



# The Clingendael Newsletter

Photo by Coby Gerharz

## Clingendael's new Director: Jaap de Zwaan

On 1 September 2005, I began work as Clingendael's new Director and Alfred van Staden's successor.



My background is in law, my main field of interest being the European Union. After my studies, I started my professional career as a member of the bar of The Hague, before moving to the Dutch

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I worked in the Ministry for 18 years, primarily in the field of European cooperation, in the Policy Department, the Legal Service and the Permanent Representation of the Netherlands to the European Union in Brussels. As a member of the Legal Service, I appeared in numerous cases before the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg on behalf of the Dutch Government. I was posted twice to the Permanent Representation in Brussels. In the 1980s, I acted as legal advisor, and in the 1990s, I was also involved in the development of the EU's 'third pillar' cooperation (Justice and

### CSCP/CRU New publications:

#### CRU Working Paper 36

*Mapping European Democracy Assistance: Tracing the Activities and Financial Flows of Political Foundations* (Jeroen de Zeeuw and Jos van Wersch).

#### CRU Occasional Paper

*Faith-Based Peace-Building: Mapping and Analysis of Christian, Muslim and Multi-Faith Actors* (Tsjeard Bouta, S. Ayse Kadayifci-Orellana and Mohammed Abu-Nimer).

Home Affairs). During the Dutch Presidency of the EU in 1997, I participated in the negotiations for the Treaty of Amsterdam and chaired the working group responsible for the drafting of the treaty.

In 1998, I was appointed full-time Professor of EU Law at the Law School of Erasmus University Rotterdam. I was also International Dean of the Law School for two years and Dean for three. During my time at Clingendael, I will continue as part-time Professor at Erasmus University Rotterdam.

Turning now to Clingendael, it is useful to recall that, since the start of 2005, our activities have been spread across four programmes: the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme (CDSP), the Clingendael European Studies Programme (CESP), the Clingendael Security and Conflict Programme (CSCP) and the Clingendael International Energy Programme (CIEP). The CSCP enjoys a special cooperation with TNO, the Netherlands Organisation for Applied Scientific Research, and encompasses the Conflict Research Unit (CRU), a small programme for research into conflicts in developing countries.

Just over 70 people now work at Clingendael. A third of the Institute's budget comes from subsidies granted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and, to a smaller extent, by the Ministry of Defence. The rest of Clingendael's budget is generated by paid projects.

Clingendael flourishes as a think-tank, a research institute and a training centre. Our focus is international. In the framework of our research activities, we analyse international problems and situations and develop new insights relevant to politics in daily practice. People come from all over the world to attend our training programmes, and our staff members

also comprise diplomats and civil servants from around the globe. Clingendael's training activities play a significant role in the Institute's prestige both in the Netherlands and abroad.

Clingendael's future work will focus on three main areas of interest: first, Europe, both in terms of the European Union and as a region; second, security, a broad subject which has demanded more and more attention over the years; and third, the role of the Netherlands as a partner in international relations. In fact, the European Union cooperation involves many fields of policy. From the Netherlands' perspective, international relations are determined primarily by our membership of the EU. Security, as a priority domain, includes not only defence, but also home affairs and justice (combating terrorism is just one example). International energy issues (e.g., the economic and political context of the oil and natural gas markets) also fit well in this global area of interest. The third area of interest, international relations, deals with various topics related to bilateral and multilateral cooperation, such as transatlantic relations and the NATO and United Nations cooperation, as well as global governance issues. Needless to say, the future of international relations is full of challenges.

Clingendael is unique in that, as a think-tank, a training centre and a diplomatic academy, it simultaneously carries out research and provides training. I believe it is this aspect in particular that makes Clingendael internationally relevant. Therefore it is an honour to be the Director of such a prestigious institute.

Jaap W. de Zwaan  
Director

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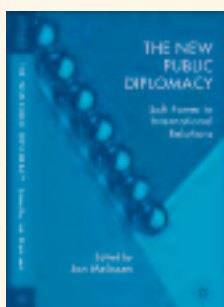
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# The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations

Ed. Jan Melissen (Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2005), 221 pp.  
ISBN 1-4039-4516-0  
Price: GBP50

After September 2001, which triggered a global debate on public diplomacy, this topic has become an issue in most countries, ranging from Canada to New Zealand and from Argentina to Mongolia. Many ministries of foreign affairs now develop a public diplomacy policy of their own. Their association with public diplomacy can be seen as a symptom of the rise



of soft power or, at another level, as the effect of broader change processes in diplomatic practice. The new public diplomacy has in fact become part of the changing fabric of international relations. Foreign

publics now matter to practitioners of diplomacy in a way that was unthinkable as little as 25 years ago.

This book joins the debate on public diplomacy. Experts based in five different countries and from a variety of fields analyse the theory and practice of public diplomacy and evaluate how public diplomacy can be successfully used to support foreign policy.

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## Public diplomacy seminar



On 17 and 18 November 2005, the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme (CDSP) and the Dutch

Ministry of Foreign Affairs held a two-day expert seminar on public diplomacy. On the first day, diplomats and academic participants from 11 small and middle powers gathered at the Ministry, moving to Clingendael the next day. The seminar also marked the informal launch of the Public Diplomacy in Practice guide for Dutch missions abroad and a Clingendael book on public diplomacy. Both publications are in English. The conference report 'Public Diplomacy: Improving Practice' is available from: [ehenskes@clingendael.nl](mailto:ehenskes@clingendael.nl)

## 15th Advanced Defence Course at Clingendael

On Tuesday 15 August 2005, the 15th Advanced Defence Course began. Three such courses, each lasting 18 weeks, are given every two years, with the aim of preparing colonels and those at an equivalent level for flag officer positions.

This was the first of the courses to be given at Clingendael itself since the Advanced Defence Studies staff moved here from the Netherlands Defence College.



From left to right: Captain (Navy) Bart van Gameren (Deputy Chief of Advanced Defence Studies), Martin Hageman, Colonel (Army) Hans Hoogstraten, Colonel (Airforce) Peer Oppers, Hans Snaterse, Frans Kleyheeg, Vice Admiral (ret.) Egmond van Rijn (Flag Officer, Advanced Defence Studies), Captain (Navy) Frank Marcus, Colonel-Surgeon (Army) Jan Robert Zijp (Air Commod) Bert Buitenga & Petra van Oyen (Advanced Defence Studies staff).

JAN MELISSEN is Director of the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme (CDSP), Professor at the Department of Politics of Antwerp University (Belgium) and Co-Editor of *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*. Previous publications include *Innovation in Diplomatic Practice* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 1999).

## Junior Diplomats from Eastern Europe



Participants and coordinators of the 28th Course for Junior Diplomats from Eastern Europe, October 2005.



# Europe: A Continent in Transition

## Clingendael Alumni Conference, 10-11 November 2005

Clingendael celebrated 15 years of diplomatic training and 10 years of government support for social transformation in Central and Eastern Europe with a major Alumni Conference on transformation and integration processes in Europe over the past decade and a half. The Conference took place at Clingendael on 10 and 11 November 2005, and was financed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Social Transformation Programme, MATRA. The aim of the conference was to review past and present transformation processes within Europe and to provide future perspectives on



Q&A session with (from left to right) Jaap de Zwaan (Director of Clingendael), Bernard Meijerman (Head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' MATRA programme), Marnix Krop (the Ministry's Director General for European Cooperation), and Hinke Pietersma (Clingendael's Course Coordinator for Central and Eastern Europe).

European integration by bringing together diplomats from countries across the continent, gathering views and perceptions on

European integration from EU member states, candidate and potential candidate countries, and neighbouring countries. More than 40 alumni and some 30 other guests from the corps diplomatique, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, journalists and former course coordinators took part. The programme focused on European integration in economics, politics and justice, and home affairs. Key topics included the Netherlands' commitment to social transformation in Central and Eastern Europe through MATRA, the process towards a single European market, the Netherlands' position on European integration after the referendum, the aftermath of enlargement on coalition patterns inside the EU and its possible impact on the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the new borders of the European Union, and new developments in justice and home affairs. The conference concluded with a plenary discussion on different views and perspectives on the strengths and weaknesses of European integration in the fields of economics, politics and justice, and home affairs.

## Clingendael EU crash course

Clingendael has long experience of preparing candidates for the EU entry examinations (the EU 'concours'). This winter, the European Studies Programme is offering a new EU crash course® to those candidates who want to prepare as thoroughly as possible for the upcoming examinations. The course includes a website with multiple choice tests, facts and figures on the European Union, literature references, and online assistance (in Dutch). Lectures on relevant topics will take place during a

special study day held at Clingendael on 10 February, when experts and candidates will be able to exchange information. The EU crash course will also be particularly helpful for any EU policymakers at national or international level who wish to quickly and efficiently increase their knowledge of and insights into the EU decision-making processes. For more information on the EU crash course and how to enrol, go to [www.clingendael.nl/concours](http://www.clingendael.nl/concours).

## Clingendael at the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy

The Jordan Institute of Diplomacy (JID) invited Clingendael to give a seminar on multilateral negotiations and a workshop on capacity building at their institute in Amman. This new form of cooperation between the two institutes was sponsored by the Dutch Embassy in Amman. Clingendael's Ron Ton provided training for junior diplomats in Jordan and the staff of the JID in the week of 13 November 2005. The Jordan Institute of Diplomacy provides



Ms Kawther Alitan (Programme Coordinator), Hasan Al-Anbari (Advisor), Ron Ton (Director of Diplomatic Training, Clingendael), Ms Sirsa Alasker (Public Relations) and Nofan Al-Zoubi (Head of Training)

a one-year course for junior diplomats and programmes in international relations for various governmental institutions. During the workshop on curricula development, the development of interactive diplomatic training and the design of new curricula were discussed. Both parties considered this a fruitful start for future cooperation.



Junior diplomats from the Jordan diplomatic service in the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy.

## Clingendael in Bulgaria

After a successful first year of working together in 2004, Clingendael and the newly established Bulgarian Diplomatic Institute in Sofia agreed to intensify their cooperation in the period 2005-2007. During these three years, the two institutes will focus on organising activities in Sofia as well in The Hague. Their cooperation will include a research project on European development cooperation, public lectures, 'train the trainer' programmes, applied research techniques and assistance in education development. This partnership is part of Clingendael's involvement in the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs' MATRA programme.



Dr Zdravko Popov (BDI) and Ron Ton (Clingendael) signing the Memorandum of Understanding 2005-2007.

# New Clingendael Diplomacy Paper UN Reform and NATO Transformation: The Missing Link

Dick A. Leurdijk

The United Nations and NATO started to cooperate in the early 1990s, under the pressure of the disintegration of the former Republic of Yugoslavia, both before and after the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement. Since then, the two organisations have developed a dynamic relationship characterised by various forms of ad hoc cooperation in the field, both in Europe, including in Kosovo, and beyond, in Afghanistan, Iraq and Darfur. In *UN Reform and NATO Transformation: The Missing Link*, Dick Leurdijk analyses the dynamics of this evolving relationship against the background of both NATO's

transformation in the aftermath of the terror attacks of 11 September 2001 and the UN's reform process as initiated by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan following the attack on Iraq in 2003.

Dick Leurdijk is a UN expert and Senior Research Fellow, lecturer and political commentator at the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme.

For more information, please contact the Secretariat of the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme (tel. +31 (0)70 374 66 05; e-mail [cdsp@clingendael.nl](mailto:cdsp@clingendael.nl)).

*Clingendael Diplomacy Paper No. 4*

ISBN 90-5031-104-0.

Price: € 11.50

## Introducing...



**Emel Oktay** (PhD) joined the CESP as Visiting Senior Research Fellow on 3 October 2005. Since 2001, she has been Assistant Professor of International Relations at

Hacettepe University, Ankara, Turkey. She holds an MA from the Department of European and International Studies at Reading University, England, where she was Jean Monnet Scholar. After receiving her PhD from Bilkent University, Ankara, in 1999, she worked at the Turkish Ministry of National Defence, in the Foreign Relations Directorate of the Undersecretariat for the Defence Industry, until September 2001. From 2001 to 2003, she was Senior Researcher and Head of the Department of Balkan and Cyprus Studies at the Eurasian Centre for Strategic Studies (ASAM), an Ankara-based think-tank, and Editor of *Jeopolitik Gundem* (Geopolitical Agenda), a weekly international politics magazine published in Turkish. She is the author of a book titled *The Wars of Yugoslav Dissolution and Britain's Role in Shaping Western Policy*, published by the Centre for Strategic Research (SAM) in Ankara, and has also published several articles on Balkan and Black Sea politics in national and international journals. Under a twelve-

month research grant from the Turkish Science Academy (TUBA), she is now carrying out research at Clingendael on European foreign policy, including the implications of Turkey's prospective EU membership for neighbourhood strategy.



**Roel van der Veen** (PhD) is a historian from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Over the years, his work has focused on the Netherlands' relations with Africa and Asia. From 1992 to 1995, he worked as a Political Officer at the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, after which he was a Strategic Planner at the Ministry for four years. In 2002, he published a book on Africa's development problems, which was translated into English (*What Went Wrong with Africa*, 2004) and French (*L'Afrique, les causes d'un échec*, 2005). He obtained his PhD in 2004 with a thesis entitled *The Disintegration of States in Africa: The Interaction of Politics, Economics, Social Relations and Culture*. He is currently based at Clingendael to carry out research into the development of Asia.

## Kosovan advisors find their way in Brussels



Six years after the end of the war, Kosovo has disappeared from the international agenda. In fact, for the international community, Kosovo seems to have become a routine operation. The UN exercises most governing functions in Pristina and final status negotiations will not begin before Kosovo meets certain political standards. In summer 2005, UN Special Envoy Kai Eide called for the start of these negotiations, even though Kosovo has failed to meet the democratic and human rights criteria. The desperate economic situation and political deadlock there leave no alternative than to address this crucial issue.

While it remains unclear whether the United Nations will follow Eide's advice, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided to take the first step towards improving Kosovo's ability to govern by asking Clingendael to organise a new Course for Policy Advisors from Kosovo. This two-week course focused on how the European Union works and its external policies. Cooperation with the EU is expected to play a greater role for Kosovo, as the UN and NATO consider reducing their presence in the area. 'How to find my way in Brussels' will therefore be an important issue for Kosovo officials, whether Kosovo becomes an independent state or not.

The course met with great enthusiasm from the Kosovo advisors who took part. In particular, practical exercises helped participants to improve their diplomatic skills and work on the more effective promotion of their interests in Brussels. Both the Pristina authorities and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs have expressed interest in a follow-up to the course, for which Clingendael has offered its continued support.