

EDITORIAL



Álvaro de Vasconcelos DIRECTOR

GLOBAL TRENDS 2030: STRATEGIC THINKING FOR AN OPEN EUROPE

The ESPAS Report *Global Trends 2030: Citizens in an Interconnected and Polycentric World* highlights the implications that the major trends currently shaping the world will inevitably have for the EU as an international actor. Clearly, EU foreign policy needs to be guided by long-term strategic thinking and the 2003 European Security Strategy requires updating in the light of the rapid transformation of the international order. The recently published ESPAS report presents us with an opportunity to reopen the debate on the EU's role as a foreign policy actor.

The three major global trends shaping the future:

- the growing empowerment of individuals, contributing to a sense of belonging to a single human community;
- greater stress on sustainable development against a backdrop of greater resource scarcity and persistent poverty, compounded by the consequences of climate change;
- the emergence of a more polycentric world characterised by a shift of power away from states, and growing govern-

ance gaps as the mechanisms for interstate relations fail to respond adequately to global public demands.

These three main trends all have profound implications for EU foreign and security policy and should be taken seriously by policy makers both in the EU institutions and Member States.

The empowerment of individuals. The growth of a burgeoning global middle class, empowered by near-universal access to education and information, is the major development that will shape the future. This trend will be particularly strong in Asia but also in Latin America, and to some extent in Africa. The empowerment of individuals will result in a greater demand for participation in public decision-making processes and is already facilitating interconnections among citizens of different parts of the world and a growing sense of a shared common humanity. The wave of popular uprisings that has recently swept across the Arab world, 'the Arab democratic wave', is a clear manifestation of this phenomenon and has been echoed in similar demands for a greater say in public governance elsewhere (for example in Russia). The interconnections created by the new social media networks

are one of the factors that explain the worldwide impact of the Arab democratic revolutions. For the EU, which defines itself as a normative power, the global empowerment of individuals is certainly an opportunity to foster its human rights and democratic agenda. However, it is essential for the EU to understand that democratisation is not synonymous with Westernisation or even less Europeanisation. The drive for political autonomy in parts of the world that have long been ruled by authoritarian regimes and the resistance to diktats imposed from outside will force the EU to adapt its policy to support democracy and promote human rights. Any declaration by the EU perceived as smacking of arrogance will be rejected in the name of dignity, the aspiration towards which was one of the main drivers of the uprisings in the Arab world. In the new democracies of the Arab world conditionality will be perceived as intrusive, arrogant and counterproductive. It is time for the EU to listen to others, to unfamiliar voices, to be more modest and aware of the outlook of other actors, and to restrain the impulse to say 'I pay, so I know what you should do and how'. The disbursement of financial aid will in any case decline in importance as an instrument of EU policy since developing countries are gradually emerging from

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poverty. European non-state actors will inevitably play a very important role proportionate to the level of their interconnections with citizens worldwide and the fact that Europe is at the current point in time the place in the world with greatest access to information technologies.

There is however the danger that Europe in the future will be less open and more afraid of its own diversity and of the developments taking place elsewhere in the world. This trend is expressed in the electoral successes of parties espousing populist xenophobic politics in some EU Member States. Populism is finding support in sections of the European middle classes who are anxious about the future, who feel they are losing out and tend to believe that globalisation and the rise of the new global middle classes is the cause of their problems. The rise of populism poses a formidable challenge to the prospects of an open Europe and to the European integration project itself. Ultimately the answer to the rise of populism is to be found in a deepening of democracy both at national and European level. This would allow for reformed democratic institutions to channel European citizens' aspirations for increased representation and participation. For this to happen the EU needs to overcome the fears of its own citizens and initiate a new process leading to the emergence of a Union with a common democratic constitution.

Scarcity in the context of climate change.

There is no doubt today that climate change as a consequence of global warming represents a real threat to the future of humankind. In the coming decades the impact of climate change will adversely affect the quality of life of billions of citizens worldwide by exacerbating water and food scarcity. There can be no doubt as to the gravity of this situation but there is no consensus on how to respond to this global challenge. In particular, it is unclear how the energy issue will be dealt with: will the world make the transition to renewable energy in the next 20 years?; will green technologies become the major source of energy? The European Union can be proud of its policy on climate change: after the failure of the Copenhagen climate summit in 2009, the EU was able to show leadership and score a diplomatic success during the Durban conference when it pledged to cut its greenhouse gas emissions by 20 percent, and derive 20 percent of its energy supply from renewable sources. However there is no agreement among the Member States on a common energy policy, in particular on the role of nuclear energy versus renewable technologies. The EU critically needs

a common energy policy as a fundamental component of the Union's ability to effectively contribute to a multilateral answer to climate change. There is also a need for major European programmes on renewable energies, as a component of a new growth policy.

The EU in a polycentric world.

Five years ago, in my first EUISS newsletter editorial, I wrote that the objective of our work at the Institute should be to contribute to building an 'open Europe' – a Europe able, when formulating its strategic priorities, to take into consideration not only the United States but also other global players like China, India and Brazil or South Africa. The ESPAS report confirms this assessment of a shift to a post-western world, but in a way that was difficult to discern back in 2007. The world of the future will not just be multipolar, dominated by four or five major global players, but polycentric with a larger number of protagonists (both state and non-state actors) playing an important role. No actors will be in a position to define the global agenda and the resolution of many problems that impact on the well-being of European citizens will need the involvement of a diverse array of actors. This means that over time global governance will become more inclusive and more attuned to the concerns of the majority of the citizens of the world. The growing sense of a common humanity and of shared global concerns is a good basis for sound global governance and the emergence of a common agenda.

However, engaging a multitude of actors will not be an easy exercise, especially in the context of the challenges associated with climate change, energy and security. In a non-hegemonic world middle powers will find a space to pursue their national agendas in different circles and partnerships, whether regional or global. In this context the great challenge for the European Union will be how to reconcile the priorities of EU Member States that are also global players. It is not clear who those powers will be in 2030: today Germany, France and Great Britain have this status, as does Turkey, currently a candidate country for EU membership. What will be the areas where they consider that the EU better serves their interests and those they consider better served by global or regional coalitions, including at European level? It is however clear that none will be able to decisively influence the search

for an effective multilateral answer to the global challenges that affect European citizens. A strong and effective European foreign policy should be able to integrate the influence and power of its Member States in a coherent common policy. This would enable the EU to propose effective answers to global problems shared by citizens worldwide.

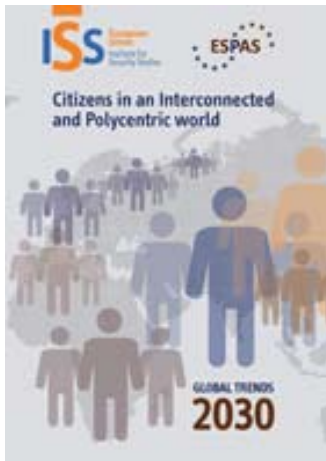


Tahrir Square, Cairo, 9 February 2011

The emergence of a polycentric world poses an existential challenge to the European Union which has a vital interest in an international order based on norms and rules. It is difficult to say if the EU will be able to continue with its project of deep integration, based on solidarity and the equality of all its citizens and nations, which today seems uncertain, or if, unable to find the right answers to the democratic and social demands of its citizens in a time of unprecedented crisis, it will disintegrate. However the latter also seems an unlikely scenario. The most likely scenario on the basis of present trends is one of differentiated integration, achieved not by the power of common norms and rules but by leadership. There is however still hope that European citizens will be inspired by the global trend towards the empowerment of individuals and find the strength to make clear that they want a European Union characterised by more solidarity, one that is more democratic and united.

Five years later it is difficult for me to say if the EU will be able to define and implement in a coherent and unified way a long-term strategy that can contribute to bringing about the better world hailed by the 2003 European Union Security Strategy. This is essential if the EU is to be able to take advantage of the opportunities presented by the trends highlighted in the EUISS ESPAS report, as well as to confront the enormous challenges ahead. What I know is that to be able to do so it needs strategic thinking and that is not possible without the kind of independent intellectual strategic analysis that the EUISS provides and of which the ESPAS report is an excellent example.

GLOBAL TRENDS AT THE EUISS



ESPAS Report – Global Trends 2030 Citizens in an Interconnected and Polycentric World

This report, published in April 2012, assesses the long-term, international and domestic, political and economic environment facing the European Union over the next 20 years. EU policy formulation depends on the timely identification of long-term global trends. Strategic thinking is essential both to drive EU domestic policies and to give coherence and consistency to the EU's external action, bringing together common institutions and individual states. The EUISS was identified as the core institution of the pilot trend-monitoring European Strategy and Policy Analysis System (ESPAS) and sought the close involvement of policy experts and regional representatives from around the world.

All EUISS publications can be downloaded from the Institute's website: www.iss.europa.eu

ESPAS: building a network of networks for the European Union

by James Elles MEP



This exercise is one of great importance as it will enable the European Union to begin to think strategically about future challenges ahead. Its purpose is not to be able to predict with any certainty what will happen and when; the record of people trying to predict future

events is not a good one as unforeseen events suddenly occur which few, if any, could have predicted with any accuracy.

The real purpose of this project is to allow policy makers in the European Union to develop a means by which they are constantly updated on long-term trends of subjects of critical importance, such as developments in new technologies, research and innovation, and the global economy. The *Global Trends 2030* report draws particular attention to the importance of the empowerment of individuals through technology and the rising global middle class. This gathering of relevant information will allow policy makers to assess likely out-

comes. Should they not like the outcomes which are predicted, then a change in policy will rapidly be needed to avert those predicted outcomes becoming a reality.

In addition to enabling the European Union to think strategically, the development of ESPAS will allow the European Union to help build up a network of countries willing to develop their own perception on long term global trends and to develop a common website which serves as a global repository for the relevant material. Such an approach will make a refreshing change to the headlines always talking about the BRICs against the West. Building a global community where all can have a role to play must be the way of the future.

Comments & Press

'The EUISS has produced a groundbreaking report which for the first time looks at the impact of an increasingly empowered global citizenry on the international system. The report paints a world which is no longer a relatively static one of states, but delves deep into the drivers and forces – such as the communications revolution – that are moulding and constraining state behaviour, not the other way around...'

Mathew J. Burrows, Counselor, National Intelligence Council, USA

'The EUISS' ESPAS Report is comprehensive and thought provoking. I look forward to the debate it will generate in my country as well as the others discussed ...'

Radha Kumar, Director of the Peace & Conflict Program, Delhi Policy Group, India

'The objective of this report, coordinated by Álvaro de Vasconcelos, is to establish what will be the major world trends prevailing in the ongoing phase of transition that has characterised the first decade of the twenty-first century. The report correctly draws a picture of global multipolarity. Of particular interest is the scope of its content and research, which was conducted not only in the developed world but also in the major poles of the emerging world. The analysis of the report is based on thorough and far-reaching research which is very useful to understand the complexities of the present global context.'

Marco Aurélio Garcia, Foreign Policy Special Advisor to the President of Brazil

'Au cœur du débat, s'inscrit comme en écho aux valeurs portées par l'Union européenne, le message de construire un monde de citoyens rendu possible par la montée de classes moyennes soucieuses de concilier autonomie individuelle et solidarité sociale. Ce rapport s'impose comme une introduction indispensable à la compréhension pour l'Europe du monde qui vient.'

Joseph Maïla, Directeur de la Prospective au Ministère des Affaires étrangères et européennes

'During the London launch of the ESPAS report, several themes were highlighted, including growing global competition for resources and managing the rise of more assertive states. Another salient theme that emerged was "the empowerment of individuals".'

Robin Niblett, Director, Chatham House

'Within 20 years or so a world that is now predominantly poor will be mostly middle class...The raw numbers are set out in a compelling report – *Global Trends 2030* – just published by the Paris-based European Union Institute for Security Studies. On current trends, it says, the ranks of the global middle class will swell from about 2bn today to 3.2bn by 2020 and 4.9bn by 2030 – the last of those numbers out of a total world population of just above 8bn. Put another way, for the first time in human history more people will be middle class than poor...'

Phillip Stephens, The Financial Times, Friday 27 April 2012

THE ARAB DEMOCRATIC WAVE AT THE EUISS: HIGHLIGHTS



■ 01 March 2011 ■ The Arab democratic wave: how the EU can seize the moment

Report - With uprisings in the Arab world continuing to spread, the EU needs a radical rethink of its policy in the region. This report shows how the failed Union for the Mediterranean represents an opportunity to define a new objective: building a Euro-Mediterranean community.

■ 10 March 2011 ■ Expériences de transition démocratique : Tunisie, quelle voie ?

Seminar - Tenu à Tunis les 9 et 10 mars 2011, ce séminaire a abordé des thèmes tels le rôle de la constitution et le processus de réforme, le processus électoral et la décentralisation, la refonte des lois qui régissent la vie publique, la réforme du système de sécurité, le pacte social, l'inclusion des acteurs politiques et la justice transitionnelle.

■ 11 April 2011 ■ The role of external actors in political reforms in the Arab world

Seminar - Taking place on 11-12 April 2011 at the EUISS in Paris and organised by the Arab Reform Initiative in collaboration with the EUISS and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, this seminar examined the role of external actors in political reforms in the Arab world.

■ 28 May 2011 ■ Democratic transition challenges: Egypt in a comparative perspective

Seminar - This seminar, organised in cooperation with the Arab Forum for Alternatives, took place in Cairo on 28-29 May 2011. It focused on how other countries that have undergone democratic transitions can share their experiences with the Egypt transition process.

■ 18 November 2011 ■ Egyptian democracy and the Muslim Brotherhood

Report - This publication examines the current context and future prospects in Egypt ahead of the first round of parliamentary elections on 28 November, with special attention to the role and position of the Muslim Brotherhood. The contributors examine the various options, opportunities and challenges facing both domestic and external actors with regard to the country's future and the Muslim Brotherhood's political trajectory.

■ 12 March 2012 ■ Listening to unfamiliar voices: the Arab democratic wave

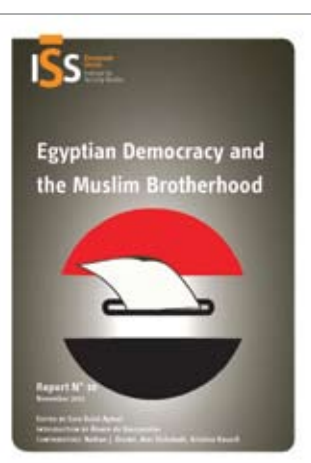
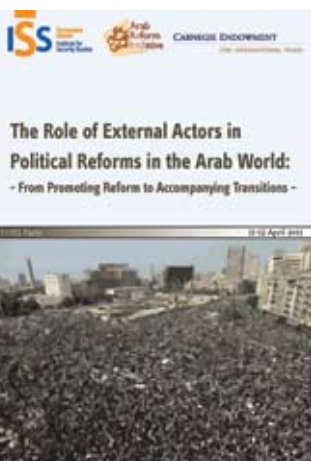
Book - Written by the Director of the EUISS, Álvaro de Vasconcelos, this new book assesses how the Arab democratic wave is part of a wider shift towards a post-Western world in which the global agenda is no longer defined by the West alone and other 'unfamiliar' voices may be heard.

■ 22/23 March 2012 ■ Élaboration de la constitution tunisienne : regards croisés

Seminar - This international seminar, jointly organised in Tunis by the EUISS and l'Association de Recherches sur la Démocratie et le Développement (AR2D) explored the new Tunisian constitution, the role of political Islam and transition to democracy.

■ 25 March 2012 ■ Egypt's transition to democracy: constitutional challenges

Seminar - This seminar examined the political transition currently underway in Egypt, drawing on the democratic experiences of other nations such as Brazil, Indonesia and Portugal to analyse the constitution-making processes, civil-military relations and the role of political Islam in the Arab world.



BUILDING EU STRATEGIC THINKING

Esra Bulut Aymat [British and Turkish]



Research areas:
Politics and conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean/
Middle East

Major political, economic and social change in Europe and the Middle East is prompting strategic reflection on many of the assumptions, objectives and methods that drive the EU's (and its Member-States' and societies') interaction with polities, people and power in the Middle East. Seeking to enrich EU strategic thinking on the region through analysis of the EU's strategic options, constraints, strengths and weaknesses, EUISS research has combined exploration of intra- and inter-state dynamics in the region with the study of the lessons (and path dependence) of European policy to date. One area of focus has been the EU and the Arab-Israeli conflict. A lapsed peace process and heightened uncertainty over the evolving power and persuasion of many states and entities embroiled in the conflict coexist with the ever-present risk of an acute escalation on one or more conflict fronts. The viability of the EU's strategic objective of a two-state solution, to which Europeans have anchored a range of bilateral and multilateral policies, appears threatened by many political, material and demographic trends on the ground and beyond. In this critical environment, EUISS research activities explore links between regional developments and conflict dynamics; intra- and inter-polity drivers of the conflict; lessons to be derived from wide-ranging EU policy experience; and the implications for future EU strategy.

Nicola Casarini [Italian]



Research areas:
EU-China and EU-East Asia relations, Chinese foreign policy, East Asia's security, and global governance

It is an undeniable fact that global wealth and power is shifting to Asia. The region is, however, in a state of flux. China's sustained growth provides neighbouring countries with great economic opportunities, but also with ominous strategic challenges as Beijing's defence modernisation alters the security perceptions in the region. This has led the US and its Asian allies to reassess their threat perceptions and defence strategies to varying

degrees. The EU has great stakes in the maintenance of regional peace and stability in Asia and the Union remains an important (if not the most important) trading and investment partner for many Asian countries. The future well-being of European societies will increasingly depend on the dynamics being played out in this geographically distant – but economically and politically close – part of the world. Contributing to a stable security environment in the region is thus a matter of strategic significance for the EU. The EUISS pays particular attention to the rapidly evolving dynamics in Asia and how these affect Europe. The Institute's activities and research programme are geared toward the analysis of the conditions for furthering the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy in the area, including the prospects of greater US-EU collaboration and the feasibility of establishing an autonomous position for the EU on Asia's security affairs.

Damien Helly [French]



Research areas:
Conflict prevention, crisis management, and linkages between security, development and governance, mainly in sub-Saharan Africa

The diversity of the African continent and its states, the distinct privileged historical links that exist between some Member States and their former colonies, and the corresponding cultural and linguistic affinities, all mean that there is extraordinary potential for EU-Africa cooperation. However, serious doubts remain about the ability of the EU to positively influence the situation on the African continent. The European contribution to peacekeeping, although essential, is as of yet not sufficient to suppress local, regional and multilateral dynamics that jeopardise the stability, welfare and development of entire communities. When implementing the EU-Africa partnership, efforts to alleviate poverty, contribute to development, invest in Africa's prosperity and enhance the security architecture of the African continent should constantly strive towards greater coherence and efficiency. The EUISS actively contributes to this by monitoring developments on the ground in order to highlight and question the 'added value' of the EU. The EUISS also seeks to establish partnerships with African decision-makers and actors of change as well as with other powers outside Africa, namely the United States and the BRICS, to identify the areas where multilateralism can be more effectively applied in Africa.

Rouzbeh Parsi [Swedish]



Research areas:
Politics and governance in Iran, Iraq and the Persian Gulf

Iran is a vexing and complex problem for the EU. From a foreign policy perspective Iran cannot be reduced to any single issue, nor has dealing with this country become any easier over time. Iran's political decision-making process has become even more obscure in recent years and the EU has gradually lost many of its entry points *vis-à-vis* the country. The EUISS has regularly convened conferences to deal with the many-faceted domestic and foreign policy issues of Iran, creating a network of scholars and policy experts with experience and knowledge of the country. The Institute has also endeavoured to act as an interface for the EEAS in order to channel some of this knowledge and analysis to the benefit of decision-makers in Brussels and Member States, where the paramount concern is highlighting and pushing for a more elaborate discussion of our broader strategic intentions with regard to Iran and the region. It is vital for the EU to develop a more comprehensive and independent strategy towards the region in general but Iran in particular, for a host of reasons including political dynamics (it is part of the extended neighbourhood) as well as energy security. Iran is one of several unavoidable, if not necessarily indispensable, actors in the region that we cannot afford to ignore or mishandle.

Patryk Pawlak [Polish]



Research areas:
US foreign and domestic policies, transatlantic relations, EU security policies, CSDP-Justice and Home Affairs linkages

The European Union and the United States are indispensable partners. This is not just a slogan repeated in the conclusions of every EU-US summit: close partnership is an essential feature of this relationship and something which needs to be accentuated even more in times when their mutual commitment is being increasingly questioned. However, we need to put more effort into translating our declared commitment to the transatlantic relationship into concrete actions. The level of transatlantic integration in numerous policy areas is indeed

unprecedented, although it often lacks a more strategic dimension that would allow us to capitalise fully on existing potential. At the same time, global power shifts and shrinking resources challenge the old ways of doing things - both bilaterally and globally. The EU Washington Forum is the EUISS response to the need for a more strategic transatlantic engagement. Every year we bring together leading experts and policymakers who over two days explore some of the most pressing issues on the transatlantic agenda. The US Task Force is a more flexible format for a focused analysis of challenges and opportunities ahead. We have also developed a vibrant network of partners which enhances our analytical strength and the ability to adapt and respond to evolving needs in a timely manner.

Luis Peral [Spanish]



Research areas: the EU's contribution to multilateralism and the international security system, EU-India relations, responses to conflict situations (Afghanistan)

Effective multilateralism starts with greater contributions - not only financially speaking - to the UN. During the last few years, the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and peacebuilding have constituted the two main strategic areas for the UN. Regarding R2P, the analysis of the difficulties of its interpretation undertaken by the EUISS proved to be accurate following the UNSC impasse over Syria, showing the limits of a concept which was correctly applied but not consensually implemented in Libya. Peacebuilding is a less controversial concept, but fears of instability and a scarcity of resources currently prevent it from being a fully operational form of conflict prevention. In the case of India, strategic thinking means collective action with our Indian counterparts to help contribute to the EU-India Strategic Partnership. The EUISS and the Indian governmental think tank ICWA have developed many new avenues for cooperation including expert fora, major reports and an edited volume to encourage joint thinking. With regard to Afghanistan, the EU has been unable to counterbalance the predominantly military approach of the US. The EUISS has attempted to launch a focused strategic debate, both in Brussels and Washington, but also in Delhi, on the need for genuine peacebuilding there. It may now be time to launch a similar debate on Pakistan.

Jean Pascal Zanders [Belgian]



Research areas: Disarmament and non-proliferation

Disarmament and non-proliferation is one of the fields in which the European Union has identified opportunities to concretely implement its core concept of effective multilateralism. Through the combined application of financial resources and soft power, the EU has been able to support the implementation of international disarmament and non-proliferation treaties, as well as supporting international organisations and UN agencies addressing proliferation risks regarding terrorist entities. However, since the end of the Cold War, disarmament has come to face some serious challenges, including a lack of global consensus over future goals and new security demands on verification and analogous processes. With the focus on dual-use technologies, new categories of actors, including the industrial and scientific communities as well as civil society as a whole, have made various claims on future arrangements. The EUISS research programme focuses on the future challenges for the regulation of non-conventional weapons. Through regular meetings of an *ad hoc* working group, it identifies actors and interests in disarmament in an economically changing, globalising, but simultaneously more polycentric world. Conceptual analysis is complemented by concrete investigations into specific issue areas in support of treaty review conferences (NPT, BTWC, CWC) and the provision of technical expertise to the EEAS.

Publications & Communications

Catherine Glière [French]



Publications

In line with the Institute's mission to promote a common security culture for the EU, to help develop and project the CFSP, and to enrich Europe's strategic debate, the Institute regularly produces a variety of publications on the topics and regions which form the core of its work. Publications are an important component of the Institute's activities and a readily-accessible source for those interested in finding out more about the European foreign and security policy through its flagship publication series, the *Chaillot*

Papers, but also through *Occasional Papers*, books, reports, and shorter policy briefs and analyses. Based on collective work or individual research, carried out by ISS Research Fellows or external experts, these publications cover a wide array of topics and range from short two-page analyses on specific questions to in-depth essays on wider geopolitical issues. Over the years, this has allowed the build-up of an ever-growing audience of regular readers, who are able to find all ISS publications on the Institute's website but who also have the pleasure of adding the printed versions to their personal or specialist libraries.

Hanno Ranck [German]



Communications, relations with the press

Communicating innovative ideas is the core business of any successful think tank. The digital revolution has made it easier but at the same time more complex to disseminate ideas. At the beginning of the millennium only bigger organisations had a regularly updated website. Today a multitude of web presences including blogs, Twitter, Facebook, and electronic newsletters are the hallmarks of every successful think tank. The standards for design, readability and accessibility have become more competitive and the publishing process much quicker. But the speed of information enabled through web technology has also changed the expectations of strategic thinking. Decision makers have to be ready to act any time. The visibility of events has shortened their margin for reflection to a minimum, and research is certainly not excluded from this. Modern communication tools improve reaction, facilitate interaction with diverse audiences and help measure the impact of research. To be successful as the EU's foreign policy think tank we have to react with an ever-shorter delay and make our products easily accessible to citizens and across institutions. The EUISS is in tune with the EU's communications strategy and is leading the way with the use of the latest technology such as mobile apps to facilitate the European strategic debate.

Note: Research Fellows Sabine Fischer and Daniel Keohane, experts on two critical areas for EU strategic thinking, Russia and CSDP respectively, recently came to the end of their period of contract at the EUISS and have yet to be replaced.