



The Clingendael Newsletter

Photo courtesy Richard van Eijssden

Internationale Spectator online

When Clingendael was founded in 1983 from the union of five smaller institutes in The Hague, each of them offered its assets as a dowry. The Netherlands Society for International Affairs (NGIZ) thereby relinquished the publication of its Dutch-language journal on international politics, *Internationale Spectator*, to the new Institute. In 2006, the journal will celebrate its 60th year of publication. Although the formal, technical and commercial publication and exploitation of the journal were handed over to Van Gorcum & Comp. Publishers in 1993, Clingendael has retained all intellectual and editorial responsibility, and so provides almost half of the Editorial Board members, the executive editors, and the editor-in-chief – also Clingendael's Director. Van Gorcum takes great care to keep the journal's image up to date, and has therefore introduced a new layout as of January 2005, with each issue featuring a relevant picture on its cover. It goes without saying that the monthly selection of the picture gives rise to hot debates between the editors and the publishers.

Also in January, Clingendael's Informatics Office, the journal's Editorial Office and Van Gorcum jointly launched a new website, www.internationalespectator.nl. Subscribers to the journal can now view



the contents of each issue online and download articles and other items. The contents of the issues from 2000 to 2004 are also available online. For non-subscribers, the

monthly column, one substantial article and the summaries are available free of charge on the site.

The April issue starts with a substantial article written exclusively for the *Internationale Spectator* by Atzo Nicolai, the Dutch Minister for European Affairs. He argues that, to some extent, the successful integration of Europe has taken place without the explicit cooperation of EU citizens. However, depoliticised decision-making in an integration process that is becoming ever-more political can only continue for a limited period. A Europe that is 'owned' by its citizens can only come about if everyone takes part in the continuous debate about what is required to make this a reality. The European Constitution offers new opportunities to bring 'politics' back into the Netherlands' EU policy. However, for this to happen, citizens will first have to respond to the 1 June referendum with a resounding 'yes'.

This April issue continues with five contributions on the changing image of the Netherlands abroad following the murders of Pim Fortuyn and Theo van Gogh and the ensuing strained relations with the Dutch citizens of Islamic origin.

In the Introduction, the former Head of the Information Department of the Dutch Ministry of Welfare, Public Health and Culture, and currently publicist, Han Mulder, argues that the Netherlands is facing an image problem, both at home and abroad. Image-building is not an isolated phenomenon, but forms one side of a triangle, together with history and identity.

Helmut Hetzel, the Netherlands-based correspondent for German-language

newspapers, states in his essay 'From Cheese to Terrorism' that the first cracks in the image of a well-functioning and well-organised Dutch utopia became apparent when Pim Fortuyn entered the political stage. Fortuyn crushed the dictatorship of political correctness that for years had obstructed public debate. The politically motivated assassination of Fortuyn on 6 May 2002 made it clear to many abroad that the Netherlands had lost its innocence. The idea of a model country was finished off by the murder on 2 November 2004 of the filmmaker and satirist Theo van Gogh.

Isabel Ferrer, correspondent in the Netherlands for the Spanish newspaper *El País*, paints a picture of the Netherlands as a disoriented democracy. The fact that the country had lost its supposed innocence had already become clear when the coalition government of the Social Democrat Prime Minister Wim Kok resigned in April 2002, following a negative official report on the co-responsibility of the Netherlands and its peacekeeping forces at the time of the massacre of Muslim Bosnians after the surrender of the enclave of Srebrenica in July 1995. With respect to the conspicuous problems of multiculturalism and the integration of Muslims in the Netherlands, it is argued that the traditional Dutch methods of piecemeal pragmatism will no longer guarantee ready-made solutions.

Hans Renner, Professor of Central European History at the University of Groningen and exiled from Czechoslovakia in 1968, sketches the Netherlands' image

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(Internationale Spectator online)

in the Czech Republic. The enlightened section of the Czech population has traditionally demonstrated a great deal of sympathy for the Netherlands and its people. After the downfall of communism in 1989, Czechoslovakia regularly took the Netherlands as its example when it came to setting up its own democratic system. As shown by a recent survey, young Czechs associate the Netherlands with

stereotypical Dutch motifs such as tulips, windmills and cheese, but also with more contemporary aspects that are seen as a product of the proverbial tolerance of the Dutch: drugs, coffee shops, euthanasia and gay marriage.

Finally, Yvan Vanden Berghe, Professor of Diplomatic History at the University of Antwerp, describes the Flemish view on the recent violent events in the Netherlands. To the Flemish, the Netherlands has become just like any other Western-

European country facing problems for which there are no easy solutions. Of course, one may occasionally witness some malicious delight in Flanders over these developments, but generally sympathy prevails. The Flemish hope that the Dutch will change their rather arrogant attitude towards their southern, Dutch-speaking neighbours, and that Flanders and the Netherlands may become *compagnons de route* in the European Union.

Training Iraqi diplomats

Following the fall of Saddam Hussein in Iraq, the country is in the midst of political transition and in great need of capacity-building. In response to this need, Clingendael provided a one-month training course to 14 young diplomats of the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The participants (most of whom have been working at the Ministry from two to five years) followed an intensive programme that included lectures on foreign policy and economics, workshops on policy development, training in communication and negotiation skills, and working visits

to various institutions in The Hague and Brussels.

The course proved to be a timely initiative. While in the Netherlands, the students participated in the first general elections for an Iraqi parliament. Voting in the Netherlands had been made possible by the International Organisation for Migration, which operated an out-of-country voting programme. Furthermore, the group witnessed the debate on the withdrawal of Dutch troops from the Al-Muthanna province, which provided them with a real-life test case of how

to deal with disappointing news in a diplomatic way.

Despite the ongoing instability at home, the Iraqi diplomats demonstrated great enthusiasm during the course. In particular, the diplomatic skills programme was highly appreciated, as were discussions with experts from all spheres of international relations, among which Max van der Stoel, former UN rapporteur on Iraq and former OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities. Clingendael hopes to continue to provide support to the Iraqi diplomatic service through more training activities in the future.

Junior diplomats from Indonesia

On 21 February, the second eight-week course for junior diplomats from Indonesia in International Relations and Diplomatic Practice officially began. Participants were welcomed by delegates from the Indonesian Embassy in The Hague, lead by Mr Djauhari Oratmangun, representatives of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, lead by Mr Robert Milders, and Clingendael's Director, Professor Alfred van Staden. After the official words of welcome, Judge Kooijmans of the International Court of Justice gave an enlightening speech on the role of international law in the peaceful settlement of disputes.



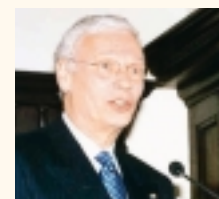
Professor Van Staden welcomes Mr. Djauhari Oratmangun of the Indonesian Embassy at the Clingendael Institute.

In particular, he touched upon the role of the International Court in settling the dispute between Singapore and Malaysia on the sovereignty of Pedra Branca/Pulau Batu Puteh, Middle Rocks and South Ledge islands. The case is still pending before the Court.

The course is part of a three-year project to train junior, mid-career and senior diplomats from Indonesia. All courses within the project focus on helping to professionalise the Indonesian diplomatic service, maintaining the good bilateral relationship between Indonesia and the Netherlands. During the course for junior diplomats, lectures and training alternate with working visits to the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and elsewhere.

Social activities between the diplomats from Indonesia and those from the new EU member states, as well as trips to Amsterdam, Brussels and Paris, have been organised to ensure the diplomats feel more at home and further improve relations between Europe and Asia.

Luxembourg Presidency of the EU



Mr Van den Broek welcomes the audience

On 7 February, a conference was held to mark the start of the Luxembourg Presidency of the EU. Luxembourg's Minister Delegate for Foreign Affairs and Immigration, Mr Nicolas Schmit, gave a speech in which he highlighted the priorities for the Presidency. Mr Atzo Nicolai, Dutch Minister of European Affairs, responded to his address. The conference was chaired by Mr Hans van den Broek, Chairman of Clingendael's Board.



Mr Schmit (left) and Mr Nicolai during the plenary debate

Junior diplomats from new EU member states

From 2 February to 4 March, a group of junior diplomats from the new EU member states stayed at Clingendael for a training programme regarding developments within the EU. The official opening address was delivered by Mr Marc Bentinck, on secondment to Clingendael from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The programme dealt with following subjects: European integration and enlargement, international security and the European security agenda, strengthening EU's economy and EU as global actor. Participants from Hungary, Poland, the Czech and Slovak Republics, and the three Baltic States engaged in workshops on presentation techniques, and were asked to prepare policy



Course participants on the steps of the Clingendael Institute, together with CDSP Programme Coordinator Hinke Pietersma (front row, 2nd left)

statements about their own country. The course ended with a simulation game about the EU.

'How to Operate in Brussels' for Croatia



Mr J.W.N.P.M. van der Kaaij, Deputy Director of Foreign Financial Relations at the Ministry of Finance, during his keynote speech to open the course.

From 6 to 12 February, the Clingendael European Studies Programme (CESP) held a special, customised pre-accession training course entitled 'How to Operate in Brussels' for the Negotiating Team of the Croatian Ministry of Finance, consisting of the State Secretary and Assistant Ministers. During this intensive one-week course, participants received training in lobbying the EU, cultural differences, EU coordination systems, EU negotiations, debating techniques, scenario thinking and comitology.



The audience, with Clingendael's Director Professor Alfred van Staden (far left) and some of the Croatian Negotiating Team (front row).

This special ADEPT (Accession-orientated Dutch European Proficiency Training) course was carried out under the authority of the Cross Agency and was based on the five previous 'How to Operate in Brussels' courses. This was the last ADEPT course, as this pre-accession programme has been replaced by MTEC (Matra Training for European Cooperation). The highly successful two-week 'How to Operate in Brussels' training course for 100 participants, the CESP's flagship course, will continue under MTEC and will take place twice in 2005.

For more information, please contact Rob Boudewijn from the Clingendael European Studies Programme: rboudewijn@clingendael.nl

James Glassman Lecture

On 3 February, Mr James K. Glassman, Resident Fellow of the American Enterprise Institute, visited Clingendael to give a lecture entitled 'The United States in the World'. Mr Glassman is a graduate of Harvard College and author of *The Secret Code of the Superior Investor*. He also writes a column for the *Scripps Howard News Service* and hosts the *TechCentralStation* website. The lecture was organised with the support of the American Embassy in The Hague and was chaired by former EU Commissioner Mr Frits Bolkestein.



James Glassman (centre) during the informal lunch seminar with Professor Alfred van Staden

Mr Glassman also attended a lunch seminar, during which an informal discussion was held on the role and position of the press, in particular the newspapers.

Introducing...



Adriaan Schout is Senior Researcher for the Clingendael European Studies Programme (CESP) and Associate Professor at the European Institute of Public Administration.

His work combines research, consultancy and training activities related to the Presidency of the Council of the EU, European Agencies, EU governance, EU networks and the multi-level coordination of EU policies. He has carried out organisational analyses of national ministries, the Commission and the European Parliament, and several European agencies.

Recent publications include:

- 'De Nederlandse EU coördinatie – Het actieve coördinatie alternatief', in *Nationale coördinatie van EU-beleid: een politiek en proactief proces* (The Hague, Raad voor het Openbaar Bestuur, 2004)
- 'Coordinated European Governance: Self Organising or Centrally Steered?', J. A. Schout and A.J. Jordan, in *Public Administration* vol. 83, no. 1, 2005, pp. 201-220
- 'Co-ordinating Environmental Policy: Shifting from Passive to Active Co-ordination?', A. Schout, A. Jordan and A. Zito, in *Co-ordinating the EU: Constructing Policy Co-ordination and Coherent Action in a Multi-Level System*, H. Kassim, A. Menon and G. Peters (eds.) (Rowman and Littlefield, 2005)
- *The Co-ordination of European Governance: Exploring the Capacities for Networked Governance*, A. Jordan, J.A. Schout (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming)

Seminar on the NPT Review Conference 2005

In May 2005, diplomats will gather in New York to review the implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and to identify further areas for progress. Although prospects for success are considered to be rather bleak, there is a remarkable degree of consensus on the need for the 188 States Parties to the Treaty to have a successful conference. Against this background, the Clingendael



Chairman Kees Homan and key-note speaker Jonathan Granoff (r.)

Security and Conflict Programme held a seminar on 2 March on the NPT and the upcoming conference, bringing together experts from the Netherlands and abroad. Keynote speakers included Senator Douglas Roche (former Canadian parliamentarian and Disarmament Ambassador, and Chairman of the Middle Powers Initiative), Jonathan Granoff (President of the Global Security Institute), Ambassador Robert T. Grey (Junior Director of the Bipartisan Security Group) Ambassador Chris Sanders (Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to the Conference of Disarmament in Geneva), Ambassador Jaap Ramaker (Special Representative to Promote the Ratification of the CTBT), and Karel Koster (Coordinator of the Project on European Nuclear Non-Proliferation). Attendees included the Members of Parliament Ms Farah Karimi



Senator Douglas Roche (l.) and Chairman Kees Homan.

and Mr Bert Koenders, who were invited to respond to the introductions from a Dutch political perspective. The seminar was chaired by Maj. Gen. (ret.) Kees Homan, and concluded with strong pleas for a pragmatic approach to strengthen the NPT and for workable proposals for governments to consider as they prepare for the 2005 Review Conference.

Policing the European Union

The world in which we live today, with its open borders, boundless communication possibilities, and financial flows via the Internet, presents us with more benefits, but also more problems, than ever before. The security challenges we face today are numerous. There is an important increase in international organised crime: trafficking in drugs, arms, stolen goods and even in human beings. As a result, our law enforcement agencies face a growing number of crimes of international origin or related to international networks – and the Netherlands, as the ‘gateway to Europe’, even more so than most of our neighbours. For example, the Netherlands receives some 100,000 requests for judicial assistance in criminal proceedings per year, whereas Germany receives only 20,000. The Dutch police and other law enforcement agencies therefore require knowledge of the international arena, international structures and fora, global developments and skills in how to cooperate with foreign partners.

In order to provide the Dutch police with the necessary knowledge and skills, Clingendael and the School for Police Leadership (part of the Police Academy) joined forces to set up the Learning Programme on International Police Orientation (LIPO). The Programme includes lectures on relevant subjects by

Participants posing on Clingendael's ‘Blue Stairs’ during a formal dinner with guests of honour (front row, left to right) Mr H. de Groot (former Head of Protocol at the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations), and Mr and Mrs E. Hirsch Ballin. Mr Hirsch Ballin is a former MP and Minister of the Interior and the current Supervisor of LIPO III. He is also member of the Council of State of the Netherlands and Professor of International Law at Tilburg University.

prominent guest speakers, training in international negotiations, working visits, and interactive meetings with field experts. The topics addressed during the course, which consists of seven three-day modules, relate to global developments, the EU, police structures and cultures, and the consequences of expanding the EU toward Central and Eastern Europe. Each participant is required to write a final thesis which demonstrates the knowledge and insights they have gained while applying these to their own day-to-day work or setting out policy lines for their regional police force.

The Programme aims to enable the leaders of the Dutch police to better recognise and work with the international dimension of current police issues. As it deals with international cooperation and integral security, participants include not only members of the Dutch police, but also participants from the Royal Dutch Constabulary, the Ministry of the Interior



and Kingdom Relations, and even Europol. In addition to its objective of providing knowledge and skills, the Programme has proven to be an important forum for this group of high-ranking officers. It has become a sparring ground and think-tank, and has already established its name within the Dutch police. The final theses of participants in the first and second Programmes have been summarised, translated and collated in the booklet *Able and Willing? Police Leaders Questioning International Cooperation*, available free of charge from Clingendael.

The third LIPO will conclude on 29 April 2005, and the fourth will start on 29 June 2005. For more information on this course, please contact the CSCP secretariat: moudheusden@clingendael.nl or call +31 70 3746 658.

Conflict Research Unit

USAID/Clingendael Seminar on Democracy and Governance Assessment



Professor Alfred van Staden (far left) and Ms Margaret Sarles, Head of Strategic Planning and Research Division USAID, open the seminar

On 11 March, the Conflict Research Unit (CRU) co-hosted a seminar with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) entitled 'Measuring the Impact of Democracy and Governance Assistance'. The seminar brought together a broad range of participants from the academic and policy communities, working in the field of democracy and governance assessment and evaluation. The main topics discussed included recent USAID and Clingendael democracy and governance research initiatives, and methodological and data-gathering problems involved in various fields of democracy and governance assistance, including civil society aid and political party assistance. The seminar concluded by outlining a few next steps in information-sharing and multi-donor collaboration in research.

Conference on use of local knowledge for peace

On 4 and 5 March, the CRU held a conference on the use of local knowledge for peace-building processes. This event was jointly organised with the Netherlands Development Assistance Research Council (RAWOO), and was held at the request of Ms Agnes van Ardenne, the Dutch Minister for Development Cooperation. As the organisers acknowledged, there is considerable research into contemporary



Representatives from Mozambique, Sri Lanka and Rwanda and the Netherlands were invited to share their experiences and engage in debate

conflicts, but all too often local views and local research are ignored. Local analysis can be an excellent source of information, and analytical debate itself can form a window of opportunity for constructive transformation processes. At the same time, local research may be biased or inadequate. The conference aimed to determine how these issues can be dealt with and how to optimise the use of local knowledge.

Stability Assessment Workshop in Kabul

On 23 and 24 February, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the CRU held a joint Stability Assessment Workshop in Kabul, Afghanistan. The Workshop aimed to assess destabilising factors in relation to policies in and on Afghanistan. The analysis was based on the Stability Assessment Framework, and was presented by Afghanistan expert Mr Barnett Rubin, from the Center on International Cooperation, New York University. During the Workshop, the analysis was discussed with a wide range of experts from Afghanistan, current and former Afghan ministers, and representatives of the International Community in Kabul. Important issues discussed included the legitimacy of the government and parliament, counter-narcotics and the reform of the security sector. The second day consisted of internal discussions of the Dutch Embassy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and focused on the Dutch multi-year strategic plan for Afghanistan, with the aim of identifying entry points to promote stability in the country.

Expert Meeting

"Gender in Peace Support Operations"

On March 16, 2005 the expert meeting "Gender in Peace Support Operations" took place at the Clingendael Institute. The meeting organised by the Ministries of Defence and Foreign Affairs in cooperation with Clingendael's Conflict Research Unit aimed at contributing to a more practical incorporation of gender in Peace Support Operations. The meeting, who was attended by 60 representatives of Defence and Foreign Affairs, was opened by Prof. Rob de Wijk. He stated the importance of discussing the difficult but important topic of gender in peace support operations. Mrs Annemarie Jorritsma, chair of the national Task Force on Women, Security and Conflict, led the meeting. Topics that came to the fore included the attention for gender in a) assessment

missions to prepare the mission; b) the mission mandate; c) Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) activities; d) Security Sector Reform processes; and in e) projects to win the hearts and minds of the local population in the mission area. The expert meeting has contributed to more insight in the actual gender dimensions of different mission components, and in ways to practically anticipate to these gender aspects within missions.

New CRU publications

The Stability Assessment Framework: Designing Integrated Responses for Security, Governance and Development, Suzanne Verstegen, Luc van de Goor and Jeroen de Zeeuw

The Stability Assessment Framework (SAF) is an analytical tool that was created to assess a country's stability and identify policies finely tuned to that country's security and development needs. As such, the SAF is one of several instruments of the Dutch government to facilitate strategic and integrated policies that contribute to more security and development in a given country. The report was published as part of the CRU's ongoing work for the Peacebuilding and Good Governance Division (DMV/VG) of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Muddling the Peace Process: Post-tsunami Rehabilitation in War-torn Sri Lanka, Georg Frerks and Bart Klem. CRU Policy Brief # 2 (January 2005)

Spoilers and Perils in Post-Settlement Sudan, Moving Beyond the North-South Paradigm, Emerig Rogier. CRU Policy Brief #3 (March 2005)

For more information and other recent publications, please visit www.clingendael.nl/cru/

NEW: Clingendael Newsletter available by e-mail

The Clingendael Newsletter will shortly also be available by e-mail. If you prefer to receive a digital copy rather than a hard copy, please send an e-mail indicating this to agans@clingendael.nl.

CIEP's second phase

On 1 January, the Clingendael International Energy Programme (CIEP) entered its second phase. CIEP's original mandate was for an initial period of three years, with the aim of continuing thereafter. The Programme rapidly developed into a well-respected network organisation for the study and discussion of current and future developments in the energy sector.

Predominantly a network organisation with a strong public dimension, CIEP's success and recognition is based on the combination of certain qualities, such as its independence, the provision of timely analyses from an international and geopolitical perspective, a focus on pre-competitive knowledge and an integrated view on the three pillars of energy policy – the environment, market regimes and security of energy supply. This formula affords CIEP a unique position not only in the Netherlands, but also internationally, especially within Europe.

CIEP will continue to build upon the strengths established during the first phase of the Programme. In particular, during the second phase, CIEP will work to consolidate its position as a pre-eminent forum for European energy-related issues. CIEP's accumulated expertise and networking over the past three years on geopolitical issues and security of energy supply, as well as knowledge developed about gas and electricity markets and sustainable development, will be continued and expanded. During the course of the Programme, CIEP intends to provide services to the energy community as a leading-edge think-tank on energy studies with an integrated and international perspective. Accordingly, a further key priority for CIEP is to support and strengthen sector-wide EU initiatives through research and the coordination of stakeholder input.

Supporting institutions

The involvement of supporting institutions strengthens CIEP's forum function and network both within the Netherlands and Europe. CIEP is endorsed by British Petroleum, the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs, Eneco, Energie Beheer Nederland, Essent, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Gasunie, ING Barings, NAM, NUON, Oranje-Nassau Groep, the Port of Rotterdam, Shell Nederland, the Dutch Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment, Vopak Oil Europe Middle East and Wintershall.

CIEP energy training 2005

To enable a better understanding of the complexity of national and EU policy, international politics and market developments in energy, CIEP has launched a new series of six one-day courses covering various aspects of the international energy market and energy politics, planned for 2005. Drawing on CIEP's vast experience in lecturing and customised training, these modules make up a unique curriculum from which participants can pick and choose, from a single module to a training programme ideally suited to their own needs and interests.

The first module, Energy and Geopolitics, took place on 15 March and included a historical overview of geopolitics during the past 25 years, insights in the current geopolitics of and between consumer and producer states, competition between major consuming regions, trends and developments on the international oil market, and developments in Asia and specifically China.

The second module, Energy and Liberalisation, is scheduled for 23 May. For more information please visit CIEP's website at www.clingendael.nl/ciep.

New Clingendael Energy Paper

The 'Regional Approach' in Establishing the Internal EU Electricity Market

Jacques de Jong

The integration of multiple electricity markets can offer advantages with respect to economic efficiency and reliability of electricity supply. However, the actual process of integration can be problematic at times, both politically and technically. In this Clingendael Energy Paper, CIEP Fellow Jacques de Jong compares recent approaches for the integration of electricity markets in the United States with developments in the European Union, examining how the integration processes in both regions can benefit from the various experiences. The Paper can be downloaded free from CIEP's website.

CIEP Energy Seminar: Ownership unbundling of Dutch energy companies

On 9 February, CIEP held a well-attended and well-received seminar on the current debate on the future structure of the Dutch energy sector. High-ranking officials from the Dutch government and energy sector discussed with legal experts and economists the far-reaching plans of the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs to require energy companies to be split up. The Ministry's plans, which are backed by the Dutch Parliament but face widespread criticism in the energy sector, entail that owners of companies active in electricity and gas trade would not be allowed to have direct or indirect ownership in companies engaging in regulated network bound electricity and gas transport. The seminar provided detailed information on the policy arguments in favour of the plans, the arguments against them brought forward by the energy sector, and on consequences for Cross-border Lease Contracts and for the valuation and financing of energy companies. Additional information on this event can be found on CIEP's website.

Clingendael Offshore

In preparation for the UK Presidency of the EU, Clingendael's External Affairs Office continued its series of training seminars in London and Brussels for British diplomats and civil servants. Through the Oxford Foreign Service Programme in Edinburgh, the Office also provided training to young diplomats from all over the world. Under the auspices of the Luxembourg Presidency of the EU, seminars in EU negotiation skills for young diplomats from all twenty-five member states were delivered in Milan and Luxembourg.

In Yerevan, two capacity-building programmes were organised for the Geneva-based Graduate Institute of International Studies, and two for Estonian diplomats in Tallinn. The Office also participated in two conferences of the Processes of International Negotiation (PIN) Network (pin@iiasa.ac.at): one in Cairo and one in Laxenburg, near Vienna. In the context of this Network, the Office edited and contributed to a book on EU negotiations, entitled *Negotiating European Union*.

New CIEP website:

www.clingendael.nl/ciep

On 23 February, CIEP proudly launched its new website, which matches the Clingendael website both in design and navigational structure. The website provides easy access to all CIEP information, including details of new training programmes, and CIEP research and events. Visitors can also browse through CIEP's downloadables and visit the Resources section for an extensive overview of energy-related websites.

Security forces workshop in Jakarta

On 21 February, Clingendael held a one-day workshop entitled 'Towards the Professionalism of the Security Forces' at the Aryaduta Hotel in Jakarta. This workshop served as a launch pad for 'The Role of the Armed Forces in a Democracy' training programmes to be held in June 2005 at Clingendael. In cooperation with its local counterpart Lesperssi and the Indonesian Ministry of Defence, Clingendael's Security and Conflict Programme brought together some 70 participants from the military (TNI),



police, defence and the parliamentary commission for defence to discuss national and international aspects

Maj. Gen. (ret.) Kees Homan of the CSCP during his presentation

of Indonesia's security forces. The official opening address by the Minister of Defence, Professor Juwono Sudarsono, was followed by two plenary sessions and three individual group discussions on related topics. The first plenary session included speakers from Indonesia and the second, 'Peace and Security from a Dutch Perspective', was organised by Clingendael. Lt. Gen. Ad van Baal, the Inspector-General of the Dutch armed forces, elaborated on the Netherlands' involvement in Peace Support Operations, and Maj. Gen. Kees Homan and Dr Edwin Bakker followed with presentations thereafter. Whereas the two plenary sessions were open to the public, the group discussions provided an opportunity for Clingendael and Lesperssi staff members to make acquaintance with the participants of the workshop, 20 of whom will participate in the upcoming four-week



Lt. Gen. Ad van Baal addressing the participants of the workshop during his presentation entitled 'Dutch Experiences in Peace Support Operations'

training programme in The Hague. With the newly established Clingendael Security and Conflict Programme and the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme both organising training courses for the Indonesian government, Clingendael can look forward to a growing relationship with Jakarta. In close cooperation with the Dutch Embassy, Clingendael has been working on Indonesia's security sector since 2003 and, more recently, has also started training junior, mid-career and senior diplomatic staff from Jakarta. Clingendael expects to continue and possibly expand these activities in future.

KNCV Tuberculosis Foundation at Clingendael

On 17 January, the KNCV Tuberculosis Foundation held a working lunch on the intrinsic relationship between tuberculosis and HIV/Aids. The lunch was jointly organised by the KNCV Tuberculosis Foundation, Stop Aids Now! and the PharmAccess Foundation. The meeting was chaired by Professor Joris Voorhoeve, Minister of State and former Director of Clingendael, in his capacity as Chair of

the World Population Foundation. The guest lecturers were Professor Anthony Harries, Dr Gijs Elzinga and Professor Martien Borgdorff. Professor Harries addressed the dual epidemic of both diseases from the perspective of sub-Saharan Africa, in particular Malawi, in his role as Technical Advisor in HIV Care at the Malawi Ministry of Health. Dr Gijs Elzinga is Chair of the TB/HIV working

group Stop TB Partnership and Deputy Director of the National Institute for Public Health and the Environment (RIVM). Professor Martien Borgdorff, from the Center for Poverty-related Communicable Diseases (CPCD) and Professor of International Health at the University of Amsterdam, spoke on the topic of how to meet the Millennium Development Goals, and in particular controlling HIV/Aids and TB in order to help to reduce poverty.

Post-communist Belarus



Stephen White, Elena Korosteleva and John Löwenhardt (eds.)
Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.,
March 2005
Price: \$65, 208 pp.

authoritarian fashion by President Alexander Lukashenko, and many observers both inside and outside Belarus describe his rule as a dictatorship. Belarusian authorities prefer to emphasise the strong support of the people for the President and his cautious approach to economic reform. It seems unlikely that the country can hold out permanently against the wider pressures of democratisation and economic reform that are transforming its neighbours. The country's situation offers political scientists much scope for comparison with established models. Belarus is grappling with challenges that are as much conceptual and psychological as they are political, economic and social. Through new research, the contributors to Post-communist Belarus offer an important, coherent and comparative perspective on this little-known country.

Contributors

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Of the European states that emerged from the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Belarus is one of the least studied. In fact, few Western experts paid much attention to its affairs during the Soviet era. Despite this, Belarus constitutes an important and sensitive border region between Russia and the western part of the European continent. In Post-communist Belarus, a stellar group of contributors examine the state's search for identity and the issues it has faced in the period leading up to and following independence. The country is run in an

High-level working visit of the French Institut des Hautes Etudes de Défense Nationale (IHEDN)

On 15 February, a large delegation under the auspices of the Institut des Hautes Etudes de Défense Nationale (IHEDN) honoured Clingendael with its presence. The visit was part of a European tour designed to inform participants about topics regarding failing states, their reconstruction, and challenges for European and global security. The tour included a visit to The Hague in view of its prominent role in settling international disputes, its international status of 'The Hague Legal Capital' and the number of international organisations based there. Participants also visited Poland, Kosovo and Bosnia, with the main objective of giving participants insight into the present and future role of international organisations regarding failing states and their reconstruction.



Clingendael's main Conference Room packed to capacity during the IHEDN conference

Among the delegation were representatives of the French army and Ministries of Defence, the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Justice, Education and Agriculture, as well as representatives of various bodies within French society. It also included several official representatives from other countries, such as Spain, Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States and Colombia. The programme presented at Clingendael comprised lectures from the Dutch Chamber Commission for Defence, the International Penal Court, and Clingendael's Centre of Strategic Studies and Conflict Research Unit.

Working visit of partners of Dutch Ambassadors and Consuls-General

On 26 January, the partners of the Dutch Ambassadors and Consuls-General visited Clingendael in the context of the annual Ambassadors Conference, during which all Ambassadors and Consuls representing the Netherlands abroad are called back to The Hague. Over 100 participants, mostly female, took over the entire building, as lectures about various topics were held in all conference rooms. The morning sessions highlighted four different topics: relations with the Islamic world, the borders of Europe, the media dimension of looking after Dutch interests, and HIV/Aids scenarios for the next 25 years. After lunch, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Department of Personnel and Organisation gave a presentation on



The partners posing in front of 'Huys Clingendael'. Seated in the front row (3rd left) is Mr Karel de Beer, Deputy Secretary-General of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who officially welcomed the participants of behalf of the Ministry.

what to do when staff need to be evacuated from crisis areas. Guest speakers included representatives from the Ministry, as well as external experts.

New Clingendael Publications

Clingendael Essay

**Saoedi-Arabië, machtig in onmacht:
Op weg naar hervorming of naar revolutie?**

*Saudi Arabia, Powerful in its Powerlessness:
On its Way to Reform or to Revolution?*

Available in Dutch only
Leen Boer, 49 pp., €7.50

Unlimited access to oil from Saudi Arabia is of great economic and strategic importance for the West. In the past year, there has been much speculation about the stability of this country. This new Clingendael Essay analyses the factors that may constitute a threat to Saudi Arabia's stability. Topics that are highlighted include the internal political and socio-economic situation, foreign labour, terrorism, population growth, Islam and Saudi Arabia's foreign policy. Attention is also devoted to developments to be expected in the short and longer term, as well as policy options for the Netherlands and the whole of Europe. Will Saudi Arabia succeed in introducing reforms? Or is an Islamic revolution unavoidable? This Essay has been written within the framework of cooperation between Clingendael and the Strategic Policy Planning unit of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of which the author, Leen Boer, is a policy staff member. The views expressed in the Essay are the author's own and are not a reflection of the views or policies of the Ministry itself.

For more information please contact the Secretariat of the Clingendael European Studies Programme (CESP), e-mail cesp@clingendael.nl, (tel. +31 70 374 6 622/636).

Decision-making

by the Security Council:

Terrorist acts which threaten international peace and security, 1989 – 2004

A Survey of Resolutions

By Dick A. Leurdijk and Geert Steeghs

In the aftermath of the terror attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001, the issue of terrorism and counter-terrorism has been put in the forefront of the international political agenda. In the context of an evolving international co-operation, the United Nations, among others, played an active role, both in reinvigorating the right to self-defence and in taking new initiatives, such as the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1373, in September 2001. This survey, however, shows that the fight against international terrorism was already an issue within the UN long before the events of "9/11", both in terms of the existence of a number of international conventions and protocols, and the earlier involvement of the Security Council in responding to international terror acts, including its identification of such acts as a threat to international peace and security.

51 pp.
Price: Euro 7.50

For more information please contact the secretariat of the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme, e-mail: cdsp@clingendael.nl; tel + 31 70 374 66 28.