been calling for ever since we arrived in Kabul at the end of 2001'. The first PRTs were established in the relative safety of northern Afghanistan in December 2002. At that time and in that part of the country, the term 'reconstruction' may have been a more natural choice than it is now in southern Afghanistan.

As regards the government's question concerning the relationship between nomenclature and expectations, the AIV notes that the problem of support – if it exists – cannot be solved by means of a public relations exercise in which one vague term is replaced by another, equally vague one. The term reconstruction probably arouses unrealistic expectations that a considerable amount of reconstruction can be achieved in a relatively short period. In addition, it disregards the fact that what Afghanistan really needs is construction. In this sense, the term stabilisation is more representative of what can reasonably be achieved during the period in question. However, it makes little difference in terms of publicity and support.

V Conclusions and recommendations

V.1 Moderation and sobriety should prevail

This advisory report is about greater cooperation between all actors and greater coherence between all activities in complex crisis management operations in fragile states throughout the conflict cycle. The aim of such operations, which encompass political, civil and military activities, is to contribute (in accordance with international law and international humanitarian law) to preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in order to achieve internationally agreed political objectives. Afghanistan, Iraq, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Sudan (Darfur) are examples of countries where complex crisis management operations are currently taking place. These operations are considered complex, among other reasons, because the various stages of the conflict are not clearly defined and because the security situation can change drastically from one moment to the next.

In addition, crisis management operations generally take place in fragile states where the central government functions very poorly, if at all. The AIV recognises that, in order to develop, states need a basic level of security, including a minimum of socioeconomic services and of respect for human rights. The emphasis should initially be on security, stability and strengthening local institutions that promote the rule of law, rather than on democracy and elections. If a crisis management operation is to be successful in the long term, reconstruction and sustainable development must also be initiated as swiftly as possible. The realisation that such complex operations require drawing simultaneously on expertise in a large number of fields, such as diplomacy, state building, the rule of law, development and security dates back to the beginning of the 1990s. Paradoxically, the increasing number of actors also contributes to the complexity of these operations.

Since the 1990s, the need for 'greater cooperation and coherence' in response to the intractable problems of crisis management operations has been brought to the attention of the international community, for example in UN documents and academic literature. There are countless joint declarations advocating greater cooperation and coherence. This formula has sometimes been put into practice, for example in Bosnia. However, due in particular to experience gained from the crisis management operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, in which reconstruction plays a major role, greater cooperation and coherence is now considered a more urgent need and new concepts like the 3D approach have become increasingly attractive. Based on practical experiences and a study of the literature, the AIV nevertheless concludes that the call for greater cooperation between the various actors is often of no avail. Among other questions, this advisory report examines why so little has been done over the years to put this widely held perception into practice. The insights gained from this examination offer starting points for improvement.

Complex crisis management operations in fragile states are especially difficult due to the intricate dilemmas involved. A key characteristic of dilemmas is the need to make a choice between sometimes incompatible objectives and the fact that such choices always have undesirable consequences. The central dilemma in the present report concerns the contrast between the ambitions of crisis management operations, which are often high, and the actual experiences of such operations, which provide grounds

for lower expectations. The world cannot be remade to suit us, and proof of this can even be found in our own, highly developed country. The idea that a foreign intervention force would be able to shape society in its image in less developed countries is an even greater illusion.

In the case of the crisis management operation in Afghanistan, it is noteworthy that each of the lead nations contributing to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) lends its own national interpretation to the operation. This is apparent, for example, in the Provincial Reconstruction Teams. From the president's office in Kabul, the view of the joint international effort in Afghanistan is almost kaleidoscopic. On paper there is a high level of cooperation within ISAF, in the form of Unity of Command, but in practice there is considerable scope for independent decision-making. This is typical of almost every international intervention. The 'international community' should accordingly acknowledge its own failings in this regard. In Afghanistan, it is barely managing to establish a coherent approach. International organisations like the UN, NATO and the European Union, and even different departments of each organisation, do not cooperate well with each other.

A country's development must emanate primarily from its own population. The international community can at most offer a helping hand. Societies are not built; they build themselves. The present advisory report explains why this approach can also be problematic. What if the local population or institutions are unwilling or unable to carry out the reforms that are considered necessary? Is intervention justified in such circumstances? That would be at odds with the idea of local ownership. This dilemma can cause considerable frustration, as is evident from the comments of the NATO Secretary-General, who stated publicly that the problem in Afghanistan is not the insurgents but the lack of good governance. The AIV notes that women, who are often regarded purely as victims, can also help to strengthen good governance. However, female leadership often operates behind the scenes in local communities. It is important to cooperate with these key women in practice and to ensure that there are enough women in the intervention force to establish contacts with them.

The report goes on to emphasise that acknowledging the complexity of the problems, and the resulting need for a wide-ranging and coherent approach and the deployment of many actors, is at odds with the equally obvious conclusion that these problems, if they can be solved at all, require a great deal of time and effort and that success is doubtful and can only be expected in the long run. As a result, the AIV advises the Dutch government not to expect to achieve too much too quickly and not to set its objectives too high. These are two different issues for which this report uses different terms. The word 'moderation' is used by contrast with ambitious objectives, and the term 'sobriety' is used by contrast with overly high expectations.

The main conclusion of this report is that moderation and sobriety should together prevail over such praiseworthy but unrealistic ambitions as the swift democratisation of fragile states. This is the AIV's response to the above-mentioned central dilemma between high ambitions and experiences that provide grounds for moderation. The AIV is aware that this choice makes it harder for the government to secure parliamentary and public support for new missions. However, it believes that the importance of presenting a realistic picture, so as to prevent disappointment at a later stage, outweighs this disadvantage, which will have to be overcome by means of better communication and greater political efforts.

In response to the question of how an integrated approach should ideally be put into practice, the AIV broadly observes that, first and foremost, attainable political objectives should be formulated that take account of the specific circumstances in the field. The approach should not be based on a grand design but should focus on specific, manageable interim and long-term objectives and provide insight into the roles of the various partners. Where possible, interim and long-term objectives should be set in consultation with local actors. It goes without saying that the resources, such as 'political capital', budgets, civilian experts and military units, will have to be compatible with these objectives.

There is no universal blueprint for crisis management operations in fragile states, which are therefore more of an art than a science.¹⁵⁷ In practice, specific solutions will have to be found for concrete problems and dilemmas throughout the implementation process. In this context, the key criterion should not be what the ideal solution is but what is feasible.

Based on these observations, the AIV has made a number of specific recommendations for the Dutch government on how to improve crisis management operations in practice. For the sake of clarity, the recommendations follow the structure of the report as much as possible.

V.2 Suggested improvements

Government question 2: Having answered this central question, the Advisory Council is asked to consider how an integrated approach should ideally be put into practice.

Coherence between political goals, approach and resources is essential

At international level, the Netherlands should not automatically endorse high-flown political goals if the planned approach and available resources are incompatible with those goals given the specific circumstances in the field. By imposing conditions for participating in crisis management operations, the Netherlands can influence international policy. If it participates, the Netherlands should independently determine the realistic interim and long-term objectives. As the complexity and difficulty of a crisis management operation increase, it should correspondingly lower its objectives or strengthen its approach and increase the resources invested. Adjusting the objectives of an operation that is already in progress is politically problematic but may be necessary in order to maintain a reasonable chance of success. There are usually several interim objectives between an ambitious political objective such as 'a functioning legal order and respect for human rights' and a simple objective like 'maintaining the status quo'.

Often the only solution for insurgency is political

When an intervention force becomes involved in an insurgency, as in Afghanistan, it is usually unable to defeat its opponent militarily. This highlights the importance of a diplomatic approach, which should explicitly embrace the region surrounding the country in question. In the case of Afghanistan, for example, this applies to Russia, China, India, Iran and obviously Pakistan. Consulting with opponents is one aspect of a diplomatic approach and should initially be carried out by the country where the crisis management operation is taking place. However, an exception needs to be made for those adversaries that are bent on destroying Western society, as it is impossible to conduct a dialogue with these groups.

¹⁵⁷ 'Failed states: fixing a broken world', *The Economist*, 29 January 2009.

Local ownership is vital but cannot be imposed

All sustainable development requires local ownership. The intervention force can at most serve as a catalyst for development. In this context, priority should be given to strengthening local institutions. In practice, however, problems may arise if the local players are unable or unwilling to initiate sustainable development or if they cannot identify with the international intervention and actually distance themselves from it. In the most extreme cases, this can even lead to armed resistance. Each situation is unique, but every intervention must at least take these factors into account.

Strong leadership is needed at international level

As crisis management operations become more complex, the need for greater cooperation and coherence in the form of strong leadership increases. In the case of missions in fragile states, it is vital that the UN or EU plays a strong and identifiable civilian coordinating role. The Netherlands should always insist on this. The civilian authorities should have authority and far-reaching powers, in their contacts with both local authorities and the various participants in the crisis management operation. In practice, however, a strong leadership role, as performed by Paddy Ashdown in Bosnia, will rarely be feasible, if only because the legitimate authorities in the country in question are opposed to it. At the very least, the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General or the EU and the commander of the international military force will have to speak with one voice. Local rulers should not be in a position to play off the participants in the intervention force against one another.

ISAF is a cooperative framework encompassing over 40 countries in which each lead nation nevertheless lends its own national interpretation to the mission. This is due not only to the diversity of national interests and a willingness, or lack of it, to make sacrifices but also to genuine doubts about the best way to tackle the problems and dilemmas. Countries make their own choices in this regard. Cultural differences also play a role, both between the local population and the intervention force and between the various participants in the force. For example, as the largest military power in the world, the US is more likely to favour a military solution – at least until recently – than the Netherlands, which traditionally adopts a more restrained approach to the use of military force.

Cooperation within and between international organisations should be promoted at all times

As a smaller country, the Netherlands has more to gain from effective international organisations like the UN, the EU and NATO than larger countries.¹⁵⁸ In line with previous advisory reports, the AIV once again advises the Dutch government, in this case the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to help boost cooperation within and between international organisations,¹⁵⁹ in the knowledge that greater cooperation and coherence are essential for solving the complex problems connected to crisis management operations. It goes without saying that, under certain circumstances, the Netherlands may therefore have to be more accommodating.

158 See also AIV advisory report no 45: *The Netherlands in a Changing EU, NATO and UN*, The Hague, July 2005.

159 See, for example, AIV, *Humanitarian Aid: Redefining the Limits*, advisory report no. 6, The Hague, November 1998, p. 35.

International cooperation can be improved in many areas. For example:

- The Netherlands is a member of the UN Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), which was established in 2005. One of the PBC's tasks is to advise the Security Council on the comprehensive approach. However, it has so far not focused on large-scale, politically sensitive operations like those in Afghanistan and Iraq in implementing and improving this approach. It could start, for example, by making a list of what would be required to implement this approach in a situation like Afghanistan and by cataloguing relevant experiences. As a member of the PBC, the Netherlands could initiate such an exercise.
- The European Union suffers from a complicated governance structure that hampers internal coordination. The Netherlands should therefore continue to press for early and close cooperation between the first and second pillars in both civil and military missions.
- In addition, the Netherlands could argue in EU bodies that EU development spending should not always be fixed five years in advance, but that more flexibility should be incorporated into this instrument so that money can be distributed more swiftly during emerging crises.
- On paper, the EU and NATO complement each other. The Union's main strength is in the area of soft power, while NATO's is in the area of hard power. In practice, however, cooperation between the organisations is very disappointing. This is due in part to the Turkey-Cyprus issue. The lack of cooperation between the EU and NATO is increasingly untenable and is also impossible to explain to the general public. This has to change. The Union should make a much more substantial contribution to crisis management operations in fragile states than it does at present. The current debate within NATO on whether the organisation should – from sheer necessity – extend its mandate to civilian activities would then automatically lose much of its significance.

V.3 Strengthening cooperation and coherence in the Dutch sphere

There is no blueprint for the Dutch approach to crisis management operations, in the sense that there is no ideal design for an integrated approach that would withstand the test of day-to-day politics. However, the AIV believes that the current Dutch approach can be improved. 'Greater cooperation and coherence' should first and foremost begin at home.

From the outset, missions should be based on greater cooperation and coherence; this should manifest itself in the Article 100 letter

A key lesson for the Netherlands from the mission in Afghanistan is that there should be more cooperation from the very beginning of a mission. As soon as the Netherlands receives a concrete request to participate in a complex mission, consultations should take place between all the actors concerned, if possible even before a decision is adopted. These consultations, which should include the relevant 'non-3D' ministries, NGOs and the private sector, should also focus on the coherence between the political goal, the approach and the available resources. In fact, this should be the doctrine.

If the government decides to participate in the mission, it sends its decision to the House of Representatives in the form of an Article 100 letter, which should describe the potential cooperation and coherence as realistically and specifically as possible. In particular, it should describe the civil component of the mission more clearly than has been customary in the past. It is not sufficient to state that the mission will develop into a reconstruction operation; attention should also be devoted to the civil aspects

and civil-military cooperation that are being contemplated, both in the field and in The Hague. This makes far-reaching demands of the coordination mechanisms between the ministries.

Incidentally, the Netherlands does not by definition have to contribute in the political, military *and* development spheres in order to make a tangible contribution to a particular international crisis management operation. For example, it may decide only to provide a military contribution, in the knowledge that other countries will take care of the civilian component, as in the case of the Dutch military contribution to the EU mission in Chad. Conversely, the Netherlands can also decide to provide civilian expertise to existing international crisis management operations in which it is not participating militarily, for example in the field of water management, agriculture or good governance. In order to provide a good and effective contribution in such cases, however, the Netherlands must keep an eye on the international coherent approach as a whole and be reasonably certain that its effort is contributing to this approach.

Situational awareness

All Dutch actors (ministries, interested NGOs, the private sector, etc.) must cooperate closely from the very beginning, before the operation even commences. Before it embarks on a mission, excellent knowledge of the local and regional situation should be laid down in the form of a civil assessment that can be sent to the House of Representatives as part of, or as an annexe to, the Article 100 letter. This knowledge is also necessary for ensuring that issues that should be dealt with effectively at this key stage are not overlooked. It is also important to ensure that this assessment is not sent to the House until much later, as in the case of the mission in Afghanistan. The AIV is well aware that it takes time to draft a civil assessment. In the case of the nine fragile states that the Netherlands prioritises, however, it should be possible to prepare all or part of these assessments in advance and use the information thus obtained in formulating development policy.

Thorough knowledge of a country's culture, in a broad sense, is one of the main prerequisites for carrying out successful crisis management operations in fragile states. Obtaining such knowledge is harder than it appears, since it goes beyond an ability to speak the local language or languages and an acquaintance with social and religious customs. In order to achieve real results and do more good than harm, it is also important to be familiar with the social power structures that unofficially 'steer' society and the basic motivations of one's opponents and the population. What motivates them on a personal and social level? To what extent is the conflict caused by religious, economic, ideological or other motives?

In so far as confidentiality rules allow, civil assessments should be the product of a collaborative effort by all concerned: ministries, the Military Intelligence and Security Service (MIVD), the General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD), NGOs, the private sector and international contacts, including those in the local sphere. If necessary, it should also be possible to consult knowledge institutions, such as universities. Although the required knowledge of local circumstances goes beyond an ability to speak the language, as noted above, there is still a great need for people who speak the local language or languages and are familiar with the local culture.

The AIV is aware that it is never possible beforehand to be 100% certain about the local situation, but civil assessments should still meet certain minimum standards. For example, they should clearly identify gaps and uncertainties in local knowledge. (There

are obviously limits to this, as it is impossible to describe a gap if one is unaware of its existence.) The information gaps must be filled and the assessment in the field continuously updated.

The need for knowledge and advance planning must therefore be satisfied. In addition, the capacity must exist to deal with the inevitable uncertainties, along with the flexibility to make adjustments during the process, which has to be built into every operation.

The Netherlands should set preconditions at international level ('look before you leap')

The Netherlands gets only one opportunity to set preconditions for its participation in an international crisis management operation. The Frame of Reference for Decision-Making for the Deployment of Military Units Abroad (also known as the Assessment Framework) obviously form a key guideline in this area. When making its assessment, the Netherlands should consider whether the mission adheres to the coherent approach that it advocates. The time at which it receives the request to participate in a mission is also the time to secure international commitments that the Netherlands considers necessary to carry out the mission effectively. Clear agreements are needed on such issues as the exchange of intelligence, key civil and military posts, command and control and, in particular, force rotation. In practice, the commitments desired by the Netherlands will often be at odds with the need for cooperation. This means that, if necessary, the Netherlands should be willing to make concessions in the interests of international cooperation. However, it should adopt a firm position, especially if it is making concessions.

Incidentally, the Netherlands can decide at various times to end its participation in a mission, whether after giving prior notice, following negotiations or unilaterally. It can also negotiate commitments at this time, although its position will be weaker than at the beginning of the operation, when it is first being organised.

The coordination mechanism needs to be more professional

In recent years, the government has clearly taken several steps to increase and improve its coordination of crisis management operations; but further improvements are still required. For example, the national coordination of such operations in The Hague needs to be more professional. For this purpose, a greater civilian component of the Article 100 letter was recommended before. The coordination mechanism should facilitate this.

The AIV advises the government to focus initially on measures that can be implemented in the short term, such as a further reinforcement of the coordination mechanism. It is reluctant to make specific recommendations for adapting the mechanism, on the grounds that cooperation is largely a question of mindset. However, the AIV believes that interministerial cooperation should be improved.

Incidentally, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence cooperate effectively in the Military Operations Steering Committee (SMO), which also includes the Ministry of General Affairs but none of the other ministries. The situation is different with the Steering Committee for Security Cooperation and Reconstruction (SVW), which brings together representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Justice, the Interior & Kingdom Relations, Finance and Economic Affairs. Officially the SVW discusses the policy aspects of crisis management operations, but in practice it does so only to a limited extent. The fact that the Ministry of General Affairs is not represented on the SVW is highly significant. In practice, it is mainly the SMO, and within it mainly the highest-

ranking officials, that sets policy in this area. However, the SMO focuses on military issues and is chiefly concerned with the operational track. The SVW should focus more and especially on how crisis management operations can in the long run lead to sustainable development. In order to answer this question effectively, other ministries need to be actively involved in the cooperation as well.

There are various options for establishing a coordination mechanism with clearly defined powers in which all players are represented. For example, the SMO could hold strategic consultations with the other ministries every month. (In practice, this would spell the end of the SVW.) Alternatively, the SVW could be granted more powers and hold monthly meetings to discuss, in addition to general strategic policy, the main aspects of all current complex crisis management operations and security sector reform (SSR) missions in the light of reports from the SMO and the Police and Rule of Law Steering Committee. However, the government should avoid creating more bureaucracy. Under this option, the government should add a representative of the Ministry of General Affairs to the SVW so that it becomes a fully fledged steering committee for the coherent approach.

The SVW should also devote particular attention to the fragile states that the Netherlands prioritises in its development policy in view of the possibility of future deployment as part of a crisis management operation. The Multi-Annual Strategic Plans, which are drafted with considerable input from the embassies, can serve as a starting point in this regard. The central question should be: what do we want to achieve and what resources do we need for this purpose? Political ambitions should be translated into monetary terms. Well-developed country strategies are indispensable when it comes to making better choices, given that financial resources are always limited.

The Ministry of General Affairs needs to be more involved

While respecting individual ministerial responsibility, the AIV advocates making better use of the Prime Minister's coordinating and mediating role in important and/or urgent matters. At the beginning of 2009, for example, it was most unwelcome that statements by three ministers created uncertainty regarding the Netherlands' potential military contribution to ISAF after 2010. If the Ministry of General Affairs is closely involved in the interministerial consultations on preparing and implementing crisis management operations, the Prime Minister can use these consultations to swiftly resolve problems when political urgency or other reasons make this expedient. The Ministry of General Affairs may need to increase the support by its officials for this purpose. At present, there is a single senior adviser who covers crisis operations 'on the side'. It is conceivable that this senior adviser will receive additional support on a temporary or permanent basis, especially for large-scale missions of political and strategic importance such as the mission in Afghanistan.

The consultations between the Prime Minister, the two Deputy Prime Ministers and the three ministers most involved in this issue provide a most suitable framework for developing the larger role of the Ministry of General Affairs and thus the Prime Minister. These consultations should take place more frequently, especially during crisis management operations with a major political and societal impact.

Cultural differences are par for the course, but mutual understanding can be improved

The AIV further notes that, in the interviews conducted during the preparation of this report, various respondents pointed to the cultural differences that exist, in particular,

between staff at the Ministry of Defence and staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, based in The Hague or abroad, who focus on development cooperation. It was suggested that these differences could impede cooperation. The AIV acknowledges the existence of such differences but regards them as a logical and unavoidable consequence of the different core tasks of the two ministries, which each require a specific culture. These cultural differences will therefore never disappear entirely, and it would not be a good thing if they did.

On the other hand, the ministries need to improve their knowledge of each other's activities and their mutual understanding, especially if they are required to cooperate in complex operations. In the field, for example, short-term (military) objectives and long-term (development cooperation) objectives need to be geared to one another. Reflection is needed from the outset about the link between civil and military operational planning. The ministries' cultural differences should never be allowed to impede cooperation. This can be achieved, for example, by seconding more staff and training under 'integrated conditions'. In this way, staff members will get to know each other and learn to appreciate each other's knowledge and skills.

Military and civil partners must train together

Steps need to be taken to prevent the emergence in the field of problems that could have been avoided if the actors concerned had trained together in advance. In order to achieve effective cooperation during the mission, team-building exercises need to be carried out beforehand. It is thus logical and vital that military and civil partners should hold regular joint exercises, both in preparation for specific operations and when there are no current operations. For example, brigades could open their staff training exercises to representatives of relevant ministries and NGOs. This recommendation also applies to exercises in a broader framework.

As noted, the focal point of interministerial cooperation in the UK is the Stabilisation Unit, which also organises international training exercises that test various aspects of crisis management operations by means of realistic scenarios. The AIV advises the government to consider what body should be responsible for coordinating broader training courses and exercises in the Netherlands and also advises it to study the British example. There is also clearly room for improvement in the area of instruction. For example, the course on Advanced Defence Management Studies could, wholly or in part, be opened up to staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other ministries. In addition, the ideas underpinning the coordinated approach should be incorporated into the curriculum of the Netherlands Defence Academy (NLDA). Finally, use could be made of expertise that is already available in the Netherlands, like that of NATO's Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence (CCOE), whose aims include promoting cooperation between civilian and military members of Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) by means of joint training exercises prior to deployment.

A single pool of experts should be formed as soon as possible

The Netherlands has almost no operational civilian personnel who can be deployed in crisis management operations, and there are often not enough personnel in the diplomatic missions either. To start with, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should make better use of its ability to temporarily post diplomats on such missions abroad. According to Paddy Ashdown¹⁶⁰ among others, these missions benefit greatly from the

160 Presentation by Paddy Ashdown at the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Hague, 21 January 2009.

deployment of the most suitable individuals. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs can promote this by including temporary posting to a crisis management operation as a requirement in the management development track for senior ministry officials. This should also help increase the level of interest in positions of this kind.

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defence and the Minister for Development Cooperation are jointly (in the framework of the strategy on fragile states) and independently (in speeches and newspaper articles) pushing for the formation of a pool of experts, but so far without success. The AIV believes that such a pool of rapidly deployable civilian experts from various backgrounds, who play a key role in crisis management operations, should be operationalised as soon as possible, as much time has already been lost. This pool could also be established outside the ministerial framework. The AIV advises the government to take a decision on this issue in the near future, at the same time informing the House of Representatives of the content of this decision.

Military deployment requires careful consideration and funding

Given the current politically set level of ambition for the armed forces, the latter are in a very serious financial position, as already noted in this report. Military deployments must nevertheless be decided with the utmost care. The official recommendation on whether or not the Netherlands should participate in a mission should therefore never be based on the consideration that it provides an excellent opportunity to increase the defence budget or, conversely, that non-participation would inevitably lead to further attempts to reduce the defence budget.

It is therefore important to ensure that not only Development Cooperation programmes but also the Ministry of Defence enjoy budgetary certainty in the future. In the case of the armed forces, which are deployed in high-risk situations, the need for adequate long-term funding is literally a matter of life and death. Although the future size and composition of the Dutch armed forces are currently being examined in the interministerial defence policy review, the AIV believes that a few observations can already be made. The future funding mechanism will at any rate have to distinguish between the costs of maintaining the military at current levels (including training and exercises) and the costs of actual deployment. With regard to the costs of deployment, the Homogeneous Budget for International Cooperation (HGIS) will have to cover the full cost of crisis management operations in order to prevent the armed forces from eating into their operational capabilities.

In view of the impact of deployment on military personnel, in particular, a responsible deployment of the armed forces in response to a request to participate in a crisis management operation entails a careful consideration of the size and composition of the Dutch component, as well as the duration of the commitment. In the case of a large contribution, in particular, the Netherlands must be relieved by another country at some point, whether or not it chooses to maintain a heavily reduced presence. Ample attention should be devoted to ensuring that Dutch forces will be relieved, the more so because this assumes that another country is politically willing to sign a promissory note.

Funding activities at the crossroads of security and development

In view of the increased importance of a coherent approach in fragile states, the AIV considers it advisable to strengthen and expand flexible funding instruments for activities at the crossroads of security and development. The Stability Fund should be increased for this purpose. The OECD regards pooled funding as a key instrument for

promoting the development of integrated policy and achieving greater budgetary flexibility with regard to ODA and non-ODA activities.¹⁶¹

Cooperation with humanitarian NGOs should be improved, with respect for each actor's role

When it comes to providing humanitarian and reconstruction assistance in fragile states, NGOs are indispensable. They also play a an important role in strengthening civil society. However, the large number of NGOs involved in reconstruction and development in fragile states can hamper effective coordination. Despite encouraging signs of improvement, the NGO assistance is still very fragmented, and parallel mechanisms can give rise to problems. Humanitarian NGOs do attach importance to maintaining their independence and neutrality.

The AIV notes that disagreements between political, humanitarian and military actors about their respective tasks are inevitable. These disagreements are a permanent source of tension. However, cooperation is necessary and sometimes even unavoidable for such tasks as protection or evacuation. Cooperation in the framework of a coherent approach is vital to achieving the intended goals of a mission. There is no room for prejudice in this context. Instead, all actors must cooperate while respecting each other's roles.

More attention is needed to economic reconstruction in post-conflict situations

Sustainable poverty reduction requires economic growth. The local private sector is vital to such growth and should receive support in achieving it. The Dutch private sector can also contribute in this area. In a motion tabled by Maarten Haverkamp MP, the House of Representatives has called for the establishment of a permanent platform for post-conflict economic reconstruction. The AIV endorses an earlier recommendation by the Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael' calling on the government to draw up a policy memorandum on economic reconstruction in post-conflict situations. Such a memorandum could also examine the issues raised in Mr Haverkamp's motion. The SVW, the private sector and NGOs should be consulted about drafting this memorandum.

Clear strategic communication is essential

Society's expectations of crisis management operations are based above all on the values and objectives that its members seek to achieve or defend, along with the operation's chances of success. In order to avoid a significant discrepancy between expectations in Dutch society and actual successes in the field, the government's communication concerning planned and achieved objectives should be clear, in accordance with the AIV's observations in this report. Society should be presented with a realistic picture so as to minimise the risk of disappointment and ensure that the image projected by the government does not diverge too much from the one that exists within society.

Success is a long-term process and is difficult to quantify. This makes high demands of the government's communication concerning the values and objectives that it wishes to defend or achieve: 'this is a difficult mission, but it is very important that we are carrying it out because...'. In the case of high-risk crisis management operations in which

161 'Whole of Government Approaches to Fragile States', OECD, 2006, available at: <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/15/24/37826256.pdf>.

important political or social issues are at stake, it is important that the Prime Minister also plays a role in the communication. However, the Minister of Foreign Affairs is the key player in this regard, especially during the preparatory phase. This also highlights the fact that crisis management operations in fragile states are carried out under civilian political leadership.

Especially in the case of large-scale military deployments, as in Afghanistan, the media usually focus on the military aspect. This must not create the impression that the operation has only military objectives. The political objective should always be paramount, both in practice and in public perception. This does not mean that the Minister of Defence and the Minister for Development Cooperation cannot play a key role in communication at certain times, depending on various factors such as the stage of the mission. However, it is crucial that all concerned, including the Prime Minister and the relevant ministers, always speak with one voice.

V.4 In conclusion

In recent years, various developments have highlighted the importance and necessity of crisis management operations in fragile states. The Netherlands has partly shifted the focus of its development policy from assisting countries with good governance to providing assistance to and in fragile states. In recent years, the Netherlands has simultaneously received an increasing number of requests to take on military tasks in fragile states, especially in the context of the observed rise in the terrorist threat and the need to maintain and promote the international legal order.

Crisis management operations like those in Iraq and Afghanistan are counterinsurgency missions with a high threat level. They are examples of highly complex and risky missions that seek to promote stability and contribute to reconstruction, and in the long term sustainable development, by means of a coherent approach. Cooperation and coherence, as well as moderation and sobriety, are key concepts in this regard. In the future, the Dutch armed forces are expected to be in demand for international coalitions as part of a coherent approach in fragile states in vulnerable regions such as Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Africa.

The coherent approach has no doctrine. It is more an aspiration that has developed from the realisation that there are no one-dimensional solutions to today's conflicts. The problems in fragile states are often connected to failing political leadership and a culture of widespread political corruption. There are accordingly no Western or bureaucratic solutions for state-building in fragile states; the process will always be unpredictable, chaotic and painfully slow. Good leadership in fragile states, a social contract between the population and the authorities and a truly coherent approach on the part of the international community are therefore indispensable. The international community should always bear in mind that its knowledge of the country in question is incomplete and that its options are limited. Moreover, it should not underestimate the innate resilience of societies in fragile states or their resistance to external pressure.

One of the key conclusions of this advisory report is that there needs to be greater and better cooperation from the very outset in order for the coherent approach to have any chance of success. If the international community fails to effectively tackle complex crisis management operations in fragile states, it will over time seriously undermine the legitimacy and effectiveness of its efforts in this area. The danger is that, given the disappointing results of the coherent approach so far, the willingness to participate in

such operations may simply evaporate. The AIV believes that this would be undesirable for several reasons, to do with solidarity as well as self-interest. In fragile states, human development and the security of the population are under threat and human rights violations are widespread. These problems often lead to regional instability, which in turn has consequences for the Netherlands in the form of transnational terrorism, refugee flows and international crime.

The Netherlands must therefore be prepared to continue to contribute to complex crisis management operations in fragile states in the future. However, it should articulate the dilemmas associated with such operations more clearly from the outset. In addition, continuous efforts should be made to explain why the Netherlands is present in a particular zone of conflict and why our sacrifices are not in vain. The Dutch population and above all the local population are entitled to a realistic picture of the possibilities and limitations.

From the perspective of the coherent approach and in comparison to other countries, the Dutch contribution in Afghanistan, especially in Uruzgan, deserves full marks. In recent years, the Netherlands has invested a great deal in material as well as human terms and, in view of the number of casualties, has paid a heavy price. The AIV greatly admires the professional manner in which soldiers, diplomats and development organisations have implemented the coherent approach in Afghanistan, especially in the province of Uruzgan, in often very dangerous circumstances. In the light of all these efforts, it is evidently very important that the Dutch contribution is evaluated as soon as possible after the Netherlands relinquishes its leading military responsibility in Uruzgan on 1 August 2010. One of this evaluation's main purposes would be to make the mission's achievements visible to society, to all those who have contributed personally and, last but not least, to the relatives of those who lost their lives in the course of duty.

Annexes

Request for advice

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Date: 13 June 2008
Our ref.: HDAB2008015661

Re: Request for advice on the compatibility of political, military and development objectives in crisis management operations

Dear Mr Korthals Altes,

In the past few years, military personnel, diplomats and development experts have been collaborating more closely in crisis management operations. With this in mind, the Government wishes to ask the Advisory Council on International Affairs for an advisory report on factors relevant to achieving political, military and development objectives in complex operations. In the light of recent literature and research, the Government would like to see an examination of the integrated approach that has developed in crisis management operations, where the defence, diplomatic and development communities collaborate closely throughout the conflict cycle (known as the '3D approach'). The intention is to contribute to a more scholarly foundation for this approach, which is growing internationally, including in the Netherlands.

In the Government's view, the Advisory Council should first ask itself the central question: How do the political, military and development objectives of crisis management operations relate to each other in theory and practice? To what extent can these objectives be integrated into one single coherent approach?¹

Having answered this central question, the Advisory Council is asked to consider how an integrated approach should ideally be put into practice and in what ways the Netherlands' current operational approach could be improved. The Council is asked to base its findings on recent literature, research and best practices in the Netherlands and elsewhere.

As a sequel to this central question, the Advisory Council is asked to answer four more specific questions, primarily concerned with the expectations in Western society (including Dutch society) of crisis management operations:

- How realistic are society's expectations that complex crisis management operations will achieve their objectives?

1 Cf. the first of the ten recommendations that emerged from the international seminar on this subject, held in Rotterdam in January 2007 (enclosed).

- How can more realistic expectations be encouraged?²
- In this connection and in view of the answer to the central question, is society sufficiently well informed about the various objectives of crisis management operations and the relations between those objectives?
- In the term 'provincial reconstruction team', is 'reconstruction' the best word to use? Given expectations, would the word 'stabilisation' be more appropriate?

The Government also has some questions about the relationship between the political, military and development objectives of crisis management operations:

- To what extent should an integrated approach prioritise security and stability, democracy and the rule of law, human rights, or economic development?
- Should sustainable poverty reduction be an independent objective, or can it be integrated with the objectives of a complex crisis management operation? In the latter case, how does sustainable poverty reduction relate to the other objectives?

The Government would appreciate receiving the AIV's advisory report by the end of January 2009 so that it can be considered in the deliberations on the future of the armed forces (see Parliamentary Papers, House of Representatives, 2007-2008, 31 243, no. 6).

Eimert van Middelkoop
Minister of Defence

Maxime Verhagen
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Bert Koenders
Minister for Development Cooperation

² In its earlier report *Society and the Armed Forces*, the AIV said that the Government should ensure that there is sufficient public support before Dutch participation in a crisis management operation begins.

RECOMMENDATIONS*

for increased synergy between
defence, diplomacy and development

- 1. Agree on strategy:** It is vital for partners – whether national governments or international organisations – to agree on joined-up strategies based on common goals. The shared goals of increasing security and sustaining development go hand-in-hand, and one cannot exist without the other. Ultimately, security and development policies should serve to create the conditions for peaceful politics to flourish, and this should guide strategy from the outset.
- 2. Integrate planning:** Integrated planning between defence, foreign affairs and development ministries is crucial for the success of joined-up operations. Different governments and international organisations each have their own ways of integrating their planning procedures, particularly for operations. But in general, integrated strategic planning should be politically led from the highest level of authority.
- 3. Strive for flexibility regarding personnel and funding:** More secondment of staff between different ministries and international organisations can greatly help to develop shared understanding of the synergy between defence, diplomacy and development. In addition, synergy can be improved by making political and development advisors cooperate closely with military commanders in the field, and by joint training of personnel from different departments. To support synergetic action, financial instruments need to be flexible in their setup and quickly disburseable.
- 4. Exchange lessons learned:** Governments and international organisations usually undertake ‘lessons learned’ exercises after their operations (whether military or civil). Understandably, some of the information contained in these exercises is sensitive. However – wherever possible – government agencies and international organisations should share the lessons they have learned from their operations with each other.
- 5. Be as civilian as possible and as military as necessary:** In the wide range from Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) to facilitating reconstruction work by civilian organisations, soldiers today are called upon to perform non-military tasks, such as

* These recommendations are based on the discussions during the seminar ‘JOINED FORCES: The Quest for Synergy between Defence, Diplomacy and Development’, held on 25 and 26 January 2007 in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. The Centre for European Reform and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs are jointly responsible for content and wording.

constructing schools and bridges. Although civilian actors are better placed for these tasks, sometimes conditions are such that only military actors can do the job. In general, governments should make a principle of using civilian actors as much as possible, and military forces only when necessary.

- 6. Diversify civilian input:** 'Defence, diplomacy and development' do not cover all aspects of crisis management: the police, the judiciary and a wide range of other civilian expertise, from both governmental and non-governmental organisations, should also be an integral part of the planning process and of missions in the field. Policymakers should strive to share more information with these actors and to improve consultation and cooperation with them.
- 7. Strive for complementarity between international organisations:** Organisations like the UN, the EU, NATO and the World Bank all have complementary resources that are useful for joined-up operations. NATO, for instance, is a military alliance, whereas the EU has diplomatic, development and military resources. Even though many organisations have already successfully worked together in joined-up operations, they should work harder to share their ideas on how to bring their resources together.
- 8. Engage in conflict prevention:** Much of the focus on bringing together defence, diplomacy and development policies has been on post-conflict reconstruction. For a meaningful contribution to international security, policymakers should also find ways to jointly engage more proactively in preventive measures. International policies in this regard should aim to contribute to a secure and sustainable livelihood for the poor. These efforts range from addressing root causes of potential conflict and strengthening socioeconomic development to supporting reform of the security sector. Non-governmental organisations play an indispensable role in this.
- 9. Step up public diplomacy:** There are two aspects to public diplomacy that governments and international organisations should take into account. One is winning the 'hearts and minds' of the local population, crucial for the success of any joined-up operation. The other is that governments must ensure their own populations are kept informed about their operations abroad – and the joined-up nature of those missions – since public awareness is vital for sustaining political support for these missions.
- 10. Avoid stovepipes:** Improving cooperation between defence, diplomacy and development is currently on the agenda in many different international organisations, with a variety of parallel processes as a result: the 'Integrated Missions Planning Process', the 'Comprehensive Planning and Action' and the 'Whole of Government Approach'. To avoid stovepipes, these processes should be linked up and a shared set of definitions should be agreed upon. The recommendations at hand aim to serve as a catalyst for linking up these parallel tracks.

List of abbreviations

3D	Diplomacy, Defence and Development
AIV	Advisory Council on International Affairs
AIVD	General Intelligence and Security Service
ANDS	Afghan National Development Strategy
BZ	Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs
CAVV	Advisory Committee on Issues of Public International Law
CCOE	Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence
CDS	Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CSS	Center for Security Studies
CVV	Peace and Security Committee (AIV)
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (OECD)
DAO	Asia and Oceania Department (BZ)
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DGPZ	Directorate-General for Political Affairs (BZ)
DPA	Department of Political Affairs (UN)
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN)
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
DVB	Security Policy Department (BZ)
EFV	Fragile States and Peacebuilding Unit (BZ)
EU	European Union
FEOU	Uruzgan Economic Reconstruction Fund
GNP	Gross National Product
HGIS	Homogeneous Budget for Development Cooperation
IED	Improvised Explosive Device
IFOR	Implementation Force
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
IOB	Policy and Operations Evaluation Department (BZ)
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
KFOR	Kosovo Force
MIVD	Military Intelligence and Security Service
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NLDA	Netherlands Defence Academy
NSC	National Security Council
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OM	Public Prosecution Service
PBC	Peacebuilding Commission
PRT	Provincial Reconstruction Team
ROB	Council for Public Administration
RPV	Remotely Piloted Vehicle
SMO	Military Operations Steering Committee
SSR	Security Sector Reform
SVW	Steering Committee for Security Cooperation and Reconstruction
TA	Technical Assistance
TFU	Uruzgan Task Force
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
US	United States
WEWA	Working Group on Economic Reconstruction in Afghanistan

List of persons and organisations consulted

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