

# INTERNATIONAL TURBULENCE AT THE NATIONAL DOORSTEP

Annual report 2024



**July 2025**

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## About the Clingendael Institute

The Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael' is a leading think tank and academy on international affairs. Through our analyses, training and public platform activities we aim to inspire and equip governments, businesses, and civil society to contribute to a secure, sustainable and just world.

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**A Message  
from Our Board**

**Due to several major conflicts – Israel/Gaza, Russia/Ukraine and Sudan, to name just a few – and the results of multiple elections in 2024 like in the US and EU, geopolitical challenges are shifting gears fast and they affect more and more people. According to the annual Clingendael survey, the Dutch population is very concerned about the way in which international developments are affecting security and prosperity in the Netherlands and Europe, as well as the international legal order. There are major issues at stake in foreign policy, security and defence policy, asylum and migration policy, the enlargement and reform of the European Union and the Euro in times of increasing debt and geopolitical tensions.**

As a leading international think tank, diplomatic academy and knowledge platform in the field of international relations, Clingendael has a wide reach in terms of regions and themes. Over the past year, Clingendael has once again distinguished itself by its knowledge of how global turbulence affects Dutch society, businesses and politics, particularly regarding Europe, Russia/Ukraine, China, the Sahel, Sudan and the Middle East. In 2024, Clingendael also invested in knowledge about the United States, artificial intelligence and cyber security, and the resilience of Dutch society and democracy. This ensures that the Institute remains uniquely positioned to contribute to withstand shockwaves and landslides that are taking place in the world, Europe and the Netherlands.

Clingendael's relevance is evident in this era. There is a need for experts who can provide independent and clear in-depth analyses and training and who can stimulate public debate on international affairs. We are keen to ensure that our stakeholders, including the public, experience this too. We would like to take this opportunity to thank our experts, our strong network of associated fellows, fellow think tanks and other strategic partners who contributed in 2024.

In this annual report, we also look ahead. We would like to draw your attention to the important skills training courses that will enable professionals who work in the rapidly changing international field. Grounded by our evidence-based research and deep regional knowledge, frequently highlighted in the media, we strive to continue contributing to a balanced political and public debate and a resilient Dutch society in a volatile international context in 2025.



**Monika Sie Dhian Ho**  
General director



**Peter Haasbroek**  
Business director



# About Clingendael



The Clingendael Institute is located in the partially 17<sup>th</sup> century country manor house 'Huys Clingendael', which is surrounded by the Park Clingendael.

**The Netherlands Institute of International Affairs Clingendael is an independent think tank and academy for international relations. We contribute to a secure, sustainable, and just world through our research, training programmes and by stimulating the public debate. We work with partners across public and private sectors, including policymakers, business executives, the Dutch armed forces, law enforcement agencies, diplomats, politicians and NGOs. Clingendael offers 40 years of top knowledge and training. The Clingendael Institute is an independent foundation, unaffiliated to any political, activist, commercial, or religious movement.**

# Executive and Supervisory Board



# BOARD

## Executive Board



**Monika Sie Dhian Ho**  
General director



**Peter Haasbroek**  
Business director

## Supervisory Board



**Jaap de Hoop Scheffer**  
Chair  
Former Chair Advisory Council for  
International Affairs, Secretary General  
of NATO and Netherlands Minister of  
Foreign Affairs



**Yvonne Zonderop**  
Vice-chair  
Independent author, inspirator  
and director



**Diederick van Wassenaar**  
Audit committee chair  
Former Global Head of Research,  
Regulatory & International Affairs ING



**Inge Bryan**  
Former Managing Director  
NCC Europe Fox-IT



**Jan Maarten de Vet**  
Auditcommittee  
Director of Ecorys Brussels



**Jan Broeks**  
Lieutenant-General (Ret); former  
Director General NATO  
International Military Staff



**Koen Berden**  
Managing Director at Trade  
Impact BV; external Executive  
Director for International Affairs  
at EFPIA

# Clingendael Academy



# Academy

## FACTS & FIGURES

### ACADEMY



**4000+**  
participants



**40+** trainers



**220+**  
Training activities

**41**

Diplomacy

**58**

Security

**83**

EU

**16**

Peace negotiation  
and mediation

**26**

Humanitarian  
negotiation

# Clingendael Academy

The Clingendael Academy is specialised in training diplomats and internationally working professionals and in capacity building of institutions in foreign diplomacy and security. We place a strong emphasis on training skills and competencies anchored in work processes.

Clingendael Academy is organised in five programmes that work closely together to ensure relevance and high quality while maintaining flexible to respond swiftly to market demand.

Categories	Diplomacy	Security	EU	Humanitarian Negotiation	Peace Negotiation and Mediation	Totals
<b>Total of trainings</b>	41	58	83	26	16	<b>224</b>
<b>Residential course</b>	25	24	54	5	4	<b>112</b>
<b>Onsite courses</b>	10	30	23	12	10	<b>85</b>
<b>Online course</b>	6	4	6	9	2	<b>27</b>
<b>Participants</b>	781	1030	1276	611	302	<b>4000</b>
<b>Countries</b>	140	6	48	53	38	<b>n.a.</b>

# Diplomacy

**For diplomats from both the Netherlands and all over the globe, Clingendael Academy provides tailor-made and specialised training programmes at all levels. Our activities range from comprehensive diplomatic training programmes in The Hague to online training courses and short workshops abroad. We provide specialised trainings on specific skills and themes such as Climate, Economic, Cyber and AI Diplomacy.**

## Impact

In 2024, our 41 skills-based and tailor-made diplomacy training programmes have strengthened the diplomatic skills of 781 diplomats and strengthened the bilateral relations between the Netherlands and the 140 participating countries. Our 16 regional training programmes brought together diplomats from all continents strengthening the ties among participating countries and stimulated regional cooperation.

## Highlights

Staying on top of trends and developments in Diplomacy, we organised a Cyber Diplomacy training in South Africa, attracting dozens of participants and cyber experts. For the Great Lakes Region and the African Union, we organised a specialized training on Climate Diplomacy. For the first time, we

received a delegation from the African Union Commission for a two-week diplomatic training programme in The Hague. We also trained 20 diplomats from the 5 incoming non-permanent members of the UN Security Council for negotiations in the Security Council.

## Looking ahead

In 2025, Clingendael Academy will continue and expand our diplomatic training portfolio. We will organise bilateral and regional training programmes at Clingendael, online and abroad. We will strengthen our cooperation with international organisations such as the AUC, OAS, ASEAN and the UN on diplomatic training. We will expand and deepen our training on AI in Diplomacy and offer specialised training programmes on this topic.



In collaboration with the Diplomacy Academy of the Caribbean (DAOC), Clingendael Academy delivered a negotiations training in Trinidad and Tobago. The training was delivered by Clingendael Academy's director Ron Ton and brought together policy advisors and diplomats from the CARICOM Secretariat, as well as member states.

“The best thing about this Clingendael training was that we were going to do simulation exercises in addition to the theoretical part. I loved those simulations.”

– *Tayyaba Islam Chaudry, Pakistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

## Security and Capacity Building

Clingendael Academy provided a wide variety of short (1-10 day) training programmes in international security for civilian, military, police and security sector officials from the Netherlands, institutional partners in Ethiopia, Georgia, North Macedonia, and Vietnam, for the African Development Bank, and in four open registration courses.

Our activities ranged from building insight into international **security trends, risk and uncertainties** as they relate to different professions, to training on international crisis management and NATO decision-making, to preparing professionals to work in and on conflict analysis, including through pre-deployment training. A growing cluster focused on technology, with new courses on economic, cyber, and knowledge security.

### Impact

Long-term partnerships built lasting institutional capacity in security training and policy-making, and a set of new **'policy games'** equipped hundreds of professionals within the Netherlands Ministry of Defence to formulate more coordinated (inter)national responses to crises in an ever-more uncertain security environment.



Clingendael Academy and the Dutch National Cyber Security Centre (NCSC) joined forces to deliver a negotiations seminar tailored to cybersecurity professionals to reflect the specific work environment and challenges.

**Pre-deployment, conflict analysis and conflict sensitivity** training allowed professionals from the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Defence and the police, as well as specialists from the African Development Bank, to be more effective working in and on conflict and fragility. Specialised training courses on international, cyber, economic security, and knowledge security raised the capacity of hundreds of additional professionals. Programmes were highly appreciated, with an average score of formally evaluated programmes and contributions of 8.5.

### Highlights

Highlights included the successful completion of support for training institutes from NATO Ally North Macedonia (2022-2024).

The cooperation with the Institute of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia, with roots going back to 2016, was also concluded, while the Ministry of Public Security of Vietnam, with the support of Clingendael Academy, was supported in launching its new

internal UNCAT (torture prevention) compliance training programme. Additional highlights included the delivery of aforementioned serious games; tailor-made training programmes on economic security and knowledge security, and the integration of training on Artificial Intelligence risks and governance into a range of courses and curricula.

### Looking ahead

In 2025, Clingendael Academy will continue its investments in security sector professional and institutional capacity, both for partners from the Netherlands as well for NATO, the EU, and in international partnerships. From tailor-made skills training for professionals at SHAPE; to investment in Viet Nam-led Security Sector Reform for police and detainment officials, to strengthening national resilience to disinformation and influencing. Finally we will work with partners to help formulate strategies and frameworks to deal with the risks and uncertainties arising from increasing (geo)political, geo-economic, and tech-driven change and uncertainties.

“Training at Clingendael was indispensable for my mission”

– Lieutenant Colonel Michael Smeets

## EU and Open Enrolment

**Clingendael Academy helps civil servants, diplomats and other professionals to better grasp the inner workings of, and engage effectively with, the European Union. Moreover, we provide a range of skills-based training programs to professionals operating in the international arena, with tailor-made options that complement our suite of open registration courses. On behalf of the Netherlands Enterprise Agency (*Rijksdienst voor Ondernemend Nederland, RVO*), we also conduct training programs on **Economic Diplomacy and Energy Transition** under the Shiraka programme.**

### Impact

We have contributed significantly to the Netherlands' capacity for effective representation within the EU, through the provision of a record 15 editions of our Insight into Europe trainings for Dutch civil servants. At the request

of the Dutch Senior Civil Service, these flagship EU trainings were also provided for the first time to select groups of top civil servants at director level and above. This increased demand and high-level engagement reflects not only the quality of the



Clingendael experts trained a large group of law specialists from the Ukrainian civil service on EU accession, and what to expect when meeting the European Commission for upcoming bilateral screenings.



### 'We connected so many dots'

Jamila and Sara followed a training course on Trade Promotion and Economic Diplomacy for civil servants in the Middle East and Northern Africa. How did they experience their time at Clingendael? This course is part of the 'Shiraka' training programme, an initiative of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Academy's EU offering, but also the increased recognition of the significant impact of the EU on nearly all policy domains.

#### Highlights

In 2024, the Clingendael Academy continued to work at the forefront of the geopolitical arena surrounding the Netherlands and the EU. We trained more than 130 Ukrainian rule of law specialist on EU accession, and provided a similar thematic training to Moldovan officials in Chisinau looking to optimise their bilateral EU screenings.

The Academy also provided four one-week programmes for civil servants and professionals from the Middle East and North Africa, focussing on **energy transition in agriculture and land** use, and on trade promotion and economic diplomacy. These activities, split between The Hague and Tunis, and conducted in cooperation with the Netherlands Enterprise Agency, contribute to trade promotion and enhanced cooperation on sustainable energy projects between the Netherlands and the Mena region.

## Looking ahead

In 2024, we have successfully placed focus on building out expanding our portfolio of Open Enrolment courses and increasing the average occupancy rate for these trainings, in close cooperation with Clingendael's Marketing & Communications team. We will carry this forward in 2025, in a concerted effort to further diversify the Academy's income streams and decrease our overall risk profile.



In collaboration with The Netherlands Enterprise Agency (RVO), Clingendael Academy trained civil servants and professionals from the MENA region on energy transition in agriculture and land use.

# Humanitarian Negotiation

**Clingendael Academy provides tailor-made and specialised training programmes focusing on humanitarian negotiations, mediation and diplomacy for humanitarians, mediators and diplomats. Our overall aim is to improve the effectiveness of negotiation and diplomacy aimed at humanitarian objectives.**

Our activities are primarily delivered abroad in locations that are accessible to frontline humanitarians and combine foundation courses with a training of trainers to enable local staff to support their colleagues in the field. To increase access to education and training, we also offer our courses and various follow-up support activities online.

## Impact

Our 25 skills-based and tailor-made training programmes have strengthened the professional skills of 398 humanitarians, mediators and diplomats. They operate in areas where there are significant block for safe, principled and effective humanitarian assistance to people in crisis or conflict areas. Think of Bangladeshi humanitarians working in refugee camps in Cox's Bazaar, Palestinian humanitarians coordinating assistance for Gaza, Afghan and Pakistani humanitarians supporting refugees cross-border movements, or Syrian and Lebanese and Sudanese humanitarians supporting their internally displaced fellow-citizens.

Our negotiation training leads to a significant increase of confidence and knowledge in frontline negotiators who in turn report having more successful and structured negotiations with counterparts, enabling them reaching the people in need of humanitarian assistance in the areas in which they work.

Our humanitarian diplomacy courses increase mutual understanding between humanitarians and diplomats, and strengthen their networks to increase chances for future cooperation. We have worked with officials from the European Member States and the United Kingdom, and with representatives from local, international and UN branches working on humanitarian assistance. Both sectors reported having more opportunities and perspectives for effective cooperation on areas such as humanitarian access, safety of aid workers, risk sharing, sanctions and locally-led humanitarian assistance. Through these new networks and courses, we have supported and contributed to a rise in the profile and importance of humanitarian diplomacy.



Senior management from various Dutch-based humanitarian organisations, policy-makers from the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, academics and students showed up in great numbers at the Clingendael-KUNO conference.

Finally, we have organised a conference together with KUNO in which Dutch-based humanitarian organisations, academics and policy officers came together for the first time in years to reflect together on difficult choices and challenges in the future which influenced the perspectives and ways of working of those present.

### Highlights

Highlights include humanitarian negotiation courses in Colombia and Venezuela, supporting the sector in its

negotiations for safe and principled access to areas and people in need of support, together with UN OCHA, the humanitarian coordination body of the UN and with support from the Dutch Embassies in each respective country.

As part of MSF's 'Women in Leadership Roles' initiative, we trained a diverse selection of women negotiators of MSF (Médecins Sans Frontières).

We held our first ever joint humanitarian diplomacy programme in which humanitarians and diplomats

together reflected on shared dilemmas, engaged in collaborative advocacy tool.

We organised a first ever ‘advanced Training of Trainers’ in which we supported our Training of Trainers alumni who delivered many sessions to their colleagues to strengthen their didactic skills and learn from them on how they experienced delivering their sessions.

We travelled to Cairo to support the Dutch Relief Alliance Acute Gaza Joint Response to work with Palestinian NGOs working from Cairo, Egypt.

### Looking ahead

The year 2025 will be a tumultuous time for people in need of humanitarian assistance, and the humanitarian system. Aid is politicised, humanitarian access is politicised, there are more and more attacks on aid workers, and international humanitarian law is less respected than ever before. We will increase our focus to create space for humanitarian diplomacy and foster understanding between humanitarians and diplomats, and potential other stakeholders. We will also continue to support humanitarian frontline workers in contexts with extreme access constraints such as Gaza, Sudan and Ukraine.



*'It is my responsibility now to teach these skills to others'*

Anibed Seta Charles works in the Central African Republic for an international NGO called Community Humanitarian Emergency Board. He attended a multi-year 'Training of trainers' programme at the Clingendael Academy since 2018.

## Peace Negotiation and Mediation

**Clingendael works with conflict parties, mediators, mediation supporters, trainers and partner organisations around the world to help parties negotiate and mediate more effectively in peace processes. We deliver skills training with a focus on negotiation and mediation and help target groups strengthen their capacities. Additionally, we offer Training of Trainers programmes to amplify the impact of our trainings and the work of our training participants.**

### Impact

In 2024, we continued to equip our target groups with knowledge and tools needed to promote peaceful resolutions effectively in for example Yemen, South Sudan, Sudan, Iraq, Somalia, Fiji and ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) member states. Partners indicate that in 100% of the cases, the knowledge, skills and confidence that we provided during training programmes

have led to more effective negotiation and mediation processes.

Beyond individual and group capacity building, the programme also strengthened the ability of regional and international institutions to offer third-party support at different track levels, while encouraging broader collaboration within the peace and mediation ecosystem.



['Following a training at Clingendael was on my bucketlist'](#)

Wifag Hadra attended a mediation support training with UN colleagues at the Clingendael Academy.

## Highlights

A major focus in 2024 was convening mediation support staff from regional intergovernmental organisations engaged in ongoing peace processes. Two yearly flagship training programmes were held: one brought together representatives from regional and international intergovernmental organisations from around the world, and the second focused specifically on ECOWAS high-level mediators and support staff.

These training programmes focus on strategic discussions around mediation (support), fostering inter and intra- organisation collaboration, and inclusivity in peace processes. The programmes provide a platform for participating institutions and representatives to exchange knowledge, share best practices and explore strategies to further enhance coordination and amplify the impact of ongoing mediation efforts.

In partnership with the Dutch MFA and the European Institute of Peace, we further hosted a high-level International Contact Group (ICG) conference on the Great Lakes region. As part of the Netherlands' 2024 ICG presidency, the event brought together key leaders and experts, including Angola's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Special Envoys from ICG countries, the United Nations Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes region, the EU Special Representative for the Great Lakes region, the Executive Secretary of

the International Conference of the Great Lakes (ICGLR) and several notable regional peacebuilding experts. The conference focused on advancing sustainable peace in the Great Lakes region, with a particular emphasis on the Luanda Peace Process and Angola's role as a mediator between the DRC and Rwanda.

## Looking ahead

In 2025, we aim to broaden our scope with more advanced (thematic) training and process-driven support in areas such as cyber threats, misinformation, the gap between early warning and response, political economy analysis, inclusion and other topics related to process design.

We will place a stronger emphasis on scoping activities to be able to better respond to the rapidly changing conflict environment(s) and emerging actors requiring tailored training and capacity building in the contexts we work in.

We will continue to work with the Dutch ministry of Foreign Affairs by offering them support in their own mediation support efforts, for example through lessons learnt drawn from our (training) experience and convening ministry of Foreign Affairs mediation focal points and external experts for strategic discussion.

**“I improved my methodology of delivering trainings and my concept of mediation.”**

**– Frank Wilson Bodza, National Peace Council Ghana**

# Clingendael Research



# Clingendael Research

## FACTS & FIGURES

### RESEARCH



**160+**  
Publications



**10+**  
Briefings to committees of  
the Dutch house of representatives



**125.000+**

Website pageviews publications



**60+**

Researchers



**2400+**

Media appearances

# Clingendael Research

Clingendael is one of the leading think tanks in Europe. Clingendael Research distinguishes itself through a combination of thematic, regional and methodological expertise and thoroughness with strong partnerships with clients, and insight to their needs. The experts have different thematic, regional and methodological specializations and know how to find each other for interdisciplinarity and triangulation of methods. The thematic breadth and regional reach make the institute well positioned for the integrated study of current themes and advice to Dutch and European actors and international organisations. The combination of research, convening power and providing an independent platform for dialogue between stakeholders and the broader public gives the institute a unique position when it comes to interdisciplinary knowledge platforms, valorization and implementation of research findings, outreach and interaction with society. The Research department comprises 4 units.



## Clingendael Russia and Eastern Europe Centre

In 2024, Russia's war against Ukraine remained a dominant factor in Eastern Europe, but other developments were also shaping the region's future. The geopolitical paths of EU-candidates Moldova and Georgia diverged, with the former doubling down on its pro-European course while the latter's rift with the West only grew. In the South Caucasus, the risk of escalation in the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan is ever present. While retaining a primary focus on the war in Ukraine, the Clingendael Russia and Eastern Europe Centre acquired additional expertise on the wider region to keep track of all relevant developments and provide policy-makers and other stakeholders with timely analysis and evidence-based recommendations on a region in motion.

### Impact

In 2024, the **Clingendael Russia and Eastern Europe Centre** solidified its position as a leading authority and a key source of expertise on Russia's war against Ukraine and a host of issues related to it. This included, upon Ukraine's request, on possible frameworks for a peace deal within a group of international experts. It also entailed publications, commentary in the media and briefings to help policy-makers and inform the larger public debate on European security that has emerged in full force, as well as analysis on the more concrete developments, like those impacting the EU accession paths of Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia. Clingendael

also continued to invest in its role as knowledge broker, bringing together researchers with varying expertise, policy-makers and other stakeholders within the **Russia and Eastern Europe Knowledge Alliance**.

### Highlights

Expertise on **potential ways to reach comprehensive, just and lasting peace** was brought together upon Ukraine's request by a Clingendael led international working group of experts from 18 countries from across the world. The results of that work have since been discussed with the [Ukrainian authorities](#) and in the Dutch parliament, receiving major [public attention](#).



A delegation of the International Expert Group on Clause 10 of the Peace Formula, which included several Clingendael experts and was led by Bob Deen, was invited by the Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Andrii Sybiha, to provide advice on achieving a comprehensive and just peace.

**A cost and benefit analysis of Western military support for Ukraine**, explained in the report entitled [Freedom Isn't Free](#), received extensive interest among Dutch policy makers and parliamentarians.

Throughout 2024 the Clingendael Russia and Eastern Europe Centre conducted numerous [briefings for policy makers](#), and provided **commentary for the broader public** with an [alert on the crucial elections in Georgia and Moldova](#) that was widely picked up by the media. It also conducted a [scenario analysis on Belarus in light of the 2025 elections](#).



For the third consecutive year, the Clingendael Institute collaborates with Londen School of Economics (LSE), the Kyiv School of Economics, and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung to support the Ukraine Recovery Conference policy-making process and help guiding policy discussions on economic, institutional, and human capital recovery. Joint closed format expert conferences with representatives from the governments of Ukraine, Italy, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the World Bank, EBRD and IMF were held in [London](#) (June 2023), [Berlin](#) (July 2024).

The [annual conference from the Russia and Eastern Europe Knowledge Alliance](#) brought together over 125 professionals to discuss the **Netherlands' policy on Eastern Europe** in times of uncertainty. Six insightful research projects from partners in the Knowledge Alliance and selected through a call for project proposals were presented. The research results feed into foreign affairs policy.

### Looking ahead

The US Trump administration has upped the level of uncertainty in global geopolitics. With the potentially shifting relations between the great powers and the consequences for other actors on the international stage, the Clingendael Russia and Eastern

Europe Centre experts expect the strong demand for regional expertise to last into and beyond 2025 and beyond. Russia, Ukraine and other countries in the region will all be finding their own way in the shifting dynamics within the changing international order.

Beyond its extensive work on Russia and Ukraine, the Centre will deepen its knowledge of the broader region, including with a report on scenarios and trade-offs for the **EU's policy towards Belarus**, a mapping of **geopolitical dynamics in Eastern Europe and the Western Balkans**, an analysis of **Russian influence in Armenia and Serbia** and a research project on the changing security situation on the **Black Sea**.



Clingendael will continue co-ordinating the **international expert group on peace for Ukraine**, providing expertise to Ukraine and other interested countries on negotiations, ceasefire modalities and other matters. The group will become more visible in 2025, including with participation and the organisation of side events at high-profile events such as the Munich Security Conference, the Raisina Dialogues in India and the Lennart Meri conference in Estonia.

Within the framework of the Russia and Eastern Europe Knowledge Alliance,

Clingendael will bring together **national and international experts on Russia** to improve our knowledge on Kremlinology and Russia's potential futures.

Clingendael is a founding member of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Expert Network and will contribute to debates on **the future of the OSCE and the European security architecture** in light of the 50th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act, including with a substantive report and active participation in OSCE meetings.



Clingendael's State of the Union Conference opened with a session dedicated to the future of Ukraine.

## Clingendael China Centre

**Clingendael China experts contributed with groundbreaking analysis on the positioning of Taiwan, Chinese influence in research institutes in the Netherlands and geopolitical influence in European ports. A new lead of the Clingendael China Centre was recruited with longstanding and internationally recognised expertise on China's foreign policy and China-Africa relations, dr. Raoul Bunskoek.**



### Impact

Clingendael China experts briefed the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Dutch House of Representatives on [Taiwan at a roundtable discussion](#) on 28 March 2024, supported with written [position papers](#).

### Highlights

Together with Leiden Asia Center the secretariat of the [China Knowledge](#)

[Network](#) is active for 3 consecutive years in a row. Through this network new analysis on China is carried out for the Dutch government, thereby strengthening the knowledge basis on China in the Netherlands. In 2024, the China Knowledge Network commissioned [seven reports](#), organised five [knowledge sessions](#), hosted two thematic sessions for policymakers, organised a [two-day China masterclass](#)



Sense Hofstede, Associate Research Fellow Clingendael Institute and Xiaoxue Martin, Research Fellow Clingendael Institute



Vincent Brussee, PhD Candidate Leiden University and Floris Harm, LeidenAsiaCentre and China Knowledge Network

[for senior policymakers](#) and held one network event for all the experts within the China Knowledge Network.

Clingendael analysed the scope and nature of [Dutch collaboration with the China Scholarship Council](#), a non-profit organisation affiliated with the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. This collaboration has come under scrutiny in the Netherlands and beyond due to various knowledge security concerns. Clingendael researched the EU-wide policy framework for strengthening [strategic autonomy in the domain of seaports](#) and related logistics sector systems. China serves as a case study because their involvement has gained greater significance in the sector. The lack of EU cooperation concerning foreign involvement negatively impacts

the EU's strategic autonomy, and limits control over future scenario's. The importance of the report was recognised by member of the European Parliament Tom Berendsen in his [tweet on X](#).

Clingendael participates in two European Networks, [the European Thinktank Network on China](#) and the Horizon Europe funded [RECONNECT CHINA project](#), both aiming to strengthen expertise on China as player in international relations, trading partner and strategic rival of Europe. Clingendael participated in a dialogue of the [China-EU Think Tank Engagement Program](#).

Clingendael participated in the [International Visitor Leadership Program](#) organised by the US

embassy in The Netherlands. The article [‘A strategy for winning without fighting’](#) completed the [China Flashpoints series](#) of the Clingendael Spectator. Clingendael China expert Xiaoxue Martin was interviewed by [Nieuwsuur](#) on China’s [strategy for a new world order](#).

### Looking ahead

In 2025, the Clingendael China Centre will publish a report on BRICS expansion and two recently joint BRICS members, namely the United Arab Emirates and Indonesia. Clingendael China Knowledge Network projects focus on the effect of China’s development country

status on its climate commitment, Chinese Investments in and the effect on the competitiveness of European Seaports, and the influence of Chinese actors on the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Two China masterclasses for Dutch government officials will be organised.

A European China Knowledge Network will be set up together with MERICS and the Swedish National China Centre and will bring together high-level EU officials with China experts. A European Horizon Reconnect China conference will be organised in The Netherlands and our China experts will participate in EU-China Think Tank engagements.



Raoul Bunscoek and Xiaoxue Martin at a meeting with Chinese think tankers of the Ministry of National Resources (MNR), in Beijing, China in December 2024. These discussions were part of the EU-China Climate and Environmental Think Tanks Engagement Initiative.

# Clingendael U.S. Programme

On 9 October 2024 Clingendael director Monika Sie launched the Clingendael US Programme and emphasised the importance of a research-driven approach to understanding the U.S. The Programme will research issues ranging from concerns over U.S. democracy to Europe’s dependence on the U.S. and the broader implications for foreign policy.



On the eve of the American presidential elections, the **Clingendael Foreign Affairs Barometer** “Separation Anxiety: How the Dutch see the United States, and the implications for Dutch foreign policy” was published. This is an analysis of Dutch perceptions of American politics in the run-up to the presidential elections, expectations

of American foreign policy, and how the Dutch view transatlantic security and economic relations. This was done in a representative survey of 4,427 respondents in March 2024. The results were presented and discussed with respondents during the launch of the Clingendael U.S. Programme and in the public library of Breda.



In October, Clingendael’s general Director, Monika Sie Dhian Ho, and Clingendael expert Rem Korteweg hosted two sessions at Hotel New York in Rotterdam to highlight the importance of a research-driven approach in understanding the U.S.

Clingendael acts as the expert in providing insight into developments in the geopolitical relationship between the Netherlands and the United States, as part of **the Transatlantic Periscope network** established by Bertelsmann Foundation. [This platform](#) provides insight into the evolving geopolitical relationship between individual EU member states and the United States, based on news, opinions, media and expert analyses, and using an innovative methodology. The network of curating think tanks exchanged views on European-American affairs on 16 May 2024 in Brussels.

On 31 August 2024, the Clingendael Institute [organised a side session](#) during the **GLOBSEC Forum** in Prague, Czechia. The session focused on shifts in public opinion in the United States and Europe and what this means for the future of transatlantic cooperation. The discussion focused on electoral divisions in the U.S. and the growing trend towards isolationism among Republican voters, differences between European citizens in their support for Ukraine, and the changing perception of the role of the U.S. in the world.

## Security Unit

The Security Unit takes a broad perspective on security, encompassing both military and non-military aspects. Its three main research programmes are Security & Defence, Strategic Foresight & Intelligence and Resilience. The unit aims to identify and analyse current and future threats to European and Dutch security, to help policymakers develop options to prepare and respond, and to contribute to a well-informed public debate.

### Impact and highlights in 2024

In 2024 the expertise of the Security Unit was once again in high demand due to the increased securitization and uncertainty in international relations, as well as the growing impact of international developments on Dutch national security. Security Unit researchers frequently appeared in the media, gave briefings to parliament or shared their knowledge and assessment with a wide range of partners.

The Clingendael method that combines subject matter expertise with **strategic foresight and scenario analysis** is well positioned to help stakeholders make sense of the rapidly shifting geopolitical and security context and to contribute to better-informed decisions and debate, both within and outside the Government. The [Clingendael Strategic Monitor 2025-2030](#) adopted an actor-centric approach and identified both new actors (such as Elon Musk) and new forms of interaction between existing actors (such as possible US-Russia

convergence). It was presented to both the Minister of Defence and the Minister of Foreign Affairs and served as a key resource in numerous lectures and briefings at government departments, research institutes, the private sector, and diplomatic circles.



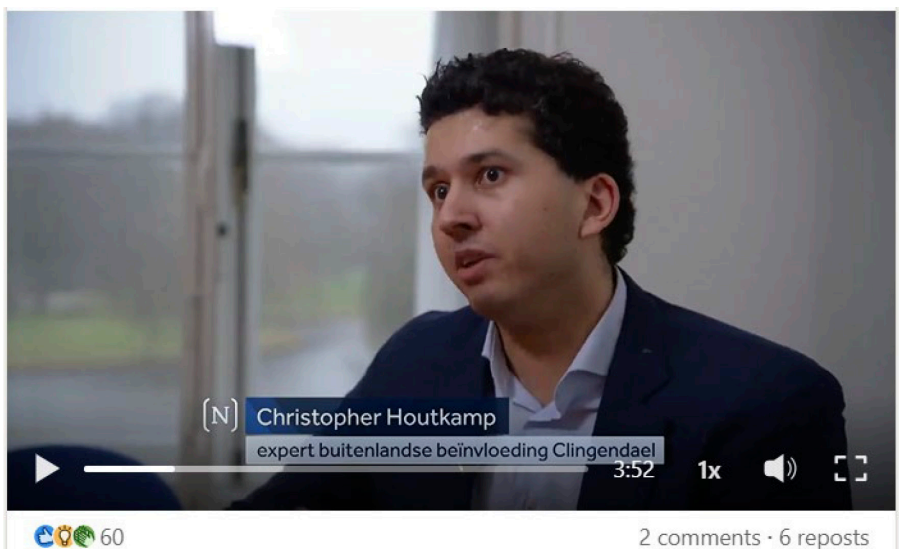
Netherlands Minister of Defence, Ruben Brekelmans, received the latest edition of Clingendael's Strategic Foresight (Strategische Monitor), which presents several scenarios for the next five years considering geopolitical developments.

The first-ever publication of the [Trend Analysis National Security](#) by the National Network of Safety and Security Analysts, of which Clingendael is a founding member, marked a major milestone. This analysis complements the National Risk Assessment by identifying crucial developments affecting national security, and provides essential input for the forthcoming update of the Kingdom of the Netherlands' Security Strategy.

The conceptual research on '[Unwanted Foreign Interference](#)', written by the Clingendael Resilience and Foresight & Intelligence experts, was cited prominently in the report '*Over de Grens: Statelijke Inmenging*

*in Diasporagemeenschappen in Nederland'* from The Netherlands General Intelligence and Security Services (AIVD) and the National Coordinator for Counterterrorism and Security (NCTV). The Clingendael [report](#) on **Turkish diaspora** policy concretely impacted the policy debate on foreign interference: it was cited prominently in a [letter](#) the Minister of Social Affairs sent to Parliament on the 26<sup>th</sup> of March 2025.

The Policy Brief '[European Defence: the future of EU missions](#)' led to questions by Parliamentarians and a response by the Government in its [letter](#) on "*Kabinetsappreciatie van het Clingendaelrapport over de toekomst van EU-missies*" on 28 June.



Clingendael expert on Foreign Interference, Christopher Houtkamp, was featured on Nieuwsuur to discuss the riots between two groups of Eritreans in The Hague in February 2024.



Clingendael expert Dick Zandee moderated a panel at Clingendael's State of the Union 2024 on European security post-US elections.

The report "[The US elections and the future of NATO – A scenario analysis](#)" outlined four possible scenarios for US disengagement with European security following a potential return of Donald J. Trump to the White House. It gave both the public and policy-makers an early warning of what might occur in 2025.



Clingendael expert Bob Deen [briefed](#) the Committee on Defence of the Dutch House of Representatives on **military support for Ukraine** on 14 March 2024, supported with a written position paper '[Support to Ukraine: no time to lose?](#)'.

## Looking ahead

2025 will be an even more turbulent year for the U.S.. The significant changes in U.S. foreign and security policy as well as Russia's ongoing war of aggression against Ukraine have created even more feelings of uncertainty among Europeans, but also lead to an acceleration of policy debates on strategic autonomy, European defence co-operation and strengthened resilience, as well as more demand for innovative strategic foresight. The Security Unit is well prepared to respond and inform these debates with an expanded staff of researchers and a growing network of partners and clients, including but not exclusively within the framework of the new multi-annual PROGRESS programme.

The Security and Defence programme will contribute actively to the debates within NATO, including at the NATO summit in The Hague. In 2025 it will pay particular attention **European defence co-operation**, the defence industry, the Arctic (in light of the upcoming new **Dutch Polar Strategy 2026-2030**) and to broader questions of strategic stability, deterrence and the European security order. The programme is also strengthening its co-operation with different branches of the Dutch armed forces.

The Strategic Foresight programme will expand its scope beyond short- and mid-term projections (2030) to long-term strategic outlooks (2040) and is further developing a range of new methods, including **serious gaming and simulations**. It will also contribute to the 2025 National Risk Assessment, a cornerstone of the security strategy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

The Resilience programme is expanding its co-operation with the Dutch Police, with local authorities and with other actors working on national security and safety, finding innovative ways to help them strengthen **national resilience** in the face of societal polarisation and foreign interference.

## EU & Global Affairs Unit

**In 2024 the EU & Global Affairs Unit continued to expand work on its core programmes which focus on China; Tech & Digital; Climate, Energy, Food & Water; EU and its neighbours, Migration and Trade. A new programme on the US was launched. We noticed the strongly increased attention devoted to geopolitics and the rising tensions among great powers by among others the private sector for which over a 100 briefings and presentations were given.**

In addition to the work in the programmes, several EUGA staff members contribute to teaching in the Leiden University-Clingendael Master of International Relations and Diplomacy programme, of which the students visited Clingendael in October. Another Clingendael generic activity was the organisation of the

Day of Progress where research for the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence is discussed. This year the event considered the resilience of the knowledge infrastructure for international relations, European affairs and security research in the Netherlands.



Opening panel during the Day of Progress

## Highlights & impact



On the eve of the European elections, **the Clingendael Foreign Affairs Barometer** “[Europa moet meer soeverein worden: Nederlanders ontevreden over EU, maar willen een sterk en onafhankelijk Europa](#)” was published. Clingendael surveyed Dutch voters on the direction they want European cooperation to take. This was done in a representative survey of 4,351 eligible voters between 8 and 15 May 2024. The results of the study were also widely reported in the media. Publication on the front pages of *Tubantia* and *De Telegraaf* resulted in multiple media appearances and a ‘trending topic’ on X. The results of the study were also discussed on programmes such as *Renze*, *Nieuwsuur* and *Ongehoord Nieuws*.



In 2023, Clingendael hosted a side event on European energy security at the GLOBSEC Bratislava Forum

In 2024, ‘**EU and its neighbours**’ colleagues expanded their work on topics related to both the EU’s internal and external policy and reform. Several reports and policy papers were published EU enlargement, including a report on [the dilemma’s surrounding EU enlargement](#), on [Montenegro’s EU accession](#), on [the EU enlargement decision-making process](#) and a policy brief for SIEPS on [how to prepare EU democracy for enlargement](#). In addition, the EU&GA unit also continued its work on the rule of law crisis in the EU, with the publication of a working paper on [Economic governance and the rule of law in the EU](#)’ (written within the framework of the Horizon-funded research programme Respond to Emerging Dissensus: Supranational Instruments and Norms of European democracy (RED-SPINEL)) and a policy brief on “[Budgetary Conditionality](#)” (written in the context of the [TEPSA Pre-presidency conferences in Budapest in June](#)). Also the work on reforming was continued with a report on [the EU budget and the national capacity to investment](#).

Clingendael experts briefed the European Affairs Committee of the Dutch House of Representatives on the EU internal market and the Letta and Draghi reports on 12 September 2024, supported with a written [position paper](#).





Clingendael expert Wouter Zweers briefed the European Affairs Committee of the Dutch House of Representatives on EU enlargement on 6 November 2024, supported with a [position paper](#).



In 2024, the work stream on the [geopolitics of technology and digitalisation](#) took up speed. Clingendael made a big splash with new work on **cloud sovereignty**, where Europe is currently overly reliant on the US for storing data. The Policy Brief - [Too late to act? Europe's quest for cloud sovereignty | Clingendael](#) resulted in a Dutch Government's response [Letter to the House of Representatives with the government's response to the Clingendael Institute's policy brief](#). A follow up article was published: [The Netherlands and the EU: Prioritising Cloud Sovereignty | Clingendael](#).

New analysis was undertaken on **AI** and how Europe could learn from the enablers of ChatGPT in the US. The content of the Policy Brief - [Decoding ChatGPT's success: Takeaways for Europe's AI future | Clingendael](#) was taken up by the newspapers with this op-ed - [Om Nederland veilig te houden, moeten we met AI vooroplopen | Clingendael](#).

**Economic security** was analysed more in-depth with the Policy Brief: [De-risking by promoting digital solutions for green tech: Going Dutch?](#)

[| Clingendael](#), the report [Balancing openness, economic security and national security | Clingendael](#) and a Policy Brief on the [interaction between government and business](#) in the triple transition of geopolitics, sustainability and digitalisation.

Clingendael expert dr. Maaïke Okano-Heijmans briefed the Digital Affairs Committee of the Dutch House of Representatives on digital infrastructure and Economy on 18 April 2024, supported with a written [position paper](#).



Maaïke Okano-Heijmans also contributed as speaker to several high-level events at home and abroad, among which the [Politico Competitive Europe Summit](#) and the multistakeholder event co-hosted with Internet Society Netherlands: [Digital sovereignty: sense or nonsense? | Clingendael](#).

The research stream on **Critical Resources** started off with a high-level side event at the Munich Security Conference. With Ministers and the EU Energy Commissioner the issue of [energy in relation to international security](#) was discussed with energy transition as peace enabler for Europe. Dependencies of fossil energy are increasingly considered a liability for military operations, supporting oppression by authoritarian regimes and can be used as a weapon when reliance levels are too high. For the

new European Commission, that entered office in the Autumn of 2024, a joint input paper was presented with experts from other think tanks with ideas to boost the [EU's green energy diplomacy](#) efforts.

Other activities included a [Roundtable on the Arctic](#) with support from the Embassies of Canada and Denmark. On Critical Raw Materials 2024 saw a publication on the scope for [EU-India Cooperation](#) in this field and a big report on three specific Critical Raw Materials supply chains of rare earth minerals. With regard to the rise of extreme weather events in the Bay of Bengal a workshop was convened in Bangkok with the Delhi based Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies and the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue. Clingendael experts published [resource nationalism, geopolitics, and processing strategic minerals in Indonesia, South Africa, and Malaysia: 'The good, the bad, and the ugly'](#).



Clingendael Institute and Internet Society Netherlands (ISOC NL) hosted a multi-stakeholder meeting on digital sovereignty.

For the yearly contribution to the [World Climate Security Report](#) the focus of analysis was on innovation into energy transition and climate objectives as part of the European defence industry build-up. All these efforts and generic coverage of climate-related security publications, events and best practices were featured through the [Planetary Security Initiative](#) website and outreach channels.



Roundtable 'Polar Connections: Exploring the potential for Indigenous contributions to a secure Arctic', co-organised with the Embassies of Canada and Denmark.



## Migration

On the topic of **migration**, Clingendael presented its report [In Search of Control: International comparative research on \(extra-\) territorial access to asylum and humanitarian protection](#) followed by a [round table](#) in Brussels, analysing access to asylum in Australia, Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands, and the US. The team worked on quarterly [reports](#) on the situation in Ukraine and its implications for migration to the Netherlands, which attracted media attention in several news [sources](#). Other publications include reports on [drivers of migration](#) and [demographic developments 2050](#) which was discussed in [Parliament](#) and the [media](#).

## Looking ahead

2025 will be a year where geopolitical turmoil will continue with security, defence and shoring up global trade relations topping the European agenda and a new EU long-term budget being negotiated. We will continue our work on the EU and neighbourhood, EU enlargement, EU relations with the US, China and others, geopolitics of technology and digitalisation, geopolitics of trade, migration, and critical resources. We will work closely with fellow think tanks in other countries, policy-makers and representatives of the private sector and civil society to embrace different perspectives. We will publish and execute cutting edge publications, presentations and media engagement. We aim to contribute to EU policy direction that help to boost Europe's competitiveness and resilience in a longer-term perspective. Smart investments in European industry and defence should help to make the EU more strategically autonomous.



Group photo of the State Commission on Demographic Developments 2050 during a press conference at Nieuwspoor / Image: Taco van der Eb

## Conflict Research Unit

In 2024, the Conflict Research Unit (CRU) helped shape Dutch and international policy responses to conflict, security, and governance challenges across West Africa (including the Sahel), the Horn of Africa, and the Middle East. A central focus of CRU's work this year was to critically assess different strategies and modes of engagement in conflict-affected settings and identify which could genuinely promote peaceful, inclusive, and democratic outcomes. CRU's research made a clear and meaningful impact – informing policy decisions in contexts marked by violent conflict and political upheaval.



### Impact

The Conflict Research Unit (CRU) research carried out on the **war in Sudan** has been particularly influential.

A series of CRU publications played a pivotal role in raising the alarm on [Sudan's worsening hunger crisis](#) with a stark warning that [famine was imminent](#). Released at critical moments, the research identified urgent interventions and structural reforms needed to mitigate the crisis. The briefs gained traction among leading international famine experts to form a [knowledge coalition](#) specifically to validate and promote the reports' findings. Influence also extended to the highest diplomatic levels. Key international actors

– including the Dutch UN Ambassador in Rome, the Swedish Ambassador to Sudan, and country directors of INGOs – personally commended CRU authors on the research and its impact. Notably, the brief also prompted a review of international early warning mechanisms, contributing to the Famine Review Committee's declaration of famine in Northern Darfur in summer 2024. The Committee, which directly consulted CRU experts, revised its assessment methods to better account for [conflict-driven hunger](#). Finally, the research also shaped [parliamentary debates in the UK](#) and the [Netherlands](#), informing discussions on those countries' humanitarian aid strategies.

*“I wish to ask His Majesty's Government what assessment they have made of the report by Clingendael, **From Catastrophe to Famine: Immediate action needed in Sudan to contain mass starvation**, published on 8 February...and what steps they are taking to coordinate an international response.” – MP Lord Alton of Liverpool*

CRU research has also been taken up within **Dutch foreign policy**, shaping both strategies and instruments deployed by the Netherlands in promoting stability and security abroad.

CRU researchers have been directly consulted by Dutch Embassies as well as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Africa Department in supporting their development of principles for **engagement and institutional support strategies in the Sahel**. The Netherlands decision to remain in the Sahel, and the diplomatic posture assumed with those governments over the course of 2023-2024 have been informed by CRU research and direct expert consultations. Feedback from EU diplomatic missions in Sahel and West African coastal states have also demonstrated the reach and esteem of Clingendael Sahel reports.

Similarly, CRU was called upon by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department of Stabilization and Humanitarian Aid, in collaboration with the Ministry of Defence, to provide analysis of the **Netherlands security sector reform portfolio in Iraq**, as the Netherlands was assuming the military command of the Iraq NATO mission. The work, which analysed possible recalibrations of Dutch initiatives in light of recent evolutions in Iraq's security sector, was highly praised and appreciated by both Ministries. Feedback shared with CRU indicated the myriad ways in which the analysis had directly led to specific actions and improvements in the integration and policy coherence of Dutch initiatives in the country.

*“I would like to kindly thank you for **Clingendael’s outstanding work and coverage of Benin-related, regional conflicts**. ... We are closely following basically all of your recent reports. In this regard, I kindly invite you to reach out to us the next time you will travel to Benin.”*  
– German diplomat in Benin

*“I just thought it would be nice for you to know that **your work has really given a push to our efforts to improve coordination here and to link local and national efforts even more**” – Policy Officer, MFA-Dpt. Stabilization & Humanitarian Aid*

## Highlights

In spring 2024, the Conflict Research Unit (CRU) and Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department of Stabilization and Humanitarian Aid launched a strategic effort to enhance **conflict sensitivity across Dutch foreign policy**, responding to findings from the 2023 IOB evaluation *Inconvenient Realities*. This led to an expansion of the Legitimate Stability Research Programme, including a new **facility for embassies and departments** to request tailored support for conflict-sensitive interventions. Following the facility’s launch during the ‘terugkomdagen’ for Heads of Development Cooperation, CRU delivered three bespoke trainings in Sudan, Mali, and Jordan and piloted two standardised trainings for current and incoming MFA staff from embassies.

A CRU policy brief on [Internet Connectivity in Sudan](#) was timed to contribute to the **Paris Conference on humanitarian negotiations** in April 2024, convincingly arguing for the inclusion of essential telecommunications infrastructure in that forum’s discussions. Authors

of the report were also effective in persuading journalists to present a more balanced framing around the public debate amidst reports of the RSF’s use of Starlink. The brief was seized upon by a coalition of [90+ humanitarian actors](#) in their engagement with the US National Security Council to avert the shutdown of Starlink. Similarly CRU was able to use the brief to convince policy-makers of the EU bloc to include internet connectivity in its strategy on the protection and restoration of civilian infrastructure.

The **Knowledge Platform Security & Rule of Law Annual Conference, held in Dakar** welcomed 150+ participants from over 20 countries. The event was co-hosted by the *Gorée Institute* and *Réseau des Plates-Formes d’ONG d’Afrique de l’Ouest et du Centre* and included the official launch of the [African Alliance for People Centred Justice](#). Over 20 interactive sessions explored the role of regional institutions and civil society in the context of rising geopolitical tensions and the crisis of legitimacy of traditional democracy. The final

day the participants drafted and affirmed a [joint communique](#), signed by 46 organisations and 61 individuals, reasserting the commitment to cooperate on security and rule of law across political and geopolitical lines.

### Looking ahead

In 2025, the Conflict Research Unit attention will be anchored in both thematic and regional developments. Firstly, the unit will use the ongoing reorientation of the MFA's development strategy to further assert its role in supporting **conflict sensitivity**. By analysing the structural drivers of (in)stability across its regions of focus, CRU is poised to highlight how these intersect with Dutch national interests (particularly security and stability, migration and trade). As the new development policy

pivots its instruments and engages new partners, many are likely to require tailored support to ensure their interventions do-no-harm, and are positioned to foster stability and mutually beneficial partnerships.

And given its regional specialisation, CRU will increase attention for developing strategic **partnerships** with EU bodies and initiatives, such as the DG INTPA, EEAS and the Global Gateway. Lastly, after 12 years of being hosted by the Clingendael Institute, 2025 will also mark the closure of the Knowledge Platform Security & Rule of Law. Efforts by the Secretariat will be channelled toward preserving the legacy of the network and resources it generated, as well as devolving leadership for learning processes on to partners.

# Strategic Initiatives and Outreach



## Strategic Initiatives and Outreach

### Highlights

Clingendael was honoured to welcome **King Willem-Alexander and King Felipe** at the Clingendael Institute, as part of the Spanish state visit to the Netherlands. For this day, Clingendael worked closely with its partner think tank Royal Elcano Institute. Both majesties attended a session on Spanish-Dutch cooperation amid economic and geopolitical transition.



The **Clingendael Foreign Affairs Barometer 2024** “[From the Russian shock to the Hamas shock: the longing for contemporary community boundaries](#)” made a big impact: it revealed how the events of 7<sup>th</sup> October 2023 influenced the Dutch policy landscape, and provided an insightful backdrop to the Dutch Parliamentary elections that had taken place a few months before publication. 4,118 Respondents were asked for their views on mainly international developments.

On 21 November 2024, Clingendael’s **annual [State of the Union Conference](#)** took place in The Hague. The theme was the dual assignment facing the European Union: a stronger geopolitical Europe on the one hand, and stronger national democracies on the other. Policy-makers, international analysts, historians, political scientists

and sociologists joined forces to analyse this ‘[double Zeitenwende](#)’, as explained in the opening speech of Monika Sie Dhian Ho, General Director at the Clingendael Institute. The conference brought together more than 150 physical participants, over 1,000 online viewers, 50 speakers and 20 students.

**The Clingendael Spectator**, the online magazine, is an essential part of Clingendael’s public platform and plays an active role in the independent formation of opinions on international relations from a Dutch perspective. In 2024, the magazine published 46 pieces, 31 of which were in Dutch and 15 in English. Via thematic dossiers, the magazine paid special attention to, among others, the presidential elections in the United States and (influence on) the transatlantic relation, the European elections of 2024, dealing with China and the war in Ukraine ( and shocks doe Europe). The Spectator website was visited 286.199 times, by 135.283 distinct visitors.

### Looking ahead

For the EU Directorate General International Partnerships, the Clingendael Institute – working in close collaboration with the



In April, Clingendael was honoured to welcome King Willem Alexander of the Netherlands and King Felipe of Spain, as part of the Spanish state visit to the Netherlands. Together with the Royal Elcano Institute, the Clingendael Institute organised a session on Spanish–Dutch cooperation amid economic and geopolitical transition.

Brussels Institute for Geopolitics and the Egmont Institute – has played a key role in shaping the substance of the **2025 Global Gateway Forum**, to refine the Forum’s thematic and strategic focus, ensuring it reflects today’s evolving geopolitical and geo-economic context. The institutes have helped shape the programme by sharpening the strategic narrative of the event, curating high-level panels and identifying impactful and

influential speakers. Under the title “*Partnerships in a Geopolitical Era*”, the Forum aims to provide a space for high-level dialogue on the future on strategic partnerships. Also post-Forum events are being initiated for the final quarter of 2025.

In June 2025, the Netherlands will host the NATO Summit, amid a turbulent phase in the transatlantic relationship and the ongoing war in

Ukraine. The Clingendael Institute is one of the key organisers of the **NATO Public Forum** – a vital component of the NATO Summit. Together with The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies and the Netherlands Atlantic Commission, Clingendael will shape the Public Forum's programme through a series of in-depth sessions. By curating a high-level network of transatlantic security experts and developing a cutting-edge agenda,

the events aim to inform and elevate the strategic conversations that define NATO's future. In the lead-up to the summit, Clingendael will host a series of official pre-events to engage a broader audience of politicians, policymakers, and experts.

The Spectator will be retooled into a rapid expert response on geopolitical events such as the installation of the Trump II administration.

Clingendael's 2024 State of the Union Address welcomed the Mayor of the Hague, Jan van Zanen, as well as Ukrainian Ambassador H.E. Oleksandr Karasevych.



# Marketing & Communications



# FACTS & FIGURES

Communication

MEDIA & CHANNELS



**2.4 K**  
media appearances



100+ %  
growth  
in 2024



**Newsletter**  
**15 K**  
subscribers



+/- same



**LinkedIn**  
**46 K**  
followers



19 %  
growth  
in 2024



**X**  
**23.7 K**  
followers



1.6 %  
growth  
in 2024



**Instagram**  
**3 K**  
followers



29 %  
growth  
in 2024



**Website**  
**475 K**  
pageviews

Google Analytics  
updated their  
metrics in 2023



**YouTube**  
**25 K**  
views



-22 %  
decline  
in 2024

## Impact

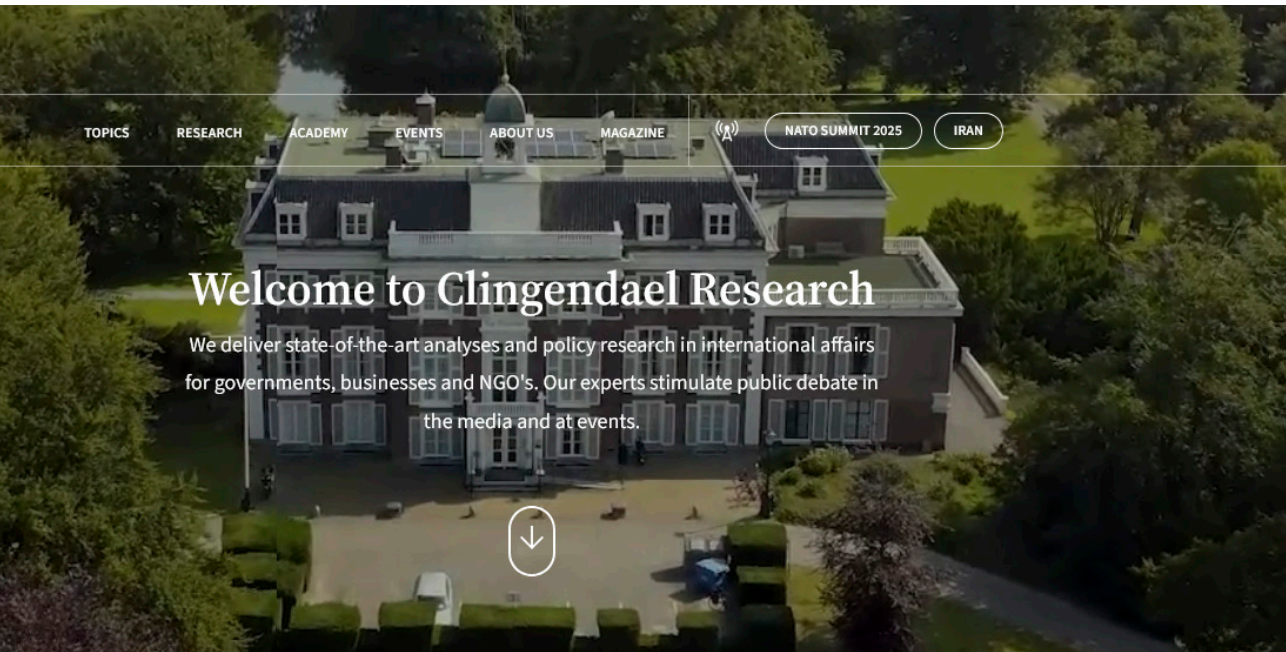
In 2024, Clingendael's new and improved website was launched. Based on best practices from the media landscape (like The New Yorker) and peer institutions (like Chatham House and Bertelsmann) we created a more transparent, topic-based public and client friendly online environment with separate hubs for Research and Academy.

With more than **2,400 articles published in the media in The Netherlands and abroad** mentioning Clingendael experts and reports, Clingendael was prominent in a lot of international news cycles.

With countless radio-, television- and podcasts appearances Clingendael experts lived up to their public task. Our social media channels grew, with LinkedIn reaching over 46,000 active followers.

## Highlights

Two important communications goals were met. Media more frequently covered new reports published by Clingendael in 2024. Also, more Clingendael experts were invited to hearings in the Dutch and European Parliaments to elaborate on their knowledge and recent research. **In 2024 our experts were called in by the parliaments 10 times.**





Clingendael Director Monika Sie Dhian Ho was invited to provide a live commentary on Dutch national TV during Budget Day, also known as Prinsjesdag. On this day, the King delivers the Speech from the Throne. She provided commentary on the Cabinet's plan regarding migration and population growth.

Meanwhile we had our experts answer questions from the public and inform them about important issues in international politics through video explainers. In the run-up to the European Parliament elections and the U.S. presidential elections, various Clingendael experts answered questions from our online audience in a series of explainers that were well watched on YouTube and picked up by the media. **Over 40 video-explainers, alumni video's, livestreamed events and webinars were published on our YouTube channel.**

[Click to watch.](#)



[Your EU questions answered series](#)



[Your USA questions answered series](#)



[Clingendael Academy Alumni stories](#)



[Inside the class room at Clingendael Academy](#)



“Concerns regarding a “foreign threat” are being expressed in the Netherlands, but this is being balanced by an optimistic outlook”, were the results of our annual Clingendael Foreign Affairs Barometer.

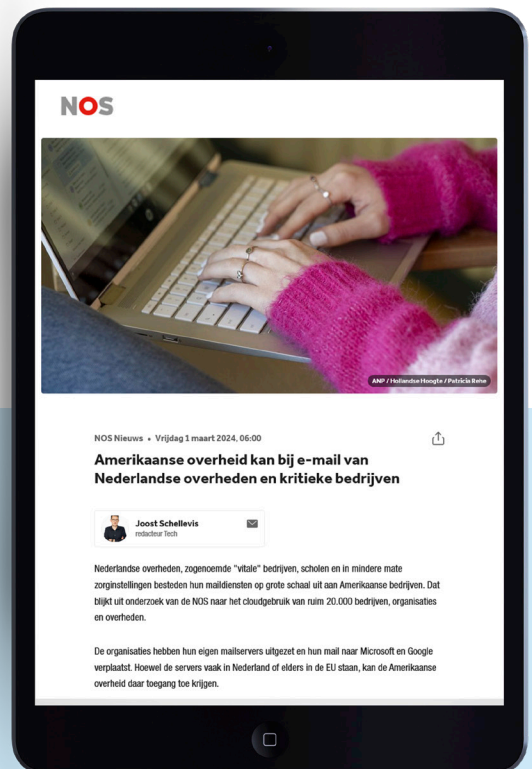
- In Dutch newspaper AD on 12 June 2024

### Looking ahead

The next few years will see an enormous surge in the use of AI in Clingendael’s core business, processes and products. Naturally communications has to be ahead of the curve to bend these trends in a beneficial direction. The diversity of clients and growing number of employees also call for a fresh, and constantly adapting communications approach.

“US government can access emails from Dutch governments and critical companies.” A critical report by Clingendael, commissioned by the AIVD, highlighted potential risks.

- On Dutch national news outlet NOS on 1 March 2024



A stylized blue line-art illustration of two people in business attire, positioned in the lower-left and center of the page. The figures are composed of thick blue outlines, with no facial features or shading. The person on the left is a man with short hair, and the person on the right is a woman with shoulder-length hair. They are both wearing suits or blazers. The background is a solid dark blue color.

# Human Resources

# FACTS & FIGURES

## Human Resources

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**117**

**Clingendael  
employees in 2024**



**51%**



**49%**

---



**13**

**Different  
nationalities**



**36**

**Students on  
internship**



**30**

**New hires**



**29**

**Employees left**

## Making an impact

The impact of Clingendael is a direct result of the engagement of our staff members who strongly believe in the mission and values of Clingendael.

Values relate to the core of Clingendael: independent, innovative, professional, and transparent. This is reflected in our staff that comprises on 1 January 2024 117 employees of 13 nationalities.

Of all employees, 51% is female and 49% male. Within our management positions, 61 % is female and 39% male. Twenty-nine employees left

Clingendael, significantly higher than previous year, 13. With all our departing employees, exit interviews are conducted.

The number of new hires was 30, resulting in steady growth of our staff base from 115 fte in 2023 to 117 in 2024. As an example of how we want to give substance to our social mission, we hired a new employee in 2024 through the “guarantee jobs scheme”. This was done in close coordination with the municipality of Leiden. The initial six-month contract offered sufficient results for a one-year extension.

Annual Report	2024	2023	2022	2021	2020
<b>Employees</b> <small>(per 1 January 2021/2022/2023/2024/2025)</small>	117	115	107	93	93
<b>Total number of new employees hired</b>	30	23	29	18	31
<b>Total number of departing employees</b>	29	13	15	27	23
<b>Employees on fixed-term contracts</b> <small>(per 1 January 2021/2022/2023/2024/2025)</small>	52	52	49	41	45
<b>Employees on permanent contracts</b> <small>(per 1 January 2021/2022/2023/2024/2025)</small>	65	63	58	52	55
<b>Male/Female ratio %</b> <small>(per 1 January 2021/2022/2023/2024/2025)</small>	49/51	45/55	48/52	47/53	42/58
<b>Male/Female ratio management %</b> <small>(per 1 January 2021/2022/2023/2024/2025)</small>	39/61	40/60	43/57	45/55	--
<b>Number of vacancies</b> <small>(incl. internship vacancies)</small>	55	53	50	32	43
<b>Total number of interns</b>	36	33	30	32	43
<b>Absence %</b>	3,5	4	7,4	3,9	4,2

Finally, we were able to offer an increasing number of 36 internships to students in 2024 (2023:33).

Thanks to increasing attention and awareness among managers, the sickness rate has fallen from 4% in 2023 to 3,5% in 2024.

### Highlight

In 2024, we were able to fulfil a long-held wish by delivering our new careers website. This allows us to publish vacancies and process applications securely and in compliance with GDPR rules. Furthermore, it ensures that candidates are quickly informed when the status of their application changes, such as an invitation or rejection.

### Looking ahead

In 2025, we will organise a follow-up to the successful 2024 integrity training for all employees. Furthermore, all newly appointed Programme Managers will receive customized management training. Finally, in 2025 we will expand our induction and onboarding programme for new employees. We will do this partly based on the results of the farewell interviews with departing colleagues and on the results of the employee survey. We expect this to contribute to a smoother integration of our new colleagues and interns.

# Finance



	<b>Actuals 2024</b>	<b>Actuals 2023</b>	<b>Actuals 2022</b>	<b>Actuals 2021</b>	<b>Actuals 2020</b>
<b>Turnover</b>	19.925	18.804	15.736	12.699	13.410
<b>Total costs</b>	20.048	18.269	15.527	12.050	13.247
<b>Operational result</b>	-123	535	209	649	163
<b>Result after taxation</b>	29	434	239	446	103
<b>Equity / total assets</b>	37%	43%	41%	36%	37%
<b>Full time equivalents</b>	112	108	101	87	93

*Note: amounts x €1.000*



# Stay updated!

