



WINTER IN THE GROUNDS OF CLINGENDAEL



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Diplomatic Training, the Dutch way.

Is diplomacy an international profession like any other, or is it a truly unique career? Eminent authors on the subject express few doubts about diplomacy's distinctiveness. In a lengthy monograph written in prison on the role of the ambassador, the 17th-century Dutchman Abraham van Wicquefort refers to the diplomat as 'an honourable spy' whose duty is to discover the secrets of the courts in which he resides. His rather more famous French contemporary, Francois de Callières, leading diplomatic theorist of the *ancien régime*, writes more analytically about the qualifications required for a diplomatic career. Harold Nicolson, writing in the 1930s, also believed that there was such a thing as an ideal diplomat. In his view, the core virtues required for the job – besides excellence in every imaginable field – were truthfulness, precision, composure, good temper, patience, modesty and loyalty. To these great thinkers on diplomacy, the ideal diplomat was a *homo universalis*. The issue of training was not at the forefront of their minds, so they said relatively little about how men of flesh and blood (women were predestined for other roles in life) were actually prepared for the job. They also wisely refrained from writing about some of the more notorious members of the profession, whose behaviour and lifestyle fell somewhat short of the ideal. Of course, these authors did not set out to write prescriptively. Reading and enjoying De Callières' *De la manière de négocier avec les souverains* or Nicolson's *Diplomacy*, one can easily lose sight of the more prosaic aspects of the diplomatic profession, and forget that diplomats – dare one say it? – are only human.

Yet much of what Van Wicquefort, De Callières and Nicolson wrote about the requirements for sound diplomacy is still relevant today. Many of the general diplomatic qualifications, and what educationalists would call the 'skill mix' and competencies needed for the job, transcend time and place. Nevertheless, if the perfect diplomat in a relatively small and simple state system already seemed a socially polished and intellectual Superman, one wonders just how much we expect of our diplomats today!

That diplomats, like other professionals, benefit from specialised training is hardly a controversial statement. Such training may not have been a particularly pressing concern in De Callières' or Nicolson's times, but no diplomatic service today can maintain its high quality in the long term without a strategy for the lifelong learning (the post-modern equivalent of *éducation permanente*) of its staff. 'On-the-job' learning is no longer enough, and few would argue that there are no aspects of diplomacy that can be taught. However, opinions differ widely as to the best method of training diplomats.

Should all training take place at the beginning of a diplomat's career? Or should introductory courses be followed by small doses of relevant training at a later stage, when more specialised knowledge and advanced skills are required? The latter approach seems to make more sense when, as one trainer put it, 'the scope of work is impossibly broad, and the shelf-life of information is frustratingly short.' In the belief that it is important to share different experiences in international affairs and to promote the education of diplomats worldwide, Clingendael is making every effort to address these issues. In the pleasant ambience of its stately home and leafy surroundings, Clingendael has provided core diplomatic training for a range of countries in Europe, Africa, the Middle East and Asia, and the Institute is focusing increasingly on training for experienced diplomats. For instance, last January in The Hague, the Institute ran a simulation game in development cooperation to improve the negotiation skills of Dutch ambassadors.

One should not lose sight of the fact that different countries may require different forms of training – 'one size fits all' does not apply. As every negotiator knows, countries are different, and they act differently. An international diplomatic discourse may exist, but diplomats from countries at different levels of socio-economic development do not share the same perspective on the world. Nor, as we are constantly reminded, is the world culturally homogeneous. These facts have important implications for training. The diplomatic experience of a Second Secretary from Tadjikistan, posted in Beijing, is radically different from the experience of his Dutch counterpart posted in Washington. Clingendael's course curricula are carefully designed to meet the specific training needs of recipient states.

Courses like the 2002 programme for Eastern European diplomats may have some basic elements in common with training provided for participants from Iran or Oman. However, the differences are more striking – and more interesting – than the similarities.

Diplomacy is an institution of the society of states. As such, its challenging role is continuously to anticipate and adapt to turbulence and structural change in international relations. It is no coincidence that, after the collapse of Communism, the solutions sought in order to deal with the aftermath of the Cold War were diplomatic ones. It soon became clear that diplomats required more training. The Netherlands has done all it can to meet this demand, and a host of newly-established countries and states in transition have benefited from Clingendael courses. Since the inception of these programmes, significant progress has been made. In the early 1990s, countries facing complete societal change possessed little training capability of their own. Diplomatic academies, where they existed at all, were mostly in their infancy. Many of Clingendael's first students found themselves on a steep learning curve. Today, we are pleased to see a number of those alumni returning to The Hague as rising stars, some of them with a decade of on-the-job experience. And East-West traffic in diplomatic training has not been a one-way street. Clingendael has shared its expertise with Kazakhstan, where the Institute helped develop a national diplomatic academy. We helped launch the Dubrovnik Diplomatic Summer School, a Croatian regional initiative. In the years ahead, our assistance will extend to the development of a diplomatic academy in Romania. The Institute itself has learned a lot from course participants from other nations. Training in diplomacy can be a humbling experience; it is easy to understand the awe expressed by Van Wicquefort, De Callières and Nicolson for those who excel in this profession.

Jan Melissen is Director of the Department of Training and Education at Clingendael and *Ron Ton* is Head of the Department's diplomacy section. This contribution is the first in a short series in the Clingendael Newsletter on the subject of diplomatic training.

Research in Winter

Publications

After a busy autumn filled with lectures, media interviews and writing articles on terrorism for numerous newspapers and magazines, members of Clingendael's Research staff joined forces to write a paper entitled *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Insights and Perspectives after September 11*. This essay covers various aspects of the public debate on international terrorism and how to fight it – a debate rekindled by the attacks of 11 September 2001. Marianne van Leeuwen, the paper's editor, writes about emerging trends in terrorism; Frans Osinga discusses six models of security and warfare in the light of the September attacks; Dick Leurdijk and Peter van Ham analyse the role of the United Nations, NATO and the European Union in the fight against terrorism, and Kees Homan examines potential roles for the Dutch military in that struggle. The essay, published in December, can be downloaded from the FOCUS page of the Clingendael website.

Jan Rood's *Een einde aan de Europese integratie? Kanttekeningen bij het staatscentrisch paradigma in het integratiedebat* was published in October 2001 as Clingendael Study 16. Based on the author's inaugural speech as Professor of International Political Economy at Utrecht University, this book deals with four possible versions of an end-state for the European Union. The author refutes the idea that European integration can only be seen as successfully implemented if Europe forms a single state. From Professor Rood's perspective, radical institutional or constitutional reform may not be particularly desirable, let alone necessary.



On 10 December 2001, Mr Hans F. Dijkstal, chairman of the Dutch Liberal Party (VVD) in the House of Representatives, presented a lecture regarding his views on the future of the process of European integration. This event forms part of the series of lectures within the framework of a public debate about the future of the European Union after "Nice".

Conferences and Seminars

The Research Department organised a number of seminars and conferences last autumn. An advanced workshop entitled *In the European Arena – Spanish and Dutch Views on the Future of the European Union* was held in Madrid on 5 November, in close collaboration with the Dutch Embassy. Researchers and members of parliament from both the Netherlands and Spain took part in this lively event. On 8 November, representatives of various Ministries met with academics and members of the Research Department in a seminar on *The Constitutional State and the Fight against Terrorism*, organised with the WRR (Academic Council on Government Policy) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Most recently, on 22 January this year, marking the inauguration of the Spanish presidency of the EU, a conference was held at Clingendael on *Spain – the*



Spain in The Netherlands

On 22 January 2002 two separate events regarding Spain and the Netherlands were held at the Clingendael Institute. In the morning Spanish State Secretary for European Affairs, H.E. Mr Ramón de Miguel, presented a lecture regarding the Spanish Presidency of the European Union. In the afternoon a roundtable took place about the bilateral relations between Spain and the Netherlands, which was organized at the initiative of the Instituto Cervantes. Speakers were Prof. Carmela Martín (Universidad Complutense, Madrid), Dr. Charles Powell (Instituto Ortega y Gasset), Dr. Otto Holman (University of Amsterdam) and Prof. Jan Rood (the Clingendael Institute).

Netherlands and the process of European Integration. This conference was organised by the Research Department in collaboration with External Relations Department and the Instituto Cervantes.

From 20 to 22 September 2002, Clingendael and Wilton Park Conferences will hold a conference on the war against international terrorism. The venue will be Wilton Park. Speakers will include the authors of a book currently underway on terrorism and counterterrorism, to be edited by Marianne van Leeuwen.



Clingendael Offshore

In the last quarter of 2001, Central Asia and Latin America were the focus for Clingendael's External Relations Office. Several years of close and friendly collaboration between Clingendael and its sister institutes culminated in diplomatic missions to Mongolia and Uzbekistan. During a three-week mission in November, staff conducted a series of two-day seminars on international negotiation techniques for the **Diplomatic Academies of Costa Rica, Honduras, Bolivia, Chile and Argentina**. The mission was fully endorsed by the Latin American and Dutch Ministries of Foreign Affairs, as demonstrated by the involvement of deputy ministers and ambassadors in setting the seminar curriculum.



On 6 December 2001, on the occasion of the Mongolian Diplomatic Service's 90th anniversary and the 10th anniversary of the School of Foreign Service/National University of Mongolia, Clingendael's Deputy Director Paul W. Meerts was awarded the title of Honorary Doctor in Ulaanbaatar. Dr Meerts received the award for his tireless efforts to improve bilateral relations between Mongolia and the Netherlands, and his contribution to the training of the Mongolian diplomatic service.

Alumni Course for EU Candidate Countries

Since 1991, the Clingendael Institute has organised twenty-one courses on European affairs, economics and security for junior diplomats from Central and Eastern Europe. The courses are financed by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs' MATRA programme. Having gained ten years of experience, Clingendael felt the time was ripe to organise an alumni course. This one-week course, entitled 'The Reshaping of the European Union: Alumni Course for EU Candidate Countries', took place from 19 to 23 November 2001. There were twenty-one participants: eighteen alumni from nine EU Candidate Countries and three diplomats from Turkey, a country soon to be added to our list of course participants. The main aim of the course was to improve and update the diplomats' knowledge, understanding and skills in order to advance policy coordination in these three areas, with particular reference to the prerequisite conditions for further enlargement of the EU.



Participants attending the Alumni Course 'Reshaping the European Union', held from 19 to 23 November 2001, for diplomats from EU Candidate Countries.

Topics discussed included the institutional structure of the EU, the Common Agricultural Policy, the Justice and Home Affairs Policy, and the European Security and Defence Policy. Participants took part in a simulation game on multilateral negotiations, and visited the Permanent Representation of the European Commission in The Hague, where they learned about the recently published Commission Report on enlargement. Mr. E. Kronenburg, Deputy Director-General for European Cooperation at the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, gave a formal address on enlargement, after which Professor A. van Staden, Director of Clingendael, officially closed the course with a speech and presented certificates to the participants.

Clingendael International Energy Programme

In September 2001, Clingendael launched the Clingendael International Energy Programme (CIEP). Through this new research programme, the Institute aims to contribute to the public debates on national and international developments in the gas, oil and electricity markets that make up the energy sector.

Over the next few years, the liberalisation of Europe's energy markets will affect policymaking both nationally and internationally. This liberalisation will also greatly impact the management and strategy of companies operating in the energy sector. These changes in Europe's internal market are taking place against the backdrop of an expanding European Union, an increasing dependency on imported fossil fuels and efforts to address environmental concerns. The growing reliance on imports, not only within the EU but also in other major energy-consumer regions, has raised concerns about the security of energy supply in the future. These concerns will influence the decisions and choices facing both buyers and suppliers. The political and economic developments in areas such as the United States, Russia, the Middle East, the Caspian Sea region, and Asia, must therefore be taken into account when assessing the energy situation in Europe.

CIEP operates as an independent forum for governments, non-governmental organisations, the private sector, the media, politicians and other parties interested in changes and developments in the energy sector. CIEP organises seminars, conferences and roundtable discussions, and conducts research focused on the following themes:

- the regulation of energy markets (gas, oil, electricity) in the European Union;
- the international economic and geopolitical issues for oil and gas markets, chiefly with respect to the EU's security of supply.

Working with colleagues from other parts of the Institute, CIEP staff will develop courses and training programmes on many aspects of these themes.

CIEP publications and research results are available from the CIEP section of the Clingendael website: www.clingendael.nl/ciep.

The programme's Director is Professor Coby van der Linde, Clingendael senior research fellow.

CIEP is funded by the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs, Energie Beheer Nederland, Gasunie, ING Barings, NAM, NUON, Oranje-Nassau Groep, Petroplus International, Rotterdam Municipal Port Management, Shell Nederland, the Dutch Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment and Vopak Oil Logistics Europe & Middle East B.V.

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Professor van Staden, Director of the Clingendael Institute, opens the first meeting of the CIEP advisory board on 10 December 2001.

Recent CIEP events

On 10 December, CIEP held a seminar on the consequences for the energy sector of the 11 September terrorist attacks. Director Coby van der Linde and Rob de Wijk and Marianne van Leeuwen (both from Clingendael's Research Department) gave short introductory speeches. Issues addressed in the ensuing discussion included the consequences for the development of oil and gas fields in the Caspian Sea region, the possibility of further attacks, doing business in politically unstable areas, and strategic energy supply (as discussed in the September 2001 report by Professor van der Linde, available in Dutch on our website).

In anticipation of the Dutch general elections, to be held on 15 May 2002, CIEP has evaluated the energy and environmental policies of each political party. The resulting report, *A far-away ideal: Energy and the environment in the election programmes 2002-2006*, was presented on 28 January 2002, followed by a debate with representatives of several political parties and the energy sector. Both the report and an account of the debate are available in Dutch on our website.

For information on upcoming events, please consult www.clingendael.nl/ciep, or e-mail us at ciep@clingendael.nl.



Professor Coby van der Linde opens the seminar on the consequences for the energy industry of the 11 September terrorist attacks, flanked by speakers Rob de Wijk (left) and Marianne van Leeuwen (right).

Workshop for Indonesian officials

On 8 and 9 November 2001, as the first step in implementing the good governance programme outlined in Newsletter no. 8, a workshop was held in Jakarta. During the workshop, topics scheduled for the three-week course in February 2002 were discussed. The discussions focused on regional security, the role of the armed forces and the police in the political process, and the roles of engagement for maritime forces. Four experts from Clingendael took part: Dr Henk Houweling, Dr Luc van Goor, Tsjeard Bouta, MSc and Lt Col Richard van Eijdsden.

On the first day, 80 participants took part in a plenary session. Most were representatives from the armed forces. The keen interest and openness participants showed in discussing the issues at hand were truly a pleasure to observe. The workshop opened with an introduction by Professor Juwono Sudarsono, former Minister of Defence, who emphasised the need for an accountable law enforcement structure. In his view, this can only be achieved by stabilising the balance of power between the police, the government and the armed forces; parliament will need to ride the storm as it steers Indonesia towards a healthy democratic future. His opinion was that this process of reform would take at least 10 years. Another eminent Indonesian speaker, Major General Sudrajat, recommended that every effort be made to achieve transparency concerning

the additional income required to keep the military solvent. He explained why totally abolishing this system of additional income should be seen as too drastic a measure at this point in time.

The participants' degree of involvement was fascinating; they did not shy away from asking the experts insistent questions, demonstrating their understanding of the situation facing Indonesia. Participants showed the same commitment during the second day of the workshop, discussing the problems and possible solutions in small working groups. This more casual framework allowed the organisers, the Lesperssi and Clingendael Institutes, to assess each participant's intellectual skills and ability to express opinions and arguments in English. In conjunction with information about each participant's background in the armed forces, this provided the basis for the selection of participants for the course in February. Both attendees and organisers expressed the view that this course would be extremely useful, and emphasised the need for continued dialogue.

The follow-up course will be held at the Clingendael Institute, from 11 February and 1 March 2002. For further information, please contact Lt Col Richard van Eijdsden, Deputy Director of the Training and Education Department (e-mail: reijdsen@clingendael.nl).

Training Officers in National Crisis Management

The Dutch Army Support Command (NATCO) is considering adding to its number of specialists by allocating job vacancies to military reserve personnel. The underlying principle is that by using the vast potential of reserves, NATCO can strengthen the coordination capabilities of key staff in times of crisis.

Since crises are by their very nature unexpected, and almost unavoidably develop in directions one cannot predict, training in crisis management is indispensable. It is therefore essential to spend some time reviewing the different disciplines that need to work together in the event of an emergency.

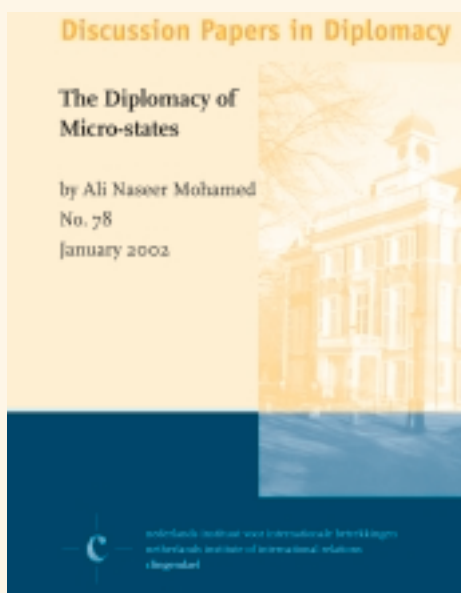
To this end, in close collaboration with NATCO, the Clingendael Institute has developed a short (three-day) crisis management course. The course will run 12 times, with a total of 200 participants.

For further information, please contact Lt Col Richard van Eijdsden, Deputy Director of the Training and Education Department (e-mail: reijdsen@clingendael.nl).

Discussion Papers in Diplomacy

From January 2002 onwards, Clingendael will publish its International Discussion Papers in Diplomacy on a bi-monthly basis. The January issue, by Ali Naseer Mohamed from the Maldives, discusses 'The Diplomacy of Micro-States'. The next two issues, by authors from the UK and Norway, will focus on international negotiation and on the 'English school' of diplomacy. Our aim is twofold: to provide researchers in diplomatic studies with an opportunity to publish their work at short notice; and to distribute these papers to practitioners, academics and other interested parties, for the purposes of diplomatic training. The series is a continuation of the papers published by the University of Leicester. The Managing Editor is Jan Melissen and the Editor is Dr Spencer Mawby. Suggestions and ideas for essays are welcome, and should be e-mailed to papersindiplomacy@clingendael.nl. Clingendael intends to make the series an international publication.

Discussion Papers in Diplomacy published to date are listed on the Institute's website: www.clingendael.nl. Single copies of the Clingendael Discussion Papers in Diplomacy can be ordered free of charge, subject to availability. Bulk orders can be purchased on request. Please e-mail research@clingendael.nl.



Discussion Papers in Diplomacy



Participants of the 56th *Leergang Buitenlandse Betrekkingen* (Course on International Relations) during a visit to the Royal Dutch Navy in Den Helder on 28 November 2001.

Focus

Last autumn, Clingendael launched a new electronic service called FOCUS for visitors to its website. FOCUS provides articles on topical issues by Clingendael staff. Visitors can download these articles free of charge, subject to availability. FOCUS's first topic was inevitably terrorism and counterterrorism. In the context of the Spanish presidency, European integration will shortly be added as the second topic.