



The Clingendael Newsletter

Photo by Derrick van Geest

Clingendael

Since the Clingendael Institute was founded in 1983, its primary aim has always been to promote the understanding of international affairs. The consequences of phenomena such as globalisation and internationalisation are making the study of international developments and politics increasingly more important than ever before. In fact, to a large extent people's lives today are affected by developments outside their own country. For the Netherlands, membership of international organisations (including the European Union, the United Nations and NATO) is of crucial importance. Increasingly, cross-border problems – energy, the environment and climate change, asylum and immigration, the threat of global terrorism – all demand our attention. It is the aim and ambition of Clingendael to analyse these developments, and explain them to the wider public.

Clingendael will keep acting as a think-tank, a research institute and a diplomatic

academy. Through our research, we aim to develop useful new insights that are relevant to the daily practice of politics: our findings and suggestions are reported in the media and included in a wide variety of publications. Our prestigious training programmes are attended by people from all over the world, especially diplomats and civil servants. In this way, Clingendael makes a positive and practical contribution to improving international relations.

Clingendael's work will continue to focus on three main areas of interest. Firstly, Europe, both as a geographical region and as an international organisation (the European Union): after all, from a Dutch perspective, international politics and relations are determined primarily by membership of the European Union. Secondly, security issues. This is a broad subject that has become increasingly important over recent years. It includes more than just defence: home affairs and justice, as well as international energy issues, are also

critical – the fight against global terrorism, and the economic and political context of the oil and natural gas markets, makes this abundantly clear. The third area of interest is the role of the Netherlands as a partner in international relations: this covers various aspects of bilateral and multilateral cooperation, including transatlantic relations, NATO, UN cooperation and issues of global governance.

The future of international relations is clearly full of challenges. As a think-tank, a research institute and a diplomatic academy, Clingendael is working to ensure these challenges are met. We believe it is this dynamic approach that makes Clingendael so internationally relevant and unique and we intend to use this approach to its fullest to continue our role in the field of International Relations.

Jaap W. de Zwaan
Director

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Bernard Bot new Chairman of the Clingendael Board



Bernard R. Bot, the former Dutch Minister for Foreign Affairs, is Clingendael's new Chairman of the Board as of 1 March 2007. Clingendael's Board, Management Team and staff are delighted to welcome him to

his new role. Mr Bot has over forty years of experience in both national and international politics, and has a vast network in the field of international relations. He succeeds Mr Hans van den Broek, who stepped down from the Board at the end of 2006.

Mr Bot joined the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1963. From 1964 to 1970, he was Second Secondary to the Permanent Representation of the European Communities in Brussels. This was followed by various diplomatic service postings, including in Buenos Aires and Berlin, before he returned to The Hague in 1976. From 1982 to 1986, Mr Bot was Deputy Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council, and from 1986 to 1989 he was Ambassador of the Netherlands to Turkey. He then served as Secretary-General at the Foreign office, as well as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Permanent Representation of the European Union,

where he dedicated himself to restoring the position of the Netherlands after the negative outcome of the referendum on the European Constitution. In 2002, after retiring as Ambassador, he became a partner of Praaning Meines Consultancy in Brussels. At the end of 2003, he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in the second cabinet of Prime Minister Balkenende.

Mr Bot is also Chairman of the Board of the Carnegie Foundation and of the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, as well as member of the Board of the European Centre for Work and Society.

High level debate European Union

On Tuesday 6 February the Clingendael European Studies Programme organised a high-level debate on the future of the European Union. The debate took place in the context of a 4,5 weeks training course for junior diplomats from the 2004 EU enlargement countries. It was opened to other guests as well, and attracted a high number of participants as the subject was highly topical just after the 'Friends of the Constitution' meeting and first news on the content of the Dutch coalition agreement. The high-level panel consisted of distinguished speakers: former Minister prof. Laurens-Jan Brinkhorst, Spanish Ambassador H.E. Alfonso Dastis Quecedo

and former MEP and MP Lousewies van der Laan. Head of the Clingendael European Studies Programme, prof.dr. Jan Rood was the moderator of the debate.

Not surprisingly given the context and the experience of the speakers, the fate of the Constitutional Treaty became the focus of the discussion. Issues included the content of a possibly modified Constitutional Treaty; i.e. which parts should remain and what should be added, and the process; i.e. how to get to a modified Constitutional Treaty on which all member states can agree. After a brief debate between the panellists there was an interesting and

lively discussion among the participants in which amongst others the Ambassadors of the UK and France participated.

In response attention was devoted to the Dutch and French no' votes, the lack of public debate on Europe, and the coalition agreement, in which the government would supposedly disfavour organising another referendum on a revised version of the Constitutional Treaty, but would still seek advice from the Council of State after which the final say would be for the Parliament. After the debate, discussions were continued during the social drinks.

Seminar Portuguese Presidency of the European Union



Portuguese Secretary of State for European Affairs,
H.E. Mr. Manuel Lobo Antunes, during his speech at Clingendael



State-Secretary Lobo Antunes during the public debate, together with Clingendael's Chairman of the Board, Dr. Bernard Bot, and Dutch Minister for European Affairs, Mr. Frans Timmermans

On July 12th, the Clingendael Institute had the honour of welcoming H.E. Mr. Manuel Lobo Antunes, Secretary of State for European Affairs of Portugal. Minister Lobo Antunes visited Clingendael on the occasion of the seminar regarding the

Portuguese EU-Presidency and presented a lecture, entitled Portuguese Presidency: a stronger Union for a better world? in which he highlighted its priorities. The event was organised by the Clingendael European Studies Programme.

As co-referent, Clingendael was pleased to welcome H.E. Mr. Frans Timmermans, the Dutch counterpart of minister Lopez Antunes. The seminar was chaired by Dr. Bernard Bot, Chairman of the Board of Clingendael.

Sudanese Diplomats at Clingendael



The delegation of Junior and Mid-career Diplomats from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Sudanese Government of National Unity (GNU) during their training in Clingendael, November 2006. Following the signature of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the previously existing Khartoum Government and the Sudanese People

Liberation Movement (SPLM), one of the key challenges for Sudan lies in the set-up of operational joint leadership structures with a goal ratio of 30% former SPLM officials in all new structures. This delegation met the target with 5 Diplomats from the South or Darfur out of a total of 18.

The Hague Journal of Diplomacy

The Hague Journal of Diplomacy is the premier research journal for the study of diplomacy and its role in contemporary international relations. It publishes the best research on the theory, practice and techniques of diplomacy in both its traditional state-based bilateral and multilateral forms, plus more recent forms of diplomacy, such as track-two diplomacy, field diplomacy and public diplomacy practised by states and non-state entities. Each issue contains research articles and at least one piece focused on the practical aspects of diplomacy.

The Journal promotes the analysis and understanding of diplomacy by acquainting a broad audience of readers with the best works undertaken in diplomatic studies in a variety of intellectual traditions. Diplomatic studies is an interdisciplinary and inclusive field: the publication's contents will therefore reflect the wide array of methodologies by which diplomacy may be studied.

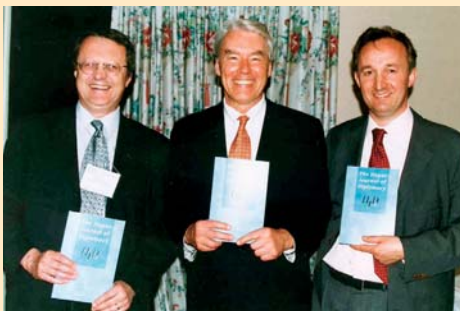
The Hague Journal of Diplomacy is published by Martinus Nijhoff, an imprint of Brill Academic Publishers (www.brill.nl). It aims to stimulate research on diplomacy and serve as a platform for a number of activities. In cooperation with the city of The Hague, Clingendael will organise a two-yearly The Hague Diplomacy Conference, of which the first one has taken place on 21-22 June 2007.

Manuscripts or proposals should be submitted by e-mail to the editors, Jan Melissen and Paul Sharp, at HJD@clingendael.nl.

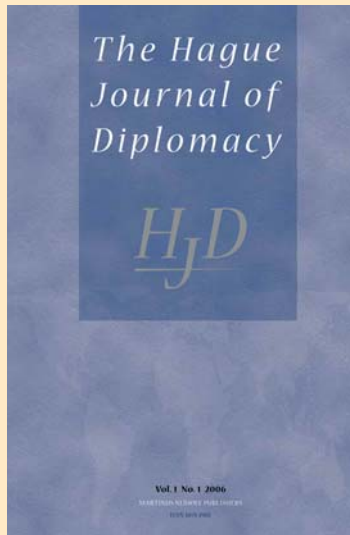
Selected articles from Volumes 1 and 2:

'The Diplomacy of Proximity and Specialness: Enhancing Canada's Representation in the United States', Brian Hocking and Donna Lee

'Public Diplomacy Between Home and Abroad: Norway and Canada', Josef Batora



The first contributor to The Hague Journal of Diplomacy, Alan Henrikson, flanked by the editors Jan Melissen and Paul Sharp, at The Journal's launch in San Diego



'Towards a European Foreign Policy', Brian Crowe

Jonas Talberg 'Parameters of the Chairmanship's Effectiveness: The Case of the UN Security Council', Spyros Blavoukos, Dimitris Bourantonis and Panayotis Tsakonas

Diplomacy with Fundamentalists: The United States and the Taliban', Juergen Kleiner

'A Case Study in Summitry: the British Experience under Edward Heath, 1970-74', John W. Young

Diplomatic Cultures: Comparing Russia and the West in Terms of a 'Modern Model of Diplomacy', Tatiana V. Zonova

The Impact of Enlargement: Europeanization of Polish Foreign Policy? Tracking Adaptation and Change in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Karolina Pomorska

Democracy Promotion as Foreign Policy: Some Cautionary Reflections, David W. Lovell

'Do This One For Me, George': Blair, Brown, Bono, Bush and the 'Actor-ness' of the G8, Geoffrey Allen Pigman and John Kotsopoulos

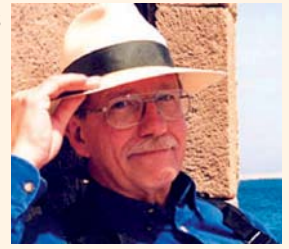
Summit Diplomacy: High-Level Meeting or Courtesy Call? A Response to John Young, David Hastings Dunn

Reforming Foreign Services for the Twenty-First Century, Shaun Riordan

Experience Matters Most, Karl Theodor Paschke

In Memoriam Bart Tromp

Bart Tromp was a critical and creative thinker on a wide variety of issues, but above all a stimulating colleague with a warm personality.



He joined Clingendael's staff in September 2003 as visiting Senior Research Fellow. Since 2005 he was a member of the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme, where his research focused on the evolution of international relations in a historical perspective. This was the latest step in a long and fruitful relationship with the Institute. He had lectured at Clingendael since the Institute's very foundation in 1983, and in the 1970's he was Vice Chairman of the Dutch Institute of Peace Studies, one of Clingendael's constituent organisations.

Bart Tromp studied Political Sociology at Groningen University. After graduating cum laude in 1971, he first taught Sociology at the Eindhoven University before moving to Leiden University to lecture in Political Science. He published a wide variety of works, including books on Thomas Hobbs and Karl Marx, European integration and cultural policy, the Balkan wars of the early 1990's, the evolution of Dutch social democracy, and a handbook on political science. He also was a political commentator and columnist for many years for Dutch newspapers Het Parool and De Gelderlander and weekly Elsevier.

Since 1978 he served on various advisory councils of the Dutch government on matters of peace and security. He was also a member of the Committee on Peace and Security of the Advisory Board of International Affairs.

In addition to his work for Clingendael, Bart Tromp was a Professor in the Theory and History of International Relations at the University of Amsterdam by special appointment of the Netherlands Society of International Affairs (NGIZ).

We will remember him as an independent, creative spirit, who has contributed immensely to both the Institute's research and its training activities, and whose original and critical input will be sadly missed.

Clingendael Asia Studies

On 1 September 2006, the Clingendael Institute launched Clingendael Asia Studies (CAS). This new research project is aimed at promoting academic and public discussion on a diverse range of topics relating to Asia's international relations. The objectives and outline of research to be undertaken within CAS were presented by its supervisor Jan Melissen and individual researchers during a 'kick-off' seminar on Tuesday 17 October.



Clingendael Asia Studies is a unique cooperation of the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme and Security and Energy Programmes, supported by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Geostrategic implications of the emergence of China for the region and also for Europe and the Netherlands are a major point of interest. Clingendael Asia Studies thus responds to Asia's growing importance in international economics and (resource) security. The initiative reflects intensifying Asian-European relations in the public and private domain. Apart from China, the main focus within CAS is on East, Southeast, and South Asia.

Events since the kick-off meeting on 17 October include lectures by prominent Asia experts such as Andrew Watson (Ford Foundation China), and Ikibiki Makoto (Japanese Defence Academy). In February an expert seminar was held where senior

visiting fellow at CAS Willem van Kemenade presented his new Clingendael Diplomacy Paper, 'China and Japan: Partners of Permanent Rivals?'. Various further events are scheduled, dealing with such topics as Dutch China policy, Russian-Asian energy relations, Chinese influence in Africa, trade and human rights, and the planned EU-China Partnership and Cooperation Agreement.

CAS is actively establishing contacts with Asia institutes and experts, academics as well as practitioners. Several research trips were made in the past few months, to Japan, China, the US, and Great Britain. CAS publishes regularly on current events and their underlying dynamics in Asia. Publications, upcoming events and other details are available at the CAS-website: www.clingendael.nl/asia. For further information, please contact asia@clingendael.nl.

CAS/CIEP trip to China

Lucia van Geuns and Susann Handke, both Clingendael International Energy Programme (CIEP), have made a research and networking trip to China as part of the Clingendael Asia Studies (CAS). During this trip (from April 15 to 25, 2007), they visited Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Beijing. They gave presentations at several universities, research institutes, and think tanks. These visits also provided a perfect opportunity for an exchange of views with Chinese researchers and scholars. The contacts made during this trip will be further developed and used to organise CAS/CIEP conferences and conduct joint research projects in the future. The conversations with Chinese academics and researchers mainly focussed on geopolitical developments and China's security of energy supplies, the use of renewable energies to reduce China's air pollution and the promotion of more energy-efficient solutions in China.

In Hong Kong, a visit was made to Civic Exchange and a presentation was given at the Center on China's Transitional Relations of the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. In Shanghai, the renowned Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences was visited where energy issues were discussed



Susann Handke, Lucia van Geuns and Professor Xia Yishan (2nd, 3rd and 4th from left) and other energy experts at the China Institute of International Studies, Beijing.

with researchers and PhD candidates.

After a short stay in South and East China, several research institutes and university in Beijing were visited. During a meeting with Professor Zha Daojiong, a prominent and outspoken energy expert at Renmin University, there was ample opportunity to discuss energy-related geopolitical developments. At the Energy Research Institute of the National Development and Reform Commission, Jiang Kejun explained China's policies to promote the use of renewable energies.

Further, presentations were given both at the Institute of European Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Tsinghua University, and European and Chinese energy policies have been discussed with scholars and students. Finally, there was a rare opportunity to meet Professor Xia Yishan and other energy experts of the China Institute of International Studies and discuss China's foreign energy policy and the prospects of energy cooperation with Russia. The contact with Professor Xia was established with the help of the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Beijing.



Global Non-Proliferation and Counter-Terrorism The Impact of UNSCR 1540

*Olivia Bosch and Peter van Ham,
Editors*

*copublished by Clingendael Institute
and Chatham House*

price \$24.95

978-0-8157-1017-2

March 2007



Promoting Democracy in Postconflict Societies: A Comparative Perspective

*Jeroen de Zeeuw and Krishna
Kumar, Editors*

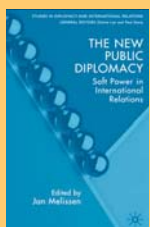
published by Lynne Rienner Publishers

price \$55

1-58826-446-7

July 2006

*for more information see
www.rienner.com*



The New Public Diplomacy

Edited by Jan Melissen

published Palgrave Macmillan

price \$25.95

978-0-230-53554-1

September 2007

*for more information see
www.palgrave.com*

Conflict Research Unit (CRU)

The AIDS, Security and Conflict Initiative (ASCI)

Launched in September 2006, the AIDS, Security and Conflict Initiative (ASCI) is a joint project of the Conflict Research Unit and the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in New York. This important Initiative has been made possible by support from the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Australian Agency for International Development, the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, the Rockefeller Brothers' Fund, UNAIDS and the United Nations Population Fund.

The aim of this important initiative is not only to increase attention for the centrality of HIV/AIDS to the international peace and security agenda. ASCI also aims to fill knowledge gaps, as well as to provide answers to the most pressing policy development needs related to HIV/AIDS, security and conflict. In doing so, the initiative brings together an international network of researchers, policy makers and practitioners across various geographic regions and specialist fields.

With the available research fund, ASCI has commissioned a total of 20 field based and policy oriented studies around the world to investigate the reciprocal impacts of HIV/AIDS on security in four thematic areas: (1) peacekeeping and uniformed services, including the police; (2) complex humanitarian emergencies, post-conflict transition and peace building; (3) fragile states and governance; and (4) cross-cutting themes including gender issues, security sector reforms and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration.

Since its inception, ASCI has convened meetings in the Netherlands, Switzerland, South Africa and Australia with various research institutions collaborating in this initiative. ASCI will continue to actively seek opportunities to learn from and contribute to debates across humanitarian, human rights and security arenas and will, under the guidance of CRU and SSRC, commission additional research, organise expert and peer review meetings and publicise a working paper series with key research findings. In September 2007 ASCI, with the support of UNAIDS and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, will organise an international expert meeting on HIV and the police in The Hague. This two-day meeting will bring together researchers and policymakers in the field of HIV and police forces from across the world.



ASCI Meeting
on Post-Conflict
Transition and
HIV/AIDS with
the International
Centre of
Migration and
Health (ICMH)

Post-Conflict Research Programme (PCRP)

As of 1 January 2007, the Conflict Research Unit has entered into a new four-year agreement (2007-2010) with the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs to conduct policy relevant research on post-conflict reconstruction and stabilisation. The programme, entitled the Post-Conflict Research Programme (PCRP), will take an integrated approach towards the three main components of a post-conflict reconstruction process: security and stability; governance and democratisation; and socio-economic development. The main objective of the programme is to provide the Dutch government with relevant input for (international) policy development on the above-mentioned issues by conducting research, organising (international) expert meetings and providing training for government officials.

Conflict Prevention Network/ Observatoire pour l'Afrique

As part of an international consortium led by International Alert, the Conflict Research Unit has recently won the tender for the Conflict Prevention Network of the European Commission. Other partners in the consortium are Saferworld, CMI, ICTJ and Fridre (amongst others). In the period June 2007 – December 2008 the consortium will contribute to the policy development of the EC in the area of conflict prevention and management. CRU will also be a part of an international network entitled 'Observatoire pour l'Afrique'. This network has been instigated by the French Ministry of Defence and will organise expert meetings on several security issues in Africa, to provide input for the development of the international policy agenda. Lead partner in this project is the Belgian Egmont Institute.

Selected new CRU publications

Dirk Kruijt (2006), Bolivia Stability Assessment 2000-2005 (CRU Occasional Paper)

Pyt Douma, Jean-Marie Gasana, Peter Sampson (2006), Burundi Stability Assessment (CRU Occasional Paper)

Luc van de Goor, Mariska van Beijnum (2006), The Netherlands and its Whole of Government Approach on Fragile States – Case Study Sudan (CRU Occasional Paper)

Jeroen de Zeeuw, Krishna Kumar (2006), *Promoting Democracy in Post-Conflict Societies* (CRU Book - Lynne Rienner Publishers)

Ulrich Mans, Osman Mohammed Osman Ali (2006), *Stuck in Change, Faith-based Peace-building in Sudan's Transition* (CRU Occasional Paper)

Mariska van Beijnum (2007), *Multi-Donor Trust Funds in Postconflict Situations*

– Bevindingen van bestaande reviews vertaald naar de Nederlandse beleidspraktijk (CRU Occasional Paper)

Evert Kets (2007), *The urgent need for a renewed SSR effort in the Democratic Republic of Congo* (CRU Policy Brief 5)

Additional Information ASCI

Reports, publications and additional information can be found on the ASCI website:

<http://asci.ssrc.org/>. For more information or questions, please contact Steven Schoofs at the Conflict Research Unit: tel. +31 70 3141955 or sschoofs@clingendael.nl.

CRU

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

Reintegration of individually demobilised combatants in Colombia

On Monday 13 December 2006, Clingendael facilitated a Pax Christi Netherlands conference entitled 'The Reintegration of Individually Demobilised Combatants in Colombia'. After the opening address by Ineke Holtwijk, former correspondent of the *De Volkskrant* daily newspaper, speakers from Colombia, Germany and the Netherlands addressed the issue of the extent to which the current individual demobilisation is resulting in the full integration of the former combatants in Colombia. Marianne Moor from Pax Christi Netherlands presented the findings of a critical study on this issue. Issues that were discussed included why the reintegration process, which is mainly a governmental matter, does not involve the active involvement of social organisations, churches and industry; why the programme has no component of dialogue or reconciliation; and how to prevent former combatants from becoming involved in crime. Representatives from various NGOs in the audience contributed to a lively debate.



The panel of guest lecturers, chaired by Kees Homan from Clingendael' CSCP

CSCP-activities

American and Dutch approaches to promoting democracy

On 16 October, together with the American Enterprise Institute, the German Marshall Fund and Freedom House, Clingendael organised a seminar on differences and similarities between American and Dutch approaches to promoting democracy. The meeting opened with a welcome dinner, at which Hans van Baalen, Member of Parliament for the VVD, gave a keynote speech. The main themes at the seminar were developments in Georgia and Iran and the different systems for promoting democracy. The seminar was honoured to welcome as keynote speaker Michael Kozak, Senior Director for Democracy, Human Rights and International Organisations at the US National Security Council. Other speakers included Gary Schmitt of the American Enterprise Institute, Thomas Melia of Freedom House, and Marc Plattner of the National Endowment for Democracy. In his closing remarks, John Glenn of the Marshall Fund emphasised that, despite distinctions in the approach to promote

democracy, the United States and the Netherlands share many values that allow us to work closely together on this very important issue.

CSCP receives ISS delegation

On 17 October, a delegation from the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) of South Africa visited Clingendael. The ISS is a leading African human security research institution and has offices in Pretoria, Cape Town, Nairobi and Addis Ababa. Its representatives gave presentations on developments in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan and Zimbabwe and terrorism in Africa.

Military troops come to Clingendael

On Tuesday 28 November, Clingendael was 'occupied' by military forces from around the world, from South America and Mongolia to South Africa and Japan. The occasion was an official visit of defence attachés posted in the Netherlands, as part of their Annual Autumn Briefing organised by the Netherlands Defence Staff. Together with participants in Clingendael's Alumni

Course for Diplomats from Eastern Europe and Central Asia, as well as policy advisors to the Ministries of Defence and Foreign Affairs and non-governmental organisations, the defence attachés attended a seminar entitled 'Security and Energy in the South Caucasus'. Clingendael's Director, Professor Jaap de Zwaan, officially opened the seminar, after which Anne Aldis, Head of the UK Defence Academy's Conflict Studies Research Centre, delivered a keynote speech on 'Military Capabilities in the South Caucasus'. Next, Senior Fellow Lieutenant-Colonel Dr Marcel de Haas of the Clingendael Security and Conflict Programme (CSCP) presented a research report entitled 'Geo-strategy in the South Caucasus'. There was much lively debate during the seminar discussion sessions, particularly from local and regional representatives of the South Caucasus. However, in the good tradition of Clingendael, where formal negotiations have often taken place, participants made their peace over an enjoyable drink at the end of the seminar.

Clingendael at ISAF

As of October 2006, and building upon a phased expansion of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan over a three year-period, NATO is carrying out its UN-mandated mission throughout the whole country. Major General (ret) Kees Homan from the Clingendael Security and Conflict Programme participated with journalists and researchers from nine countries part in an opinion leaders tour to Pakistan and



The delegation (Kees Homan holding the map) in front of ISAF Headquarters in Kabul.



Meeting in Mazar-e-Sharif between the provincial governor, Kees Homan (centre) and the Head of Police.

Afghanistan organized by NATO. Most surprisingly was the negative attitude they found in Pakistan toward Afghanistan. Some spoke of a American/British occupation and considered the NATO-operation as illegitimate. One of the highlights in Afghanistan was the visit to the Kabul Military Training Centre, where the Afghanistan National Army is trained. Mentored by military from Australia, France, the United

Kingdom and the United States, the Afghan military are trained in a very professional way and are very motivated. The operations of ISAF are based on three pillars: security, development and governance. But during the visit to Kandahar it became clear that the southern part of the country has still to cope with a lot of hostilities. The insurgents use Pakistan as a sanctuary for leadership, a source of recruitment and a staging post for attacks, which is a decisive factor in sustaining the conflict.

Among the problems ISAF has to cope with are civilian casualties, caveats by most NATO member states, a shortage in helicopters and the new threat of improvised electronic devices. As there is no military solution for the conflict in Afghanistan, it was recognized that the UN and the EU should be much more involved.

International Women's Contact at Clingendael

On June 14th the director of the Clingendael Institute, Prof. Jaap W. de Zwaan, delivered a lecture for members and invitees of the International Women's Contact (IWC) in The Hague, entitled "The Future of the European Constitutional Treaty: The Position of the Netherlands". The seminar was officially opened by mrs.

Margriet Deetman, honorary president of IWC, followed by a brief overview of the history of the Huys Clingendael and the Institute's activities by Anna Gans, Head of External Affairs of Clingendael. An interesting addition to the programme was the performance by illusionist Dan Lefay, who succeeded in captivating the

audience with his mind-boggling act, all presented within the context of international relations, negotiating processes and the human perception. He continued his presentation during the reception after the official programme had ended, and again surprised the participants with his sleight of hand and humorous comments.



Mrs. Margriet Deetman (centre), in the front row, together with Mrs. Almas Mahmud, secretary of IWC, and Clingendael's Jaap de Zwaan.



Illusionist Dan Lefay during his performance in Clingendael main Hall.

Clingendael International Negotiation Group (CLING)

A network of Clingendael staff members is currently involved in negotiation training and research. The first Clingendael role-play 'avant la lettre' took place in 1967 as a training tool for young Dutch diplomats. This was followed by topical simulation games in the 1980s and training sessions on negotiation techniques in the 1990s. Nowadays, most Clingendael courses boast a module on negotiation processes, while numerous negotiation seminars are given

abroad. In 2006, Clingendael staff have led these courses in countries such as Austria, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Britain, Czech Republic, Estonia, Germany, Georgia, Italy, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Kuwait, Pakistan, Malta, Slovenia, Turkey and Ukraine. Research projects were implemented in cooperation with the Processes of International Negotiation (PIN) Programme of the International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) in

Laxenburg near Vienna. In 2007, publications on Western Sahara Negotiations, OSCE bargaining processes, the training of conflict managers, the development of the processes of interstate negotiations over the centuries, and the connection between negotiation and warfare are on the agenda. Training sessions in the European Union, the Middle East, the Balkans and East Asia are in the pipeline, as are many in-house workshops on the issue.

CIEP seminars and workshops

CIEP Seminar *Standard grids, smart grids, super grids: All the same, all different, complementary, not compatible?*

30 May 2007, The Clingendael Institute

Without any doubt, future electricity supply will look different than it does today. The traditional centralized power plants will be supplemented and possibly in part be replaced by more decentralised and/or sustainable forms of power generation. Different generation technologies have different demands with respect to network infrastructure. Distributed generation should in principle relieve transmission networks, whereas large windfarms might behave similar to conventional large-scale power plants, necessitating even larger transmission networks due to the fluctuating character of wind energy.

The seminar presented different visions on the future of the electricity grid in Europe and illustrated current challenges. Some main points can be summarised as follows: Grid adaptations usually take a long time to be implemented, around 5 - 10 years. Participants agreed that when Europe wants to make its energy system cleaner, it should, next to new generation technologies, focus on the design of the grid. A related issue is that still much uncertainty exists of what the new energy sources will be. It is likely that wind energy will play an increasing role into the future, but to which extent is equally unclear as the role of other technologies. Should the future grid contain a major offshore part connecting wind parks at sea to the shore as Airtricity proposes, or something completely different? Collaboration and information exchange between all actors involved will in any case be vital for a smooth transition towards a new European grid architecture and energy system.

CIEP Workshop *The Future of European Gas Pricing*

13 June 2007, De Malietoren, The Hague

Improved physical interconnections between gas markets on a global (LNG) as well as on a regional scale (e.g. BBL) increasingly integrate regions with different pricing philosophies. This opens up for instance opportunities for arbitrage between markets in which spot pricing and gas-to-gas competition dominate and markets in which indexation of gas prices against oil prices is widely applied. There are indications that arbitrage plays and the decreasing relevance

of oil products as substitutes for gas will slowly drive global gas pricing towards more and more spot pricing but the question remains. However, many stakeholders stress the benefits of oil-indexation and the question remains whether a combination of 'both worlds' will be possible. This issue has significant policy relevance as it is one example of the differences in perception between producer countries and consumer countries' policy makers. CIEP tries to increase the understanding about the consequences of various pricing mechanisms.

Various excellent studies have recently addressed natural gas pricing issues. The CIEP seminar on 13 June brought together various stakeholders to review the current debate and analyse the drivers that will determine future gas pricing mechanisms. A group of high-class industry experts presented their views on the relevant issues. Questions addressed during the seminar included for instance:

- What are the interests of the various stakeholders? Do they have preferences for certain pricing mechanisms and how powerful are they in pushing for their preferred option?
- Do different scenarios for gas pricing mechanisms yield different results with respect to upstream and midstream investments or with respect to global gas trade patterns?

The outcomes of the workshop will be incorporated in a CIEP study on this issue, which is underway.

CIEP Seminar 'Energy Scenarios, Energy Forecasts, Energy Policy, Energy Decisions'

18 June 2007, The Clingendael Institute

Energy policy and energy business require a long-term view on expected future trends in the energy system to facilitate decision-making. Energy scenarios offer quantitative views on future trends and are especially useful to manage uncertainty as they provide different outlooks to the future. The IEA's World Energy Outlook is a frequently used tool for policy and other decision-making. Numerous other energy scenarios exist, ranging from forecasts for individual countries to sophisticated models and studies by energy industry, research institutes and NGO's. There are differences in focus, time frame and policy options. Scenario making has become more sophisticated over the last twenty years and so has their relevance for decision makers. During the process of scenario development, many interactions are taking place between sce-

nario makers, experts and scenario users. However, use and abuse of scenarios have gone hand in hand.

During the seminar it became clear that scenario making is a complex and lengthy process, which often entails several years of preparations and calculations. Energy scenarios combine a large number of inputs like economic growth, demographic trends, oil and gas reserves, and technological progress to derive the picture of a possible future. Due to these complexities, the interpretation of scenarios requires a certain amount of caution. Interest groups, policy makers and the media have the tendency to use a scenario as a forecast without paying attention to the underlying assumptions. Moreover, the risk exists that only the desired results of a scenario are taken into account, leaving away the unwanted outcomes.

The benefit of a scenario approach is that it enables to discuss energy issues, while incorporating various relevant topics like economic development, demographic patterns, production and consumption patterns, climate change forecasts and technological development. In this way the scenario acts like a tool to align the discussion between various stakeholders.

The seminar was briefly summarised, indicating three different characteristics or types of scenario-making:

1. Scenarios and storylines in the more classical sense, where plausible and/or conceivable inherently consistent patterns are explored. "Out-of-the-box-thinking" is a dominant feature. Usually, but not necessarily, these storylines are supported by quantitative results based on sophisticated energy modelling. The storyline itself is the core of the message, supported by quantitative illustrations.
2. Forecasting of energy futures on the basis of a set realistic assumptions that are translated into quantitative outcomes. These assumptions can also be based on alternative policy approaches. These forecasts could also be based on probabilistic risk assessment techniques, where probabilities and impacts are further combined. The quantitative outcomes themselves are the core of the message.
3. An in itself desirable outcome is defined and translated into a plausible set of policy and other assumptions supporting the feasibility of the end results. The outcome is the core-message. Such approaches would therefore tend to have all sorts of back-casting characteristics.

Lectures at Clingendael



On 5 September 2006, the Clingendael Institute welcomed H.E. Mr. Ali Babacan, Minister of State in charge of Economy

and, since June 2005, the EU Chief Negotiator of Turkey. In his lecture, Mr. Babacan highlighted the topic of The Process of Negotiations: Turkey on the way to EU Accession.



On September 14, 2006, the Clingendael Institute had the honour of welcoming the Minister Delegate for Foreign Trade of France, H.E. Mme. Christine Lagarde, who delivered a speech entitled France, Europe and globalization. Mme Lagarde addressed the position of France in the world economy and in relation with the European Union, focusing on the attractiveness of the French economy in a globalized world.



The Institute of Social Studies and the Clingendael Institute, in close cooperation with the Embassy of the Republic of Bolivia, CEDLA, IMD, SID and Socires, had the honour of welcoming H.E. Mr. Evo Morales Ayma, President of the Republic of Bolivia on 27 November 2006. President Morales presented a lecture at the Institute of Social Studies, entitled A reform agenda for Bolivia in the light of current developments. Mr. Evo Morales was elected president in December 2005. Being an Aymara, he is the first indigenous president of Bolivia.



On 6 December, 2006, the Clingendael Institute opened its doors to welcome H.E Mr. Manouchehr Mottaki, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran, a position which he holds since 2005. During this occasion, Minister Mottaki presented a lecture, entitled Iran's Nuclear Policy.

In his speech, Minister Mottaki stressed Iran's aim for peaceful use of nuclear energy and its possibilities as conflict mediator in the region.



On January 31st, 2007, Armenian's Minister of Foreign Affairs, H.E. Mr. Vartan Oskanian, (photo left) honoured the Clingendael Institute with his presence. On this occasion Minister Oskanian, who has been in office since 1998, held a speech about Diplomacy of Small States. In his lecture, the Minister addressed the developments in Armenia, both political as well as on a socio-economic level, in relation to the European Union and wit-



Rodrigo de Rato (r.) and Sweder van Wijnbergen

hin the context of the region.

On March 29 the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, Mr. Rodrigo de Rato, presented a lecture entitled The World Poverty Agenda: how the IMF sees it. The lecture was held at the occasion of a roundtable with representatives of Dutch Parliament and Civil Society. The roundtable was chaired by Prof. Sweder van Wijnbergen. Afterwards a special meeting with the Press was held in the office of Clingendael's director Jaap W. de Zwaan.



Rodrigo de Rato during the briefing for the Press

Introducing...



Mirte van den Berge is a Junior Fellow at the Clingendael European Studies Programme (CESP). She holds a Masters degree in Political Science from Leiden

University, and is specialised in International Relations and European Integration. The subject of her Master's thesis is the dynamics of European integration in the area of asylum policy. Her research interest is in the areas of EU External Policy, Justice and Home Affairs, institutional dynamics and theories of integration. At CESP, Mirte van den Berge is involved in organizing training courses concerning EU-policy and decision-making for (government) officials in the Netherlands and abroad.



Jan-Hein Chrisstoffels is a CIEP Researcher as of January 2007. He holds a Master's

degree in Economics and Japanese studies, and studied and lived in the United States and Japan for several years. His previous work experience includes reporting for the Dutch financial daily *Het Financieele Dagblad*. Jan-Hein is currently involved in research on Japan's security of supply and Clingendael's Asia Studies project. He has a particular academic interest in the security of energy supply, as well as in Japan's position in East Asia.



Ko Colijn has joined Clingendael as senior visiting fellow at CSCP. He is a well known journalist and columnist to the *Vrij Nederland*

weekly and a regular commentator for Dutch/Belgian public news services. He was appointed to the Erasmus University of Rotterdam as professor in International Relations, specialising in global security issues, holding the chair of the Netherlands Society for International Affairs (NGIZ) at the University's Faculty of Social Sciences.



Virginie Duthoit is fellow with the CDSP. She coordinates courses and training programmes in

international relations for civil servants and diplomats. Before joining Clingendael full-time in September 2006, Virginie Duthoit worked at the French Secrétariat Général des Affaires Européennes' External Relations Division. Her portfolio included WTO issues and commercial relations of the EU. Prior to that position, Virginie Duthoit worked at the French Ministry of Defence as part of her curricular in the Ecole Polytechnique. Her interest is in intercultural relations, negotiation and European integration process.



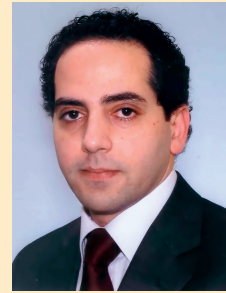
Bas Epskamp joined Clingendael as a member of the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme (CSDP) in June 2007. He coordinates the Dutch course

'Leergang Buitenlandse Betrekkingen', which serves as a comprehensive introduction to international relations and the particular position of the Netherlands. Before Clingendael, he studied international relations and philosophy at the University of Amsterdam and the New School University in New York. During his studies he also completed a minor in international economics and the 'Leergang Buitenlandse Betrekkingen' at Clingendael. His current research concentrates on the use of sanctions by multilateral institutions like the UN Security Council and the European Union.



Bibi van Ginkel has joined CSCP as senior fellow. She studied International Law at Utrecht University. She is currently

completing her PhD research on the role of the United Nations in combating terrorism. Her research focuses on the legal aspects of combating terrorism, human rights, public international law, and the United Nations system of collective security. She is also a member of the Committee on Peace and Security of the Advisory Council on International Affairs.



Atef Hamdy is Programme Officer for Clingendael's International Relations course for junior diplomats from Central Asia. Before joining Clingendael, he

worked at Universiteit van Amsterdam as a Junior Researcher for the 'Political Orientations of Muslims in the Netherlands' project. He also gave lectures on migration, radicalism and extremism for the International School for Sciences and Humanities. During his studies in the Netherlands, Atef specialised in International Relations, with a focus on migration and financial and environmental politics, and carried out research into the survival strategies of undocumented Egyptian migrants in Amsterdam.



Stijn van den Heuvel joined the CIEP as a Researcher in November 2006. He studied Economics (including

Environmental Economics) at the Free University in Amsterdam. During his studies, he took part in several internships on energy and sustainability in both the public and private sectors. These included a project with CARE Bolivia to assess the feasibility of solar-energy, water-pumping systems in the countryside. Before joining the CIEP, he spent 18 months working for a consulting company that advises on various types of change projects. At Clingendael, he is mainly involved in research on the energy markets in the European Union and on the CIEP theme 'Energy & Sustainable Development'.



Maaike Heijmans studied political science and Japanese at the University of Amsterdam and Leiden. She holds a second master's degree in

international relations from Waseda University in Tokyo. She has lived and studied in the United States, Hong Kong and Japan, and travelled extensively in (East) Asia since 1995. Before joining Clingendael, she worked at the Embassy

of Japan in The Hague. She has a particular academic interest in the political economy of the East Asian region. Her Asia-related research projects are on the political economy of East Asia, focusing on Japan's position in the region, economic diplomacy and state - non-state relations in East Asia. She also holds a special interest in consular affairs and diplomacy.



Warner ten Kate has been working at the Clingendael International Energy Programme since October 2006. His research focuses on security of energy

supply and geopolitics. Current projects comprise energy policies in the Eurasian region and the approach of the United States towards global energy markets. He has an MA in International Relations and International Organizations from Groningen University, obtained in 2006



Evert Kets is a Research Fellow with CRU. He has an MA in Modern Political History from the Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium and worked as an

African Affairs analyst at the Belgian Ministry of Defence (2003-2007), as journalist for TV-Brussel (1999-2003), as well as freelance journalist and history teacher (1997-1999). His expertise lies in the field of Security Sector Reform processes, Conflict & Security in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa, Journalism & Media, Belgian politics.



Marco Mezzera joined the Conflict Research Unit (CRU) of the Clingendael Security and Conflict Programme (CSCP) on 2 April 2007, as Research Fellow on

Governance and Democratisation. He holds an MSc in Rural Development Studies, specialising in Development Sociology. He acted as the Regional Coordinator for Asia and the Pacific at the European Center for Conflict Prevention (ECCP) in Utrecht. He has also worked as a consultant for the International Fund for Agricultural Development in Rome,

conducting a review of the Asia Pacific division's work in complex emergencies.



Nils de Mooij joined CDSP in March 2007 as a Programme Officer and Fellow. He holds a bachelor's degree in history and a master's in conflict

studies and human rights (cum laude), both attained at Utrecht University. For his master's degree, he undertook several months of independent research into the Ukrainian 2004 Orange Revolution in Kiev, in particular the role of the 'Yellow Pora' organisation. For CDSP, he will initially be working on the Indonesian diplomatic training project, also seeking to develop further expertise in the field of (diplomatic) simulation games.



Willem Post is a senior visiting fellow. He is a historian from Leiden University, specialised in American history and politics, as well as in diplomatic

history and international relations. Since the mid-eighties, Willem Post has frequently appeared as a national commentator on Dutch television and in other media. For instance during the evening/ night of the US-elections, the terrorist-attacks on 9/11 and the war in Iraq. He is an experienced lecturer on American foreign and security policy. At Clingendael Willem Post will focus on US foreign- and security policy.



Frans-Paul van der Putten joined Clingendael in January 2007 as CSCP Research Fellow for Clingendael Asia Studies. He is researching the

relevance of the rise of Asia for international security, with particular attention to the emergence of the Chinese state as a powerful actor in international relations. The international role of China, seen in the context of Japan's earlier rise and the widely expected rise of India, will be viewed in relation to three themes: Dutch

security policy, stability in East Asia and security in Africa. Frans-Paul studied History at Leiden University, with supporting courses in Sinology, and obtained his PhD in 2001. His thesis was published as *Corporate Behaviour and Political Risk: Dutch Companies in China, 1903-1941*.



Louise van Schaik has a Master's degree in Public Administration from Leiden University and is enrolled in the PhD programme of the

political science department of the Catholic University of Leuven. In her research and training activities at the Clingendael European Studies Programme Louise focuses on EU policy-making processes and their influence on policy outcomes, EU institutional reform and the way the EU operates in international negotiations on civilian issues, including trade, development, environment and health. Prior to joining Clingendael in 2006, Louise for four years was a Research Fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies, a renown Brussels-based think tank, where she published several policy relevant studies, policy briefs and commentaries and was involved in a variety of high-level international events.



Steven Schoofs joined Clingendael's Security and Conflict Programme (CSCP) in February last as a Research Fellow. During his studies at Wageningen University, he com-

pleted a free study programme that focused on international governance and politics. In 2006, he received his MSc degree with a Distinction. He also holds an MA degree in International Relations from Warwick University in the United Kingdom.

He has worked in Clingendael's Conflict Research Unit (CRU) before, first as an intern in 2004 and then as a research assistant during the first half of 2005. Within the CRU, he will be responsible for coordinating the AIDS, Security and Conflict Initiative (ASCI), which is a global research initiative convened by Clingendael and the Social Science Research Council.

Introducing...



Gijs de Vries joined Clingendael on 1 April 2007, as a Senior Fellow in the Clingendael European Studies Programme. His

research will focus on aspects of European security, including terrorism. From 2004-2007, Gijs de Vries served as the European Union's Counter-Terrorism Coordinator. Prior to this, he was a representative of the Dutch Government in the European Convention (2002-2003), the Dutch Deputy Minister of the Interior (1998-2002) and leader of the Liberal and Democratic Group in the European Parliament (1994-1998). Gijs de Vries is a member of the World Economic Forum's West Islamic World Dialogue (C-100). He is also an Advisory Board member and co-founder of the Transatlantic Policy Network.



Carien Westerveld is a member of the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme (CDSP). She coordinates courses and training

programmes in international relations for civil servants and diplomats. Before joining Clingendael full-time in January 2007, she did a traineeship at CDSP. Prior to that position Carien worked for the training department of the Royal Netherlands Army, where she was involved in international training programmes for UN officers. Also, Carien worked for the Netherlands Helsinki Committee and Amnesty International. Her current research interests are crisis diplomacy, ethnic conflict, and genocide.

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