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Dutch armed forces face drastic cuts

Since the end of the Cold War, the Dutch armed forces have been engaged in a process of transformation. In 1997, they became fully professional forces, and are now moving from mobilisable units to combat-ready units only. Flexibility and multifunctional deployability are keywords for these new expeditionary forces. The Dutch military is now made up of modules that can be deployed as part of multinational military alliances, and must be able to operate in groups led by NATO, the UN, the EU or an ad hoc coalition. At an even more structural level, the international embedding of the military has materialised in a number of bilateral instruments; most notably, the United Kingdom-Netherlands Amphibious Force, the German-Netherlands Army Corps and the Benelux Deployable Air Task Force.

The core tasks of the Dutch armed forces are to protect the integrity of national and Allied territory (including the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba), to advance the international rule of law and stability, and to assist the civil authorities in the context of law enforcement, disaster relief and humanitarian aid, both nationally and internationally. All Dutch forces are trained and equipped for the full range of tasks. As a consequence of the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001, military intelligence, the counter-terrorist unit of the Marines, and the Marechaussee (military police) organisation were expanded.

The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) has recently become a driving force in Dutch defence policy. This European orientation is founded on the idea that closer European cooperation offers new possibilities to remove the greatest hindrance in achieving an effective European crisis response capability – namely, the fragmentation of European defence activities.

Nevertheless, due mainly to domestic priorities such as healthcare, education and internal security, the Dutch armed forces are facing drastic financial cuts of around € 380 million annually. These cutbacks have significant implications for personnel, operational capacity, and the organisation and integration of staffs. As early as 2002, the Strategic Accord of the Balkenende I government reduced the Netherlands' ambition to participate in non-Article 5 crisis response operations from four to three operations.

In a joint letter to the Second Chamber of the Netherlands Parliament, on 30 June 2003, Minister of Defence Henk Kamp and State Secretary Cees van der Knaap announced that 9,000 military and civilian personnel would need to seek other employment, and the Twenthe and Soesterberg Air Bases, Valkenburg Naval Air Station, Ede East Army Barracks and Seedorf Army Base in Germany would be closed. The 41st Brigade, located in Seedorf, is to be

divided between the two other mechanised brigades and all reserve units are to be disbanded. The equipment to be disposed of includes four frigates, two countermine vessels, all ten Orion-maritime patrol aircraft, six Apache attack helicopters, 29 F-16 fighter aircraft, all Multiple Launched Rocket Systems (MLRS) and the PRTL cannon system. Together, these measures are intended to increase the investment percentage to approximately 20 per cent. Nevertheless, the cutbacks in personnel and equipment seem at odds with the intention for all European countries to invest more in a number of critical capabilities to increase the striking power of the European defence establishment and bring it closer in strength to that of the United States. While the United Kingdom, France and Norway are increasing their defence budget, after the implementation of the financial cuts the Dutch defence budget (which in 1989 was still 3.1 per cent of GNP) will fall to approximately 1.5 per cent of GNP. Although some additional funds are to be allocated to the intensification of European military capabilities, it looks like the Netherlands, in former times considered as a 'faithful ally', is running the risk of becoming a 'free rider'.

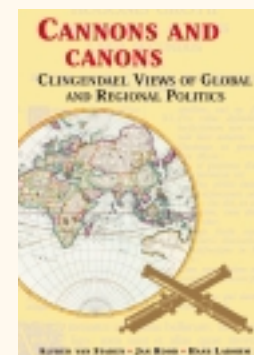
Major-general (ret) Kees Homan MA is a senior research fellow at the Clingendael Research Dpt.

20 years of Clingendael Jubilee publication: Cannons and Canons

In Clingendael Newsletter no. 15, we announced the publication of *Cannons and Canons – Clingendael Views of Global and Regional Politics*, edited by Clingendael's Director, Prof. Alfred van Staden, Prof. Jan Rood, Director of Studies, and Hans Labohm (MA), Special Advisor to the Clingendael Board. This publication marks the 20th anniversary of the Clingendael Institute. It presents an overview of the field of international relations, through a series of chapters written by members of Clingendael's staff, with an introduction by Mr Hans van den Broek, Chairman of the Board. As Mr van den Broek explains, the title *Cannons and Canons* refers to the dual nature of contemporary international relations. On the one hand, when the vital interests of states are at stake, world politics has kept its anarchical nature to a high degree, with nations trying to survive at the cost of other nations and military power serving as the last resort in the settlement of international disputes.

On the other hand, international anarchy is not the order of the day. International rules and institutions do matter.

This book is intended as a grand "display card" of the various areas of expertise Clingendael has developed in recent years. It is very much a collective effort, yet clearly shows that there is no one single 'Clingendael' opinion: each article sets out the personal views of its author. *Cannons and Canons* will be available in bookshops. (Price Euro 39,95). For more information, please contact the Clingendael External Relations Office (tel.: +31 (0)70 324 53 84, e-mail: info@clingendael.nl).



The book cover shows part of a 17th-century world map from the Atlas van der Hagen. The map, which shows both hemispheres, is officially entitled *Novissima Totius Terrarum Orbis/Tabula*, and was first published in 1683 by Ioannes de Ram, a wood trader also active in publishing. The original map, previously owned by publisher Hugo Allard, was engraved in copper. From 1683 onwards, prints of the map appeared in the atlases of Johannes van Keulen, then Europe's largest publisher of sea maps. Clingendael thanks the Royal Library in The Hague for its permission to use this illustration.

Discussion Papers in Diplomacy

In January 2002, Clingendael began publishing its Discussion Papers in Diplomacy on a bi-monthly basis. This new international series has proved a resounding success, with hundreds of people downloading papers from the Clingendael website every month. The series dates back to 1994, when the first paper was published by the University of Leicester in the UK. Since its relaunch from The Hague, authors from countries as diverse as Canada, Iceland, the Republic of Maldives, the Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, the UK and the USA have contributed original research papers.

The Clingendael Discussion Papers in Diplomacy give academics, practitioners and trainers rapid access to state-of-the-art research on diplomacy. The series serves as a niche publication, in the sense that it brings together students of international relations with an interest in a field that receives surprisingly little attention in mainstream international studies. Diplomacy may be considered the 'engine room' of international relations, but most of the international relations literature pursues other avenues of research. The twin aims of the series are to provide researchers in diplomatic studies with an opportunity to publish their work at short notice, and to distribute these papers to practitioners, academics and those with an interest in diplomatic training and public debate. Both the Editor, Dr Spencer Mawby at the University of Nottingham in the UK, and the Managing Editor, Dr Jan Melissen at Clingendael, are determined to build on the success of a series that will see its tenth anniversary in 2004. Their ongoing aim is to make the series a truly international publication.

- Clingendael Discussion Papers in Diplomacy are available free of charge.
- Papers and abstracts can be downloaded from www.clingendael.nl
- Proposals for papers should be e-mailed to papersindiplomacy@clingendael.nl.



Two diplomats from Afghanistan join the LCAM course

From May to July of this year, the tenth Course for Diplomats from Central Asia and Mongolia (LCAM) was held at Clingendael. The Institute was delighted to welcome to the course its first two participants from Afghanistan. This year's curriculum paid much attention to regional cooperation, the OSCE and the Dutch OSCE chairmanship.

To mark the occasion of the tenth anniversary, LCAM alumni will be invited to join alumni from Clingendael courses for Eastern Europe in the Alumni Course to be held at the Institute in November 2003. This one-week course will focus on the function and role of the OSCE in Eurasia.

Signing of Memorandum of Understanding with Bulgaria

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria and the Clingendael Institute have agreed to cooperate in the development of a Foreign Service Institute (FSI) in Sofia, for the training of Bulgarian diplomats and civil servants. The FSI's main activities will focus on capacity-building and preparing the Bulgarian Foreign Service for the challenges arising from EU and NATO membership. The four most relevant areas for cooperation between Clingendael and the FSI have been identified as training, consultancy, curriculum development and institutional cooperation.

In July 2003, a Bulgarian delegation to Clingendael, headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr Solomon Passy, resulted in the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU).

In the autumn, the first missions of Clingendael staff to Sofia and visits from Bulgarian staff to Clingendael in The Hague will take place.



The photograph shows Dr Solomon Passy and Clingendael's Director, Prof. Alfred van Staden, after having signed the MoU.

Training for Sudanese diplomats

The Dutch government, and in particular the Minister for Development Cooperation, Ms Agnes van Ardenne, has been seriously involved in the peace process in Sudan and has already given much input to this process. In order to support both the peace process and bilateral relations between the Netherlands and Sudan, in spring 2003 the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided to sponsor a special training course for Sudanese diplomats, to be held at Clingendael.

The project was aptly timed, as the four-week course on International Relations and Diplomatic Practice (19 May - 13 June 2003) took place in the run-up to the finalisation of a peace agreement in Sudan. This significant development was to provide an additional dimension to the course.

The course consisted of a tailor-made programme designed to facilitate both individual objectives and group interactions. Taking into account the expected level of knowledge and expertise of the participants, the specific course objectives were to increase the understanding of current international relations and foreign policymaking, to provide the latest insights into economic, political and societal developments from an international, regional and Sudanese perspective, and to train participants in professional skills in diplomacy. At the graduation ceremony on



Minister Agnes van Ardenne presenting the certificate to one of the participants, Ambassador Ibrahim Matar

13 June, Minister van Ardenne gave a short speech before presenting the participants with their certificates.

This autumn, Clingendael will host a second programme for representatives of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). This course on Governance and International Politics will incorporate the latest insights into important international political dilemmas and will emphasise the role of governments and foreign policy processes in international politics.



Participants of the 10th LCAM on the steps of the Clingendael Institute, together with Project Coordinators Ingrid d'Hooghe (second row, second from the right) and Willem van der Knaap (back row, left)

On 1 September 2003, a press conference was held to officially launch the Clingendael Centre for Strategic Studies (CCSS), a joint venture of Clingendael and the Netherlands Organization for Applied Scientific Research (TNO), and to clarify its objectives and future activities.

The CCSS is an independent institution with no preconceived views on any topic. Its objective is to offer a conceptual approach combined with practical solutions to issues in the field of international security. It aims to be a centre of excellence on strategic studies in the Netherlands, bringing together complementary expertise in international security so as to offer an integral approach towards security policy and supporting measures.

The Centre offers expertise in the following areas:

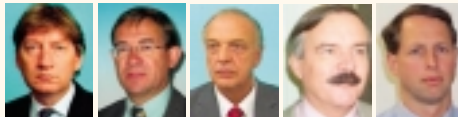
- Risk studies and trend analysis;
- International and national security policy and planning;
- Force transformation and restructuring;
- Concept and doctrine development;
- Security cooperation (both national and international, including NATO and the EU);
- Defence and security technology;
- Operations research and gaming.

The following services are available:

- Strategic analyses on political, security, defence and technological issues;
- Dedicated analyses on domain-specific issues, including concepts, doctrine, force structuring and transformation;
- Policy analyses to develop policy options, solutions and roadmaps;
- Networking or providing a forum for discussions with and between political decision-makers (including political decision-makers) and industries;
- Academic courses and lectures;
- Topical seminars.

The CCSS consists of a small core team which draws on a vast pool of expertise, made up of renowned experts from both Clingendael and the TNO. The Director of the CCSS is Prof. Rob de Wijk, Professor of Strategic Studies at Leiden University and the Royal Military Academy (Breda), and Senior Research Fellow for security, strategic and military studies at Clingendael's Department of Research. The Deputy Director is René Willems (MSc), Senior OR Analyst and former head of the Operations Research and Business Management Division at TNO-FEL. Mr Willems also chaired the Studies, Analysis and Simulation Panel of NATO's R&T organisation. Other experts include:

- Major General (ret.) Frank van Kappen (Royal Netherlands Marine Corps), a senior policy advisor for TNO and graduate of the US Naval War College;
- Major General (ret.). Kees Homan (Royal Netherlands Marine Corps) (LLM/MA), former Director of the Netherlands Defence College and now Senior Research Fellow for security, strategic and military studies at Clingendael;
- Lt Col Frans Osinga, former fighter pilot and director of the Air Power Studies Department of the Netherlands Defence College, currently also a Senior Research Fellow for security, strategic and military studies at Clingendael.



Rob de Wijk René Willems Frank van Kappen Kees Homan Frans Osinga

For more information, please contact the CCSS at PO Box 96864, 2509 JG The Hague, The Netherlands; tel.: +31 (0)70 374 05 47; fax: +31 (0)70 328 09 61; e-mail: rademaker@FEL-TNO.nl. You can also visit our website at www.ccss.nl.

International security and the Asian heartland

The collapse of the Soviet Union, the rise of fundamentalism, the world's ever-increasing thirst for oil, and the fall of the Taliban in Afghanistan have all contributed to a new kind of strategic significance for Central Asia. In light of this, on 8 July 2003, an international conference entitled 'International Security and the Asian Heartland' was held in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, with participants from Mongolia, the Netherlands, the Republic of Korea, Japan, France, the USA and Russia. This lively and highly interesting conference was organised by the National University of Mongolia's School of Foreign Service and supported by both Clingendael and Leiden University's International Institute for Asian Studies. The Clingendael Institute was represented by Dr Paul Meerts, Major General (ret.) Kees Homan and Dr Mehdi Amineh, of the Clingendael International Energy Programme (CIEP).

Dr Meerts gave a speech entitled 'Caspian Chess: Conflict or Cooperation?', in which he proposed the negotiation of a stable Caspian area (and thereby safety and security for the surrounding areas in a time of globalisation, war on terrorism and a feeble economy) and the creation of a Caspian Cooperation Convention between the five shore states. Major General Homan gave a speech entitled 'The Changing Security Environment in Central Asia', on the problems faced by the Central Asian region, including not only the threat of radical Islam, organised crime and drug trafficking, but also the lack of progress in democratic form, official corruption and the poverty of the majority of populations in the region. He concluded that political, social and economic reforms are most necessary to create a secure and stable environment in Central Asia. Dr Amineh presented his views on the topic of neo-geopolitics, based on creating a synthesis between the traditional understanding of orthodox geopolitics and the global political economy and geo-economic discourse.

A very lively discussion was held on the North Korean nuclear weapons programme. On the one hand, participants stated that the Bush administration lacked a consistent policy towards Korea. On the other hand, North Korea was considered to be struggling with an identity crisis in terms of how it perceives and is perceived by the world.

The proceedings of the conference will be published later this year in the Journal of the School of Foreign Service.



Conference - participants posing on the steps in front of the conference venue.

Seminar on the European Convention

On 5 June, at the initiative of Clingendael's Department of Research, a seminar entitled 'An Assessment of the European Convention: The Political Dynamics of Constitutional Reform' was held at the Institute. The seminar was organised by Dr Anna Michalski, Senior Research Fellow, and chaired by Clingendael's Director, Prof. Alfred van Staden, and Prof. Jacques Pelkmans, Director of WWR. The following topics were discussed at the seminar: constitutional methods and key political issues behind treaty reform, the political dynamics of the Convention, the institutional implications of constitutional reform and the Convention's influence on the future development of European integration.

Guest lecturers at the seminar included Prof. Wolfgang Wessels (Prof. of Political Science at the University of Cologne, Jean Monnet Professor and Chairman of TEPSA), Mr Michel Theys (journalist at the Euro-Media Service and former Deputy Editor of Agence Europe), Mr Mark Gray (Brussels office of White & Case LLP and former member of the European Commission's negotiating team for the Intergovernmental Conferences of Amsterdam and Nice), Dr Károly Gruber (consultant to the Hungarian Embassy in

London and former Senior Analyst in the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs's Department for Strategic Planning), Prof. Jan Rood (Clingendael's Director of Studies), Dr. Kirsty Hughes (Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels), Dr. Christian Lequesne (Deputy Director of the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Paris), Prof. Jan Wouters (Prof. of Public International Law at the Catholic University of Leuven and of European Banking and Financial Law at the Maastricht University) and Prof. Helen Wallace (Director of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence).

The seminar report (23 pp.) gives a succinct summary of the main arguments and observations made at the seminar and of the debate that took place at the occasion. This report will be followed by a full-length publication of the revised versions of the contributions in the autumn 2003.

The report is available (price: € 5,-) from the Secretariat of the Department of Research (e-mail research@clingendael.nl).



A few of the keynote-speakers during one of the seminar's plenary sessions..from l.to.r.: Prof. Wolfgang Wessels, Dr. Kirsty Hughes, Dr. Christian Lequesne and Prof. Helen Wallace.

Clingendael Conflict Research Unit activities

Seminar on the Democratic Republic of Congo

On 6 June 2003, supported by the Policy Planning Staff of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Clingendael's Conflict Research Unit (CRU) held a seminar at the Institute, entitled 'Rebuilding the Democratic Republic of Congo: Which Role for the Donor Community?'. The aim of the seminar was to address the question of how, on the eve of the 24-month transition period foreseen in the Pretoria Agreements, the international community and donor countries could help along the peace process and contribute to rebuilding the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The seminar consisted of four sessions, devoted respectively to the pacification of eastern Congo and the deployment of an EU-led emergency force in Ituri, the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration process, economic reconstruction and development, and the role of international aid. The main ideas and recommendations generated by the debate were synthesised in the seminar proceedings, which are available online on the CRU website (www.clingendael.nl/cru).

Seminar on scarcity and conflict

An uneasy relationship exists between natural wealth and violence, as scarcity of land, fresh water and forest resources can give rise to resentment. At the

same time, abundant resources, such as diamonds, gold and coltan, are used to finance wars. However, scarcity does not give rise only to conflict: there are also examples of it leading to increased cooperation. This begs the question of how we should deal with scarcity so that it contributes to peace. Together with the National Institute for Health and Environment (RIVM), the CRU organised a seminar entitled 'Dealing with Scarcity and Violent Conflict', held at Clingendael on 3 and 4 July 2003, to explore this issue. Some thirty experts from academic institutions, NGOs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs attended the seminar. Both a report on the background to the conference and the conference proceedings will soon be available on the CRU website.

New publications

The CRU published approximately 15 new publications this summer. On the subject of political economies of war, studies on Sri Lanka, Sierra Leone and Angola were published. The Democratic Transitions in Post-conflict Societies project witnessed new papers on the media, human rights and elections. Under the banner of a third project, Managing Group Grievances, numerous authors wrote about Sri Lanka, Mozambique and Ghana. Finally, background papers were written for the seminars on the Democratic Republic of Congo and scarce resources. All these publications are available free of charge on the CRU website.

1990s, the evolution of Dutch social democracy, and a handbook on political science. He has also been a political commentator and columnist for many years, for the daily newspapers *Het Parool* and *De Gelderlander* and the weekly *Elsevier*. Since 1978, he has served on various advisory councils of the Dutch government on matters of peace and security, and is currently a member of the Committee on Peace and Security of the Advisory Board of International Affairs.

In addition to his new role at Clingendael, Mr Tromp is a Professor in the Theory and History of International Relations at the University of Amsterdam by special appointment of the Netherlands Society of International Affairs (NGIZ). His main research interest is the evolution of international relations in a historical perspective.

Maurits S. Berger is a lawyer and Arabist, specialized in Islamic law (in which he will obtain his Ph.D this coming year) and political Islam. After having practiced law for three years, he left the Netherlands in 1995 for the Middle East, where he resided in Damascus and Cairo until 2002, and worked as research fellow, correspondent of the Dutch daily *Algemeen Dagblad*, election observer and as a writer. In addition, since 1994 he has lectured Islamic Law as a visiting professor at several Dutch and Flemish universities. After his return to the Netherlands in the summer of 2002, Berger worked as a free-lancer. Among his publications are *Islam is een sinaasappel* (Islam is an orange -, Contact Publishers, 1999) and *Islam onder mijn huid* (Islam under my skin, Contact Publishers, 2003).

Introducing...



Bart Tromp joins Clingendael's staff as Senior Research Fellow, as the latest step in a long and fruitful relationship with the Institute. He has lectured at Clingendael since the Institute's very foundation, and in the 1970s he was Vice Chairman of the Dutch Institute of Peace Studies, one of Clingendael's constituent organisations.

Mr Tromp studied Political Sociology at the University of Groningen. After graduating cum laude in 1971, he first taught Sociology at the Technological University of Eindhoven before moving to the University of Leiden to teach Political Science. He has published a variety of works, including books on Thomas Hobbes and Karl Marx, European integration and cultural policy, the Balkan wars of the early



Dr Edwin Bakker studied Political Geography and received his doctorate from the University of Groningen in 1997. During his time in Groningen, he published papers on intra-state conflicts in Central and south-east Europe (his PhD thesis was on minority conflicts

in Central Europe). As a Lecturer at Nijmegen University's Centre for International Conflict Analysis and Management (CICAM) from 1997 to 2003, the focus of his research shifted to conflict management and the role of security organisations, in particular the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). At Clingendael, his research focuses on non-conventional threats to international security, including terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Dr Bakker is on the editorial board of the Dutch journal *Vrede & Veiligheid* and is a member of the Executive Committee of the Netherlands Helsinki Committee. Together with Bert Bomert, he recently published *The OSCE and the Netherlands* as Chairman-in-Office (2003).

Clingendael

Study no. 18

The Origins of Contemporary Conflict A Comparison of Violence in Three World Regions

P.S. Douma

Why do large-scale violent conflicts occur? Can the specific causes of conflict be identified? Political scientists have long sought to uncover the origins of violent conflict. Today, as diplomatic, humanitarian and military interventions into violent conflicts around the world bring those crises to everyone's doorstep, the issue has also become relevant for policymakers and the wider public. To make such interventions successful, to prevent future outbursts of violence and to contribute to the peaceful reconstruction of society, accurate knowledge about the origin of these conflicts is indispensable.

This study unravels the causes of conflict from an empirical perspective and is based on the results of an international research programme conducted by Clingendael's Conflict Research Unit and its counterparts in South Asia, West Africa and Central America. Within this programme, twenty conflicts were studied, including minority insurgencies, border wars and raw power struggles, as well as revolutionary uprisings and resource-related conflicts. The study discusses the main findings of these case studies and aims to grasp the impact of different potential causes (social, economic, political and external) for violent conflict or the lack thereof. This research shows that conflicts cannot usually be attributed to a single cause, and describes the complex constellations of causes and context-specific circumstances that surround contemporary violent conflicts.

In contrast to many recent observers who have emphasised the importance of socio-economic factors, such as poverty and inequality, in the occurrence of conflict, this study reasserts the importance of political factors. The nature and functioning of the state, processes of political exclusion, the repression of minority groups and the lack of adequate power-sharing are highlighted as key factors in the origins of conflict.

Pyt Douma is an independent conflict researcher based in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. He studied Human Geography, specialising in Development Studies. During the late 1990s, he was a Senior Research Fellow of Clingendael's Conflict Research Unit (CRU), in which capacity he was engaged in different research programmes, among which the here-above mentioned study.

The study is available from September 2003; ISBN 90-5031-086-9; price € 17,50; (Appr. 250 pp.) For more information please contact the secretariat of Clingendael's Dept. of Research, tel. + 31 (0)70 - 324.53.84, e-mail: research@clingendael.nl