



## Contents:

- Official closure of the programme for Iranian diplomats
- Conference on the Danish Presidency of the European Union
- Clingendael Offshore
- Visit of the Israeli Minister, Mr Dan Meridor
- Clingendael International Energy Programme research

## Will enlargement solve Europe's security predicament? A view from Clingendael

One of the objectives of the Clingendael Institute is to develop new and innovative ideas about how future policy issues can be managed, and how international conflicts can best be avoided.

The Netherlands is also rethinking its place and role within key European institutions, especially now that its relative weight and influence are bound to diminish with enlargement. As a research institute in a medium-sized country with a long track record of experience in organisations such as European Union, NATO and the OSCE, Clingendael is well placed to raise relevant policy questions and to offer a forum for an open and inspired debate.

The current discussion about enlargement is an obvious case in point. Over the next few weeks, both NATO and the EU will take important decisions on their enlargement. Candidate members have been waiting for years to finally be able to join these organisations. For Central Europe in particular, this is a historic time in which the vision of a 'whole and free' unified continent will be realised. In November 2002, at the NATO summit in Prague, seven countries are expected to be asked to join: the three Baltic states, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia. Just a few weeks later, the EU aims to finalise accession negotiations with those countries that are ready (most probably Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic and Hungary). By the EU Copenhagen Council meeting in December, Europe's institutional divide should finally be overcome.

These waves of enlargement will have a major impact on the policies of both NATO and the EU. Enlargement will increase the number of allies lacking significant military capability, whilst complicating NATO decision-making. Inevitably, this will reinforce NATO's transformation from a clear-cut defence organisation into a body whose merits are mainly political. Enlargement will further strengthen the geographical emphasis of NATO towards the East, partly because after the Prague Summit, both the Partnership for Peace (PFP) and the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) will mainly comprise Balkan and post-Soviet states. Given the key challenges of these regions, NATO's main tasks in Central and Eastern Europe will be in the area of cooperative security, rather than in the Alliance's former 'core business'. Combined with the stronger voice of Russia in NATO, this may well add up to the 'OSCE-fication' of the Alliance.

Enlargement will also deeply affect the EU. The prospect of a wider Europe has put pressure on the Union to change its internal structures, but serious and effective reform has proved difficult to achieve. New EU members will inevitably bring a new focus on the Union's foreign and security perspective, especially towards Russia, Ukraine and the Baltics. With the imminent accession of Poland and Lithuania, the thorny issue of Kaliningrad is already high on the EU's foreign policy agenda. The effects of enlargement on the EU's defence ambitions remain unclear. Central European countries have little in the way of

military hardware, but do bring with them a potent dose of Euro-scepticism, especially on military issues. Enlargement will also hold out the prospect of a widened 'eurozone', although it is unlikely that Central European countries will soon meet the Maastricht criteria, which set limits to government spending, inflation and exchange rates. Nevertheless, enlargement will further complicate Europe's financial governance, since Central European economies are likely to require special treatment for the foreseeable future.

However, enlargement also offers a unique opportunity to extend Western Europe's successful model of political pacification towards the East. Economic and political instability are much harder to imagine once Central Europe is embedded in the dense network of economic, political and security ties offered by both the EU and NATO. On balance, therefore, enlargement will benefit Europe as a whole.

Clingendael will continue to focus on the ongoing challenges of enlargement. Especially now that transatlantic relations are under pressure due to US plans to accomplish 'regime change' in Iraq by military means, orthodox answers to classical questions have to be rethought. Will NATO remain relevant in the post-9/11 security environment? To what extent will the EU develop into an effective player on the international scene? What ideas will be generated by the European Convention on the EU's future? How will the new NATO and EU members affect the operation and direction of these institutions? Clearly, even after enlargement, Europe's security problems will not be 'solved'.

Peter van Ham  
Clingendael Research Department

# Official closure of the programme for Iranian diplomats

Over the past two years, Clingendael has intensified and deepened its relations with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran. From 11 June to 5 July 2002, fifteen Iranian diplomats from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Teheran participated in the second course on 'The European Union, International Economic Relations and International Diplomatic Practice', organised by the International Relations section of Clingendael's Department of Training and Education.

This intensive four-week course consisted of academic lectures combined with various interactive sessions, including working groups, debating sessions and simulation games on the European integration process, international economic developments and international public diplomacy. In addition to these three main policy areas, a customised UNSC simulation game was held, and an additional lecture was given by Dr Sam Muller of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

One of the highlights of the course was the three-day visit to Brussels. A comprehensive programme had been put together, including visits to the European Parliament, the European Commission and the Iranian Residence. Meetings and debates were arranged with European Parliamentarians and European Commission policymakers, staff of the NATO Headquarters and the Council of the European Union, and the Iranian Ambassador. The visit was completed with a presentation at the consultancy firm Praaning Meines.

The Iranian diplomats were also given the opportunity to see something of the Netherlands. There were two formal working visits to the Dutch Parliament and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. More informal visits to the Mauritshuis in The Hague, Rotterdam Harbour, and the Rijksmuseum and Bloemenmarkt in Amsterdam also took place.

After two interesting speeches by Clingendael's General Director Prof. Alfred van Staden and the Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran H.E. Mr Panahi Azar, certificates were handed out to the participants and the course was officially closed.



Closing ceremony of the training programme for Iranian diplomats. Front row: Mr A.P. Wegerif, (Deputy Head of the Gulf States Division of the North Africa and Middle East Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), H.E. Mr Panahi Azar (Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran), Prof. Alfred van Staden (General Director of Clingendael) and Mr Ron Ton (Head of the International Relations and Diplomacy section of Clingendael's Department of Training and Education).

# Training in Surinam

From 15 to 21 June 2002, Clingendael trainers Ron Ton and Theo Postma visited Surinam to give a training module entitled 'Effective Representation and Multilateral Decision-making'. Approximately 35 participants attended, evenly divided between the public sector and the international private sector. Using a series of interconnected presentations and simulations, the trainers introduced their audience to modern theories of negotiation and the management of cultural differences.

Preparations for this event began in autumn 2001, when the F.H.R. Lim A Po Institute in Paramaribo invited Clingendael to collaborate in a major training programme entitled 'Cycle of Studies in International Relations'. Subsequently, Clingendael designed series of modules aimed to improve the personal skills of government officials and business community representatives in promoting Surinam's interests in international relations. Clingendael's contribution to the

ambitious 'Cycle of Studies' consists of the above workshop in public sector performance and multilateral decision-making and five one-week modules on international negotiation skills, effective performance in foreign policy processes, policy reporting skills, communication skills and diplomatic practice. The second module, on policy reporting skills, also took place in June. The next three modules are scheduled for October 2002 this year.



From right to left: Mr Stanley Raghoebarsing (Minister of Planning and Development Cooperation), Mr Theo Postma (Clingendael), Mr Ron Ton (Clingendael), Mr Hans Lim A Po (Director of the Lim A Po Institute), Mrs Marie Levens (Minister of Foreign Affairs) and Mrs Ollye Chin A Sen (HR Manager, SLM)

# Institution-building project at the Diplomatic Academy in Romania

Over the years, Clingendael and the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs have formed a close relationship in diplomatic training. This recently cumulated in an institution-building project for the Diplomatic Academy in Bucharest, established in November 2001. This is a three-year-project, consisting of the development of a documentation centre, a 'train the trainer' programme for teaching staff, and training in applied research techniques for academic staff. The project is financed by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs' MATRA programme.

To kick off the project, Clingendael Project Coordinator Hinke Pietersma visited the Diplomatic Academy from 24 to 26 June 2002. Her Romanian counterpart scheduled a comprehensive and interesting series of meetings with (amongst others) staff members and teachers, offering a thorough insight into the organisation and its programmes. The project will assist in the development of a documentation centre to improve facilities for students and staff. To this end, the future librarian will visit Clingendael in September 2002 to receive a week's training. In October, Clingendael trainers will contribute to a 'train-the-trainer' seminar at the Diplomatic Academy, focusing on didactical skills and current international diplomacy issues. To support the future research department, to be established in early 2003, a seminar on applied research techniques will be held in Spring next year.



Executive Director Valeriu Tudor, Director General Constantin Ene and Clingendael Project Coordinator Hinke Pietersma drawing up the final conclusions for future collaboration

To conclude the visit, the Diplomatic Academy's Director General Constantin Ene welcomed the collaboration with Clingendael, and expressed his hope of further expanding relations between the two institutions in the near future. The visit marked the successful start of the institution-building project and reaffirmed Clingendael's close ties with diplomatic training in Romania.

## Ambassador James Dobbins' Lecture on Afghanistan



On 27 June 2002, at the initiative of RAND Europe and the Clingendael Institute, the newly appointed Director of the Washington-based International Security and Defence Policy Center (ISDPC) Ambassador Mr James Dobbins presented a lecture entitled 'Afghanistan and Post-Cold War Nation Building'. Ambassador Dobbins was the Bush administration's special envoy to the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan, and was Head of the US delegation to the negotiations in Bonn last year about Afghanistan's future.

## Visit of the Israeli Minister, Mr Dan Meridor



Dr Alfred Pijpers (left) and Minister Dan Meridor

## Conference on the Danish Presidency of the European Union

From the second half of 2002, Denmark holds the Presidency of the EU Council. On 5 September, during a conference on Danish concerns for this term of the Presidency, Danish Minister of European Affairs Mr Bertel Haarder gave a speech focusing on the issues to which Denmark will give priority. Comments were made by Mr Atzo Nicolai, the Netherlands' State Secretary of European Affairs. The conference was chaired by Mr Hans van den Broek, Chairman of Clingendael's Board of Governors.



Mr Bertel Haarder, Denmark's Minister of European Affairs, presenting his speech



Mr Atzo Nicolai, Dutch State Secretary of European Affairs and Mr Hans van den Broek, Chairman of Clingendael's Board of Governors

## Clingendael Offshore

The External Relations Office will undertake a number of different assignments in autumn 2002, predominantly in Europe. A very special week of training on Leadership and Negotiation has been organised for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organisation in Vienna. This will be followed by two International Negotiation seminars (now part of an ongoing tradition) for the NATO Defence College in Rome.

As part of the Geneva-based Graduate Institute of International Relations' Caucasus Programme, External Relations will visit Tbilisi, to provide training for Transcaucasian diplomats, and Edinburgh, to contribute to the University of Oxford's Foreign Service Programme. Finally, as a successor to special seminars organised by Clingendael for the Croatian Diplomatic Academy at a time when EU membership was still a far cry, a course in International Negotiation will be provided for summer school students in Dubrovnik.

The only assignment beyond Europe for this autumn is the Processes of International Negotiations (PIN) Project at Los Angeles' Pepperdine University.

## Collaboration with the NATO Defence College (NDC)

Since July 2001, Clingendael has taken part in the training of NATO's future senior staff members (i.e., officers, diplomats and civil servants) at the Alliance's Defence College in Rome. In the early stages of each biannual Senior Course, Clingendael organises an introductory seminar on the subject of multilateral decision-making. The Institute also introduces, monitors and evaluates the extensive Negotiation, Mediation and Decision-making Exercise ('NMDX') at the end of the course. To date, Clingendael has contributed to three Senior Courses, training approximately 230 officers, diplomats and civil servants from all NATO and Partnership for Peace countries.

# Clingendael International Energy Programme research

A paper by Associate Fellow Rowena Cantley-Smith, on the effects of changes in international law on the international energy sector, and in particular on the impact of developments in human rights law and international environmental law on petroleum and mining activities, will soon be available on the CIEP website.

The recognition in law of new stakeholders such as environmental organisations and indigenous peoples' groups confronts the mining sector with new issues. Frequently, these new market participants have very different objectives regarding resource access and usage from traditional market actors such as states, state-owned companies or multinational corporations, and pursue different outcomes. As a result of legal developments, acquiring access and usage rights to areas with rich energy resource deposits of oil, gas, uranium and coal is becoming increasingly complex and time-consuming. In the long term, changes in resource ownership, access and usage rights, coupled with regulatory requirements to conduct complicated negotiations with all interested parties, can lead to increasing risks for the energy sector and undermine future energy supply security. These risks may take the form of rising additional costs, making economic exploitation impossible, or full or partial denial of access to areas in which resources are located. Such refusal may come from indigenous peoples (traditional landowners), or be based on environmental grounds.



Rowena Cantley-Smith

In the second part of the paper, the effects of the changes in law process are illustrated by a case study examining the changing legal relationship between Australia's indigenous peoples and the country's petroleum and mining industry. The report will form the basis for a seminar later in the year.

In September 2002, seconded from Vopak, Robbert Willenborg joined the CIEP team. He will be analysing the existing oil infrastructure capacity and throughput in Europe. The study will provide a prognosis as to whether the existing infrastructure is capable of adapting to coming changes in the energy sector, especially market liberalisation and the European Union's increasing import dependency. This research will support CIEP research into the security of energy supply in the European Union, and will appear on our website once completed.



Robbert Willenborg

CIEP website: <http://www.clingendael.nl/ciep>  
Updated in July 2002, the website now offers more background information about CIEP and its staff. In the Research section, information on CIEP's two main themes and specific projects in 2002 is available. The website also now features an extensive links page that provides links to numerous information resources concerning energy-related issues.

Recent CIEP activities:

Discussion meeting: 'A vision on energy and the environment'.

As a follow-up to the CIEP debate on Energy and the Environment in the Dutch Elections (28 January 2002), on 24 June CIEP organised a closed discussion meeting with members of parliament and representatives from the energy sector, various ministries, environmental organisations and research institutes. The topic for discussion was the future of energy and environmental policy in the Netherlands. Prof. Coby van der Linde wrote an article (available in Dutch on the CIEP website) in which she argues that future policy should be designed in such a way that the three fundamental elements of energy policy – prices, security of supply and the environment – become firmly anchored in

decision-making processes. Policy must take into account the policies of the European Union, international and geo-political development, and technological developments for cleaner and more sustainable energy use.

The article was discussed in the meeting on the basis of three statements. The meeting was chaired by CIEP Fellow Theo Westerwoudt, author of the CIEP report on the Dutch parties election programmes. Both the statements and the report are available in Dutch on the website.

Electricity seminar:

All over the world, electricity systems are currently undergoing far-reaching reforms, generally aiming to increase overall efficiencies by promoting more competition. The impact of these changes on market organisation, regulation, generation and transportation capacity and trade require close attention.

CIEP aims to analyse the consequences of these developments for the future of electricity markets in Europe, with particular attention to circumstances in the Netherlands. Sound background information and in-depth analysis should be used to evaluate current policies in Europe in the perspective of postulated goals to be achieved in the medium and long terms. CIEP acknowledges the wide body of work that has been done in this area. However, a deep and comprehensive view of the future of electricity markets is still missing, and gaps remain to be filled.

CIEP wishes to establish an ongoing information exchange with stakeholders in the Dutch and European electricity markets, to bring together views and expertise. As a start to this process, an informal brainstorm meeting took place on 5 July 2002.

## His Majesty Michael I at Clingendael



On 26 June 2002, H.M. Michael I, former King of Romania, presented a lecture entitled 'NATO's Reform and Romania's place in the Alliance'. His Majesty is pictured with his son-in-law, H.S.H. Prince Radu of Hohenzollern-Veringen.