



The Clingendael Newsletter

Photo by Clingendael

Clingendael: 25 Years Young A short history reflecting its past

The Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael' was founded on 3 January, 1983. It is the product of a series of mergers between various different organisations, which each explored international politics from different perspectives. The first merger took place after World War II between the smallest and oldest organisation, the Netherlands Society for International Legal Order (VIRO), and the Dutch Public Relations Office for the United Nations (VVN). The new organisation then merged with the Netherlands Society for International Relations (NGIZ), founded just after World War II. In the 1960s, the NGIZ Course on International Relations (LBB), which trains young attachés of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, navy officers and post-graduate students, also joined the Institute. Although the NGIZ officially merged with Clingendael, it still flourishes as an independent group, with only its secretariat based at the Institute. The indirect successor of the VVN, the Netherlands Society for the United Nations (NVVN), operates in a similar way. The third merger in the history of Clingendael was with the Defence Study Centre (DSC), which was founded in the 1950s to provide courses on international security. And the fourth and final merger was with the Netherlands Institute for Peace Issues (NIVV), which came into being during the 1960s and focused mainly on research. As the NIVV was the largest of the organisations that formed the Institute, its director, Professor Henk Neuman, became Clingendael's first Director, leading its staff of 42 people from 1983 until 1990.

The resulting organisation was divided into three departments, namely Research,

Education and Public Relations, while the libraries of the merging organisations were combined into one. The Internationale Spectator (IS), a journal that had previously been published by the NGIZ, became the institute's sole monthly publication until the new millennium, when it was joined by a new journal, the Hague Journal of Diplomacy (HJD). When Professor Neuman left the post of Director in 1990, Professor Joris Voorhoeve took up the position, holding it until 1994. During this time, Clingendael expanded, instigated by the fall of the Berlin Wall. This event enabled people from Central and Eastern Europe, as well as Central Asia, to access the Institute, prompting the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs to fund scores of new diplomatic courses for those areas. This Ministry is still the main funding provider for the Institute, followed by the Ministry of Defence. The Ministry of Education also provided a large proportion of funds in the past, with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs taking over their responsibility during Professor Voorhoeve's directorship. Professor Alfred van Staden became Director in 1995, staying on until 2005. During this time, two new sections were added to the institute: the Conflict Research Unit (CRU) and the Clingendael International Energy Programme (CIEP). The CRU is funded by the Development Cooperation General Directorate of Foreign Affairs, and the CIEP by various Dutch energy companies and governmental Ministries. Towards the end of Professor Van Staden's directorship, Clingendael transformed the Research and Education Departments into three 'programmes', where research and training go hand in hand: the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme (CDSP),

the Clingendael European Studies Programme (CESP) and the Clingendael Security and Conflict Programme (CSCP).

In 2005, Professor Jaap de Zwaan became the fourth Director of Clingendael, taking over an institute that had more than doubled in staff and turnover since 1983, while the management and financial structure needed some refurbishing. One of his initiatives is the launch of Clingendael Asian Studies (CAS), which integrates the work concerning the Far East, notably China, undertaken by the other programmes. Under Professor De Zwaan's leadership, the Institute is now celebrating its 25th anniversary through conferences, a jubilee book, an art exhibition and many other events: the Internationale Spectator has already published a special jubilee issue. This January, the Chairman of the Board, Dr Bernard Bot, along with Clingendael's Director, opened the festivities in front of the *Corps Diplomatique* and many other guests. Bernard Bot is the fifth President of the organisation, following Hans van den Broek, Ruud Lubbers, Schelto Patijn, and the Baron Van Linden. Each of these men has had the honour of helping to fulfil the dream of at that time Dutch Minister of Defence and former WEU Secretary General Willem van Eekelen: to create a Dutch institute that matches the great think tanks and diplomatic academies of the world in reflecting on global events.

Paul Meerts, Co-chair of the Jubilee Committee

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Reconnecting Europe with its citizens

On 30 November 2007, the Clingendael European Studies Programme hosted a round-table seminar to introduce the English-language version of 'Rediscovering Europe in the Netherlands'. The report investigated current key issues such as 'How to reconnect Europe with its citizens' and 'How national politicians can move beyond negative debates on subsidiarity, "red lines" or the costs of EU membership, and discuss the EU positively'. CESP research fellow Mendeltje van Keulen contributed to the report, which was issued by the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR).

The seminar brought some 35 academics and policy makers from institutes and universities across Europe to Clingendael to explore the WRR report, which provides clear insight into general legitimacy problems through an exploration of the particularities of the Dutch case. In her keynote speech, **Professor Vivien Schmidt** of Boston University, and author of 'Democracy in Europe', described how member-state governments now struggle with both political and public discussions on European integration as a consequence of rising public anxiety

about a diverse range of policy issues, such as immigration, inflation and welfare arrangements.

The current challenge is to initiate an appealing discourse on Europe without seeking recourse to populism and polarisation. Perhaps politicisation in Brussels is being encouraged by the new treaty arrangements for selecting the Commission President, but the main challenge lies at the national level.

Professor Brigid Laffan of University College Dublin examined this issue from a comparative perspective. In Ireland, where eight referenda on EU issues have taken place, EU discussions are more lively and focused. However, she did warn that national governments should never call referenda lightly – as the Dutch experience in 2005 demonstrated. Occasional referenda can only complement 'normal' day-to-day discussions on EU policies within Cabinet and parliament.

Parliamentary involvement in EU issues has recently

improved, although discussing the EU largely remains the preserve of members of the parliamentary Europe Committee. Also, there is still a lot of scope for civil society organisations to become more involved in these discussions. Constitutional checks and balances, as well as new forms of deliberative and digital democracy may also help in reconnecting EU politics with citizens. But, as was concluded in the session chaired by **Professor Beate Kohler-Koch** of Mannheim University, a lot depends on the actual output delivered by the EU, and on the way politicians take responsibility for how EU cooperation works in practice.



Celebrating the 'How to Operate in Brussels' Course!

Since 2002, the two-week training course entitled 'How to Operate in Brussels' (HOB), which is open to potential participants from new member states of the European Union, has been the flagship course of the Clingendael European Studies Programme. September 2007, young diplomats took part in the tenth HOB course to be organised in the Netherlands. The course, commissioned on behalf of Dutch governmental organisation EVD/Cross and financially supported by the MATRA programme of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has taken place twice a year since its inception, with one additional event organised in Poland several years ago.

Over the years, more than 1000 young diplomats have attended the ten events, and EVD/Cross and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs together with the Clingendael Institute are now planning a special celebratory version of the course for 2008. This event will be an intensive one-week follow-up course to which 50 alumni will be invited. The main objective of the HOB course is to acquaint participants with effective ways of representing national interests in the EU. The course proved to be highly successful right from the very beginning. For each new intake, Clingendael received over five times more applications than places available. In addition, the course

has received excellent course reviews and many EU countries have introduced it as a new requirement for their young diplomats. Now, if they want to become active in the European arena, many young diplomats first have to attend the course. In fact, they often can only get a posting at their country's permanent representation after successfully completing an HOB course. As a result, the number of course alumni in Brussels has risen tremendously.

As of 2007, the course is no longer open to participants from member states that joined the EU in 2004, but only to the two countries that joined 2007, candidate countries and potential candidate countries. The participants in the two 2007 HOB courses came from Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia and Turkey. Although the number of eligible countries has decreased, which meant that the number of places available was reduced from 100 to 50, the course's popularity remained as high as before, with the number of applications far exceeding the number of places available.



Some of the participants at the tenth HOB course following a simulation of a council working group, including course co-ordinator Rob Boudewijn, who is sitting behind the table on the right.

Start of “25 Years Clingendael”

On February 17th, a reception was held, which marked the start of the 25th Anniversary Year of the Clingendael Institute. This Anniversary will be celebrated throughout 2008 with a series of events organized by all Programmes of the Clingendael Institute.



Clingendael's Chairman of the Board, dr. Bernard Bot (2nd left), together with Clingendael Director Prof. Jaap de Zwaan (on his right) welcoming guests during the reception on the occasion of the Institute's 25th Anniversary.



Dr. Bernard Bot delivering his speech regarding 25 Years Clingendael



Former Clingendael Chairman of the Board, mr. Hans van den Broek (l.), together with mr. Jan Willem Bertens and former Board member Baroness Margareth de Vos van Steenwijk



Dr. Bernard Bot (l.) together with former minister mr. Atzo Nicolai



Former Mayor of The Hague, mr. Wim Deetman (r.), with Mr. Melchior Bus of the Dutch ministry of the Interior.

Alumni Course at Clingendael



Participants and Clingendael staff of the alumni course "Effective Diplomacy: International Presence & Support in post-conflict situations" for diplomats from the Balkans (26-30 November 2007)

The sixth alumni course for diplomats from the Balkans dealt with the very current issue of post-conflict resolution and reconstruction and the involvement of the international community in this process. Former Special Representative for the UN to Darfur Jan Pronk officially opened the course with a speech on "Serving the people in post-conflict areas" in which he elaborated on the lessons he learned from personal observations. Among other important ideas mentioned by Mr Pronk was the warning that one size does not, in fact, fit all and that conflict resolution and reconstruction is a long-term process that takes generations. Mr Pronk also asserted that root causes must be addressed and that the UN needs an integrated approach in its coordination. The course programme offered insights into the different phases of post-conflict resolution: firstly, guaranteeing security and stability; secondly, establishing governance structures and rule of law; and thirdly, undertaking social and economic reconstruction. All the academics, policy-makers, diplomats and other professionals participating in the course shared their knowledge and experiences. Among these

experts was a former Dutch Ambassador to Bosnia Herzegovina and Colonel of the Dutch Armed Forces, as well as the Director of Good Governance of the OSCE's mission within UNMIK. The Clingendael staff members from the Conflict Research Unit offered their in-depth knowledge as they discussed several cases of interest, including East Timor, Africa's Great Lakes Region and Southern Sudan. With the UN deadline for the negotiations on the future status of Kosovo rapidly approaching, this matter, inevitably, was also included in the programme. Through a simulation game based on the Kosovo negotiations, the participants experienced the difficulties of conflict resolution. The traditional group visit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was widely appreciated, was an appropriate setting for an expert seminar on the Western Balkans. The Clingendael Institute was able to offer its alumni this excellent platform for dialogue and an exchange of views thanks to the MFA's MATRA Programme. The next alumni course for diplomats scheduled in the Clingendael training programme will take place in November 2008.

GUAM Seminar

On 10 December 2007, the Clingendael Institute and the Embassy of Azerbaijan in The Hague organised a seminar promoting GUAM, the Organisation on Democracy and Economic Development, to mark the 10th anniversary of this international organisation. GUAM was established on 10 October 1997 by the presidents of Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova at a Council of Europe Summit in Strasbourg, and on 23 May 2006 it became a fully fledged regional organisation, with headquarters in Kyiv, Ukraine. The seminar was officially opened by the Ambassadors of the four member states, who each delivered a speech on the purpose and goals of the organisation. GUAM pursues regional cooperation in the field of economics, politics, energy security, democracy and rule of law. It looks for close cooperation between states and, in particular, with the European Union. Relations with the EU and NATO were also discussed among a panel of experts at the seminar.



Many areas with potential for closer cooperation, particularly with regard to energy security, were highlighted. The audience consisted of diplomats, civil servants, academics, representatives of the business community and journalists. This celebration of the 10th anniversary of GUAM certainly fulfilled the aim of promoting the organisation, and the programme ended with a warm and friendly reception serving wines, vodka, cognac and black caviar from the region.



Conference on capacity building in Jakarta

In November 2007, a conference was held in Jakarta regarding capacity building in diplomatic training for Asian and African countries. The Clingendael Institute's participation was part of the cooperation between Clingendael and the Centre for Education and Training of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Ron Ton, Director of Diplomatic Training at the Clingendael Institute (left) and Ambassador Boer Mauna of Indonesia.

Mid-Career Diplomats Indonesia

In November 2007, the fourth (and first 'new') course for Mid-Career diplomats from Indonesia was held. Focusing on the specific position of the Mid-Career diplomat within the Indonesian foreign civil service, a variety of workshops, lectures and training sessions dealt with topics ranging from 'dealing with the media' to inter-departmental communication, and from 'new security threats' to diplomatic law. Working visits in the Hague and Brussels as well as the social programme complemented the programme at the institute, which was kicked off by official words of welcome by the Indonesian ambassador to the Netherlands, Mr. J.E. Habibie. The Mid-Careers were one of the first groups to make use of Clingendael's cosy



new lodgings, the 'Arendsdorp' service apartments, which the participants seemed to enjoy, and not only because of the mere

fifteen-minute walk (or five-minute bus ride) to the Institute. Pictured are the sixteen participants, Clingendael director of training Ron Ton (front row, middle), Clingendael fellow Henriëtte den Ouden (on his side, viewer left), embassy staff members Dr. Siswo Pramono (viewer right) and Ms. Muniroh Rahim (first right), and Clingendael fellow and course coordinator Nils de Mooij, at the back.

Policy Advisors Kosovo at Clingendael

A two-week programme for young policy advisors from Kosovo dealing with

international and European affairs was organised in September 2007. Although



Kosovo's future status remains uncertain, the importance of cooperation with and integration within the European Union is paramount to the region, as is a solid understanding of the art of diplomacy to its civil servant representatives.

The course therefore consisted of lectures, workshops and working visits offering both a thorough examination of the EU's accession, neighbourhood and foreign policies (at the Institute and in Brussels), as well as lessons in diplomatic skills, by way of protocol, lobbying and negotiation training and a workshop on language and diplomacy. Participants also showed their networking talents during the social programme, with the intercultural evening with diplomats from Eastern Europe even featuring a live exchange of folk songs. Pictured are the fifteen participants, with Head of the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme, Prof. dr. Jan Melissen (third row, second right) and Clingendael fellow and course coordinator Nils de Mooij (second row, first left).

Leergang Buitenlandse Betrekkingen celebrates its 40th anniversary

Last Autumn, from September until December, the Clingendael Institute, as part of its Diplomatic Studies Programme, held the 62nd 'Leergang Buitenlandse Betrekkingen' (Course on Foreign Relations), which brought an impressive range of speakers and trainers to the Institute. Since the course was first taught in 1967, it has provided many recent university graduates and young professionals with a comprehensive introduction to foreign relations and important developments in international relations. To celebrate the fact that this, the 62nd

time that the course was held, was also its 40th anniversary, it was opened with a speech from the former Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozias van Aartsen. Various alumni of the last few years and Clingendael staff members also attended the opening ceremony, and over the 12 weeks of the course, a large number of speakers from academic institutions, civil society, political and diplomatic circles gave their views on a great variety of issues. These issues were grouped together according to set themes, one for each week, which ranged from 'develop-

ments in the European Union', 'international justice' and 'international security' to 'conflict and reconstruction'. In addition to these lectures and discussions, participants took part in many different interactive training exercises. These were aimed at developing those skills needed in an international setting, such as presentation skills, writing techniques and negotiation skills. The course was concluded with a two-day simulation of EU procedures, during which numerous pressing European policy options were discussed and negotiated.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation: Towards a full-grown security alliance?

by Lt Col Dr Marcel de Haas (ed.)

On 12 December 2007, the third publication in the Clingendael Security Paper series was officially presented at a Clingendael Security and Conflict Programme (CSCP) seminar, which was held at the Frederik Barracks function centre in The Hague.

This Clingendael paper analyses several different aspects of the security policy of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), particularly recent changes to it, and their possible implications. The SCO is a regional international

alliance, or actually nothing more than ad-hoc events.

Recently some remarkable developments have taken place in the area of the SCO's security policy. For example, in August 2007, military exercises and a political summit of the Heads of State were held in the area simultaneously, the first time these two events coincided. Other recent examples of an intensified military-political security cooperation include the *de facto* application of a 'military assistance' concept in the 'Peace Mission 2007' drills; the

The SCO still lacks a considerable number of the elements that are essential to becoming a mature security institution, and SCO member states and observers differ widely on many issues, such as political and economic interests. Nevertheless, the extent of these recent security policy developments mean that we can no longer exclude the possibility that they represent cautious developments towards a full-grown security organisation. However, if this is the aim of the SCO member states, such a development will still take a considerable number of years before the SCO can truly be described as the 'NATO of the East'.

During the seminar on December 12, the conclusions of the Security Paper No.3 were introduced to the audience by the editor, Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Marcel de Haas, who presented the first copy of the publication to Dr. Jamie Shea, Director of Policy Planning at the Office of the Secretary General of NATO. After the response by Dr. Shea on NATO's views on the SCO, the Deputy Ambassador of the embassy of China, Mr. Zhang Daxing, the Political Advisor of the embassy of Russia, Mr. Aleksandr Rilov and the Counsellor of the embassy of Kazakhstan, Mr. Aidar Shakenov, conveyed the views of their respective countries on the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. In conclusion, a discussion with the panel speakers was conducted on the basis of questions from the audience.



Lt Col Dr Marcel de Haas and Dr Jamie Shea at the presentation of the Clingendael Security Paper.

organisation of which China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan are member states, and Mongolia, Iran, Pakistan and India are observer states. Because the organisation encompasses a considerable territory in and around Central Asia, as well as a large part of the world population, energy resources, nuclear arms and significant armed forces, theoretically it has formidable economic, political and military potential.

The questions that this paper addresses center on the issue of whether changes in the SCO's security policy should be regarded as the beginnings of a movement towards becoming a solid military-political

intensifying relationship between the SCO and the Russian-led Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO); the signing of a structural arrangement for joint military exercises; and the development of threat-response and conflict-prevention mechanisms.

In addition to military-political issues, the need for energy security, which is being increasingly identified as a vital element of any security policy, is given greater emphasis by the SCO. In July 2007, the 'SCO Energy Club' was established, which may act as a forum for defining a common energy approach and, above all, for strengthening energy security in the region.

Marcel de Haas is a Senior Research Fellow with the Clingendael Security and Conflict Programme.

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CIEP Future Fuels Seminar

A hydrogen economy in the EU: Realistic solution or distant dream?

The Clingendael Institute, The Hague

On 1 November 2007, CIEP held a seminar on the possibilities and drawbacks of the development of hydrogen fuel technology in the EU. It was the fifth seminar in CIEP's Future Fuels series, which looks at fuels and technologies that may aid the transition to a more sustainable energy sector.

Previous seminars covered gas-to-liquid conversion, biofuels, nuclear energy and clean coal technologies.

The 'hydrogen economy' is often presented as a solution for a future global low-carbon energy sector. However, there are still many fundamental questions around the application of this energy carrier: Why should we use hydrogen? How does it compare to possible alternatives? What have been the technical possibilities and practical experiences so far? What are the possible drawbacks? What are the present policies, and what policies are still needed for a large-scale application of hydrogen? The seminar examined these and other questions in order to consider the extent to which hydrogen is a promising new energy source for the future.

Speakers in the seminar were **Lucia van Geuns** (CIEP), **Frank Schnitzeler** (Shell), **Kas Hemmes** (Delft University of Technology), **Frank Denys** (SenterNovem), **Barry Solomon** (Michigan Technological University), **Bent Sorensen** (Roskilde University) and **Donald Pols** (WWF). The seminar was chaired by **Kees van der Klein** (ECN).

Clingendael Energy Lecture An appeal for a sustainable renaissance By H.E. Jacqueline Cramer



Huys Clingendael, The Hague

On 1 October 2007, H.E. Jacqueline Cramer, Dutch Minister of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment, gave a Clingendael Energy Lecture on 'Balancing Energy and Environmental Policy-making.' Minister Cramer started off with a broad appeal to the audience for a 'sustainable renaissance', after which she outlined further details on the Dutch government's ambitious project *Clean and Green* (Schoon en zuinig), which aims to kick-start this renaissance.

Clean and Green aims to reduce Dutch carbon emissions by 30% by 2020, make renewable energy a 20% share of all energy by 2020, and increase energy efficiency by 2% annually from now on. These ambitious targets will require substantial efforts from the energy industry, but also from other sectors of the economy.

Clean and Green is based on three I's: Inspiration, Innovation, and Implementation. These are seen as necessary in order to realise three 'waves' of sustainability. The first wave will consist

of the implementation of technologies that are currently available and immediately required. The second wave will prepare further technologies and policies that will increase efficiency even further. The third wave will consist of far-reaching innovations that will develop long-term options, such as energy-producing greenhouses, carbon capture and sequestration. The government will have to develop policies to tailor to each wave's requirements. The policies will consist of pricing carbon emissions via the European Trading Scheme (ETS); increased efficiency standards for lighting, appliances and automobiles; temporary subsidies for sustainable energy; European and global diplomacy; and innovation programmes. The government will take a sector-by-sector approach, whereby sustainability agreements will be developed separately with each of the various sectors in the economy.

The Minister emphasised the need for strengthening international frameworks if we are to successfully complete the necessary transition to more sustainable energy systems. A key factor for success will be the involvement of all international stakeholders in the process. For Dutch policy, the European Union will be of unquestionable importance since EU environmental policy determines about 80% of Dutch environmental policy. The Dutch government must strengthen its environmental diplomacy towards Brussels by striking coalitions with like-minded countries such as the United Kingdom and Germany. The Dutch sustainable renaissance will have to be transformed into a European renaissance if it will have a chance at success.



Clingendael Energy Lunch 'Energy Diplomacy: Russia and the World'

by Stanislav Zhiznin

On 15 October 2007, the Clingendael International Energy Programme (CIEP) hosted the Clingendael Energy Lunch at the Crowne Plaza Europe Hotel in Brussels. At the meeting, Professor Stanislav Z. Zhiznin, President of the Center of Energy Diplomacy and Geopolitics in Moscow, presented his new book 'Energy Diplomacy: Russia and the World', which was co-published by CIEP.

Mr Andrey Smorodin, Deputy Director of the Department of Economic Cooperation in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, began the speeches with an opening address that set out his views on Russia's foreign energy policy, in particular focusing on the energy relations between Russia and the European Union. Following Mr Smorodin's speech, Professor Zhiznin introduced his recently published book on this topic, summarising his main findings for the audience.

He then presented a first edition of his book to Mr Christian Cleutinx, who holds both the position of Director of Nuclear

Safeguards at the EU Directorate-General for Transport and Energy as well as the position of Director of the EU-Russia Energy Dialogue. Mr Cleutinx, in turn, reflected upon recent developments in EU-Russian energy relations and the prospects for cooperation in the future. During a brief question and answer session, Professor Zhiznin fielded questions on various aspects of Russia's energy policy.

Het Witte Huis (The White House)

by Willem Post
(only available in Dutch)

In *Het Witte Huis* Willem Post raises the question of whether the American light really has dimmed. When George Bush began his presidency in January 2001, the United States was at the peak of its fame – during the 1990s the country was referred to as the 'new Roman Empire'.

As a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the 'counterbalance' between the two superpowers ended. Bush was a typical 'country-president', who withdrew the US from many international treaties with lightening speed. Even before '9/11', he was already being labelled a neo-isolationist. With their new anti-missile shield, the United States was supposed to be invulnerable to attacks from rogue states. However, '9/11' and the wars that followed showed that the United States had not become invulnerable at all. The country was confronted with its own boundaries and limits. Where the downfall of the Roman Empire had taken several centuries, the 'collapse' of this modern superpower took place in no time at all. After the 'American Century' will there now be an 'Asian Century'? Or will the United States show its resilience under the leadership of a newly elected president?



Willem Post, Senior Visiting Fellow with the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme, comments on all these developments in his new book.

Price € 14.95. For further details, please contact Uitgeverij Aspekt (www.uitgeverijaspekt.nl)

Award for Adriaan Schout of CESP



Being a think tank in international affairs, Clingendael is happy to report on an international academic award that has been given to one of its senior faculty members. Adriaan Schout, senior research fellow at the Clingendael European Studies Programme, together with his co-author Professor Andrew Jordan, received the prestigious award of 'Best Book in European Studies' for their book *The Coordination of the European Union: Exploring the Capacities of Networked Governance* (Oxford University Press, 2006, ISBN 0-19-9286957). This prize, which was organised by the University Association for Contemporary European Studies, was awarded during a special ceremony held on the 19th century battleship HMS 'Warrior', moored at Portsmouth (UK). The book was praised by the jury for raising major political-science related questions about the future development of European governance. The authors were congratulated for their clear analysis drawing on a rich empirical study focusing on EU environmental policy and the coordination it now requires at, and between, the various levels of governance in the emerging European administrative reality.

The judges considered the book to be a 'model of clarity, with a tightly argued thesis and structure,' and predicted that it was destined to become 'a standard reference book across disciplines'. The jury also thought that it demonstrated 'how well [the field of European political science] can function as a conduit for ideas that refer across academic areas and disciplines: Andrew Jordan and Adriaan Schout's work is relevant for all scholars of contemporary public policy and governance.'

First Lady of the Ukraine, Mme Kateryna Yushchenko, visits Clingendael

On 9 December 2007, the Clingendael Institute had the honour of welcoming Mme Kateryna Yushchenko, First Lady of Ukraine and Head of the Supervisory Board of the Ukraine 3000 International Charitable Fund. Also in attendance were Oleksandr Kupchyshyn, the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine, the Ambassador's wife, and the Chairman of the Ukraine 3000 Fund and his advisor.

Mme Yushchenko (photo r. centre) met with the Institute's Director, Professor Jaap de Zwaan, and representatives of the Clingendael Diplomatic and European Studies Programmes. They discussed the cooperation between Clingendael and various Ukrainian universities, which started in 1992.



Professor Jaap de Zwaan told the Ukrainian guests about the Clingendael educational programmes in which Ukrainian students are taking part. He revealed that, during the period of the Institute's and the Universities' cooperation, over 40 professionals from the Ukraine had visited Clingendael.

In June 2006, a Ukraine-Netherlands round table was held at the Institute, at which delegates discussed many issues, including cooperation between the two countries; the Ukraine's cooperation with the European Union, which partly takes place within the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy; the Ukraine's European priorities after the election; the possibilities of further expansion of the EU; and prospects for the Ukraine's membership of the European Union.

Following a tour of the Institute, Mme Yushchenko thanked the Clingendael management and faculty members for their longstanding cooperation with the Ukraine and voiced her approval of the Institute's policy aimed at supporting the Ukraine's European aspirations. In their turn, the Clingendael representatives expressed their desire to expand the list of Ukrainian educational institutions working with the Institute.

Foreign Minister of Albania at Clingendael



Minister Basha (r.) after his speech at Clingendael with director Jaap de Zwaan.

On 8 January last the Clingendael Institute had the honour of welcoming H.E. Mr. Lulzim Basha, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania. On this occasion Mr. Basha presented a lecture, entitled *Euro – Atlantic Integration: South-East Europe's Challenge*.

Mr. Basha was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs of Albania in May 2007. He has graduated from Utrecht University with a Masters Degree in European and International Public Law.

Introducing...



Leontine Specker

Leontine Specker joined Clingendael as a Research Fellow for the Conflict Research Unit in 2007. She holds a Master of Law in Public

International Law from Leiden University and a Master of Professional Studies (summa cum laude) in International Relations and Human Rights from the University of Auckland, New Zealand. Her specific interests within these fields of study are state responsibility, international human rights and peace processes. At CRU she is primarily involved in programmes related to security and post-conflict reconstruction. Her fields of expertise are judicial analysis, state responsibility and African conflicts. She is currently involved in projects regarding socio-economic (post-conflict) reconstruction, and the Stability Assessment Framework (SAF).

Leontine Specker is also a member of the United Netherlands Delegation 2006-2007 to Harvard MUN 2007 and Oxford MUN 2006, as well as a member of the New Zealand Institute of Foreign Affairs (since 2005).

Henriëtte den Ouden

As a fellow of the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme (CDSP), Henriëtte den Ouden coordinates the Dutch



Leergang Internationaal Beleid course for policy officials of the Ministry of Agriculture, and also plans training programmes in international relations for foreign diplomats. She has an MSc in Business Administration as well as an MA in Euroculture, both from Groningen University. Before joining Clingendael in August 2007, Henriëtte den Ouden was a lecturer in International Relations at Groningen University. Prior to that, Henriëtte coordinated educational programmes within Heineken. She also lived in Asia for several years, specifically in Singapore, where she worked in various marketing and management positions.

Her current research interests are in the area of EU-China relations. Her areas of expertise are EU-China relations and education management.



Brian Hocking

Brian Hocking (BA, MA, PhD) is a Senior Visiting Fellow in Clingendael's Diplomatic Studies Programme.

He is Professor of

International Relations in the Department of Politics, International Relations and European Studies at Loughborough University, United Kingdom, and has taught at universities in Australia, the USA and Europe.

His research is particularly concerned with the interaction between domestic and international forces during the implementation of foreign and foreign economic policy, and the impact of globalisation on the nature and organisation of diplomacy.

Brian Hocking's current projects relate to innovation in diplomacy, which includes multi-stakeholder models, global governance and the interaction between business, NGOs, governmental agencies and civil society in trade diplomacy. The British Academy is currently funding a project on changing forms of diplomatic representation, and the Canadian government, together with the Foundation for Canadian Studies in the United Kingdom, is funding a project entitled 'Change and Innovation in Diplomacy: the Canadian and UK experiences'.

He has close working links with a number of institutions active in the field of foreign policy and diplomacy, and has organised and participated in a large number of international conferences over the last ten years. The projects which Brian Hocking is currently involved in are 'Change and innovation in diplomatic structures: the Canadian and UK experiences'; 'Changing models of diplomatic representation; Diplomacy for the 21st Century' (book for Cambridge University Press) and 'Trade, non-governmental organisations and the Geneva "diplomatic space"'. Apart from as holding the position of Professor of International Relations at Loughborough University, Brian Hocking

is the Co-Director of the Centre for the Study of International Governance, and Associate Editor of *the Hague Journal of Diplomacy*.



Paul Sharp

Paul Sharp is visiting Senior Fellow in Clingendael's Diplomatic Studies Programme.

He obtained his PhD in Political Studies at Queen's University, Canada, in 1984 and is Professor and Head of Political Science at the University of Minnesota, Duluth. He is also Co-Editor of *the Hague Journal of Diplomacy*. His research interests cover diplomatic theory and international theory. Two of his co-edited books are 'The Diplomatic Corps as an Institution of International Society' and 'The International Thought of Herbert Butterfield' published by Palgrave in 2007-8. Paul Sharp is now also completing a singly authored study on diplomatic theory. His future research in association with Clingendael will focus on the diplomacy of 'rogue states'. As part of a larger book project, he is preparing a paper for the Clingendael Diplomacy Papers on rogue-state diplomacy, focusing on Iran's nuclear energy policy.

Paul Sharp is currently involved in a project related to diplomatic theory and international theory: 'Outlaw Diplomacy and Diplomacy and Appeasement: International Society's response to the Iranian nuclear energy programme'.

Paul Sharp is also co-series-editor of Palgrave-Macmillan's Diplomacy and International Relations; a member of the Editorial Board of International Studies Perspectives; as well as being on the Editorial Board of Diplomacy and Statecraft.

Tom Smeenk

Tom Smeenk has been a researcher at the Clingendael International Energy Programme (CIEP) since October 2007.

He holds a Master's degree in Economics and another in International Relations,



both from Groningen University. Before joining CIEP he wrote his Master's thesis on Russian gas in Europe during an internship at N.V. Nederlandse Gasunie. He is a member of the Young Society of the Royal Holland Society of Sciences and Humanities in Haarlem.

His research at CIEP explores the international economic and geopolitical aspects of the gas markets with a particular focus on Russia. His main project is an investigation into the investment policy of the Russian gas industry in the midstream and downstream in Europe.



Marianne Rogier

Marianne Rogier joined the Clingendael Institute on a full time basis in January 2008. As a senior fellow, she coordinates

training programmes and courses in international relations for diplomats and civil servants and conducts research in (multilateral) diplomacy. Before joining Clingendael, she was a guest teacher and internship coordinator at Leiden University (political science department), where she was in particular involved in the Master programme 'International Relations and Diplomacy'.

She had previously been involved in diplomatic training programmes in Geneva (CASIN and PSIO) and worked as a consultant or fellow for international organisations (International Organization for Migration (IOM), NATO).

While working on her Ph.D. she also undertook numerous electoral field missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina (on behalf of the OSCE). She also lived and taught French for foreigners for 18 months in Singapore.

Think Global, Act Local: Honorary Consuls in a Transforming Diplomatic World *by Kevin D. Stringer*

Consular diplomacy is taking on ever-increasing importance in the globalised economy and society, and may emerge as a more significant component of diplomatic power in comparison to the more traditional form of diplomacy exercised by embassies. Consular diplomacy can be defined as diplomacy conducted via consulates and consular representatives that focuses on the classical activities of visa functions, citizen services, representation, and issues of trade, tourism, and investment promotion between countries, localities, organisations, and individuals. This paper concentrates on the understudied subject of honorary consuls and their conduct of trade, tourism and investment promotion. Firstly, it seeks to highlight how states are using honorary consuls to extend their network and increase consular coverage. Secondly, this paper gives an overview of why localities, regions and municipal hubs are increasingly more important than national capitals in terms of business and commerce, and thus require an honorary consular presence. Thirdly, it demonstrates how selected nations are using honorary consuls to develop their economies. The conclusion looks at some of the unresolved research questions concerning the value of honorary consuls

to trade and investment promotion, in particular the link between assigning honorary consuls the task of promoting trade, tourism and investment, and their actual effectiveness in this role.

Dr Kevin D. Stringer is an international banker and adjunct Professor of Security Studies at the Baltic Defence College in Estonia. He holds a PhD in Political Science/International Relations from the University of Zurich, an MA in International Relations from Boston University, and a BSc in Military History from the US Military Academy. He has served as a diplomat and military officer. His interests in diplomatic research focus on consular diplomacy, the diplomacy of autonomous regions, and the diplomacy and economics of microstates. Email: kevin-douglas.stringer@ubs.com

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Japan's Economic Diplomacy towards China: The Lure of Business and the Burden of History *by Maaïke Okano-Heijmans*

Intrinsically, economic diplomacy is a product of internal pressures. It is positioned at the intersection of politics and economics, of the international and the domestic, and of government and other actors. Collective memory profoundly shapes Japanese identity, thereby directly and indirectly affecting Japan's economic diplomacy. In fact, there is a popular saying, 'cold politics, hot economics', which for many years was used to characterise Japanese-Chinese relations. What, then, are the truths and myths behind this catchphrase?

Collective memory has intervened markedly in Japan's economic diplomacy throughout the last decade, especially in periods of transition, when national

anxiety levels were rising. China's rise at the time of a domestic downturn in Japan's economy and China's accession to the WTO were two such periods. In this paper, Maaïke Okano-Heijmans analyses this process at three levels. First, changes at the multilateral level have the potential to inflate historical problems and undermine generally positive economic relations. This is illustrated by the China factor in Japan's regional diplomacy. Second, collective memory intervenes in economic diplomacy at the bilateral level, particularly in generally predetermined, as well as ongoing, negotiations. For example, the stalling of summit meetings and the slow-down in economic negotiations during Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi's tenure

are cases in point. Third, at the domestic level, occurrences in the political field have the potential to enhance disputes and developments over historical issues. Here, politicians' personal choices and the influence of the general public, as well as of a relatively small but influential group of politically powerful lobby groups, are of the utmost importance.

Okano-Heijmans argues that actors engaged in Japan's economic diplomacy don't seem to be sufficiently aware of, or able to shape, these processes.

Maaike Okano-Heijmans is a Research Fellow in the Clingendael Institute's Diplomatic Studies Programme and Clingendael Asia Studies. Her main research interests are currently Japan's foreign policy and political economy, and Japan's role within the East Asian region.
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Commercial Diplomacy in Advanced Industrial States: Canada, the UK and the US *by Alexandre Mercier*

Commercial diplomacy is an elusive concept that is often confused with economic diplomacy. In summary, the term 'commercial diplomacy' refers to the work done by a government to promote both exports and inward investment. In addition, although governments play a major role, they do not act alone: the private sector is intimately involved in commercial diplomatic activities. Both export promotion and inward investment promotion have been examined separately, yet few attempts have been made to consider them together. In this era of globalisation, these two activities are becoming increasingly interlinked, underscoring the relevance of this research. The practices and processes adopted by the USA, Canada and the UK to pursue commercial diplomacy – be it the use of trade missions or trade fairs, the pricing of services, cross-fertilisation, or the use of information and telecommunication technologies – are often similar. However, the structures and mandates adopted by their governments vary significantly. Through these three

case studies, this paper identifies the differences between various structures, mandates and practices, and explores possible reasons for their configurations.

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Crossroads of Diplomacy: New Challenges, New Solutions

by Marija Manojlovic and Celia Helen Thorheim

The international political arena has taken on a new look during the last few decades. Whereas the term 'international relations' used to be equated with diplomatic relationships between states, it now refers to cross-border relations between all sorts of actors, including international organisations, regional governments, businesses and civil society groups. This new interpretation may be a truism, but, as a result of this shift, academics are questioning the concept of diplomacy as a foreign policy tool and institution of international society, while practitioners are trying to get to grips with dizzying change.

Based on papers and discussions at the first The Hague Diplomacy Conference, held at the Clingendael Institute in June 2007, this report shows that diplomacy is indeed going through a process of change and adaptation to the new structures of international politics. However, this does not mean that diplomacy is struggling

for its survival. New research in notably untraditional areas, such as public diplomacy, consular affairs, sub-state diplomacy and diplomatic representation, reveals that diplomacy is more prominent than ever as a tool of international relations. Perhaps more interestingly, diplomacy is increasingly, and indeed very successfully, being used in new ways and by new actors. Through a closer look at these recent developments, this report provides a comprehensive starting point for further thinking and research on the changing functions and continuing merits of diplomacy within the new international arena.

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