



# The Clingendael Newsletter

Photo courtesy Richard van Eijnden

## Farewell Alfred van Staden

On 1 September 2005, after more than ten years as Clingendael's Director, I will step down. This occasion gives me a welcome opportunity to reflect on my tenure at Clingendael. Over the past decade, I have overseen profound changes. For one, the Institute has grown bigger, both in terms of the number of staff (which has almost doubled) and the budget. There are many reasons to be grateful for the subsidies Clingendael has received from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence. Indeed, without this generous support the Institute could not have existed at all. At the same time, the Institute has been forced to look for other sources in the private market to cover part of its overhead costs. What was once a fully subsidy-dependent institution has been transformed into an organisation that is required, for a large part of its operations, to meet the standards of commercial enterprise. The long-standing efforts to involve the business community in Clingendael's activities were rewarded by the establishment of the Clingendael International Energy Programme, which is largely funded by private companies.

The focus of Clingendael's activities has also significantly widened. When the Institute was founded in early 1983, the impact of the Cold War was still highly visible. Most of Clingendael's publications gravitated towards alliance politics and strategic and arms control issues. Since then, the foreign policy agenda has become much more extensive and diverse, and so have Clingendael's research and training programmes. European integration, in all its ramifications, began to take a prominent position. Diplomatic studies have moved beyond the traditional confines of government-to-government relations. The study of public diplomacy has become

a priority. Security studies have not only been put in the context of the new threats, but also related to conflicts arising from the lack of economic development. Thanks to the important work of the Conflict Research Unit, Clingendael's horizons have been extended to Africa and poor regions in general. In addition, the regular training courses on international relations and diplomacy for diplomats from Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia have been expanded by special training programmes designed to raise the professional levels of diplomats and other government officials from various countries like Indonesia, Pakistan, Iran, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Sudan and – most recently – Iraq. Last but not least, Clingendael's international profile has been further enhanced. We have seen a strong drive towards participation in international projects carried out in collaboration with sister organisations abroad, a considerable switch from publications in Dutch to publications in English, and much more exchange with foreign scholars and policy analysts in general. As a result, Clingendael is now widely considered one of the foremost centres of expertise on international affairs in Europe. One of the Institute's main assets remains its dual capacity as a research institute and centre of training and education. The synergy of the two disciplines gives Clingendael a comparative edge over foreign institutions that are either think-tank or diplomatic academy. It is gratifying to note that a new organisational structure was implemented by the end of my time as Director, establishing four thematic programmes on the basis of equal participation of researchers and trainers.

This account of Clingendael's recent history is not intended to be self-congratulatory. While I initiated a few changes

myself, most stemmed from proposals by Clingendael's staff. I had the good fortune to be surrounded by a group of very competent and dedicated people who frequently came up with challenging ideas. My job was essentially to sort these ideas out and set priorities. Nor is this letter to suggest that Clingendael is without flaws or weaknesses. Perhaps the growth of the Institute lately has somewhat outpaced budgetary expansion, which has come to a halt due to the general economic downturn after the turn of the century. My ambition to develop more in-depth expertise on international financial and economic topics, both in the European and the global context, has failed to get off the ground, despite good intentions. Furthermore, in spite of the spectacular rise of China and India, Clingendael has not been able to focus a great deal of interest on political and economic developments in Asia.

However, I am proud of the many important goals that have been achieved. It has been a privilege to be Director of an institute that has flourished in a liberal-spirited atmosphere, while working at the interface of academia and the real world of policy-making, free from any interference and with the support of a Board of Governors that has been a repository of wisdom. It is very reassuring that my successor, Professor Jaap de Zwaan, commands excellent credentials as a former diplomat, scholarly expert and faculty dean. I wish him well in steering Clingendael in the right direction!

Alfred van Staden  
General Director

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# Security management in Uganda: Clingendael in Kampala

As part of Clingendael's continuing engagement in the Great Lakes region, the Clingendael Security and Conflict Programme (CSCP) recently organised its second one-week Security Workshop for 30 key stakeholders from the security sector. Held on 18-24 April 2005 at the Equatorial Hotel in Kampala, the workshop was part of a pilot project funded by the Dutch Embassy in Kampala, and comprised two seminars entitled 'Leadership Training for Key Actors in Security Management in Uganda' (see issue 20, Autumn 2004). The aim of the workshop was to facilitate a discussion between experts from various departments of the Ugandan civil and

military authorities about the recently finalised Ugandan Defence Review. This Review emphasises a comprehensive approach in safeguarding external and internal security and identifies specific responsibilities for the various departments in order to implement the envisioned changes in the security sector. During the

seminars, participants engaged in a series of discussions on international, national and local security, sharing their views and expectations for the future. In addition, personal skills workshops in management and international negotiations were part of the programme. Now that this pilot project has come to an end, Clingendael and the Uganda Martyrs University are looking forward to building on this successful experience and to identifying future activities as part of CSCP's Security Sector Reform (SSR) research agenda.



Clingendael's General F. van Kappen (right, front) and staff members from the Dutch Embassy in Kampala join participants of the seminar for A. Kibuuka from the Uganda Martyrs University.



## Sudan's diplomats join forces after 23 years



Participants of the first joint training programme for Sudan, together with the Dutch Minister of Development Cooperation, Ms Van Ardenne, and Clingendael staff

In May 2005, Clingendael made Sudanese history. For the first time since the end of the civil war in Sudan, 18 representatives from both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Khartoum and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) came together in The Hague to follow a joint training course in International Relations and Diplomatic Practice at Clingendael. This training course is part of the Dutch

government's effort to facilitate the upcoming implementation of Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement. This agreement, signed in January 2005, foresees a six-year transitional period starting on 9 July 2005, during which a joint Ministry of Foreign Affairs is to be established in Khartoum. One of the key foreign policy challenges for the transitional government, no doubt, will be to solve the crisis in Darfur.

In anticipation of a joint foreign service in Sudan, the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme (CDSP) prepared a customised curriculum, focusing on recent developments in international diplomacy, security and European affairs. In addition, particular attention was given to issues relating international trade and policies regarding development cooperation towards Africa. During their stay, delegates had the opportunity to exchange views with high-level experts from the ICC, NATO, OPCW and the European Union, amongst others. Clingendael experts provided latest insights on various aspects of diplomacy. Personal presentation skills, negotiation and conflict resolution techniques were also part of the four-week programme. For the 18 participants, this unique course proved a valuable first step towards more cooperation between the current government officials and the incoming SPLM officers. Working together as colleagues in the future will be a second crucial step. However, the most difficult job has yet to be done: making peace pay for the Sudanese people. Clingendael stands ready to continue its engagement in Sudan and is looking forward to further developing its training activities for the country's diplomatic service.



# Referendum debate

At the initiative of the Lower House of the Netherlands Parliament, for the first time the Netherlands held an advisory referendum on the European Constitution. The government established a special Referendum Committee to inform the general public about the Constitution. With the support of this Committee, and in close cooperation with the European Movement in the Netherlands, Clingendael organised three public debates in university cities (Utrecht, Maastricht and Rotterdam) and a final debate at the

Clingendael Institute. All debates started with a neutral explanation about the Constitution, followed by a debate based on propositions between politicians in favour and against the new treaty.

In the final debate at Clingendael, Dr Van Eekelen of the European Movement, a proponent of the Constitution, crossed swords with Member of Parliament Tiny Kox of the Socialist Party, who is an opponent of the new treaty. The youth branches of all political parties also



From l. to r.: MP Mr. Tiny Kox, Prof. Jan Rood and Dr. Wim van Eekelen.

took part, resulting in a lively discussion in Clingendael's packed conference hall. In total, more than 300 people attended the various debates.

## From Pepper Spray to Laser Gun



Mr. Jan Staman, director of the Rathenau Institute (l.) with Maj. Gen. Homan during the presentation.

On 10 May, Clingendael hosted a debate on the occasion of the presentation of *Van Pepperspray tot Lasergun* (From Pepper

Spray to Laser Gun), a Dutch language study by Major General (ret.) Kees Homan, commissioned by the Rathenau Institute

in The Hague. The study shows there has been a constant interaction between new developments in technology and methods of warfare. It looks in detail at both developments in political-military strategy and military technology, and the legal and ethical issues they invoke. The study underlines that, more than ever before, successful warfare depends on obtaining and protecting information. At the same time, advances in genetic modification, nano-technology and biotechnology – and in particular their potential military applications – raise the question of whether the limits to what is ethically acceptable have already been exceeded. The Director of the Rathenau Institute, Mr Jan Staman, presented the first copy of the study to Mr Theo Brinkel, Member of Parliament for the Christian Democrats. The meeting ended with a debate on some theses based on the study, in which representatives from the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, TNO, Red Cross Netherlands and various universities took part.

### New publication

## The Art of Military Coercion

Rob de Wijk

On 11 April 2005, a conference was held on the latest publication by Rob de Wijk, *The Art of Military Coercion: Why the West's Military Superiority Scarcely Matters* (Amsterdam and Picataway USA: Mets & Schilt/Transaction Publishers). The first copies were presented to two members of the Dutch Parliament, Mr Bert Bakker (D66), photo centre and Ms Nebahat Albayrak (PvdA).



# The Netherlands and cruise missiles

On 8 April, Clingendael hosted a seminar entitled 'The Netherlands' Armed Forces and Cruise Missiles'. More than thirty guests, including representatives of the military and the press, attended the informative meeting, which was chaired by Professor Alfred van Staden, General Director of Clingendael.

Professor Rob de Wijk of the Clingendael Centre for Strategic Studies (CCSS) first took to the floor and sketched the political implications of cruise missiles. He argued for acquisition of the stand-off missile, a capability that limits the risk of own casualties and minimises collateral damage. Use of cruise missiles in conflict does

however imply a higher political risk.

The next speaker, Mr Gerben Klein Baltink of the Netherlands Organisation of Applied Scientific Research (TNO), illustrated the technical aspects of cruise missiles and compared the sea-launched weapon to other air-launched missiles. The argument that the Netherlands would be wholly dependent on the US if it acquired the GPS guided missile proved false: most countries are already (and equally) dependent on the GPS system for a host of civilian and military applications. Finally, Dr Lee Willett, Head of the Military Capabilities Programme of the Royal United Services Institute for

Defence and Security Issues (RUSI), delivered an elaborate discourse on the United Kingdom's experience with the Tomahawk missile. This capability has proved indispensable to the British Armed Forces and the missile has been used to great effect in the Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq conflicts. Moreover, the newest Tactical Tomahawk combines affordability with tactical flexibility, and Dr Willett stressed that the debate for Tomahawk acquisition was not unique for the Netherlands: many Western countries are showing interest in acquiring this powerful, tried, tested and relatively cheap weapon.

## New CIEP Energy Publication:

### Dertig Jaar Nederlands Energiebeleid (Thirty Years of Dutch Energy Policy)

Jacques de Jong, CIEP Research Fellow and former Director of the Dutch Energy Regulator (DTE), and Ed Weeda, Chairman of the Netherlands Committee of the World Energy Council and former President of the Netherlands Agency for Energy and Environment (NOVEM), have now concluded their study of thirty years of Dutch energy policy. Assisted by Theo Westerwoudt (former CIEP Research Fellow and reporter on energy issues for *NRC Handelsblad*), and Aad Correljé (CIEP Research Fellow and Assistant Professor at Delft University), they have written a thorough and insightful work on the making of Dutch energy policy since 1973. On 17 May, Jacques de Jong presented the main findings of the study. Luc Barbé, former Chief of Cabinet of Belgium's Minister of Energy and Sustainable Development Olivier Deleuze, and author of a book on the Belgian energy sector, commented on the presentation. Minister of Economic Affairs Laurens-Jan Brinkhorst was offered a first copy of the publication and presented his own reflections on Dutch energy policy over the

years. *Dertig Jaar Nederlands Energiebeleid* is more than an overview of energy policy since 1973. It also provides insights into the successes and failures of that energy policy, as well as into the processes behind it. Furthermore, the study holds a mirror up to everyone involved in energy policy-making in the past thirty years, regarding their role in the process, the differences between policy intentions and policy implementation, the vision on European developments and the important role of natural gas in the Netherlands.

#### New publication: *Gas to Power in Europe*

Over the past decade, natural gas generally has been considered the fuel of choice for power generation. Prominent energy forecasting agencies continue to predict the ever-increasing importance of natural gas in the electricity sector worldwide. However, a variety of uncertainties in gas and electricity markets augmented by rising natural gas prices in recent years brought along doubts about the soundness of the common projections. 'Tönjes' paper gives an overview of the uncertainties and focuses on the

perceptions of the relevant stakeholders, namely the gas and power industry as well as government organisations, with respect to the future role of natural gas in European power generation. The paper was commissioned by the Energy Delta Institute (EDI) and the International Gas Union (IGU) as part of IGU's special worldwide 'Gas to Power' project.

#### CIEP/IIAS International Conference

On 20-21 May 2005, CIEP and the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) held an international conference entitled 'The Security of Energy Supply in China, India, Japan, South Korea and the European Union: Possibilities and Impediments'. This conference is part of the research project 'The Impact of East and Southeast Asian Energy Supply Strategies on the Caspian Region and the Persian Gulf'. On Day 1, a round-table discussion was held at Clingendael. Professor Coby van der Linde, Head of the CIEP, gave a lecture on Geopolitics and Security of Energy Supplies. On Day 2, at Leiden University, prospective contributions to the research project were presented. The successful conference brought together a distinguished group of experts from various fields.



Mr Figueredo (far left), former Director of the UNDP/UNCTAD Global Programme, making a few comments during the first day of the conference Clingendael, with (from left to right) Mr Janczak-Hogarth, Professor Zhiznin, Professor Shibutani and Professor Radtke



Mr L.J. Brinkhorst addresses the audience after receiving the latest Clingendael Energy Publication *Dertig Jaar Nederlands Energiebeleid*. The panel consisted of (from left to right) Mr J. de Jong, Mr L. Barbé and Professor C. van der Linde.



## Conflict Research Unit

# International expert meeting and policy seminar on AIDS, Security and Democracy

On 2-4 May 2005, in cooperation with the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Harvard University and the Social Science Research Council, the Conflict Research Unit (CRU) held a meeting of experts on AIDS, Security and Democracy, followed by a one-day policy seminar. This event was organised at the initiative of Ms Laetitia van den Assum, Ambassador at Large for HIV/AIDS issues. Opening speeches were delivered by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Bernard Bot, and by the Executive Director of UNAIDS, Mr Peter Piot. Seminar discussions benefited from the rich global scope and experience of the participating international researchers and policymakers.



From left to right: Prof. G. Frerks (Utrecht University), Mr B. Bot (Minister of Foreign Affairs), Ms L. van den Assum (Ambassador at Large for HIV/AIDS issues), Mr P. Piot, (Executive Director of UNAIDS) and Mr C. Sobel (US Ambassador to The Netherlands)

### HIV/AIDS as a security challenge

Since the first infections in the late 1970s, we have come to realise that AIDS is much more than merely a health threat. It has strong economic, social, cultural and political implications, some of which are immediately noticeable. Many more will only manifest themselves in the future. While the epidemic strikes individuals, its force is such that AIDS also threatens to cause the collapse of families, communities and potentially even states. In Southern Africa, in particular, where infection rates are highest, state institutions are seriously weakened just as the affected population's need for government services is growing. Some governments are already unable to provide the essential services and carry out the basic functions necessary for sovereignty. This gradual collapse of governance functions illustrates a new form of state collapse, going out with a whimper rather than the more familiar bang associated with civil war in a capital city. We don't yet know the implications of this 'fading

state', what it means for government services and administration to quietly evaporate on account of AIDS, or what association it may have with other aspects of militarization or human security. But even if we remain sceptical about AIDS actually causing state collapse, there are very serious questions about how to handle HIV/AIDS policies and programmes in fragile states with weakened governance structures. It is highly plausible that, even if AIDS is not the major cause of a state collapse, it will be one of the major impediments to strengthening governance structures and supporting reconstruction. For these reasons, we need to be even more alert to the dangers of state collapse in the era of AIDS.

### Follow-up events

The seminar precedes major upcoming international events such as the UN General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS (2 June 2005) and the UN Security Council meeting to follow up on Resolution 1308 on AIDS and Peacekeeping Missions (18 July 2005).

In addition, the upcoming summit of world leaders to review the UN Millennium Declaration offers an important forum to discuss HIV/AIDS, security and democratic governance concerns. The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, together with interested partners, intends to use these events to further discuss the agenda and mobilise support.

The seminar has furthermore launched the idea of a follow-up initiative around HIV/AIDS, security and conflict to strengthen the links between communities working in research, policy and practice, and to obtain clear results in terms of policy action. This initiative was well received by participants at the seminar.

More background info and a summary report are available at [www.clingendael.nl/events/20050502](http://www.clingendael.nl/events/20050502).

### Clingendael conference on the Future of Democracy Assistance

On 28-30 April 2005, the CRU organised a three-day conference entitled 'The Future of Democracy Assistance' at the Fairview Hotel in Nairobi (Kenya). For this occasion, a unique mix of policymakers, practitioners



and academics from various national and international organisations came together to discuss the relatively new area of democracy assistance, focusing mainly on post-conflict countries. The conference highlighted various recent research efforts in this field, including Clingendael's Democratic Transition Project, the Afrobarometer surveys, and the African Governance Report of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). More background information and a summary report are available on the CRU website.

### New CRU publications

- Tsjeard Bouta (May 2005) *Ituri Disarmament and Community Reinsertion Program (DCR)*
- Hans Hoebeker (April 2005) *Elections Between Hope and Fear, The African Great Lakes in Transition?* (Policy Brief no. 4)
- Tsjeard Bouta, Georg Frerks and Bib Hughes (April 2005), *Gender and Peacekeeping in the West African Context*
- Barnett R. Rubin, Humayun Hamidzade and Abby Stoddard (April 2005), *Afghanistan 2005 and Beyond. Prospects for Improved Stability Reference Document*
- Emeric Rogier (April 2005) *Designing an Integrated Strategy for Peace, Security and Development in Post-Agreement Sudan*
- Tsjeard Bouta (March 2005), *Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration. Building Blocs for Dutch Policy*

For more information and other recent publications, please visit [www.clingendael.nl/cru](http://www.clingendael.nl/cru).

# Introducing...



**Gert de Nooy** is a CSCP Senior Fellow and a Captain of the Royal Netherlands Navy. He studied at the Royal Netherlands Naval Academy and trained as a submarine officer before serving

on submarines and frigates. From 1992 onwards, he held various posts at the Ministry of Defence. Most recently, he was the Dutch Defence Attaché in Bucharest, Romania (1998-2001) and served as Head of Defence Diplomacy and International Military Cooperation of the Netherlands Defence Staff (2003-2005). His professional expertise covers defence diplomacy, international military cooperation, arms control and submarine and anti-submarine warfare. From 1994 to 1997, he was a military Research Fellow at Clingendael. He has published on a wide range of security and defence topics, including the transformation of the European armed forces military, arms control, UN/OSCE/NATO, and national defence affairs. Within the Conflict and Security Programme, his research will focus on security sector reform, transformation of the European armed forces, political-military codes of conduct and naval affairs.



**Dr Marcel de Haas** joined the CSCP as Senior Research Fellow on 1 May 2005. He is a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Netherlands Air Force, and has been an Officer in the

Netherlands Armed Forces since 1988, serving in posts such as Military-Political Analyst, part-time OSCE/CFE Arms Control Inspector, Lecturer in International Relations and International Law, Head of the Research Branch of the NATO School, and Policy Advisor. During his most recent assignments at Defence Staff, he was responsible for drafting the Netherlands Defence Doctrine. As a Russian Studies scholar, he holds a PhD from the University of Amsterdam (2004) and an MA from Leiden University (1987). His PhD thesis, *Russian Security Policy and Airpower under Yeltsin and Putin* (1992-2002) was published by Frank Cass in London. He has published on a number of topics related to international and Russian security, and has lectured at

Dutch and British military academies, universities and at the NATO School. At Clingendael, his fields of expertise are military doctrine, strategy and the security policy of NATO, the EU, Russia and CIS.



**Vice Admiral, RNLN (ret.) Egmond van Rijn**

is the Flag Officer for Advanced Defence Studies. As such, he is in charge of running the Advanced Defence Courses, preparing

colonels and others in similar posts for jobs at the admiral/general level. These courses, formerly conducted at the Netherlands Defence College, have now been transferred to Clingendael. There are three courses of 18 weeks each every two years.

Admiral Van Rijn's last active post was as Representative of the Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic in Europe, with a seat on NATO's Military Committee in Permanent Session. Prior to this, he held posts in the operational field (culminating in command at sea) and in personnel (as Chief of Naval Personnel), and he was Deputy Chief of Defence for International Plans and Cooperation.



**Petra van Oijen (MA)** works for the Advanced Defence Studies (ADS) Department of the Ministry of Defence, which has been based at Clingendael since early June 2005.

She studied International Business Studies at Maastricht University. During this period, she also studied for half a year in Bangkok, Thailand. Following her studies, she taught for six months at Maastricht University, after which she joined the Ministry of Defence in a trainee programme (TRIP). For two years she carried out various projects at different departments within the Ministry. Following her traineeship, she joined the Cultural Affairs & Information section of the Royal Netherlands Army, where she was responsible for informing all military staff sent on a mission about the country, its culture, conflict background, religion, etc. At ADS, she is responsible for coordination.

## New publication Discussion Papers in Diplomacy

*Towards a European Diplomatic System?*

No. 98 by Brian Hocking and David Spence

In the context of the ongoing process of the 'widening' and 'deepening' of the European Union, and particularly in the light of the changes heralded in the new Constitution, this paper examines the development of a proto-European diplomatic system. It sketches the historical background to the process, outlines what is being proposed in the Constitution, and considers the implications of these developments for both the diplomatic systems of member states and future EU international policy. The paper suggests that the development of the European project itself, the responses of

the state to the pressures associated with globalisation and regionalisation, and the adaptive strategies adopted by specific foreign ministries will be crucial determinants of the successful synthesis between the proprietary attitudes towards foreign policymaking exhibited by the foreign services of member states and the supranational leanings of the Commission.

David Spence's forthcoming book *The European Commission* will be published by Harper in September 2005.

Clingendael Discussion Papers can be downloaded from [www.clingendael.nl](http://www.clingendael.nl).

# Fifth Asser-Clingendael International Sports Lecture

On 9 June, the fifth annual Asser-Clingendael International Sports Lecture, a joint initiative of the T.M.C. Asser Institute and Clingendael, was held. The central topic was religion and sports, and the keynote speaker was Father Kevin Lixey, Head of the Vatican's Office for Church and Sport in the Pontifical Council of the Laity. Other guest lecturers were Mr Bert Konterman (representative of the Sports Witnesses Foundation and former player for Feyenoord Rotterdam, Glasgow Rangers and the Dutch national football team) and Ms Sanne Bijlhout (Project Coordinator of the MaroquiStars Foundation), who represented her husband Mr Mohammed Allach (Chairman of MaroquiStars and professional football player in the Netherlands).

The debate focused on the relationship between religion and sport from several perspectives, with an international and multicultural dimension. The Vatican has recently established an office dedicated to Church and Sport, since – as it is said – the world of sport has moved ‘further away from its original ideals’, thus revealing ‘an urgent need to recall those fundamental values’.

The aim of the non-governmental organisation Sports Witnesses, which is a member of the European Christian Sports Union,



Father Kevin Lixey during his speech about the role of religion in international sports, together with the other guest-lecturers, f.l.t.r. Mr. Bert Konterman, Dr. Robert Siekmann and Ms. Sanne Bijlhout.

is to promote the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst sportsmen and sportswomen. The MaroquiStars Foundation, which was established in 2003, is an organisation of volunteers whose purpose is to promote dialogue, mutual understanding and cooperation between persons of different

backgrounds and beliefs, and in particular to further the social and cultural participation of Moroccan youth in the society at large.

The seminar was chaired by Dr Robert Siekmann, Director of the Asser International Sports Law Centre.

## CESP launch conference

To celebrate the launch of the Clingendael European Studies Programme (CESP), a conference entitled ‘The Netherlands in an Enlarged European Union: Effective Promotion of National Interests’ was held on 27 April. The main purpose of the conference was to exchange ideas, views and experiences on the position, strategy

and political agenda of the Netherlands in an enlarged European Union. The CESP invited a wide range of Dutch civil servants, diplomats, academics and journalists with EU expertise. The conference was opened and chaired by Professor Jan Rood, Director of the Clingendael European Studies Programme (CESP), followed by three

interesting introductory speeches. Professor Monica de Boer (Free University Amsterdam and vice-chairwoman of the Board of the Clingendael Institute) spoke about EU cooperation in the fight against terrorism, Professor Jaap de Zwaan (Erasmus University Rotterdam and the incoming director of the Clingendael Institute) spoke about

coordinating EU policies, and Mr Marnix Krop (Director General of EU Affairs, Ministry of Foreign affairs) spoke about strategic coalition building. These topics were explored in more detail in active brainstorm sessions with the audience. The conference closed with a statement from Professor Ronald Plasterk, a well-known Dutch political commentator.



Prof. Jan Rood during his speech together with Prof. Monica den Boer and Prof. Jaap de Zwaan.

### New CCSS publication

**The Discourse on European Defence: Europe's Developing Position on Security and Defence in Quotes**

*Compiled by Rem Korteweg*

This paper can be downloaded from [www.ccss.nl/resources/ESDPtotal.pdf](http://www.ccss.nl/resources/ESDPtotal.pdf).

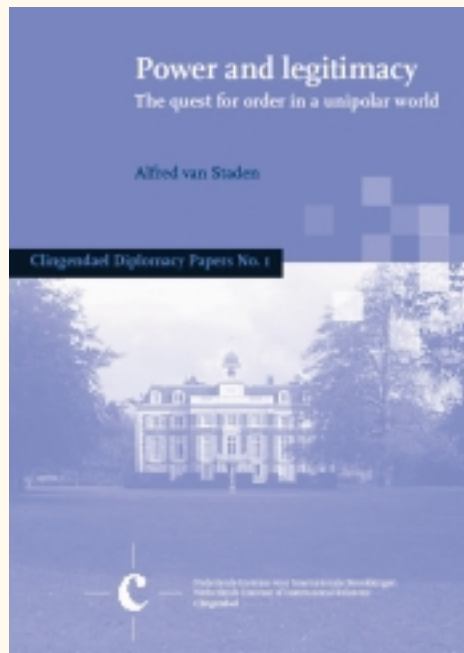


# First publications in the new series Clingendael Papers

## Clingendael Diplomacy Paper No. 1

*Power and Legitimacy. The Quest for Order in a Unipolar World*

Alfred van Staden, 55 pp., April 2005.  
Price: € 12.50



The study discusses various models of international order, assuming that any political order is bound to reflect the prevailing power structure. Serious attempts to strengthen existing institutions, principles and norms must recognise the preeminence of the United States in global affairs. The United Nations, in particular, cannot stand above the most powerful nation. At the same time, the claim is rejected that the world organisation can only be relevant if it is America's tool. The exercise of power that is not rooted in acceptance by allies and friendly states is likely to become counterproductive. The notion of effective multilateralism is considered a practical concept to marry US power with international legitimacy. What role can Europe (the European Union) play to achieve this objective?

Alfred van Staden is General Director of Clingendael.

## Clingendael Diplomacy Paper No. 2

*Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy*

Jan Melissen, 31 pp., May 2005.  
Price € 7.50

This Paper joins the debate on public diplomacy. Jan Melissen first introduces and defines public diplomacy as a concept, and he assesses current developments in this field, followed by an evaluation of the importance of public diplomacy in the changing international environment and an identification of the characteristics of good practice. *Wielding Soft Power* distinguishes between on the one hand propaganda, nation-building and cultural relations, and on the other hand public diplomacy. The Paper concludes that public diplomacy is a challenge for diplomatic services that should not be underestimated. Its rise suggests that the evolution of diplomatic representation has reached a new stage.

Jan Melissen is Director of the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme.

## Clingendael Diplomacy Paper No. 3

*Rethinking Track-Two Diplomacy: The Middle East and South Asia*

Dalia Dassa Kaye, 31 pp., June 2005.  
Price € 8.00

Unofficial policy dialogue, or "track two" diplomacy, has become a popular diplomatic tool in recent years. But what effect are these activities having in regions of conflict?

Drawing on examples from regional security dialogues in the Middle East and South Asia, Dalia Dassa Kaye argues for a different understanding of track two diplomacy and illustrates the potential as well as limits of such processes.

Dalia Dassa Kaye is visiting Research scholar of the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme.

For more information, please contact the Secretariat of the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme (tel.: +31 (0)70 374 6605, e-mail: [cdsp@clingendael.nl](mailto:cdsp@clingendael.nl)).

## Clingendael European Paper No. 1

*Chairing the Enlarged Union: The Netherlands' 2004 EU Council Presidency*

Mendeltje van Keulen and Alfred Pijpers, 39 pp., April 2005. Price € 10.00.

This paper discusses the background, agenda and principal results of the Netherlands' 2004 EU Council presidency. The six-month presidency, during which hundreds of government representatives are responsible for preparing and chairing Council meetings at the administrative and political EU level, is generally regarded by member states as a highlight period for national EU policy-making. Although this was the eleventh time that the Dutch had held the Council's chair, the challenges faced were far from routine.

Mendeltje van Keulen and Alfred Pijpers are Research Fellows of the Clingendael European Studies Programme.

For more information, please contact the Secretariat of the Clingendael European Studies Programme (tel.: +31 (0)70 374 6636, e-mail: [cesp@clingendael.nl](mailto:cesp@clingendael.nl)).

## Clingendael Security Paper No. 1

*No More Hills Again? The Sudan's Tortuous Ascent to Heights of Peace*

E. Rogier, (expected August 2005), 150 pp.