Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Working Worldwide for the Security of the Netherlands

An Integrated International Security Strategy 2018-2022

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Summary

The Netherlands is in many respects a very safe country, but the world does not stand still. The security situation of the Kingdom has changed in recent years. In some respects, it has got worse. Shifts in the balance of geopolitical and economic power, instability and insecurity around Europe and the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom, accelerated technological developments, a rise in hybrid conflicts and tensions within the Netherlands and Europe are increasingly affecting our security. That is clear from a series of cyber incidents, the realistic threat of a terrorist attack (the threat level is 'substantial'), the downing of flight MH17 over Ukraine, and various examples of hostile foreign intervention. The threat posed by terrorist and cyberattacks, undesirable foreign intervention and subversion, military pressure and attacks on our vital economic processes is urgent and calls for an effective security policy.

Because the international environment has a growing impact on our national security, the government decided to draw up this Integrated International Security Strategy (IISS). With the IISS the government steps up its contribution to international security and provides the strategic framework for a secure Netherlands. It offers guidance for what the government does beyond our borders to ensure the safety of the Dutch people, the Netherlands and the Kingdom as a whole. As announced in the coalition agreement, it replaces the existing International Security Strategy.

The security approach of the IISS rests on three pillars: preventing, defending and strengthening. To withstand threats to our security in the years ahead, specific goals have been formulated within the three pillars. The aim is to provide an anticipatory and preventive security approach over the long term. The strategy focuses on preventing insecurity wherever possible, and takes an effective and modern approach to defending the Netherlands against insecurity wherever necessary. This includes ensuring credible deterrence, together with our allies, and devoting attention to the root causes of terrorism, irregular migration, poverty and climate change, as specified in the coalition agreement. Geographically, the strategy focuses more sharply on Europe and the Kingdom, and it will be linked to the investments in diplomacy, the armed forces, development cooperation, cybersecurity and the Netherlands' intelligence and information situation also announced in the coalition agreement. Lastly, strengthening the foundations of our security – promoting the international legal order and an effective multilateral system – is crucial to the security of the Kingdom.

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Our efforts abroad to ensure the Netherlands' security require a human approach (human security), as called for by the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR). The basic principles of such an approach are a focus on individual interests and freedoms, the realisation that threats within and outside the Netherlands have become increasingly interconnected, action based on specific Dutch expertise and added value, and alignment with international priorities, including those of NATO, the EU and the UN. Protecting the links that guarantee our security and generate prosperity (flow security) is also an important part of the strategy.

Implementing the IISS requires policy coherence, with a close alignment of strategic goals and the deployment of the wide range of available instruments. For that reason, the IISS is linked to choices made in adjacent policy areas, including the modernisation and strengthening of the armed forces (as described in the Defence White Paper[1]), policy on foreign trade and development cooperation (on which a new policy document is forthcoming), diplomacy enhancement (the government's letter to parliament on the mission network), the integrated migration agenda, measures to improve economic security, policy on the intelligence and security services, the National Cyber Security Strategy, the Digitisation Programme, international policing strategy and the National Counterterrorism Strategy.

No new consultation or decision-making structures have been created for the IISS. Strategic efforts within the three pillars (preventing, defending and strengthening) will be embedded in ministerial and interministerial policy and operational plans. The international security efforts encapsulated in these plans will be implemented, and the goals identified for each pillar will be pursued, in close alignment with the IISS. The strategy will be implemented within the existing policy frameworks of the government bodies involved. Every two years the government will submit a report on the progress of the IISS to the House of Representatives. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will play a coordinating role, and in doing so, it will take account of evolving global trends and threats and associated changes to strategic goals.

The IISS has been formulated partly on the basis of informal input and comments by experts and civil society organisations, public consultations (through www.internetconsultatie.nl) and a 'flash poll' on international security among more than 1,000 interested members of the Dutch public. Our thanks to all those who contributed.

1. https://english.defensie.nl/downloads/policy-notes/2018/03/26/defence-white-paper

1.

Introduction

The people of the Netherlands are more concerned about their security than a few years ago. For a country like ours, with its open economy and open society, developments and events like attacks in our neighbouring countries and countries around Europe and the Kingdom naturally have a direct impact. Especially in the countries around and on the edges of Europe, the security situation has taken a radical turn for the worse in recent years. Technological developments in the digital domain give this situation an added dimension, while major regional powers and traditional Dutch partners are now behaving less predictably than they have for many years. A relatively small country like the Netherlands is highly dependent on the multilateral system, and all these developments are putting the system under pressure.

Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea in 2014, its destabilising intervention in Ukraine (leading to the MH17 disaster), the rise of ISIS in Iraq and Syria, the terrorist attacks in and around Europe, and cyberattacks have had direct and indirect consequences for our physical and economic security. The sudden and uncontrolled arrival of large numbers of refugees and irregular migrants in Europe – including the Netherlands – can be largely attributed to insecurity and instability in their countries of origin. Developments in Venezuela are not only intensifying migrationary pressure on Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao in the Caribbean, but can also have major repercussions for their economies. Migration in itself can pose threats, because (potential) terrorists can enter – and have entered – Europe through regular migration routes. The fact remains that irregular migration often has socio-economic causes and therefore cannot and should not be addressed purely from a perspective of instability and insecurity.

In this situation, the government considers it important, as it begins its term of office, to set out its perspective on international security policy. As announced in the coalition agreement, the Integrated International Security Strategy (IISS) is the successor to the previous International Security Strategy.[2] It offers strategic frameworks for the Netherlands' international security approach,[3] and it links that approach to specific policy choices. Its starting point is that threats to the Netherlands and the Kingdom are almost always related to developments in the international arena. The goal of the IISS is to safeguard the interests of the Kingdom and of the Netherlands.

This security strategy is explicitly linked to adjoining policy areas that affect the Kingdom's security: not only the wider range of activities carried out through our network of overseas diplomatic missions, but also the investments we make through development cooperation, measures to address the root causes of instability and the

2. Coalition agreement 'Confidence in the Future', page 48: 'The government will draw up a security strategy for dealing with domestic and foreign threats, including terrorism, to replace the current International Security Strategy.'
3. The IISS focuses on 'why' and 'what'. The 'how' is outlined in policy and implementation documents.

associated irregular migration, economic reforms as a way of encouraging political and social reforms, and the international deployment of our armed forces and police. In addition, the IISS is clearly linked with the ambition to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and with the problems of climate change, resource and water scarcity, and population pressure. These issues will be examined at greater length in the policy document on foreign trade and development cooperation to be completed before summer. The integrated nature of our efforts in all of these areas is a major leitmotif of this strategy, as is the link with policy on internal security.

Current challenges call for a pragmatic, modern and strategic international effort, based on our core values (see text box). Our focus is on addressing the causes of instability and insecurity, protecting the integrity of our Kingdom's territory, increasing our resilience, fulfilling our constitutional obligations and strengthening the international legal order. This Integrated International Security Strategy structures the Netherlands' efforts within the three security pillars (prevent, defend and strengthen) and sets the parameters for our ultimate decisions on *how* we will work worldwide.

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What the Netherlands stands for in the world

The Netherlands has a rich tradition of international cooperation. As a trading nation, it has a strong international orientation. That is one of the reasons why a safe and secure world is in our country's interests. Our worldwide efforts to ensure a secure Kingdom are based on the Charter of the Kingdom, the Dutch Constitution, the European Convention on Human Rights, international law and the core democratic values on which the rule of law in our country is founded. The Netherlands is convinced that lasting peace and security benefit from a **people-oriented approach and inclusive policy,** as the Scientific Council on Government Policy (WRR) has advocated. The protection of civilians, and women and children in particular, in line with the Dutch National Action Plan on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security, is an inextricable part of our integrated foreign and security policy. This is the normative framework within which the government operates, and it determines how the Netherlands deploys policy instruments and what partnerships it forms.

As a country that honours its commitments and operates transparently, the Netherlands is seen as credible and **reliable**. The power of the Netherlands' approach lies in our habitual adaptability, agility and **flexibility**. Because the Netherlands is **internationally oriented**, we are well equipped to respond to global developments that affect us.

This gives the Netherlands a certain **influence**. We are able to make useful contributions to diplomatic processes, the promotion of the international legal order, military and civilian missions and development cooperation. The high quality of our contributions is internationally acknowledged, opens doors and gives us the influence and power to effectively defend our interests. Our contributions, ideas, initiatives and capacity to innovate in the field of international security and development give the Netherlands a strong position in the international arena.

2.

Context & trends

The Netherlands is doing well. The economy is growing and our prosperity is on the increase. It should be noted however that the situation is less bright in the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom, due partly to the damage caused by hurricanes in 2017. The long-term trends in digitalisation, world trade and technological development present considerable opportunities for a country like the Netherlands, with its wide-ranging international ties. Yet the Scientific Council on Government Policy (WRR) concludes that the security situation in the Netherlands has deteriorated.[4] The trends that affect the Netherlands, the Kingdom and the world entail serious risks to our security. That calls for an anticipatory and preventive international security policy for both the long and the medium term.

"The security environment of the Netherlands has deteriorated."
WRR advisory report Veiligheid in een wereld van verbindingen ('Security in an Interconnected World'), May 2017

Below we examine the main trends that currently define our international security situation.

2.1 Multi-order world

In various international policy arenas, the role of the US as a leader is changing, while other traditional major powers like Russia and China are becoming more assertive. In addition, new major regional powers are emerging and exerting influence worldwide. Nationalism is on the rise in a globalised world, multiplying pressure on geopolitical relations and creating growing unpredictability. This multi-order world is manifest in various dimensions.[5]

Ideologically, there are renewed tensions between East and West. At the same time, there is a clash within civilisations, where conservative and progressive forces are becoming more polarised and autocracy and democracy are competing for ascendancy. The liberal world order has to defend itself against those who think in terms of spheres of influence, and the societal, socioeconomic and geographical dividing lines between highly educated and less-educated groups are becoming increasingly marked. This has an impact on national and regional stability in many parts of the world.

4. WRR advisory report Veiligheid in een wereld van verbindingen ('Security in an Interconnected World'), May 2017.
5. Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael', Strategic Monitor 2017.

Geopolitically, the international balance of power is shifting towards a more multipolar order, making multilateral action more difficult. Rather than seeking win-win situations, states increasingly focus more often and more explicitly on achieving relative advantages, on the basis of a zero-sum understanding of international relations. That has consequences for the international legal order, basic democratic principles and the universality of human rights. It produces new forms of global tension and causes polarisation between East and West. It also leads to shifting international coalitions on different policy issues and more pronounced conflicts of interest, for example between the EU and other regional forces.

Economically, countries like China and India have grown much stronger. That has been matched by a relative decline in the position of the EU and the US as dominant global economic actors. China's Belt and Road Initiative is a good example of its economic expansion. The initiative aims to promote China's economic and political ambitions in the international arena by expanding the country's land and maritime transport routes.

This multi-order world is fundamentally changing the nature of international cooperation. Ad hoc coalitions are increasingly taking the place of traditional forms of cooperation. Deteriorating relations are eroding the effectiveness of large multilateral forums. Multi-stakeholder cooperation is on the rise, in which a mix of state and non-state actors play an increasingly important part for better or worse. The prominent influence of multinational companies stands out, as do NGOs, influential individuals and criminal and terrorist organisations.

2.2 Instability and threats around Europe and the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom

Many studies point out the growing interconnection between external and internal security, and this is expected to become even closer in the coming period. Growing instability in countries and regions around and on the edges of Europe is creating serious risks, both for sustainable development in the regions and for the security of the Kingdom. Wars and other armed conflicts have made countries like Mali, Afghanistan, Ukraine, Libya, Syria, Iraq and Yemen less secure in recent years, and their governance less stable. Stability is also in jeopardy closer to home, in the Western Balkans. Some of these places have become a refuge for criminal, extremist and terrorist groups. There is a risk of the surrounding countries being drawn into a downward spiral of violence and failing governance.

The uncertain political and economic situation in Venezuela is a particular concern. The worsened humanitarian and economic situation – and the potential risk of significant migration flows – have direct consequences for the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom. The crisis in Venezuela can make the country even more attractive to criminal and other subversive networks. In addition, this crisis is a threat to regional stability and to relations with neighbouring countries like Colombia. The Kingdom benefits from stability in the region, especially in Colombia. The Netherlands therefore actively supports the peace process in that country.

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A number of trends have a negative impact on stability and security around Europe in the long term. Although, in some cases, action is required to address the symptoms in the short term, preventive measures can mitigate the security risks for the Netherlands, Europe and the Kingdom in the long term. The following developments in particular can lead to insecurity:

- The concentration of poverty in fragile states, a widening gap between rich and poor, and increasing inequality within states, societies and households.
- Illegitimate forms of government, for example in a tribal environment, where the state order is in any event seen as illegitimate. This leads to repression and violations of human rights (including the right to religious freedom), inadequate observance of the rule of law and lack of civic space, including limited freedom of action for civil society.
- Polarisation and sharper conflicts as a result of clashing ideologies, spurred on by new technologies and social media.
- The political and social exclusion of minorities.
- The effects of climate change, including the associated energy transition required to tackle them.
- Substantial population growth and urbanisation, in Africa and the Middle East especially as well as in Central Asia.
- Raw materials and water scarcity, driven by growth of population and consumption.

One consequence of these developments is the growing strain that irregular migration places on Europe. Its impact on our security is not unequivocally clear. Regular migration can contribute to our economy and society, particularly the knowledge economy, for example by helping address the problems caused by an ageing population. However, large-scale refugee flows and irregular migration can have a destabilising effect on European cooperation, solidarity and tolerance. They can also fuel polarisation in our society and reduce support for regular migration and our asylum system. In addition, irregular migration often goes together with cross-border crime, including people smuggling and human trafficking, whose proceeds can be used to finance terrorist activities. There are also examples of terrorists 'hitching a ride' along with bona fide refugees and migrants coming to Europe. The often chaotic nature of irregular migration can also seriously jeopardise the safety of individual migrants and create emergencies, so that they cannot meet their basic needs during their journey and their human rights are at risk. Irregular migration, especially from the Sahel, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and the Horn of Africa, is expected to remain substantial in the coming period.

2.3 Acceleration of technological developments and hybrid conflicts

Technological and digital developments are rapidly changing the field of security. That presents opportunities to enhance Dutch prosperity and security, as the Netherlands is a leading producer of high-grade knowledge and has great adaptive and creative capacities. According to the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP), the country's prosperity and quality of life are rising steadily, and people are more optimistic about the economy.[6] Technological developments present new opportunities for international cooperation, increasing our resilience and civic participation. At the same time, high-grade technologies are becoming more advanced, cheaper and more widely available. Self-driving vehicles, robotisation, synthetic biology and artificial intelligence offer opportunities for society but, in the wrong hands, could quickly create security risks. This gives states greater opportunities to engage in hybrid conflicts. That also applies to threats and activities that fall short of overt violence. Technology is becoming more accessible, costs are lower and it is easier to deploy different instruments simultaneously and in combination.

Partly as a result of technological developments and a globalised world, hybrid conflict has become a more urgent problem. It often takes place in the twilight zone on the verge of traditional armed conflict. Typically, states now use a hybrid mix of conventional weapons and modern methods of exerting influence. They employ a combination of military, diplomatic and economic resources and media influence to achieve strategic objectives. Increasingly, they try to influence democratic processes and spread disinformation in other countries, engage in espionage and cyberattacks, take economic measures and create strategic dependency. These tactics also include deliberately disrupting international cooperation. More widespread digitalisation and hyperconnectivity make these instruments more efficient and effective than before. Because deception, ambiguity and denial are key to state actors engaging in hybrid conflict, they often use proxies who appear not to be associated with the state. At the same time, inadequate regulation – for example of the digital and information sectors – present opportunities for ill-intentioned parties, who can cause damage without crossing a clear line. As an added complication, governance always lags behind innovation: technological developments by definition run ahead of regulation and supervision.

6. SCP reports Social State of the Netherlands (8 December 2017) and Burgerperspectieven ('Public Outlook') 2017|4 (29 December 2017).

The great economic and social importance of digitalisation is beyond dispute. Alongside benefits like big data and the user-friendliness of the internet of things, however, there are some serious risks. These include the erosion of privacy, unverifiable systems and a growing gap between the technically proficient and the computer illiterate. The services of large tech companies offer substantial added value for society, but their dominant position, their impact on information flows and their massive gathering and control of data present serious risks. There is growing social concern about these risks, partly because they can also have implications for national security.

2.4 Tensions in the Netherlands and Europe

Besides these trends, which create external security risks, there is another potentially growing security problem in the Netherlands and Europe, related to a loss of confidence in politics and government among a significant proportion of the population. Tensions are also arising between different groups in the Netherlands and the rest of Europe, a so-called 'clash within civilisations'. In other European countries and, to a lesser extent, in the Netherlands, forms of extremism are emerging that dispute the legitimacy of our democratic legal order and aim to replace our political system and way of life with something else. Existing political parties and governments in some Eastern European countries are increasingly advocating more autocratic, illiberal versions of democracy.

Developments around Brexit, the stability of the euro, the debt problem of countries like Greece, and the sometimes heated discussions on more or less European integration have a direct impact on the Netherlands' vulnerability and resilience in Europe. For that reason, these issues are relevant for Dutch and European strategic thinking.

3.

Threat analysis: the most urgent security threats

The trends described above are the backdrop to the specific threats the Netherlands will be facing in the years ahead, or which we are already confronted with. The following threats are the most urgent.

3.1 Terrorist attacks

The terrorist threat remains a source of permanent concern, nationally and internationally. As described in the National Counterterrorism Strategy for 2016-2020, religion-inspired terrorism will remain one of the main threats in the years ahead. This is borne out by attacks within and outside Europe. Since the military defeat of ISIS, there is no longer any territorial 'caliphate', but the terrorist threat and the violent and extremist jihadist ideology remain. The Middle East will continue to be plagued by terrorism for a long time to come. ISIS, al Qa'ida and other groups will continue find safe refuge in places where lawlessness reigns. Terrorists are moving to other conflict zones, while foreign terrorist fighters who return to their countries of origin – alone or with their families – can further disseminate terrorist ideologies. Besides the tangible terrorist threat this poses to the Netherlands, it can also have a radicalising effect on vulnerable young people within and outside Europe. This is because these groups build on existing fertile ground: perceptions among minorities, and especially young people, that they suffer from discrimination and socioeconomic deprivation, and the social-psychological problems that this entails. This can lead in turn to violent extremism, strengthening of criminal networks and transnational organised crime, a vicious circle that must be broken. There are also terrorist networks and individuals already active in Europe and other areas where the Netherlands has interests, some of which take direction from groups like ISIS and al Qa'ida. The Netherlands and Dutch nationals at home and abroad face a real likelihood of encountering terrorist violence.

3.2 Cyberthreats

The digital threat is growing. The Netherlands is facing a wide range of digital attacks for the purpose of political and economic espionage and cybercrime. State actors are trying to find out more about Dutch government decision-making through digital political espionage. As stated in the National Cybersecurity Assessment, state actors are using digital means to influence democratic processes. Both state and non-state actors can benefit from, and are technically capable of committing, direct attacks on public services and vital government and corporate processes. That can lead to social disruption (sabotage), undermine social stability, and have consequences for the effectiveness and integrity of governance.

As concluded in the National Cybersecurity Assessment,[7] the country's digital resilience continues to lag behind the growing threat. Digital attacks are committed to steal corporate information or high-grade technological and other forms of knowledge. Digital developments like the internet of things, smart grids, robotics, self-driving cars and other unmanned systems are creating new dependencies and, consequently, vulnerabilities. The possibility of working from abroad and the high level of anonymity, together with the lack of a normative framework, mean that those who misuse the internet run relatively few risks. The threshold for using digital resources is low, they are cheap, it is difficult to trace the real actors and their potential reach is enormous. With its open and globalised economy and free society, the Netherlands has a stake in a free, open and safe internet, in countries outside as well as within Europe. The Dutch economy is highly digitalised, and the opportunities that technological developments offer in this area must be protected and safeguarded.

3.3 Undesirable foreign interference and disruption

The Netherlands is increasingly confronted with foreign interference. Some actors are trying to destabilise European and Dutch society in order to expand their own economic and political sphere of influence. These threats include disinformation disseminated by state actors, activities of international hackers' collectives, digital espionage and sabotage, as well as efforts to influence migrant communities in the Netherlands in pursuit of nationalist aims and undesirable foreign financing of religious institutions and places of worship. Undesirable foreign intervention in third countries also has an impact on Dutch society, by destabilising and eroding the rule of law in countries on the periphery of Europe.

3.4 Military threats

There is a growing threat to our territory and that of our allies from countries that are becoming more assertive militarily. That entails a risk of armed conflict, even if this is not the main objective of a hostile threat. Hostile actions are often primarily aimed at eroding solidarity among allies and take place in the spectrum of hybrid activities. That can lead to an unforeseen and undesirable escalation of violence. The conflict between Russia and Ukraine and violations of European allies' airspace by non-allied countries' fighter aircraft are examples of these threats.

The military threat also has a nuclear component. The increased threat level makes continued NATO deterrence essential. At the same time, nuclear arms control, disarmament and risk-reduction measures remain necessary. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is also a continued cause for concern (see section 3.6).

7. Cybersecuritybeeld Nederland 2017 (National Cybersecurity Assessment for 2017), 21 June 2017.

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3.5 Threats to vital economic processes

Foreign takeovers and investments make a major contribution to the Netherlands' prosperity. At the same time, economy and politics are becoming increasingly interwoven. For that reason, caution is advisable with regard to takeovers in sectors where vital processes may affect national security. Economic security entails keeping trade routes open, combating cyber espionage, ensuring the supply of energy and raw materials and safeguarding national security when investments are made. Investments can affect national security if they undermine the continuity of vital processes, lead to strategic dependency and or affect the integrity of information, especially if it is confidential. In its forthcoming foreign trade and development cooperation policy document, the government will also try to strike a balance between promoting prosperity and safeguarding national security.

The extent to which economy and politics are interwoven is also reflected in the deployment by state actors of digital and military resources for political and economic purposes. Obstructing physical (e.g. shipping routes) and digital (e.g. deep-sea cables) supply lines can threaten the continuity of trade and therefore energy and resource security. This affects both the European and the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom. The increasing polarisation in international relations also gives rise to economic security risks. The situation in the Horn of Africa is a case in point: instability in the region led to piracy on some of the Netherlands' key shipping routes.

3.6 Threat of chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear (CBRN) weapons

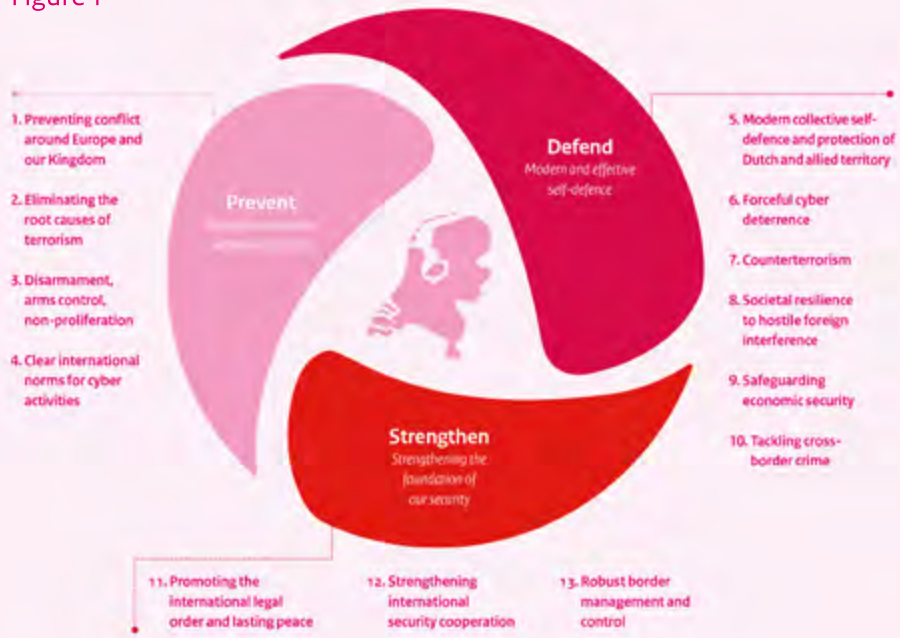
As mentioned above, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) remains a cause for concern. Emerging military powers and non-state actors are less and less bound, if at all, by international agreements. The risk of incidents or armed conflict involving WMDs is growing, as shown by the use of chemical weapons in Syria, the nuclear ambitions of North Korea and the expanding knowledge and capabilities of terrorist groups in the field of WMDs. It is crucial to obtain insight into the intentions and capabilities of state actors that possess, or may possess, these weapons. Besides CBRN weapons, the proliferation of high-grade weapon systems and military technology is also a concern. Recent developments in North Korea are alarming: with its current arsenal of operational ballistic missiles, the country is capable of launching strikes on Japan and South Korea, while it is developing missiles that will eventually equip it to attack the US and Europe.

4.

Security strategy: prevent, defend and strengthen

The IISS provides the strategic frameworks for the Netherlands' international security approach,[8] linked to specific policy choices to ensure the safety of Dutch nationals, the Netherlands and the Kingdom worldwide. This approach is founded on a number of basic principles. These include the realisation, expressed in the coalition agreement, that threats within and outside the Netherlands have become increasingly interconnected, the importance of a more anticipatory, preventive and integrated international security policy, specific Dutch expertise and added value, and alignment with international priorities, including those of NATO, the EU and the UN.

Figure 1



The strategy (see figure 1) focuses on preventing insecurity wherever possible, and an effective approach to and modern self-defence against insecurity where necessary. Restoring and strengthening the foundations of our security – the international legal order and an effective multilateral system – are crucial in achieving this. Human security is central to our approach, founded on the interests of people within and outside the Netherlands. Civil freedoms, political inclusion and trustworthy institutions are central features of human security.[9] Their absence is one of the main causes of instability, as current developments in Venezuela clearly show.

8. The IISS focuses on 'why' and 'what'. The 'how' is outlined in policy and implementation documents.

Protecting the links that guarantee our security and generate prosperity (flow security)[10] should also be reflected in our security approach. This includes protection against cyberattacks and safeguarding our strategic independence, vital infrastructure and energy and resource security.

Shaping the Netherlands' integrated international efforts calls for clear coherence between goals and the many available policy instruments in devising responses to the security environment described above and the most urgent security threats. They should all contribute to a coherent security policy, within which strategic goals, policy focus and deployment of the broad range of available instruments are closely linked and reinforce each other. Building on the integrated 3D (defence, diplomacy, development) approach, this requires integration and orchestration of national and international involvement. That is why the choices made in adjoining policy areas are closely related to this strategy. That applies, for example, to:

- the modernisation and strengthening of the armed forces (as described in the Defence White Paper);
- policy on foreign trade and development cooperation (on which a new policy document is forthcoming);
- diplomacy enhancement (the government's letter to parliament on the mission network);
- the integrated migration agenda;
- the theme-based, regional and country policy frameworks;
- measures to improve economic security;
- policy on the intelligence and security services;
- the National Cyber Security Strategy;
- the Digitisation Programme;
- international policing strategy;
- the National Counterterrorism Strategy.

9. The WRR defines human security as follows: 'Human security has acquired a broad meaning in thinking on development issues. It embraces not only the individual's personal situation, but also the confidence people can have in public services and social conditions that are vital to them. Human security is pre-eminently an issue that must be seen from a multidisciplinary perspective: not only from the viewpoint of international relations, but also anthropologically, geographically, psychologically, legally and in the light of socioeconomic circumstances.' WRR report no. 98, Security in a World of Connections: A Strategic Vision on Defence Policy, 12 April 2017.
10. The WRR defines flow security as follows: 'It must be possible for food, raw materials and other goods and services to reach their destinations or to be exported unhindered via supply routes ; the same applies to essential data flows, which can be disrupted physically (e.g. by the destruction of deep-sea cables) or electronically (through online manipulation, also known as cyber warfare).' WRR report no. 98, op. cit.

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Planetary Security Initiative

Through the Planetary Security Initiative, the Netherlands helps to better coordinate efforts on climate, security and sustainable development in practice, especially preventively and in post-conflict situations. The initiative is a good example of strategic policy integration and coherence.

The IISS rests on three pillars (prevent, defend and strengthen) on the basis of which its strategic goals have been formulated. The pillars cannot always be strictly separated from each other, but are interconnected to some extent. Effective defence, for example, also helps prevent security incidents. The Netherlands' strategic efforts for each pillar are described below. In the interests of readability, we have tried to reduce repetition between the pillars to a minimum.

4.1 Prevent

This security approach focuses on the root causes and breeding grounds of our insecurity. Security efforts under this heading contribute to other Dutch foreign policy objectives, such as promoting our trade interests, reducing poverty and protecting human rights. A successful preventive and anticipatory policy not only ensures that we keep up with developments, but is also more cost-effective. Preventing insecurity is cheaper than suppressing conflicts that have erupted into open violence, and intensified security threats. Research suggests that investing one euro in prevention can save as much as sixteen euros on the costs of repairing damage.[11] A strong intelligence and information capability, including insights into the hidden intentions of other actors, is crucial to an anticipatory and preventive security approach.

Although an agenda of prevention is desirable, it is not always easy to achieve, especially in times when multilateralism is under pressure. The results of prevention are often less clearly visible and measurable than, for example, the effects of combating a group like ISIS after it has become openly active. Political urgency is then a given, while that is often less the case for prevention. That makes it even more important to define goals sharply. That calls for patience, complicated preventive diplomacy and investments in addressing the long-term causes of insecurity within and outside the Kingdom. The link to foreign trade and development cooperation is therefore particularly important with regard to this pillar.

11. Institute for Economics and Peace, 2017.

Goal 1: Preventing conflict around Europe and the Kingdom

In recent years, crises, wars and widespread instability around the borders of EU and the Kingdom have affected not only the men, women and children living in these regions but also our own security and national interests. Examples include the terrorist threat in Europe after the emergence of ISIS, the unrest in Venezuela, international crime, the downing of flight MH17 as a consequence of the conflict in Ukraine, and domestic polarisation regarding refugee flows. Conflict prevention is therefore important for both development and security. Crises are also related to migration policy: civil wars like the one in Libya provide springboards to people smugglers and human traffickers. Where people cannot live in safety, sustainable poverty reduction and development of the rule of law are practically impossible.

No country can lastingly prevent a crisis or conflict on its own. The Netherlands therefore intends to actively press for result-oriented international cooperation on conflict prevention and peacebuilding. We take the lead in these areas in international bodies like the EU, the UN and NATO. To promote conflict prevention around the borders of the EU and the Kingdom, the Netherlands is investing in its information and intelligence capability, and the knowledge and capacity to identify (early warning) and prevent (early action) threats of conflict and crisis. To this end, the government is working towards an integrated conflict prevention agenda that combines security, migration, foreign trade and development cooperation priorities. This agenda ties in with the Netherlands' efforts to tackle the structural root causes of potential conflicts long before violence breaks out, and to quickly help reduce the threat of imminent crises. This entails addressing problems like the effects of climate change, resource and water scarcity, population growth and inequality. Preventing recurring violence, during and immediately after a period of escalating violent conflict, is part of this effort. Our starting points are human security and a people-oriented approach, which prioritises civilian interests, sustainable and inclusive peacebuilding and the protection of human rights. Of course, this includes a focus on the broad SDG agenda and the special position of women and gender in conflict areas, including implementation of UN Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. A solid information position, with up-to-date and detailed information, based in part on innovative big data solutions for peace and security, is also of great importance.

"The Sustainable Development Goals [...] are the ultimate prevention agenda. They address the drivers and root causes of instability and conflict."

"Conflict prevention is not merely a priority but the priority."
UN Secretary-General António Guterres

The Kingdom and its allies and multilateral partners need more professional preventive capabilities, both military and civil. Preventive civil missions and diplomacy, as well as options for economic and military escalation, are crucial. Alongside civil actors, the armed forces play an important role in establishing legitimate military capabilities, for example in Africa and the Middle East. The mission network also plays a preventive role in regions where the causes of insecurity, conflict and terrorism are rooted. This increases the Netherlands' influence in and knowledge of these areas and the security risks they pose. Tackling cross-border criminal networks of traffickers in arms, people and drugs is also important in promoting legitimate stability around and security within Europe and the Kingdom. The same applies to preventing criminal networks from joining forces with terrorists and violent extremist networks (see goals 2, 7 and 10).

Goal 2: Eliminating the root causes of terrorism

Terrorism is a transnational problem, but its root causes and breeding grounds are often determined by local circumstances. Systematic marginalisation and repression of vulnerable groups by the authorities (human rights violations) , poverty, unemployment and lack of prospects are some of the root causes (push factors) for radicalisation, which can lead to people joining terrorist groups. Pull factors include a shared ideological frame of reference and a sense of identity and fellowship.

International and European cooperation is essential to address the threat of radicalisation in third countries at an early stage. The Netherlands aims to enhance the resilience of vulnerable young people in regions where radicalisation is a risk, for example, on the border between Tunisia and Libya, or in northeast Nigeria. Dutch instruments for foreign trade and international cooperation, such as investments in education, employment, equality and the legal order, are being more thoroughly deployed in these regions, in cooperation with our bilateral and multilateral partners. These multidisciplinary interventions improve the future prospects of young people who may be susceptible to radicalisation, thus strengthening the impact of existing preventive measures aimed at this target group. Such interventions aim at both preventing and countering violent extremism. The Netherlands also works through the EU to combat radicalisation, one example being the code of conduct on online hate speech. Our international cultural policy aims to strengthen young people's identity and capacity for critical judgment.

Goal 3: Disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction

Although the threat of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) never disappeared after the end of the Cold War, awareness of this threat has clearly been on the rise in recent years. Developments around Iran's nuclear programme and the actual production of a nuclear weapon by North Korea have made this patently obvious. Russia, too, is modernising its nuclear arsenal. In war-torn Syria, chemical weapons have claimed many victims. It is in all our interests to continue working for disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation. A nuclear war, no matter how far away, or the use of a 'dirty' bomb by terrorists, could gravely damage our prosperity, security, public health, food security and trade. Nuclear weapons can also cause instability if they exacerbate tensions or fuel arms races. The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty is in jeopardy, nuclear doctrines are becoming more aggressive, and arsenals are being modernised, renewed and expanded. On the other hand, the Netherlands is dependent on nuclear deterrence for its own security. It therefore advocates a balanced approach to nuclear disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation. Our ultimate goal remains a world without nuclear weapons.

Although current geopolitical realities give little cause for optimism, the Netherlands considers it a duty to continue its efforts to help make, improve and enforce international agreements and political-legal frameworks governing the possession, use and proliferation of conventional arms and weapons of mass destruction. The Netherlands defends key agreements in this field, like the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which are in serious jeopardy in an increasingly polarised international arena. At the same time, the Netherlands still regards conventional arms control as a major concern, and plays an active part in the OSCE's Structured Dialogue on this issue. Illegal trade in small arms and light weapons in particular is a growing global problem. These weapons are used in terrorist attacks within and outside Europe and exacerbate armed conflicts in Africa and the Middle East. Developments around large-scale conventional weapon systems are also a cause for concern. Where existing international agreements, like the Vienna Document and the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, are not serving their intended purpose or are obsolete, the Netherlands is working for improved application and renewal of international legal and political frameworks.

Developments in synthetic biology and artificial intelligence and the growing autonomy of weapon systems call for a critical attitude and a continuing international debate. Possible future risks need to be addressed, without hindering positive social-civil uses of such technologies. We need to focus on sound threat analysis, security by design, the timely development of countermeasures and, where necessary, enhanced resilience. The expanding use of armed unmanned aerial vehicles also requires additional international agreements.

Working Worldwide for the Security of the Netherlands

Goal 4: Clear international norms for cyber activities

Cyber threats have been growing rapidly. That calls for a clear international response based on international agreements. As that is not yet happening to a sufficient degree, the Netherlands is investing in cyber diplomacy. The government is focusing specifically on achieving greater agreement on and better application of existing international legal frameworks in the digital domain. This should make it easier to call perpetrators to account and respond to their cyber activities, thereby discouraging them from deploying their cyber capabilities. The Netherlands will therefore actively contribute to negotiating new international agreements that can reduce cyber threats. These agreements should respect and build on existing agreements and include all stakeholders.

For the Netherlands, existing international law is the starting point, in the digital domain as in others. Application of human rights online in the same way as is done offline is a key basic principle for assuring online security.

"I think it is a matter of when, not if [a major cyberattack will hit the UK,] and we will be fortunate to come to the end of the decade without having to trigger a category one attack."

Ciaran Martin, UK National Cyber Security Centre

Export regulation is useful and necessary to prevent the proliferation of military and other cyber capabilities that will result in a cyber arms race. Dutch export control policy also focuses on preventing the export of goods, services and technology leading to human rights violations, unintended or intended, directly or indirectly. To achieve this, the Netherlands is pressing internationally for compulsory export licences for specific hardware, software and technologies for cyber surveillance, which are frequently used by monitoring or data retention centres. Authoritarian regimes can use such centres to restrict human rights.

Cooperation between states and with the private sector, civil society organisations and the technical and academic communities is crucial in the digital domain. The Netherlands is investing in partner countries' digital resilience to help them raise their knowledge and expertise to the highest possible level. This helps strengthen the weak links in the worldwide internet infrastructure.

4.2 Defend

The threat environment and its analysis call for investments in the defence of the people and territory of the Netherlands. Below is an overview of are the goals aimed at keeping the Netherlands, the Kingdom and the North Atlantic Treaty area secure by means of modern self-defence.

Goal 5: Modern collective self-defence and protection of Dutch and NATO territory

NATO

NATO is of fundamental importance for the Netherlands' security, and key to the government's fulfilment of its constitutional duty to guarantee Dutch security. Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which enshrines transatlantic solidarity between NATO member states, is essential in deterring potential enemies. After many years of focusing on expeditionary operations, there is a growing emphasis on collective defence within NATO. Yet crisis management and capacity-building in third countries remain crucial as forms of forward defence.

NATO

NATO focuses on threats on Europe's eastern and southern flanks. Collective defence is an important priority in these regions. The Alliance also conducts an ongoing dialogue with Russia to prevent escalation and misunderstandings. It contributes to stability, counterterrorism and efforts to combat irregular immigration, for example by giving training and advice to partner countries in the Middle East and North Africa.

This makes strengthening the Netherlands' armed forces vital. The choices laid out in the Defence White Paper, including a greater emphasis on preventive security policy, modern self-defence and promotion of the international legal order, tie in closely with the IISS. When replacing and investing in military capabilities, our broad strategic priorities and goals for security policy are the starting point. New, high-tech, often hybrid threats require modernisation and investment in the digital domain, intelligence, counter-messaging and strategic communication, maritime security and counterterrorism. Major points for attention here are higher levels of readiness and deployability, and the previously planned investments in combat support (enablers) are much needed to achieve this. The armed forces' three core tasks remain of undiminished importance. In fact, due to greater instability in many countries on the periphery of Europe, collective self-defence (core task 1) and promoting the international legal order (core task 2) demand even greater exertion. The need to deploy the armed forces for their third core task – supporting the civil authorities – has also grown.

The basic principle remains maintaining a single set of forces. In the event of emergencies, such as attacks on Dutch or allied territory, it should in principle be possible to deploy the entire armed forces.

To take all the necessary measures and meet NATO's capability objectives, steps are needed in line with the agreements made at the 2014 NATO summit in Wales to work towards a defence budget of 2% of GDP in 2024. The Defence White Paper specifies what those steps will be during this government's term of office. NATO has pointed out that these extra investments will not fully or adequately enable us to meet many of the capability objectives it asks of us. Our striking power – what we can actually provide – and our sustainment capability – how long we can continue to provide it – need to be further strengthened. A possible extra step will be considered at an appropriate time during this government's term of office depending on the overall situation, including the security situation, government-wide priorities and the agreed budgetary frameworks.

Deterrence is needed in new domains like cyber warfare, alongside conventional and nuclear deterrence. The Netherlands will therefore continue to meet its commitments regarding NATO's nuclear tasks. At the same time, nuclear doctrines need to be modified, with security and stability as their main focus. The Netherlands supports a NATO nuclear policy that combines nuclear deterrence with arms control measures, in a way that provides the best possible guarantee for Dutch security. Although the Netherlands has not signed the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, we must anticipate this treaty's possible impact on existing instruments and on NATO policy. We can expect certain countries to use the ban to increase pressure on NATO's nuclear policy.

EU Global Strategy

The EU Global Strategy, presented in 2016, gives a sharper focus to the Union's foreign and security policy. The strategy's main priority is protecting the security, interests and values of the EU. It emphasises promoting security, stability and conflict prevention outside the EU, especially in the unstable regions around Europe. The strategy also prioritises international security cooperation and promotion of the international legal order.

The EU

In light of the trends and threats described above, EU government leaders decided in 2016 that Europe must take greater responsibility for, and invest more in, its own security. This means strengthening EU security and defence policy and capabilities.[12] One important step is the establishment of the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) on defence, in which the Netherlands and 24 other EU member states are taking part. A European

12. This idea is reflected, for example, in the 2016 EU Global Strategy for the Union's foreign and security policy.

Defence Fund is also being established for European joint projects to develop and acquire defence capabilities. In addition, work is being done to introduce improvements that will allow faster and better deployment of military and civil capabilities for future EU missions and operations. This is also an EU response to calls from the US and other international partners for it to take greater responsibility.

The government supports these developments and is working to ensure that strengthening Europe's capabilities also benefits NATO. The creation of expensive parallel structures must be avoided. Nor is there any question of establishing a 'European army'.

Bilateral cooperation
On defence, the Netherlands works closely with Belgium and Luxembourg in the Benelux and with major allies like Germany, France and Norway. After Brexit, France will be the major military power in the EU, and therefore best placed to respond to crises. The UK will remain an important strategic partner because of our historic ties, our shared interests and values, the size of its armed forces, its location and our shared membership of NATO. The Netherlands is therefore in favour of close cooperation between the EU and the UK, in the fields of common foreign and security policy (CFSP) and common security and defence policy (CSDP). We view this cooperation in the broadest possible sense, including sanctions, development cooperation, EU missions and operations, capability development (the European Defence Agency, European Defence Fund and PESCO), information exchanges, joint responses to hybrid threats and external aspects of counterterrorism and cybersecurity cooperation.

Caribbean parts of the Kingdom
Given the instability in the region, the government is devoting special attention to the defence of the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom. The current crisis in Venezuela, the Kingdom's biggest neighbour, for example, can lead to large flows of migrants to the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom, causing unrest. Here, too, the US is a crucial ally in preventing the escalation of violence. Other countries, too, like Mexico, Colombia and Brazil, are important for security in the region.

Lastly, efficient external border controls and management are of great importance for the defence of the territory of the Netherlands, the Kingdom, the EU and NATO. They are a prerequisite for open internal borders, as stated in the coalition agreement. The government will therefore sustain its investment in border control at a high level, as described in goal 13.

Goal 6: Forceful cyber deterrence

A number of states are conducting increasingly open and aggressive cyber operations for political and military purposes. These attacks aim to both sabotage vital infrastructure and spread false information to influence public opinion. That not only causes economic damage, but also erodes democratic legitimacy and fuels a cyber arms race.

That is why, as announced in the coalition agreement, the Netherlands is investing in an ambitious cybersecurity agenda. Dutch and NATO investments in cyber capabilities will contribute to our collective defence against – and help deter – state and non-state actors with aggressive attentions in the digital domain. In the Netherlands, this involves bodies like the intelligence and security services, the Defence Cyber Command and the National Cyber Security Centre.

Cyberattacks make it increasingly easy to undermine our security and that of our allies at minimum cost and in relative anonymity. Besides cyber diplomacy and international regulation of the digital domain (see goal 4 above), the government is also investing in cyber intelligence and in both defensive and offensive cyber capabilities to protect against, respond to and deter cyberattacks and espionage. With these capabilities, the Netherlands aims to detect and neutralise cyber threats at an early stage, repel them effectively and – in extreme cases – retaliate proportionately. To this end, it is important to identify the perpetrators of such attacks if at all possible, so that they can be publicly called to account.

Security in the digital domain is not purely a matter of technical resilience. By making these investments, the Netherlands will make itself resilient to cyber threats and will be able, if necessary, to respond with the full range of instruments at its disposal.

Goal 7: Counterterrorism

Many forms of terrorism, including global violent and extremist jihadist terrorism are transnational in nature. The Netherlands aims to prevent or mitigate terrorism as much as possible. Where that is not possible, repressive measures have to be taken. In recent years, the Netherlands has invested substantially at national, EU and international level in addressing the terrorist threat. We have, for example, strengthened our intelligence and investigative capacity. The international exchange of information has been stepped up through agreements within the EU, by developing new instruments like harmonised use of passenger name records, and by enhancing the interoperability of EU systems. At the same time, we are helping build capacity in third countries, an investment that also improves our own security. This entails, for example, improving the tracking of travel movements, border controls and aviation safety in countries and problem areas which have regular flights to the Netherlands. By sharing knowledge, equipment and personnel related to national and international approaches to civilian counterterrorism, the Netherlands has acquired a good international position, e.g. in the EU, the UN, the Global Coalition to Counter ISIS/Daesh, the Global Counterterrorism Forum and innovative capacity building programmes. This contributes both directly and indirectly to combating terrorism in the Netherlands and internationally.

A sustained effort is needed to keep our resilience up to standard. Terrorism has become a permanent feature of our national threat situation.[13] Internationally, the Netherlands focuses on denying terrorist organisations safe havens, cutting off flows of funds for

terrorism, and disrupting transnational links between criminal and terrorist networks (see goal 10). Through the diplomatic counterterrorism network that has recently been established, the Netherlands can now better support countries in achieving a good balance between preventive and repressive measures. Cooperation with the private sector and civil society organisations is crucial to this effort.

Goal 8: Societal resilience to foreign interference

The government aims to achieve a single Dutch approach to undesirable foreign interference, by coordinating our international, national and local approaches. This will allow the targeted deployment of the broad spectrum of Dutch foreign and security policy instruments to prevent and combat undesirable foreign interference.

Our approach to undesirable foreign interference focuses on a sound information position, conducting a dialogue with countries of concern, increasing resilience in the Netherlands and a coordinated response when incidents occur. An effective approach begins with identifying vulnerabilities and gathering and jointly interpreting signs of possible interference.

Where possible, the Netherlands is also investing in bilateral cooperation and in a joint EU approach. Dutch intelligence and security services are investigating state actors that may pose a threat to the Netherlands' security and interests. This investigation helps provide greater insight into undesirable foreign interference.

Definition of undesirable foreign interference

Undesirable foreign interference refers to intentional, often systematic and, in many cases, covert activities by state actors (or actors who can be linked to state actors) in the Netherlands or aimed at Dutch interests. Such activities may undermine the Netherlands' political and social system and our efforts.

Investigating the intentions and capabilities of state actors is necessary to enable us to anticipate and respond appropriately to this threat. In addition, the Netherlands has diplomatic instruments at its disposal to call countries to account for interference. These range from picking up signals at an early stage and discussing them through diplomatic channels to publicly calling the country concerned to account. The Netherlands is also taking ongoing measures to increase our resilience against undesirable foreign interference. These include protecting those holding political office, especially at local level.
Lastly, the Netherlands is investing in targeted strategic communication to actively

13. See, for example, the Terrorist Threat Assessment for the Netherlands (DTN) published periodically by the National Coordinator for Security and Counterterrorism (NCTV).

counter disinformation. This includes raising awareness within government organisations and vital sectors through information, training and exercises.

Goal 9: Safeguarding economic security

Protecting our economic security embraces all economic activities that affect national security.[14] The Dutch economy is open and internationally oriented, which means that protecting economic security often has an international dimension. It entails keeping trade routes open, combating cyber espionage and threats, ensuring a secure supply of energy and raw materials and ensuring that foreign investments do not undermine national security. Technological developments and the possible deployment of cyber capabilities make this issue all the more timely. Safeguarding economic security and protecting the country against cyber sabotage and espionage, in cooperation with the business community, are a priority for the government. The same applies defending crucial digital and physical communications links, such as the internet and electricity and gas networks. Ports and power stations are also increasingly coming under threat.

Energy supply security is another aspect of economic security. To safeguard energy supplies, we may need to reduce our dependence on energy-producing countries. This could have a destabilising effect on the countries concerned. The low oil price as a result of shale oil and gas extraction, for example, has affected the stability of oil-producing countries. A change in the degree of dependence on oil as a fuel can also have geopolitical consequences. The US, for example, has become an energy-dominant state. By reducing dependence on fossil fuels, future innovations in energy generation can help solve the problems posed by climate change. In addition, energy (both electricity and gas) is of vital importance for social continuity. A good energy transition can help reduce the risks of major supply failures. For the Netherlands and the rest of Europe, measures to promote low-carbon energy will help reduce dependence on fossil fuel producers.

Undesirable interference in and hostile foreign takeovers of vital processes like telecommunications, nuclear energy and ports can harm national security and public order. This can happen if they threaten the continuity of these processes, lead to strategic dependence or erode the integrity of information. The government therefore gives priority to implementing ex-ante impact assessments to determine whether supplementary measures are required to protect national security in the event of takeovers in sectors with vital processes.[15] The distinction between economics and politics has been blurred in recent years: economic instruments are used more often to exert political influence. This particularly affects vital areas in the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom, because their small size makes them relatively vulnerable to regional instability, hostile foreign takeovers and trade distortions.

14. National Security Profile 2016

15. Letter to parliament on business takeovers, 2017; Progress report on economic security, 2017

Erosion of the international legal order also jeopardises free and open international trade flows. The government is working to keep land, sea and air supply routes secure, a shared interest of the international community. Securing these routes also means securing the supply of goods that depends on them. That calls for monitoring vital production and maintenance capacity and logistics chains. The Netherlands is helping to combat international piracy and other forms of organised crime. Preventing intentional disruptions of the supply of energy and raw materials is also crucial, and calls for active defence and a better information position on geopolitical and military-strategic efforts to affect supply security. To assure energy supply security, it is strategically important to prevent dependence on certain countries. In the future, tensions in the South China Sea and other major shipping routes as a consequence of conflicting territorial claims can also cause serious obstacles to trade and supply security. The government is therefore working to seek peaceful solutions to maritime disputes. Other trade-related developments, such as the Belt and Road Initiative announced by China in 2013 and the growing accessibility of the North Pole region, are not only creating economic opportunities but also have geopolitical implications. The government is taking steps to prepare for these developments.

Goal 10: Tackling cross-border crime

The international policy of the Dutch police and other law enforcement agencies focuses on tackling organised crime in the Netherlands that originates in other countries. International organised crime is increasingly a threat to our country. This means that the interconnectedness of internal and external security has an impact on the work of the Dutch police and other law enforcement agencies. Crime is fluid, transnational and heavily cross-border in nature. Criminal networks are linked logistically, socially, culturally, financially and digitally. The drug trade, cybercrime, financial and economic crime, migration-related crime and terrorism are cross-border phenomena, especially in Europe, the Middle East and North Africa. The globally interwoven nature of crime can affect the security of the Kingdom directly and indirectly. This applies in particular to international terrorist networks, organised crime and the illegal trafficking and smuggling of people, goods and drugs. Efforts to tackle cross-border crime are linked to migration policy and conflict hotspots in the regions around Europe. For the police and other law enforcement agencies, it is crucial to recognise the symptoms of conflict hotspots and the associated instability in good time and to respond to them quickly.

One of the cornerstones of efforts to tackle cross-border crime is ‘upstream disruption’. This means that the police do not wait for organised crime to strike in the Netherlands but try to combat it as far as possible at an earlier stage. Upstream disruption can be geographical, but is even more prevalent in the digital domain. Public-private partnerships are of great importance in this approach. In addition, the police work together internationally to exchange information, making use of a range of instruments, including liaison officers, participation in missions, and EU initiatives. This results in coherent, comprehensive, multidisciplinary cooperation with justice system partners at home and abroad.

4.3 Strengthen

Strengthening the foundations of our security is very closely linked with the international legal order. Since that order is under pressure, our security and prosperity are, too. The same applies to the rule of law, which is under threat outside Europe and in some countries within Europe. That threatens the foundations of our security. The goals set out below aim to right this situation and thus strengthen the Netherlands’ security.

Goal 11: Promoting the international legal order

The government has a constitutional duty to advance the international legal order. It consistently shines a spotlight on countries that violate the territorial integrity of others and calls for measures to be taken against them, preferably through the UN. In cooperation with European and like-minded partners, the Netherlands consistently backs initiatives at the UN to promote stabilisation, conflict prevention and the international legal order. However, the current stalemate in the Security Council often hinders effective action against instability and insecurity by the international community. Where possible therefore, the Netherlands helps to promote the multilateral security system by, for example, supporting efforts to strengthen the effectiveness and legitimacy of leading multilateral organisations[16] regional organisations[17] and international institutions[18] (see goal 12). The government also supports efforts to make UN missions more effective by, for example, advocating more clearly specified mission mandates, improvement in the quality of the troops deployed in missions, and the introduction of rotation schemes to ensure the continuous availability of scarce, high-grade capabilities. This will equip missions to perform their tasks adequately. In addition, the Netherlands presses for targeted EU and UN sanctions to stop violations of the international legal order. In extreme cases, attacks on the international legal order, the sovereignty of states and human security must be repelled by military means. For military operations, a mandate under international law is indispensable.

Given the pressure on the international legal order and the instability in the regions around Europe, the need for peace missions and crisis management operations can be expected to increase. The Netherlands will continue to invest in these activities, partly because they are a form of forward defence. That calls for specific military, civil and diplomatic capabilities that will equip us to face future crises. The choices we need to make are set out in greater detail in the Defence White Paper, the International Policing Strategy and the policy framework for civil missions. The Netherlands’ contribution

16 E.g. the UN Security Council, the EU, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

17 E.g. the OSCE and the African Union.

18 E.g. the courts at the Peace Palace and the International Criminal Court.

to peace missions and crisis management operations focuses primarily on the regions around Europe, based on the principle that large-scale contributions to missions directly or indirectly enhance Dutch security. Small contributions to missions are also important, because they can, for example, strengthen the Netherlands' strategic information position and influence. The Dutch armed forces can be deployed for peacekeeping operations through the UN, NATO or the EU, or as part of ad hoc coalitions. The decision to deploy them always requires consideration of the overall costs and benefits. The consequences of such decisions for the readiness and deployability of units are viewed in relation to the consequences of deployments to carry out NATO and EU tasks.

The Netherlands in the UN Security Council in 2018

The Netherlands' efforts in the Security Council focus on increasing human security worldwide. We pursue that aim by concentrating on both prevention and cure. That means working to help the Security Council act more promptly to address the root causes of conflict and, when conflict breaks out, deploys peace missions that are adequately equipped and have a real impact on the ground. Finally, we want to see a Security Council that is dedicated to justice, since without justice there can be no lasting peace.

Restoring security and stability in countries like Mali and Afghanistan and in the Middle East is in the security interests of Europe, including the Netherlands, and requires patience and perseverance. Decisions on deploying the armed forces under article 100 of the Constitution are made on the basis of an assessment of the mission's political desirability and military feasibility using the Assessment Framework regarding article 100. The Netherlands' ambition to be a reliable partner implies making a proportional contribution to crisis management around the world. Partly with a view to the planned update of the Defence White Paper in 2020, the security approach defined in the IISS and the objective of conflict prevention set out in the forthcoming policy document on foreign trade and development cooperation, the international security budget (BIV) available to pursue this ambition will be reviewed in two years. The government aims to do this every two years within the existing budgetary frameworks and in light of the evolving security situation.

Helping other countries make the rule of law more resilient to violence, corruption and activities aimed at undermining them is important to restore and advance the international legal order. This will also address major root causes of irregular migration. In addition, peace missions, social reconciliation initiatives, economic reconstruction programmes and institutional capacity building must be tackled much more often in unison.

Goal 12: Strengthening international security cooperation

International cooperation is a key prerequisite for our security. Partly because internal and external security have become increasingly interconnected, the Netherlands is hardly ever able to tackle threats alone. This makes international cooperation crucial to our security, and the Netherlands will continue to invest in it.

Besides long-established multilateral organisations like the UN, the EU, NATO and the OSCE (see goals 5 and 11) and international financial institutions like the World Bank, we also work with informal multilateral forums for capacity building (like the Global Counterterrorism Forum and the Global Coalition to Counter ISIS/Daesh) and non-state actors like civil society organisations, the business community and research institutes. Moreover, we increasingly work in ad hoc coalitions to address specific issues and of particular importance. This is a consequence of the multi-order world described above, with varying ideological, geopolitical and economic interests. The government supports these kinds of partnerships because they increase the effectiveness and flexibility of, and support for, our international efforts. The short-term benefits of ad hoc coalitions should not, however, come at the expense of the carefully constructed multilateral system and the international legal order. Careful consideration of goals, interests and mandates is advisable, especially with a view to the long term and to sustainability.

Given the great challenges facing the whole world in the areas of demography, economy, energy, resources, climate and technology, international cooperation is also required to advance steadily towards a coherent vision of worldwide security. Not only problems, but also solutions elsewhere in the world, can have an impact on Dutch security. New technological developments offer potentially promising solutions to problems abroad. Good examples are improvements in food supply through smart agriculture and more accessible basic medical services through the use of artificial intelligence. With its knowledge-based society, the Netherlands can contribute directly to such solutions and help keep these issues high on the international agenda. In the long term, an approach of this kind addressing the root causes of problems can reduce security threats to the Netherlands.

Goal 13: Robust and balanced integrated border management and control

Security and promoting effective border management are intrinsically linked. In international forums like the EU, UN and OSCE, countries are working more and more closely. At the UN, the Netherlands is emphasising that secure, effective borders are the key to effective implementation of counterterrorism measures in line with the relevant UN Security Council resolutions. Effective and integrated border management is the first line of defence against terrorists trying to gain access to our territory, and against illegal flows of goods across our borders. Within the EU, we are working to improve the exchange of information through European systems like the Schengen Information System and through Europol, and between member states' police forces, justice systems and immigration and border control authorities.

The Netherlands has committed itself to striking a good balance between maintaining security, on the one hand, and promoting the free movement of persons, good and services, and free trade, on the other. The Netherlands and our European partners are proceeding in a robust and integrated manner with the development of cohesive, well-designed borders. Within the EU, we are working on programmes to improve the systematic tracking of Europeans and others entering and leaving the Union. These include the Entry/Exit System (EES) and the European Travel Information and Authorisation System (ETIAS). We are also taking innovative steps to safeguard our security through our visa policy and in the visa issuing process. The Netherlands continues to focus actively on security issues, so that returning violent and extremist jihadists, other potential threats to European and Dutch security and potential infringements of the rule of law can be identified in good time and undesirable persons are actively denied entry.

To make migration more manageable, the government is pursuing an integrated border control policy, comprising three elements:

- Partnerships with a number of countries in North Africa to improve their border controls while protecting human rights and combating terrorism and cross-border crime. More European cooperation and closer cooperation with and between third countries can help improve border controls in the region.
- Effective border controls and measures in our own territory. To that end, we have invested in the capacity of the Royal Military and Border Police (KMar). This extra capacity is primarily intended to strengthen the Netherlands' external borders at air- and seaports. It will also equip KMar to contribute to effective management of Europe's external borders, through either Frontex or multidisciplinary teams.
- Investment in the further digitalisation of border controls in the coming years, with the help of European funds. This will strengthen border controls, enhance internal security and promote the mobility of bona fide travellers.

Working Worldwide for the Security of the Netherlands

5. Implementation

No new consultation or decision-making structures will be created for the IISS. Elaboration of our strategic efforts with regard to the three pillars (prevent, defend and strengthen) and the 13 goals identified within their scope will be embedded in ministerial and interministerial policy and operational plans. International security efforts will be in close alignment with the IISS. The strategy will be implemented within the existing policy frameworks of the government bodies involved. Every two years the government will submit an IISS progress report to the House of Representatives. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will play a coordinating role, taking account of evolving global trends and threats and associated changes to strategic goals.