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Institute

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editorial

## A European centre of excellence in tune with the world

Álvaro de Vasconcelos

Director

Universal é o local sem paredes. (Miguel Torga)  
L'universel n'est autre que le local dépourvu de murs.  
The universal is the local without walls.

As I begin my tenure as director, it seems appropriate that I should outline my vision for the EUISS and its role in shaping the European Union's foreign and security policy, by broadly recapitulating the ideas set out in the paper submitted at the request of the HR/SG for CFSP, Javier Solana, prior to my appointment to this post. In applying this vision to the daily work of the Institute, I shall be following in the footsteps of Nicole Gnesotto, who oversaw the transition from the WEU and created the EUISS. Both Guido Lenzi and John Roper, the 'founding father' of the Institute, also deserve our gratitude for helping shape the Institute into what it is today.

In the past five years, the EUISS has consolidated its credibility as an EU institution dealing with the study of European security and international affairs, in the context of the Union's new foreign policy responsibilities. Under Nicole Gnesotto's leadership, it has become a highly-reputed centre for security and international studies, contributing to the formulation and implementation



Angela Merkel with the Prime Ministers of India and China at the G8 Summit 2007 in Heiligendamm.

of the European Union's foreign, security and defence policy at a time when the EU had to operate within the particularly difficult international environment in the wake of the events of September 11 2001, in parallel with its own expansion.

### THE AMBITION

Five years into its existence, it is time to reconsider the EUISS's mission and how it can best be accomplished, in the light of the Union's stated goal of shaping a better world.

The EUISS will increasingly have to contribute to improving our understanding of current global realities in a world that is reverting to multipolarity, at a time when it can be said that unilateralism has failed but we cannot yet speak of the triumph of multilateralism.

It must do this in support of the EU's stated aim of achieving effective multilateralism, in which context the EU itself can act as a global player. This is to be done by giving a clear multilateral perspective to its bilateral relations with other



1st EU-Brazil Summit in Lisbon on 4 July 2007

# Institute Activities

## The Institute and the Union

■ **The German Presidency** — On 29 May the Institute organised a Conference in Vienna entitled 'Challenges in missile non-proliferation – Multilateral approaches. The Hague Code of Conduct against ballistic missile proliferation' in cooperation with the German Presidency (organiser: Daniel Keohane).

On 27 June, Álvaro de Vasconcelos took part in a TEPSA (Trans European Policy Studies Association) meeting on 'Overcoming the Impasse: Challenges for the Portuguese Presidency of the EU' in Lisbon.

■ **The Council** — On 3 April, the Director and the Research Fellows received Helga Schmid (Policy Unit Director) and Merete Bilde (Secretariat General).

On 7 May Álvaro de Vasconcelos met with Claude-France Arnould, Pedro Serrano, Robert Cooper, Cristina Gallach, Helga Schmid, Pierre de Boissieu, Patrice Bergamini and Enrique Mora in Brussels. He also had lunch with Javier Solana and Nicole Gnesotto.

On 21 May, Álvaro de Vasconcelos met with Ambassador Juan Prat y Coll, Ambassador at Large for Mediterranean Affairs, H.E.M. Miguel Angel Moratinos, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Rafael Dezcallar de Mazarredo, Director General for External Policy and Alberto Navarro Gonzalez, Secretary of State for the European Union, and Gema Martin Munoz, Director, Arab House & the International Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies

■ **The Board** — On 13 June Álvaro de Vasconcelos participated in a meeting of the Board of the Institute, which was attended by the former Director of the EUISS.

■ **European Security and Defence College** — On 13 June, Álvaro de Vasconcelos, Gustav Lindstrom and Daniel Keohane participated in a meeting of the

## The Institute and the Union

*continued*

Executive Academic Board of the ESDC in Brussels.

On 14 June, Gustav Lindstrom took part in the ESDC Orientation Course organised by the German Presidency and the Bundesakademie für Sicherheitspolitik (Berlin) in Brussels.

■ **The European Commission** — On 13 June, Álvaro de Vasconcelos met with Eneko Landaburu (Director General – DG External Relations) in Brussels.

## Seminars

■ On 29 June the Institute held a seminar on Turkey (organiser: Walter Posch). The purpose of the seminar was to get a clearer picture of the country's social and political dynamics in the run-up to the upcoming elections (scheduled for 22 July). Turkish and European scholars exchanged views on the implications of this crisis on the national and international level. In the afternoon session, participants discussed implications for the EU and the Turkish membership process.

## Briefings

■ On 4 April, Judy Batt briefed two visitors from Kosovo: Nazmi Brahimaj, Commandant of the 3<sup>rd</sup> KPC Protection Zone, and Fatmir Limaj, first Vice-President of PDK (Democratic Party of Kosovo) on CFSP/ESDP issues in Paris.



Briefing of 22 June 2007 with students from Texas A&M University.

## Briefings

*continued*

■ On 22 June, Gustav Lindstrom and Marcin Zaborowski received a group of students from Texas A&M University to have an exchange on transatlantic relations.

## Task Force

■ On 23 April, the Institute held the first meeting of its Task Force on Russia (organiser: Sabine Fisher) in Paris. This Task Force, attended by experts from different EU member states and representatives of EU institutions as well as Foreign Ministries, will meet twice a year and discuss topical issues in Russia's domestic and international affairs. The programme of this first meeting, entitled 'Russia – A difficult partner for the EU', focused on three issues: Russia's domestic situation one year before the Presidential elections and the probable end of Vladimir Putin's term in office; recent changes in Russia's foreign policy; and policy options for the EU against the backdrop of domestic and foreign policy developments.

## The Institute

■ **The directorship of the Institute** — The new Director of the Institute, Álvaro de Vasconcelos, joined the Institute on 2 May, taking over from Nicole Gnesotto who left at the end of April, having completed her five-year mandate.

■ **Research Fellow** — In June, Pierre-Antoine Braud, Research Fellow, left the Institute to join UCLA in September as a Visiting Researcher.

■ **Internal seminar** — On 16 June, the Institute research team held an internal brainstorming meeting to discuss the transformation of the international system and the EU's place within it. We were joined by Alfredo Valladão (who lectures at the Institut d'Etudes politiques de Paris, where he heads the Mercosur Chair) to give us an external perspective on these questions, which was extremely valuable in helping us shape our research programme for the coming years.



## Missions

■ From 16 to 25 April, Walter Posch had a study mission and contacts with experts and officials in Istanbul and in Ankara. He discussed Turkey in-between the Middle East and Europe with experts at Bilkent University. He also visited ASAM (Eurasian Strategic Research Centre) and USAK to discuss the Iran crisis, the situation in Iraq, Turkey's neighbourhood policy and energy security. He participated in a round table with experts from USAK on the situation in Iraq and Iran at Bogaziçi University, where he gave two lectures to students from Istanbul.

■ On 17 May Judy Batt gave a conference in Podgorica to the Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro within a seminar entitled 'Parliament for Europe' organised by the European Movement in Montenegro jointly with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. On 28 June, she gave a lecture on the future of the Balkans to the Junior EAPC Security Forum in Ohrid.

■ From 29 May to 8 June, Sabine Fischer went to Moscow and Kiev where she met with experts and officials from the Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs.



## Research awards

### Visiting Fellows

– Robertas Bruzilas (Lithuanian) joined the Institute on 2 April and stayed until 29 June 2007. He is carrying out research on 'Three years since EU membership: Baltic contributions to ESDP/CFSP'.

– Sandro Knezovic (Croatian) joined the Institute on 2 April and stayed until 29 June 2007. He is carrying out research on 'The role of Croatia in Southeast Europe – From security consumer to the EU's reliable partner in the region'.

– Rosaria Puglisi (Italian) joined the Institute on 16 April and stayed until 13 July. Her research topic is 'Geopolitical orientation of the Ukrainian oligarchs'.

– Erkki Aalto (Finnish) joined the Institute on 1 June and will stay until 31 July. He is carrying out research on 'Interpretation of Article 296 of the EC Treaty – Recent Developments and Their Legal and Political Implications'.

### Research Assistant

– Stéphane Delory (French) worked at the Institute from 1 March to 31 May on the update of the EUISS's book *The New Global Puzzle. What World for the EU in 2025?*

## Institute publications

### Chaillot Papers

■ *N° 103: Transformational diplomacy*, by Justin Vaïsse (June).

■ *N° 102: Fermer Yalta*, by Salomé Zourabichvili (May).

■ *N° 101: Gender mainstreaming in ESDP missions*, by Johanna Valenius (May).

■ *N° 100: Building the future: the EU's contribution to global governance*, by Martin Ortega (April).

■ *N° 99: Sécurité et développement de l'Afrique: une nouvelle approche pour l'UE*, by Charles Goerens (April).

### Occasional Papers

■ *N° 67: Crisis in Turkey: just another bump on the road to Europe?*, by Walter Posch (June).

### Other

■ *Rapport d'activité 2006*, a report of the EUISS's activities in 2006, was published in May (in French only).

### Forthcoming

■ *Chaillot Paper: Regional cooperation in the Western Balkans*, by Milica Delevic.

■ *Chaillot Paper: Seeing blue: American visions of the EU*, by Esther Brimmer.

■ *Occasional Paper: Relations in the Russia-Ukraine-EU triangle: 'zero sum game' or not?*, by Vsevolod Samokhvalov.

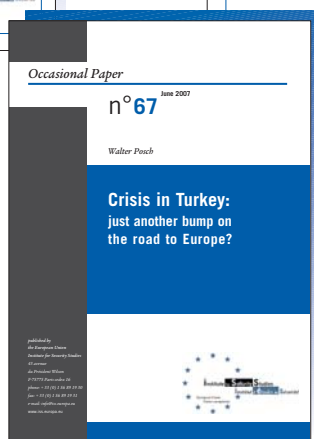
## External publications

### Sabine Fischer

'EU-Russia. Democracy Promotion in a Strategic Partnership?', in Annette Jünnemann/Michèle Knodt (eds.), *Externe Demokratieförderung der Europäischen Union* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007) (forthcoming).

## Open Day

■ On 5 May, the Institute took part in the Open Day organised every year by the EU Council in Justus Lipsius, Brussels. The event attracted 7,000 visitors, many of whom showed interest in the EUISS and its publications.



## The potential unintended consequences of missile defence in Europe

Missile defence in Europe is currently a hotly debated topic in international security. It has animated discussions and raised issues at multiple levels, including ramifications for international relations (e.g. between the US and Russia), intra-EU relations (e.g. concerning national positions), and institutional relations (e.g. the role of NATO). Given the vast amount of debate it has spawned, it is surprising that only limited attention has been paid to the potential unintended consequences of missile defence in Europe. Looking ahead, at least three challenging elements stand out.

■ First, a continued development of missile defence may have implications for the peaceful use of outer space. A growing constellation of satellites – about 3,150 have been launched to date by approximately sixty nations – has created a new critical infrastructure that supports communications, navigation, and surveillance to name but a few.<sup>1</sup> An interruption of these and related services, even for short periods, could result in significant costs and damages. As a result, nations are keen to protect their satellites. Since the interceptors used for missile defence could theoretically be used to target

satellites – especially those in low-Earth orbit – some countries are considering protective measures. Some may also consider offensive measures for retaliatory purposes. In January 2007, China demonstrated this capability by destroying one of its own obsolete weather satellites at an altitude of approximately 855 kilometres. Should some of these protective or countering measures be space-based, the militarisation of space could literally ‘take off’.

■ Second, missile defence measures may encourage some countries to invest greater resources in other missile types to circumvent an evolving missile shield. One example is short-range missiles such as cruise missiles. If launched from sea-based platforms close to the target area, ballistic missile interceptors would offer no help. Protecting against low-altitude cruise missiles places a premium on radars and theatre-level defence systems. Unfortunately, achieving such protection is a challenging undertaking. For the US alone, ‘cruise missile gaps’ have been identified up to 2015.<sup>2</sup> If actors of concern decide to invest in asymmetric means such as cruise missiles, it could gradually undermine missile defence efforts and possibly increase vulnerabilities.

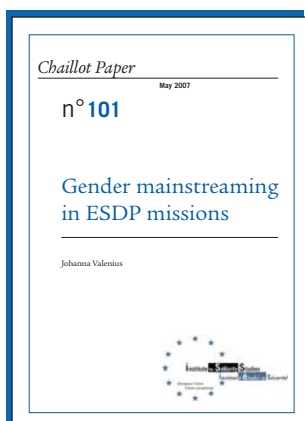
■ Finally, China (and not Russia) may turn out to be the most concerned by an evolving missile defence system – especially if it becomes part of a multilayered system made up of sea-based and space-based missile defences. With approximately twenty long-range intercontinental ballistic missiles (DF-5/CSS), China may perceive its nuclear deterrent weakening. The missile defence system based in the United States, coupled with a European system, could be perceived as blocking its missiles – irrespective of the launch trajectory chosen. In response, China may consider steps ranging from levelling political objections to boosting its arsenal of missiles. The latter might fuel arms races in parts of Asia – an additional unintended, and undesirable, consequence.■



Gustav Lindstrom

<sup>1</sup> Duncan Lennox, ‘Launching out’, *Jane’s Defence Weekly*, 28 March 2007.

<sup>2</sup> John Liang, ‘DoD Finds Cruise Missile Defense “Gaps”’, *InsideDefense.com*, 17 August 2006.



In 2000 the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1325, *Women, Peace and Security*, which calls for ‘gender mainstreaming’. This means taking account of gender factors in the planning and implementation of crisis management policies and missions, and gender balancing in civilian

and military operations. International organisations, governments and national militaries have become increasingly aware of the unintended gendered side-effects of peacekeeping operations, including incidents of prostitution, trafficking in women and the exploitation of local women and men in post-conflict societies. Systematic sexualised violence against women during conflicts, and the effects of this on post-war reconstruction, further highlights the need for gender-sensitive policies. Within the EU, gender mainstreaming in crisis management operations

## Gender mainstreaming

became topical in 2005 when the European Council welcomed a paper by the General Secretariat on Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the context of the ESDP.

■ *Chaillot Paper* no. 101, ‘Gender Mainstreaming in ESDP missions’, published by the EUISS in May 2007, seeks to clarify and explore the issue of gender mainstreaming. In the first part it addresses what gender mainstreaming is and why it should be implemented in ESDP missions. The second part presents the findings of a case study conducted by researchers at the EU

## The calm before the storm

**Before attacking the Persians,** King Croesus asked the Delphi oracle about his fate. According to Herodotus, the oracle said: 'if you cross the Halys river, a great empire will be destroyed'. Croesus attacked and the next winter Cyrus the Great retaliated and defeated him. The empire that Croesus had contributed to destroy was in fact his own.

■ Current oracles, i.e. analysts of international relations, make less ambiguous predictions. In 'Building the future: the EU's contribution to global governance' (*Chaillot Paper* no. 100), this author foresees an auspicious period as from 2009 for jointly addressing global challenges. A new US President, the emerging powers' willingness to cooperate with the traditional great powers, the new momentum that the EU may acquire after the constitutional crisis is resolved, and the impact of one or more catastrophes, whether natural or man-made, will probably lead to global negotiations and agreements. At that point in time numerous issues will have to be seriously addressed: UN Security Council reform, glo-

bal trade and financial governance, peace and institution building in the Middle East region, fossil fuel consumption, climate change and the spectre of extreme poverty in Africa.

■ Therefore, out of sheer necessity world powers will be compelled to define a concerted framework for global governance in the future. The problem is how to get there. From summer 2007 until autumn 2008 many unpleasant events may intervene and may put the international system, which currently looks rather weak, severely to the test. While it must be hoped that the future will be brighter, the present situation is reminiscent of the uneasy calm that usually precedes big storms.

■ During the last five years a virtuous economic circle has propelled global growth. But our economies today are more vulnerable than ever, owing to increasingly close commercial and financial interdependence. In addition to problems of a purely economic nature, geopolitical risks and contingencies, such as hurricanes and other natural disasters, terrorist attacks, war in the Middle East region and internal

turmoil in key international actors, can disrupt the global economic circle.

Most probably, reactions to those events will be measured and judicious, since global civil society will favour peaceful, constructive responses. However, coming to terms with the negative effects of those risks may prove a very painful process.

■ Today's oracles may be right or wrong. For their part, political leaders, like Croesus, continue to interpret their advice as they wish. Most analysts highlight the fact that the situation in the Middle East is dangerous, the deterioration of the global environment is almost beyond control, all weapons of mass destruction must be contained and the situation in most parts of Africa is desperate. But many Western political leaders are not paying attention. This is a pity, for the question they should be asking themselves is: are we ready for the gathering storm? ■



*Martin Ortega*

...

Institute for Security Studies on the ESDP missions in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

■ The conclusions of the study were encouraging, but many challenges remain. On the whole, attitudes towards gender mainstreaming were found to be positive. The key challenge is to have more female soldiers and police officers in the missions. This requires the commitment of EU Member States at the highest level. In order to recruit the most suitable men and women, national militaries have to make sure that the armed forces is an attractive and professional workplace

where everyone can put his/her skills to use. Sexual harassment, for instance, is a pervasive problem that hinders women, and also men, from seeking a military career.

■ Training of personnel for crisis management operations needs to be strengthened in order to increase sensitivity to the whole range of gender issues, and appreciation of how women's participation enhances the effectiveness of missions. Training of military personnel deployed in ESDP operations must take into account cultural and gender issues, which is already taking place in many Member

States. However, it is of the utmost importance to recognise that superficial, 'last-minute' gender and cultural awareness raising will not lead to lasting change.

■ Finally, it needs to be remembered that gender mainstreaming cannot be simply 'bolted on' to operations as a kind of afterthought. A gender perspective must be included systematically at every stage of an operation: in planning (including fact-finding missions), implementation, monitoring and 'lessons learned'.

*Johanna Valenius*



...

major players in the international system – what I would call ‘multilateralising multipolarity’ – while simultaneously contributing to the reinforcement of regional integration and cooperation.

The United States is the paramount global power and a key strategic partner of the Union, vital to any project of effective multilateralism. However, it can be argued that there has been a poor understanding of American policy in Europe in recent years, and that there is a deficit in American studies. Thus the United States and Euro-American relations must constitute a strong strand of research within the EUISS. Equally, the study of relations with global players like China, India or Brazil and regional powers like South Africa must grow in importance at the Institute as these are developed into strategic relationships of the Union.

The Institute should cater, furthermore, to the increasing worldwide ‘demand for Europe’. The fact that it is seen as an ‘international public good’ places a heavy responsibility upon the Union, testing its ability to lead the international community in facing the kind of world disorder that is causing such inordinate human suffering from Sudan to Iraq and the Middle East.

The EUISS should devote particular attention to European peripheries where crises and turmoil counterpoint the desire to forge a common destiny with Europe. The debate on how to achieve the goals of creating a democratic and prosperous Euro-Mediterranean community set forth in Barcelona in 1995 is back on the agenda. And so is the imperative to keep Russia committed to continental cooperation for peace and development while, at the same time, the Union should do its part to consolidate the democratic process in the EU’s eastern neighbourhood.

The EUISS should provide the Union with timely, forward-looking analysis, covering both immediate priorities for EU foreign, security and defence policy and the great challenges of modern times. The latter range from human rights to democracy, from development to peace, from proliferation to terrorism, from energy to the environment, from rearmament and the fate of arms-control regimes to the link between security and justice, and, last but not least, the security challenges of climate change.

None of these are new, but since the end of the Cold War freed globalisation from its constraints, such issues have become an integral part of international affairs.

As the EU’s growing global role broadens its policy interests, and as it expands its outreach, the EUISS has an increasing role to play in contributing to forging a European security culture based on the Union’s founding fundamental values, that

of a distinctive political entity that has delegitimised power politics among its member states.

Equally important is the contribution the Institute can make to the EU’s success in achieving ‘unity in action’. This will require ensuring coherence between its formidable soft power and a measure of hard power, through the combination of the means individual EU members place at the Union’s disposal and the means they share. There is consensus on the urgent need to integrate the instruments available to the EU’s common foreign and security policy, i.e. those of the Council, of the Commission and of the member states, in a coherent and effective manner.

In short, the EUISS must evolve in line with the spirit of ‘unity in action’ that led the European Convention to propose the post of EU Foreign Minister, and act (as its mission statement strongly suggests) as the Institute for foreign and security studies of the European Union.



#### A NETWORK OF NETWORKS

Civil society, think tanks and their networks are today a fundamental dimension of international relations. This should appropriately be reflected in the EUISS’s activities. In order to fully support the Union’s external action in its own field of expertise, the EUISS must work closely with European and international networks.

Europe places cooperation at the heart of its perceptions of global policy and since it has no monopoly on innovative thinking on world affairs, it is crucial that the EU’s institutions, thinkers and planners become more aware of the debate and ideas being put forward in the wider world. It should be informed of the strategic visions, the security concerns and the policy options being generated both within its neighbours and further afield.

While developing its own European research capacities, opening up to the world also means the EUISS must be capable of systematically involving non-European researchers in the full range of its activities, in particular academics and younger researchers from priority areas in the EU’s foreign policy interests.

In short, the EUISS must do at its own level what the European Union must do more and more on a much larger scale: think strategically, work regionally and act globally. ■

## On-line/http

All the Institute’s publications and reports on seminars can be accessed on the Institute’s website:

<http://www.iss.europa.eu>