



The Clingendael Newsletter

Photo by Richard van Eijnsden

Issue 21 Winter 2005

Contents:

- LBB 59
- Sudan/Mozambique
- ADEPT
- Global NATO?
- Ukraine/Belarus
- Alerdinck Conference
- 4th Asser-Clingendael Sports Lecture
- 5th European Health Forum

Uganda: the future of Europe in Africa



Participants of the public workshop 'Security Policy and Management' in Jinja, together with the Ugandan Deputy Minister of Defence Mrs R. Nankabirwa (front row, centre), Dutch Ambassador Mrs. Y. Brandt (front row, centre) and Clingendael representatives Lt Col. R. van Eijnsden, Gen. F. van Kappen, Gen. K. Homan and U. Mans.

What is the link between the current crisis in Sudan's Darfur region and Europe's recent military intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo? While the 'worst humanitarian catastrophe' still continues unaltered in the one country, a transitional government in the other is trying hard to restore order after four devastating years of war. One conflict is central to the Horn of Africa, while the other presents a major obstacle to stability in the Great Lakes Region. Apparent disparities aside, there are good reasons to look at connections between the two and to find out where to turn for diplomatic engagement.

International peace and security are key to the European Union's foreign policy agenda. It is clear to EU policymakers that Africa is crucial to this effort, as global security will remain at risk without more stability on the African continent. This political commitment notwithstanding, a major problem remains: Africa is not at the top of the agenda. Money is tight and Western powers are more than reluctant to intervene decisively

when required, as shown by the examples of Somalia, Rwanda and more recently Sudan. With a common European defence policy unfolding and the anticipated EU battle groups ready to be deployed in 2007, this may change in the long term. But even with such a force in place, the European Union will give priority to supporting African leaders from a safe distance through means such as financial assistance for the training and deployment of African peacekeepers. Consequently, Europe's cooperation with the African Union and with its southern and western African counterparts (SADC and ECO-WAS, respectively) has intensified in recent years. In order to promote peace and security, the European Union (and the governments of its member states) envisions 'African solutions for African problems' through the active engagement of Africa's regional organisations.

These regional linkages are crucial to peace management in Africa. Policy-makers agree that Africa's 'first World War' in the Democratic Republic of Congo is not going to be solved without a lasting settlement between the Hutu and Tutsi ethnicities in Rwanda. For Somalia's peace process, the Eritrean/Ethiopian conflict plays a crucial role and Sudan will be unable to build a united country without solving existing disputes with Eritrea and Uganda. For Africa's intertwined conflicts to be resolved, diplomatic efforts therefore need to address regions rather than countries. At the same time, regional organisations alone are unable to operate without individual key countries spearheading continental diplomacy and have to engage with national governments that are willing and able to take appropriate action. In addition to a more intensive dialogue

between the EU and Africa, Europe therefore needs active bilateral partners on the continent as well.

Uganda is such a key country. Bordering the Democratic Republic of Congo to the west, Rwanda to the south and Sudan to the north, Uganda lies at a geo-political crossroads. Lauded by the international donor community for its excellent performance in terms of AIDS prevention and economic progress in the 1990s, Uganda has become a major recipient of development aid. Even though the country's north faces a humanitarian catastrophe due to fighting between the national army and a rebel movement, Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni has been increasingly active as an international peace broker, for example in Burundi and Somalia. However, Uganda needs to further professionalise its armed forces and follow a more transparent security policy in order to create more legitimacy within and outside the country. The Ugandan parliament recently approved the new defence white paper and will now have to ensure its implementation. In order to guarantee the full support of all security-related departments, the government needs to actively engage with its practitioners and to discuss the practical implications of such reform.

Clingendael has recently begun to actively facilitate this effort. In close cooperation with the Uganda Martyrs University (UMU) and the Ugandan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Clingendael developed a course entitled 'Leadership Training for Key Actors in Security Policy and Management' for 30 government officials, and organised the first of a series of two seminars from 18 to 29 October 2004.

(continued p.2)

(Uganda)

Clingendael and UMU also invited more than 100 senior military officers, academics and political representatives to join the course participants during a public workshop on 21 October. The two-week seminar made it clear that Uganda's priorities will need to reflect an adequate balance between tackling its internal security problems and adjusting its external policies to successfully accommodate national security interests with those of neighbours such as Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The seminar also made it clear that it is crucial for Uganda's civil servants to know their role in implementing Uganda's security sector reform. For Uganda to play a constructive role in both the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes Region, the EU needs Uganda to make this reform a success. Clingendael and the Uganda Martyrs University are looking forward to continuing to facilitate this debate through their joint training programmes.

A Human Security Doctrine for Europe



On November 8, Clingendael organized an expert meeting to discuss the results of the so-called Barcelona Report, entitled 'A Human Security Doctrine for Europe', by the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities. The results of the report were presented by Mary Kaldor (Convenor) and Marlies Glasius (Coordinator), on the right. The meeting was chaired by Kees Homan. Clingendael's Dick Leurdijk (extreme l.) opened the debate by giving his comments on the paper, proposing a new doctrine for implementing the European Security Strategy, focused on the notion of 'human security'.

Fourth Asser-Clingendael International Sports Lecture

On 19 November, the Asser-Clingendael International Sports Lecture was held for the fourth consecutive year. The main theme of the lecture was 'Sport and Development from the UN Perspective' and co-hosts Asser and Clingendael were deeply honoured to welcome as keynote speaker Dr Adolf Ogi, former president of Switzerland and now Special Advisor on Sport in Peace and Development to Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations. In his speech, Dr Ogi emphasised the importance of sport as a means to enhance peace and security.

Within the context of the relationship between sport and development, the second part of the programme was dedicated to Surinam. The keynote speakers were Humberto Tan, Will van Rhee and Diederik Samwel. Mr Tan, anchorman of NOS Studio Sport and board member of the charity foundation *Suriprofs*, spoke on the role and influence of players of Surinam origin in Dutch professional football. Mr van Rhee, Special Ambassador of the Royal Dutch Football Association (KNVB), highlighted a number of supporting football projects in Surinam, and Mr Samwel, journalist and author of *Barefoot Players and Crumbling Turf – Surinam Football and its Ties with Holland* (*Blootvoeters en Beschuitgras – het*

Surinaamse voetbal en de band met Holland), elaborated on football in Surinam itself and the relationship with the Netherlands.

The symposium was chaired by Dr Robert Siekmann, Director of the Asser International Sports Law Centre, and was concluded with a panel debate.

The fifth International Sports Lecture is scheduled to take place on 9 June 2005. The main topic will be the relationship between sports and religion.



Guest lecturers on Surinam Will van Rhee, Diederik Samwel and Humberto Tan (resp. 2nd, 3rd and 4th from the left)



Dr Adolf Ogi, Special Advisor on Sport in Peace and Development (right), with Dr Robert Siekmann, Director of the Asser International Sports Law Centre

Alumni course

Clingendael's fourth alumni course for diplomats from Central and Eastern Europe brought together diplomats on both sides of the EU's new Eastern borders to discuss the new European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). With speakers from the European Commission, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), as well as academics and a member of the Advisory Council on International Affairs, the course programme offered participants a variety of perspectives on this new policy. Not only was the overall framework of the ENP extensively discussed, but important policy fields such as energy, justice and home affairs were also examined. Topical issues covered during the debates included the absence of a membership perspective, consequences of the new borders and the role of the Russian Federation in the immediate neighbourhood of the European Union. This last topic was particularly relevant, as the week in which the course took place coincided

with the EU-Russia Summit in The Hague and the presidential elections in Ukraine, which clearly showed the need to develop the ENP into a credible policy.

In November 2005, an alumni conference for diplomats following Clingendael courses will mark the tenth anniversary of the MFA's MATRA programme.



Participants and Clingendael staff of the alumni course 'EU Enlargement and the "Ring of Friends": the European Neighbourhood Policy' for Central and Eastern European diplomats (22-26 November 2004)

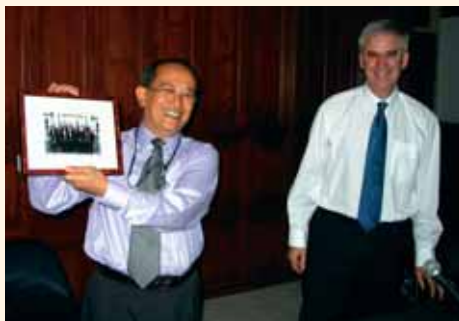
Clingendael's cooperation with the Indonesian Centre for Education and Training

Ron Ton, Head of Clingendael's International Relations and Diplomacy section, visited the Centre for Education and Training (CET) in Jakarta in the week of 22 November. During his visit, he took part in workshops with junior, mid-career and senior Indonesian diplomats, and held meetings with the Centre's Director, Nadjib Riphath, the Head of International Cooperation, Bambang Kromodimuljo, the directors of various training programmes and other staff. The visit also included working meetings at Deplu, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Erasmus Language Centre and the Dutch Embassy. Finally, a workshop on capacity building in diplomatic training was held with a group of former ambassadors and staff members of the Institute.

Clingendael and the CET have agreed to work together in a three-year joint project, supported by the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta. Each year, 44 junior, mid-career and senior Indonesian diplomats will receive training in three different courses at Clingendael in The Hague. The scope, range and length of each course will be adapted to the level of the participants.

The course for junior diplomats will deal with core tasks of foreign policy and basic diplomatic skills, while the mid-career diplomats will work on issues in international policy development and applied skills. Senior diplomats will follow a short course focusing on strategic planning on Indonesian foreign policy and the future relationship with Europe. Clingendael and the CET hope to extend this cooperation in the next few years and are looking forward to further jointly developing diplomatic training to contribute to the mutual development of diplomatic training.

For more information, please contact Simone Eysink (Project Coordinator) or Ron Ton (Project Manager).



Nadjib Riphath and Ron Ton at the beginning of the opening ceremony

New Structure Clingendael Institute

For the Clingendael Institute the year 2005 is a New Year in more than one way. We have started to operate within the new internal organisation, for which the foundation was laid in 2004. The Departments of Training and Research are now integrated in three new thematic Programmes, through which the joint expertise in the various fields of international relations of both our trainers and our researchers will be strengthened.

Clingendael's academic staff is now united in the following programmes: the Diplomacy and Global Governance Programme (DGGP), the Clingendael European Studies Programme (CESP) and the International Security and Conflict Programme (ISCP), which also comprises our Conflict Research Unit (CRU). The Clingendael International Energy Programme (CIEP) and the Clingendael Centre for Strategic Studies (CCSS) will continue to do their work as previously.

For more information you can contact Clingendael's External Affairs Office: agans@clingendael.nl or ehoupt@clingendael.nl, tel +31 70 – 324.53.84.

Conference on the Transatlantic Relationship

On 12 November, Clingendael hosted a conference entitled 'The United States and Europe: Partners or Rivals?', organised in cooperation with the Netherlands Atlantic Association and Pugwash Netherlands. The main purpose of the conference was to evaluate the development of relations between the US and Europe over the four years of the first George W. Bush administration, and their prospects after the re-election of President Bush. During the first Bush administration, the events of "9/11" and the subsequent wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have laid bare the

deep differences among the transatlantic partners. Under the chairmanship of Ambassador Jacobovits de Szeged, academics from the United States and the Netherlands and Dutch politicians and civil servants discussed topics such as the role of military power, the relevance of international law and the United Nations, the concept of pre-emptive strikes, how to deal with international terrorism, the possibilities of democratising the Islamic world, and how to eventually resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

The conference debated the transatlantic differences in an open and frank way, identifying the differences but also seeking common ground between the US and Europe.

At the end of the conference, some recommendations were put forward on how to narrow the gap between the United States and Europe.

59th Course in International Relations

On the 17th of December the closing ceremony of the 59th Course in International Relations ("Leergang Buitenlandse Betrekkingen") took place. This three month postgraduate course trains young Dutch academics in current international policy issues and diplomatic skills. The programme includes debate sessions, simulation games in international negotiations, workshops in political reporting and various seminars in communicative skills. Lecturers from the Clingendael staff and the external university network delivered introductions on topics like European integration, conflict and international security, human rights, development co-operation and economic relations. The picture shows the participants with Dr. Wim van Eekelen (chairperson during the simulation on European integration) and Clingendael staff Mr. Ron Ton and Mr. Arnold Bakker. Two other Clingendael staff members, Mr. Jerome Larosch and Mr. Peter van Grinsven were not present at the moment the photo was taken.



Towards a final peace in Sudan?

On 22 September, Clingendael's Director, Professor Alfred van Staden, welcomed Dr John Garang, Chairman of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), to the Institute. Dr Garang met with various Clingendael experts in order to discuss prospects for peace in Sudan. Despite the ongoing crisis in Sudan's western Darfur region, negotiations in Kenya continue between the government of Sudan and the SPLM. Dr Garang confirmed that, after two years of peace talks, the parties are committed to signing a comprehensive peace agreement in the coming months. Given that prospect, he explained that the SPLM was preparing for the post-war period: a government of national unity is to be established and the details of the agreement implemented. Dr Garang made it clear that the envisioned six-year transition will require considerable

support from all Sudanese people, as well as from the international community, if it is to succeed. The creation of new government structures and the major reconstruction efforts will depend on donor countries' willingness to support the peace process. To date, the Netherlands has substantially invested in the process, and a transitional government will require this assistance to continue in order to make peace work for the Sudanese population. Clingendael's Departments of Training and Research have long been active in facilitating the process: four training programmes have already been rolled out between 2003 and 2004, and with the peace agreement in place, Clingendael looks forward to receiving 18 Sudanese diplomats from the government of national unity for a four-week training programme in 2005.



Dr John Garang and the SPLM delegation, together with Clingendael's Director Professor Alfred van Staden, the staff of the Department of Training, the Clingendael International Energy Programme and the Conflict Research Unit

Global NATO?

Under this title a seminar was held on October 28-29 that was jointly organized by the Center of Transatlantic Relations of the Johns Hopkins University and the Clingendael Institute.

Topics discussed were amongst others *NATO's Geostrategic Reach: How Global should NATO go?*, *A Global NATO:*

Implications for the EU and the UN, and *The Atlantic Alliance and the Wider Middle East: What Future?*

The conference was attended by participants from Europe as well as the United States, among whom were Mr. Daniel Hamilton and Mrs. Esther

Brimmer, resp. Director and Deputy Director of the Centre for Transatlantic Relations, and Mr. Robert Hunter, of RAND.

The keynote address was presented by H.E. Mr. Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, Secretary-General of NATO.



Participants in one of the plenary sessions during the conference.



Mr. Jaap de Hoop Scheffer presenting his keynote speech.

Conflict Research Unit

CRU receives Norwegian and LTTE delegations

On 12 October, a delegation of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) visited Clingendael. The leader of the political wing of the rebel movement held discussions with Professor Georg Frerks and Bart Klem of the Conflict Research Unit (CRU). This was followed by a second meeting on 25 October, this time with a Norwegian delegation headed by the Norwegian Special Envoy for the Sri Lankan peace process, Erik Solheim. The CRU has a long-standing involvement with Sri Lanka and is conducting a range of ongoing studies with regard to the peace process there.

CRU seminar on political party assistance

On 4 November, the CRU held a seminar entitled 'Lessons Learned in Political Party Assistance'. Based on a review paper presented by Dr Krishna Kumar of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and an introduction by Mr Jos van Wersch of the

Netherlands Institute of Multiparty Democracy (IMD), scholars, practitioners and policymakers from various organisations shared their experiences of working with political parties in developing countries. Key issues raised included the need for a better understanding of the different nature of political parties and party systems in Western and non-Western societies and the implications for international party assistance, and the difficulties of transforming formerly armed groups into democratically operating political parties in post-conflict societies. A summary report of the discussions is available on the CRU website (see below).

New CRU publications

Tsjeard Bouta, Georg Frerks and Ian Bannon (2004), *Gender, Conflict and Development* (The World Bank, 192 pp)
Krishna Kumar (October 2004), *International Political Party Assistance: An Overview and Analysis* (CRU Working Paper 33)

Jean-Paul Kimonyo, Noël Twagiramungu and Christopher Kayumba (October 2004), *Supporting the Post-Genocide Transition in Rwanda: The Role of the International Community* (CRU Working Paper 32)

Marianne Ducasse Rogier (September 2004), *Resolving Intractable Conflicts in Africa: A Case Study of Sierra Leone* (CRU Working Paper 31)

Dinorah Azpuru, Carlos Mendoza, Evelyn Blanck and Ligia Blanco (September 2004), *Democracy Assistance to Post-Conflict Guatemala: Finding a Balance between Details and Determinants* (CRU Working Paper 30)

For more information on these publications and other CRU projects, please visit the CRU website at: www.clingendael.nl/cru/

EU-China Think Tank Roundtable

On December 6-7 a EU-China Think Tank Roundtable was held for the first time at the initiative of the European Policy Centre (Brussels) and the China Institute of International Studies (Beijing). The meeting was being held in conjunction with the Clingendael Institute, on whose premises the conference also took place. Main topics of the symposium were *the Contemporary International Scene, European and Asian Integration compared and the Future of EU-Chinese (economic) relations*.

The meeting ended with a discussion in the presence of H.E. Mr. Wen Jiabao, Prime Minister of China.



H.E. Mr. Stanley Crossick, Ambassador MA and director of the European Policy Centre (r.) with on his left Clingendael's director, Prof. Alfred van Staden.

Conferences on Ukraine and Belarus

On 30 September and 29 November 2004 Clingendael hosted international conferences on Ukraine and Belarus, organised by jointly with the MFA and the Netherlands Society for International Affairs. Specialists from Ukraine (Dr Volodymyr Sidenko), Belarus (Nelly Bekus-Goncharova, Dr Leonid Zaiko and OSCE Ambassador Eberhart Heyken), Poland (Dr Pawel Wolowski), the United Kingdom (James Sherr), and The Netherlands (Dr Karel Berkhoff and

Leo Mesman) exchanged views on the development of these two countries in-between Russia and the European Union. The conferences were of high topical interest, as Ukrainians had taken to the streets by the time of the Belarus event in The Hague. They drew large audiences from the diplomatic community, academia and the general public. Both conferences were chaired by Dr John Löwenhardt of the Research Department.



Nelly Bekus-Goncharova, opening the international conference on Belarus on 29 November

Visit Mozambican delegation

On 20 September, Secretary-General Dr Armand Guebuza of Mozambique's Frelimo Party visited Clingendael. In recent years, Clingendael has been involved in the training of Mozambican diplomats and international staff of other ministries, supported by the Higher Institute for International Relations ISRI in Maputo. During his visit, Dr Guebuza and his staff touched upon recent developments in Mozambique and the relationship between Mozambique and Europe and the Netherlands. Dr Guebuza was the Frelimo candidate in Mozambique's presidential election on 1-2 December. The outcome of these elections was, that Dr. Guebuza was chosen as Mozambique's new President.



ADEPT course at Clingendael

For the sixth time since 2000, Clingendael held the three-week Accession-orientated Dutch European Proficiency Training (ADEPT) course on Social Affairs and Employment for 50 civil servants from the new and candidate members of the EU. ADEPT courses are run by Clingendael under the authority of the Cross Agency. Since 2002, in addition to these courses on Social Affairs, Clingendael has also been responsible for the ADEPT course 'How to Operate in Brussels', a two-week skills course for 100 civil servants and diplomats from the same countries, which took place twice this year. In total, over the years, Clingendael has trained 700 participants within the framework of the ADEPT programme.



Participants of the course on Social Affairs and Employment in front of Huys Clingendael with Programme Coordinator Rob Boudewijn (far right) and Project Assistant Iris Glockner (second from the right)

Fifth Clingendael European Health Forum

On December 15th, the Clingendael European Health Forum was held for the fifth time. Main topic of this conference was the future of Medical Scientific Research:

The symposium was organized at the initiative of the American Chamber of Commerce in the Netherlands and was entitled Dark Clouds above medical scientific research in Europe: will there be a future in between rules and regulations?

During the symposium the results of two surveys were presented by the Dutch Federation of Scientific Medical Societies (FMWV). The first survey was conducted by the Clingendael Institute among members of the Dutch as well as the European Parliament regarding their views on the future of medical scientific research. A similar survey conducted by TNS-NIPO was held among the Dutch public at large. The conference was open-

ed by Prof. Alfred van Staden, director of the Clingendael Institute, Mr Arnout Ploos van Amstel MA, president of the American Chamber of Commerce in the Netherlands and Mr Hugo Hurts MA, who officially represented the Dutch Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sports. The event was chaired by Mr. Floris Sanders MA, president of the Council for Public Health and Health Care (RVZ - Raad voor de Volksgezondheid.en Zorg).



Mr. Floris Sanders during his opening speech as chairman of the event.



Mr Ploos van Amstel (far r.), and on the left several of the guest-lecturers: (1st row, from l. to r.) Deborah Reinders of the Clingendael Institute, who presented the survey held among the members of parliaments, Mr Henk Foekema, director of the business unit of Pharmacy, Health Care and Welfare of the Dutch Institute for Public Surveys (TNS-NIPO), who conducted the survey among the Dutch public and Prof. Adam Cohen of the Centre for Human Drug Research (CHDR), who presented a lecture on possible solutions. Also listening in is Prof. Cees Smit (2nd row, r.), chairman of the Dutch Genetic Alliance (VSOP).

Alerdinck conference

On 6 November, Clingendael hosted a round-table conference on Arab/Western media issues, organised by the Alerdinck Foundation in conjunction with the Erasmus Prize ceremonies. The main purpose of the conference was to provide insight into how the media contributes to the image-building of 'the other'. This goes beyond examining the legal, financial and technical mechanics of the media, as it endeavours to probe the minds of both producers and consumers of news. The conference was highly successful in both respects.

Ten participants, predominantly from Arab media, and two Erasmus Prize laureates, Sadiq al-Azm (Professor of Modern European Philosophy) and Abdelkarim Soroush (Harvard Professor of Quranic Studies and Philosophy of Islamic Law), spent a full day discussing the topic of media antagonism. By the end of the day, a complex picture of the role played by the media in Arab/Western relations had emerged, featuring a myriad of interrelated issues. These included the susceptibility of news producers towards the preconceptions of their readers, the cultural and nationalist luggage of news reporters, the foreign policy of Western states in the Arab world, the focus on violent incidents, and a number of other issues.

The discussion was confined to the traditional media, namely the written press and television. All participants concurred that the media play a major role in creating the image of 'the other'. They acknowledged, however, that traditional media have a limited audience in the Arab world. Nevertheless, television in the Arab world is considered to have considerable influence on the Arab public, especially with the recent phenomenon of independent Arabic satellite news stations. This influence is considered to be even greater than that on the Western public because of the high degree of illiteracy and the strong oral tradition in Arab societies.

The main problem, it was argued, is that the Arab public (and the same may very well apply to the Western public) has general preconceptions and prejudices with regard to the West and the United States in particular. The result is that the Arab public is likely to be selective about the information it absorbs, and criticism of America is more popular than any positive news. The Arab international television channels were rebuked for tapping into this popular anger. It was also argued that many Arab preconceptions stemmed in part from Western foreign policy in the Middle East. This issue was sidestepped in the debate

in order to avoid lengthy discussions on politics that were outside the scope of the conference. However, it was also remarked that the average Arab differentiates between Western foreign policy and society, and is able to clearly distinguish between American society and American foreign policy and between the foreign policies of America and France or Denmark.

Turkey in Europe



On 22 September, a forum was held during which the official report *Turkey in Europe – More than a Promise?* was presented by the Independent Commission on Turkey. The main topic of this report is whether Turkey should be allowed to become a full member of the European Union in the course of time. The conference was chaired by Hans van den Broek, Member of the Commission and the Chairman of Clingendael's Board. To his left is Marti Ahtisaari, former President of Finland and Chairman of the Independent Commission, and further left is Albert Rohan, Austria's former Secretary-General of Foreign Affairs, who acted as rapporteur during the forum.

New Clingendael Study 23

The Lisbon Process

Lack of Commitment, Hard Choices and the Search for Political Will

By Anna Michalski

At the summit at Lisbon in March 2000, the European leaders agreed to a remarkable objective, namely to turn the European economy into 'the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion'. Since its inception, the Lisbon process has been fraught with difficulties, and half-way to its self-imposed deadline of 2010, the EU member states are in most cases far from fulfilling the objectives set out.

In the run-up to the mid-term review of the Lisbon process at the Luxembourg European Council in March 2005, the debate is on about what measures should be adopted to improve the progress towards the Lisbon goals. In view of the fact that the EU's credibility is at stake, not only in terms of its international attractiveness as an economic area but even more as a political undertaking capable of preserving Europeans' way of life, the Lisbon process now counts among the Union's major challenges. This topical study contributes to the current debate on Lisbon by exposing some of its weaknesses of a governance and procedural nature. It argues that improvements are possible in the short-to-medium term to the way in which policy coordination is conducted on the European level among the EU institutions, between the national and European levels and among stakeholders in the

domestic setting. More serious, however, is Lisbon's lack of popular legitimacy and its deficiency in terms of political accountability which can only be enhanced by improving parliamentary involvement, both on the national and European levels, in the debate about the objectives of socio-economic and environmental reform and the necessary political choices that it presents. In the end, however, the success or failure of Lisbon will depend on the degree of political will that European leaders are willing and able to show.

Anna Michalski is a senior research fellow at the Clingendael Institute.

For more information please contact the secretariat of Clingendael's Research Dept.: e-mail: research@clingendael.nl

47 pp.

Price: Euro 12,50