

JAN WILLEM HONIG

ADDRESS

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RESEARCH INTERESTS

- The relationship between politics and war
- Western strategic thought and practice from the Middle Ages to the present
- The theories of Clausewitz and their influence
- Post-World War II European security and foreign policy-making

EDUCATION

King's College, London
Ph.D. in War Studies, 1989
Dutch Defence Policy and NATO, 1949–1978

University of Amsterdam
“Doctoraal” in History with Medieval History, 1984
Burgundian Strategy in the War against Jacqueline of Bavaria, 1425–1428

EXPERIENCE

Professor of Military Strategy, Swedish National Defence College, Stockholm
June 2007–Present
(first holder of the Chair in Military Strategy at the SNDC; on three-year leave-of-absence from King's College London)

Senior Lecturer in War Studies, Department of War Studies, King's College, London
September 1997–Present

Lecturer in War Studies, Department of War Studies, King's College, London
October 1993–August 1997

Adjunct Assistant Professor, Department of Liberal Studies, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, New York University
January 1992–June 1993.

Adjunct Assistant Professor, Degree Program in the Liberal Arts, School of Continuing Education, New York University
May 1992–June 1993.

Research Associate, Institute for East-West Security Studies, New York
January 1990–January 1992.

Temporary Lecturer in Military History, Department of History, University of Utrecht
October–December 1989.

MacArthur Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Department of War Studies, King's College, London
October 1988–September 1989.

FELLOWSHIPS AND SCHOLARSHIPS

Visiting Fellow, Center of International Studies, Princeton University, 2000

Senior Visiting Fellow, Remarque Institute, New York University, 1999
John T. and Catherine D. MacArthur Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, 1988–1989
NATO Research Fellow, 1987–1988
Foreign and Commonwealth Office Scholar, 1985–1987

CURRENT RESPONSIBILITIES

- Providing strategic leadership in establishing war studies as an academic field of study at the Swedish National Defence College (which recently achieved university status)
- Providing research leadership to a section of six full-time researchers by creating research programmes and obtaining research funding, nationally and internationally, in the field of strategic studies
- Creating and contributing to postgraduate programmes in strategic studies and political science at the Swedish National Defence College for both military and civilian students

TEACHING (2005–6 and 2006–7)

Department of War Studies, King's College London:

MA Option 'Clausewitz' (sole contributor)

MA Dissertation Training Course (course coordinator)

BA3 Core Course 'State, Society and Strategy' (course coordinator)

BA1 Core Course 'Conduct of War' (contributor)

Royal College of Defence Studies, London:

Senior Directing Staff Seminars (contributor)

MA in International Studies Core Course (contributor)

Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, New York:

MA Option 'Contemporary War and the Liberal Conscience' (course coordinator)

SUCCESSFUL PhD SUPERVISION

Nathalie Włodarczyk, 'Magic and War: The Role of Ritual and Traditional Belief in the Kamajor Civil Defence Forces in Sierra Leone and Beyond' (2007)

Jan Ångström, 'International Relations Theory and the Problem of International Order after the Cold War' (2006)
to be published as *International Relations Theory and Internal Order* (New York: SUNY Press, forthcoming)

Efstathios Fakiolas, 'The Grand Strategy of Small States: The Case of Greece's Territorial Enlargement, 1909–1920' (2006)

David Whetham, 'Unorthodox Warfare in the Age of Chivalry: Surprise and Deception in the Hundred Years' War' (2005)

Isabelle Duyvesteyn, 'The Political Dynamics of Civil War: A Structured Focused Comparison of the Liberian (1989–1997) and Somali (1988–1995)' (2003)
published as *Clausewitz and African Wars: Politics and Strategy in Liberia and Somalia* (London: Frank Cass, 2005)

David Trim, 'Fighting "Jacob's Wars": The Employment of English Mercenaries in the European Wars of Religion: France and the Netherlands, 1562–1610' (2002)

MAIN ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES AT KING'S COLLEGE LONDON

Chair, School of Social Science and Public Policy Postgraduate Teaching Committee, King's College London (*ex officio* member of College Teaching Committee, School Academic Committee, eWar Working Group), 2002–2004

Director of Teaching, Department of War Studies, 2003–2004

Director of MA Teaching, Department of War Studies, 2001–2003, 2006–7

External examiner, Vesalius College, Free University, Brussels, 2004–7

Undergraduate Admissions Tutor, 2006

LANGUAGES

Dutch (native speaker), English (fluent), advanced German, French, and Latin.

PUBLICATIONS

I. Books and Monographs

Srebrenica: Record of a War Crime (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1996; New York: Penguin USA, 1997) (with Norbert Both)
—shortlisted for the 1996 George Orwell Prize

translated as:

Srebrenica, Reconstructie van een oorlogsmisdad (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1996)

Srebrenica: Svedočanstvo o jednom ratnom zločinu, tr. Milica Krstanović (Belgrade: Radio B92, 1997)

Srebrenica: Hronika Ratnog Zločina, tr. Haris Mesinović (Sarajevo: Biblioteka Dokumenti, 1997)

Srebrenica: Der größte Massenmord in Europa nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, tr. Thomas Bertram (Munich: Lichtenberg, 1997)

Srebrenica: Zpráva o válečném zločinu, tr. Šimon Pellar (Prague: Mladá Fronta, 2001)

Defense Policy in the North Atlantic Alliance: The Case of the Netherlands (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1993)

NATO: An Institution under Threat? Institute for East-West Security Studies Occasional Paper Series, no. 22 (New York, 1991)

II. Articles

'Strategie und "Command and Control" in der spätmittelalterlichen Kriegführung', in *Krieg im Mittelalterlichen Abendland* (Essen: Magnus Verlag, forthcoming)

'Clausewitz's *On War*: Problems of Text and Translation', in Hew Strachan and Andreas Herberg-Rothe, eds, *Clausewitz in the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 57–73

'War without End(s): The End of Clausewitz?' *Distinktion: Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory*, No. 15 (2007), pp. 133–150 (with Andreas Herberg-Rothe)

'Strategy and Genocide: Srebrenica as an Analytical Challenge', *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (September 2007), pp. 399–416

'A Revolution in Strategy? Conducting War in an Age of Rogues', in Heinz Gärtner and Ian Cuthbertson, eds, *European Security and Transatlantic Relations after 9/11 and the Iraq War* (London: PalgraveMacmillan, 2005), pp. 33–47

'Introduction to the New Edition', in Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, tr. J. J. Graham (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2004), pp. xv–xxiv

“Die enorme hoeveelheid informatie...” De mateloze reconstructie van een oorlogsmisdaad’, *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, Vol. 118, No. 3 (2003), pp. 308–324

‘Avoiding War, Inviting Defeat: The Srebrenica Crisis, July 1995’, in Arjen Boin, Uriel Rosenthal and Louise Comfort, eds., *Managing Crises: Threats, Dilemmas and Opportunities* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas: 2001), pp. 61–73

(also published in: *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* 9, no. 4 [December 2001], pp. 198–208)

‘Warfare in the Middle Ages’, in Anja V. Hartmann Beatrice Heuser, eds, *War, Peace and World Orders in European History* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 113–126

‘New Conflicts: Risks and Challenges’, in Heinz Gärtner, Adrian Hyde-Price and Erich Reiter, eds, *Europe’s New Security Challenges* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2001), pp. 91–110

‘Men on Horseback, 400–1500’, *The Times Atlas of Military History* (London: HarperCollins, 2000), pp. 38–61

‘Dutch Foreign Policy Towards Ethnic Conflict’, in Peter R. Baehr, Floribert Baudet and Hans Werdmölder, eds., *Human Rights and Ethnic Conflicts*, SIM Special No. 24 (Utrecht: Studie- en Informatiecentrum Mensenrechten, 1999), pp. 75–99

‘Myths That Keep Small Powers Going: The Dutch Sense of Idealist Internationalism’, in Cyril Buffet and Beatrice Heuser, eds, *Haunted by History: Myths in International Relations* (Oxford: Berghahn, 1998), pp. 15–27

‘Strategy in a Post-Clausewitzian Setting’, in Gert de Nooy, ed., *The Clausewitzian Dictum and the Future of Western Military Strategy* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1997), pp. 109–122

(also appeared in a revised version as ‘Clausewitz and the Crisis in Contemporary Strategic Thought’, *Senshi Kenkyū Nenpō* [Military History Studies Annual], No. 5 (March 2002), pp. 76–90 [in Japanese])

‘Commandovoering in vredesoperaties: (inter)nationale fricties’ (Command and Control in Peacekeeping Operations: [Inter]national Frictions) in *Nooit meer vechten? Beschaving, technologie en toepassing van militair geweld* (The Hague: Stichting Maatschappij en Krijgsmacht, 1996), pp. 57–70

‘Totalitarianism and Realism: Hans Morgenthau’s German Years’, *Security Studies* 5, no. 2 (Winter 1995/1996), pp. 283–313

(also published in Benjamin Frankel, ed., *Roots of Realism* [London: Frank Cass, 1996], pp. 283–313)

‘Interpreting Clausewitz’, *Security Studies* 3, no. 3 (Spring 1994), pp. 571–580

(Review article of *The Development of Military Thought* by Azar Gat, *Understanding War* by Peter Paret, and *Historical and Political Writings* by Carl von Clausewitz, tr. and ed. by Peter Paret and Daniel Moran)

‘The Netherlands and Military Intervention’, in Lawrence Freedman, ed., *Military Intervention in European Conflicts* (Oxford: Blackwell for *The Political Quarterly*, 1994), pp. 142–153

‘The “Renationalization” of Western European Defense’, *Security Studies* 2, no. 1 (Autumn 1992), pp. 122–138

‘Rinazionalizzare la difesa?’ *Relazioni Internazionali* 56 (September 1992), pp. 56–63

‘Defensienota 1991: Om het (voort)bestaan van de veiligheid’ (The Dutch 1991 Defence White Paper), *Internationale Spectator*, Vol. 45, No. 6 (June 1991), pp. 377–383

‘Clausewitz en “landjepik”’ (Clausewitz and ‘non-provocative’ defence), *Transaktie*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (June 1990), pp. 136–142

‘The Dutch as Allies: Image and Reality’, *Internationale Spectator*, Vol. 43, No. 11 (November 1989), pp. 701–705

‘Strategie in de Late Middeleeuwen; of het zonderlinge geval van de afwezige militaire genieën’ (Strategy in the Late Middle Ages; Or, the Curious Case of the Missing Military Geniuses), *Skript, Historisch Tijdschrift*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Winter 1986/1987), pp. 251–261

III. Reviews

Review of *Transcultural Wars from the Middle Ages to the 21st Century*, edited by Hans-Henning Kortüm, *German Historical Institute London Bulletin*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (May 2008), pp. 54–58

Review of *Söldner aus Böhmen, Im Dienst deutscher Fürsten: Kriegsgeschäft und Heeresorganisation im 15. Jahrhundert*, by Uwe Tresp, *German History*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (May 2006), pp. 295–296

Review of *Warfare in Medieval Brabant, 1356–1406*, by Sergio Boffa, *Journal of Military History*, Vol. 70, No. 1, (2006), pp. 217–218

‘Het domineesland is toch niet zo wereldvreemd’, Review of *De Nederlandse buitenlandse politiek in de twintigste eeuw*, edited by Bob de Graaff, Duco Hellema en Bert van der Zwan, *Historisch Nieuwsblad*, No. 8 (2003)

Review of *Srebrenica, een ‘veilig’ gebied. Reconstructie, achtergronden, gevolgen en analyses van de val van een Safe Area*, by Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, *Militaire Spectator*, Vol. 171 (October 2002), pp. 514–516

Review of *Gorazde: The Peacekeeper’s Tale*, co-produced by Gillian Sandford and Mike Price, *Survival*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (Summer 2002), pp. 172–173

“Doe iets!—of de pogingen een pijnlijke erfenis te verklaren” (Do Something!—Or the Attempts to Explain a Painful Legacy), *Vrij Nederland* (Amsterdam), Vol. 59, No. 52 (2 January 1999), pp. 54–55 (review of five books on Bosnia)

Review of *Gunpowder: The History of an International Technology*, edited by Brenda J. Buchanan, *Icon*, Vol. 4 (1998), pp. 235–239

Review of *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War*, edited by Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox and Alvin Bernstein, *Survival*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Winter 1997/1998), pp. 188–190

Review of *American Aid to NATO Allies in the 1950s* by Ine Megens and *Met de blik naar het Oosten* by J. Hoffenaar and B. Schoemaker, *Transaktie*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (December 1994), pp. 488–497

Review of *The Origins of Military Thought from the Enlightenment to Clausewitz* by Azar Gat, *Survival*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (July/August 1991), pp. 383–384

IV. Newspaper Articles and Other Writings

‘Wat als ... de VN Srebrenica in juli 1995 met gebruik van geweld hadden verdedigd?’ (What if ... the UN had defended Srebrenica by force?) in Menno Steketee, ed., *Was het anders gelopen ... Speculatieve Nederlandse geschiedenis* (Amsterdam: Nieuw Amsterdam, 2006), pp. 11–24 (with Norbert Both)

‘Gang naar Uruzgan vraagt politieke moed’ (Uruzgan Mission requires political courage), *De Volkskrant* (Amsterdam), 10 January 2006

‘Srebrenica’, in Dinah Shelton, ed., *Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity* (New York: Macmillan, 2005)

‘A Future Role for NATO in the Greater Middle East?’ *Atlantisch Perspectief*, Vol. 28, No. 5 (2004), pp. 17–19

‘The Dutch and Srebrenica: Ghosts of the Past, Shadows for the Future’, *RUSI Newsbrief*, Vol. 20, No. 5 (May 2002), pp. 53–54

‘Onwaarschijnlijke zaken: Nederlandse oorlogsmisdaden’ (Improbable cases: Dutch war crimes), *Crimineel Jaarboek 1999* (s.l.: Coornhert Liga/Ars Aequi Libri, 1999), pp. 184–191

‘Wint Frank de Grave van bevelhebbers?’ (Will Defence Minister de Grave defeat the Chiefs?), *Elsevier*, Vol. 54, No. 48 (28 November 1998), pp. 38–39

‘Dezelfde gebeurtenis, verschillende interpretaties: twee boeken over Srebrenica’ (One event, different interpretations: Two books on Srebrenica), in Jan Weerdenburg, ed., *Lessen uit Srebrenica, Nederland en internationale vredesmissies* (Utrecht: Prestige, 1998), pp. 14–22

‘Wat Srebrenica ons moet leren over de Serviërs in Kosovo’ (The lessons of Srebrenica for Kosovo), *Trouw* (Amsterdam), 11 July 1998 (with Norbert Both)

‘Terror in Medieval Warfare’, in Martha Crenshaw and John Pimlott, eds., *Encyclopedia of World Terrorism* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), Vol. I, pp. 36–37

‘Symbool van Servische barbarij’ (Symbol of Serbian barbarism), *Het Parool* (Amsterdam), 11 July 1996 (with Norbert Both)

‘Religion and Society: Faith and the Flag’, *Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 5 July 1996

‘NATO: Why the Central and East European States Do Not Want to Join It’, *International: Die Zeitschrift für internationale Politik*, No. 1–2 (1996), pp. 18–21

‘De les van Srebrenica voor de krijgsmacht’ (The lesson of Srebrenica for the armed forces), *Het Parool* (Amsterdam), 31 August 1995 (with Norbert Both)

‘Oorlog voor VN enige uitweg in Bosnië’ (War only way out for UN in Bosnia), *Het Parool* (Amsterdam), 22 July 1995

‘Nederland droeg zelf bij aan vernedering in Bosnië’ (Netherlands contributed to humiliation in Bosnia), *De Volkskrant* (Amsterdam), 15 July 1995

Centre for Defence Studies, *A Common Foreign and Security Policy for Europe: The Inter-Governmental Conference of 1996* (London: Centre for Defence Studies, July 1995) (contributor)

‘Snelle-reactiemacht is een weloverwogen gok’ (Rapid Reaction Force is well-considered gamble), *Het Parool* (Amsterdam), 24 June 1995

‘Why East Europe Should Keep Out Of NATO’, *European Brief*, Vol. 2, No. 7 (June 1995), pp. 24–25

‘A Future for NATO?’ in *Enjeux du Monde, Bilans et perspectives 1991* (Paris: Fondation du Futur, 1991), pp. 76–78

‘De ‘renationalisatie’ van de NAVO defensie’ (The “renationalization” of NATO’s defences), *Het Parool* (Amsterdam), 9 October 1991’

‘Moderne geesten verdwalen in de zestiende eeuw’ (Modern minds lost in the 16th Century), *Trouw* (Amsterdam), 11 February 1984 (with W. Th. de Boer)

CONFERENCE AND OTHER PAPERS (Selection)

‘Clausewitz, Jomini and the Origins of a Modern Operational Art’, Lecture at the Symposium on ‘Operational Art: Theory and Practice in the Contemporary World’, Swedish National Defence College, Stockholm, 20–21 October 2008

‘The State, Politics and Strategy’ in Clausewitz’s Writings on Pre-French Revolutionary History’, Paper Presented at the Workshop ‘Clausewitz and the State’, Swedish National Defence College, Stockholm, 22–23 September 2008

‘Clausewitz and the Sea’, Lecture to the *Sjöhistoriska Samfundet*, Stockholm, 10 April 2008

‘Winning Wars’, Paper Presented at the Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism (INSECT) and Maxwell School, Syracuse University, 9 February 2006;
Oxford Leverhulme Programme on the Changing Character of War (CCW), Oxford University, 22 November 2005 (<http://ccw.politics.ox.ac.uk/events/archives/index.asp>);
Contemporary Security Seminar Series, Department of War, King’s College London, 2 March 2005

‘Clausewitz: Problems of Text and Translation’, Paper Presented at the ‘Clausewitz in the 21st Century’ Conference, University of Oxford, 21–23 March 2005

‘A NATO Role in the Greater Middle East?’, Paper Presented at the Conference ‘NATO After Enlargement: The Way Ahead’, Atlantische Commissie, The Hague, 17 June 2004

‘The European Union and War: Does the EU Need a Security and Defense Policy?’, Lecture held at the Maxwell European Union Center, Syracuse University, 11 September 2003

‘Miles Ludens: Chivalry, Strategy and Play in the Hundred Years’ War’, Medieval Interdisciplinary Seminar, University College London, 18 November 2002

‘The “New” Challenge of Fighting Terrorism’, Paper Presented at the Workshop on Comprehensive Security, Österreichisches Institut für Internationale Politik, Vienna, 27 May 2002

‘Military Security Challenges Since the End of the Cold War’, Paper Prepared at the Workshop on ‘European Security and Defense Policy: Toward Comprehensive Security?’, Stanford University, Calif., 20–21 March 2002

‘Democracies and Non-State Conflict: The Problem of Violent Stateless Adversaries’, Paper Presented at the 3rd Europe-Northeast Asia Forum, ‘Democracy and Conflict Resolution’, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin, 13–15 December 2001

‘Experiences in Civil-Military Relations in the Euro-Atlantic Region in Their Historic and Cultural Context’, Paper Presented at the Conference ‘Taking Stock on Civil-Military Relations’, Organised by the Centre for European Security Studies, University of Groningen, Centre for Security and Defence Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa and the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, The Hague, 9–12 May 2001

‘Anglo-Dutch Relations and Post-War Alliance Formation’, Paper Presented at the Conference on ‘Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Anglo-Dutch Relations’, Organised by the History Department, Utrecht University, Utrecht, 26–27 March 1999

‘Dutch Foreign Policy Towards Ethnic Powderkegs’, Paper Presented at the Conference ‘Human Rights and Ethnic Conflicts: An Interdisciplinary Conference’, Organised by the School of Human Rights Research, Utrecht University, Utrecht, The Netherlands, 29 May 1998

‘New Conflicts, Risks and Challenges’, Paper Presented at the Conference ‘Security Concepts for the Beginning of the 21st Century’, Organised by the Austrian Institute for International Affairs, the Austrian Defence Academy and the Institute for Military Science, Vienna, 2–4 April 1998

‘Lessen uit Srebrenica: Nederland en internationale vredesmissies’, Colloquium Organised by Studium Generale, Utrecht University, Utrecht, The Netherlands, 30 September 1997

‘Strategy in a Post-Clausewitzian Setting’, Paper Presented at the Conference ‘The Clausewitzian Dictum and the Future of Western Military Strategy’, organised by the Netherlands Institute of International Relations ‘Clingendael’, The Hague, 13–14 February 1997

‘The Early Modern Military Revolution: Politics, Technology and *Mentalité*’, Paper Presented at the Revolution in Military Affairs Conference, organised by the Naval Postgraduate School, the Joint Center for International and Security Studies (JCISS) of the University of California–Davis and *Security Studies*, Monterey, Calif., 26–28 August 1996

‘Western Democratic Traditions in Civil-Military Relations’, Paper Presented at the Civil Monitoring of Security Structures in Estonia Conference, organised by the Institute of International and Social Studies of the Estonian Academy of Sciences, Tallinn, 18–20 April 1996

‘Legervorming en commandovoering: (inter)nationale fricties’ (Armed Forces Organisation and Command and Control: (Inter)national Frictions), Paper presented at the Conference ‘Nooit meer vechten?’, Organised by the Instituut Defensie Leergangen, Stichting Maatschappij en Krijgsmacht and de Koninklijke Vereniging ter Beoefening van de Krijgswetenschappen, The Hague, 30 November 1995

‘Myths That Keep Small Powers Going,’ Paper Presented at the Conference ‘Mythen in den internationalen Betrekkingen’, Centre Marc Bloch de Recherches et Sciences Sociales, Berlin, 10–11 April 1995

‘The Smaller NATO Allies and the “Renationalization” of Defense’, Paper Presented to the Panel on ‘Smaller and Medium-sized States in a New Europe,’ ISA Conference, Atlanta, 1–4 April 1992

‘National Defense Policy and Western Alliances’, Paper Presented at the IEWSS Conference on ‘Future National Defense Planning and the Common European Security System’, The Hague, 30 September–2 October 1991

OTHER PUBLIC APPEARANCES (Selection)

http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/news/2008/06/080618_srebrenica_wt_sl.shtml

<http://www.csmonitor.com/2008/0711/p04s02-woeu.html>

<http://www.vpro.nl/programma/wereldnet/afleveringen/25469326/media/27363756/>

Dicussant, ‘War Crimes Tribunals’, Amsterdam Forum, Wereldomroep, 24 November 2005

Contributor, ‘The Long Road to Justice’, Radio Netherlands, 7 July 2005,
<http://www.prx.org/pieces/5083>

Panelist, ‘On the Tenth Anniversary of the Srebrenica Massacre’, Imperial War Museum in association with King’s College London, 29 June 2005

Panelist, ‘A Cry From the Grave: Srebrenica Ten Years Later’, Heinrich Böll Foundation North America and United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, 23 June 2005

Participant, ‘Roundtable on Conflict Issues’, Research Analysts Conflict Team, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 28 June 2004

Participant, ‘Conflict Reduction Workshop’, Prime Minister’s Strategy Unit, Cabinet Office, 11 June 2004

Contributor, ‘Lionheart: The Crusade’, Directed by Patrick Fleming and Produced by Oxford Film and Television for Channel 4, 2003

Contributor, ‘The Dutchbat Tapes’, 24 October 2002, Zembla,
<http://redir.vara.nl/tv/zembla/welcome2.html?20021024/zembla>

Witness, ‘Future of NATO’, Defence Select Committee, House of Commons, London, 12 June 2002