# Message from the Director

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The year 2001 has been first and foremost marked by the September 11 attacks on New York and Washington. These events did not change the world. But the outbreak of "hyperterrorism" has changed our way of seeing it, of understanding the past and envisioning the future. Like in all comparable research institutes around the world, our activity following this historic date has been shaped by Al Qaida's attacks. But our mission is a long-term one and aims at identifying all the major trends likely to affect significantly the international system. Thus we devote increasing energy to the study of globalization - in particular to the movements opposing it - to the evolving regulatory role of multilateral institutions (e.g. the World Trade Organization), and to new forms of "governance" linking public and private actors on the international scene. Another major issue looming ahead is the difficulty to grasp the nature of an enlarged European Union, whose identity and "governance" raise formidable problems.

Three aspects, which make Ifri unique in France, should be underlined:

– its independence: Ifri is not subject to governmental supervision. In particular its board is entirely coopted, with no members appointed from the outside, and its budget - of around 4.6 million euros - is equally financed from public funds (mainly from the Prime Minister’s general budget) and private funds (members’ contributions, research contracts with international foundations, etc.). The building in the Rue de la Procession was fully funded by private donations.

– the balance and the fruitful interaction between research and debate. The research team includes some thirty in-house highly qualified specialists. Ifri’s force de frappe is further enhanced by a large national and international network. The institute organizes around 150 events a year, with the participation of some of the most prominent French and foreign personalities in the field of international relations.

– the policy-oriented nature of its work, the aim of which is to shed light on the medium and long-term decision-making process of public and private actors. Corporations in particular have been essential partners for Ifri since its inception in 1979.

In an increasingly interdependent and complex world, we are convinced that our institution is more than ever necessary. Our ambition is to pursue our adaptation and development in order to deserve the confidence put in us by the many people who have supported us over the years.

Thierry de Montbrial
Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques
A central actor in the European debate, Ifri is France’s foremost independent center for research, meetings and debates on international relations. It was created in 1979 by Thierry de Montbrial with the aim of encouraging interaction between the private spheres, the public sector and policy-oriented research. Its independence, inscribed in its statutes (it is a membership-based non-profit organization) is manifested by its state of mind, its non-partisan culture, its original and balanced form of financing, its complete freedom of choice in the determination of its work. Ifri’s aim is to shed light on the major trends at work in the world and to promote dialogue between the different actors. It addresses public and private decision-makers in the economic and political spheres, research centers, students and all those who wish to better understand and anticipate international developments. Ifri has, since its inception, oriented part of its activities towards corporations by putting in place a program dedicated to them. Members are closely linked to the life of the Institute. Today, Ifri aims, in particular, at contributing to the emergence of an informed and responsible international community and to the political organization of globalization. The Ifri staff numbers about 60.

As a multidisciplinary research center, Ifri comprises around thirty researchers and relies on a vast international network of experts. Its work encompasses the international economy and the analysis of the dynamics of globalization, political-strategic developments, particularly transatlantic relations in their various components, regional approaches, global strategies, global governance, the management of resources, of the environment, of immigration, etc. Much of its work calls on the crossing of different competences. The Institute trains young researchers with a new increasingly global conception of international relations. The researchers are bound by an ethic of responsibility and objectivity. However, Ifri is not bound by their positions.

The work conducted by Ifri is disseminated in several collections: “Les Notes de l’Ifri”, “Les Cahiers de l’Ifri”, “Travaux et recherches de l’Ifri”. In addition to the quarterly journal Politique étrangère, Ifri has published, since 1981, the RAMSES report, an annual reference work on major global trends.

As a meeting center, Ifri attaches great importance to debate. It offers a non-exclusive forum to French and foreign figures wishing to express themselves freely in an unofficial setting. These meetings make it possible to assess divergence and convergence in a constructive vein. One of the missions of the Institute is to facilitate dialogue. Its researchers are engaged in a permanent debate with their foreign counterparts. Thus, Ifri is a full participant in the debate at the international scale.

Mission Statement

- Corporate and individual membership fees: 27.9%
- Foundations and international organizations: 14.8%
- National government grants: 51.1%
- Others: 4.1%

Ifri's premises have been entirely financed by private donations.
Research work conducted at Ifri has a two-fold objective: to contribute to the international debate and to nurture the thinking of decision-makers in the public and private sectors. The Institute relies on thirty researchers. Research work takes the form of individual or collective studies leading to publication, and seminars and meetings with similar international think tanks. These studies bear the mark of independence. They involve researchers in major international networks. By doing so, Ifri fosters interaction with overseas partners, drawing on the best international expertise in the various fields in which it is involved.

Two aspects are at the forefront of Ifri’s research: security matters and the international economy. Processes of regional integration, beginning with the European Union, are also of central concern. In the area of transatlantic relations, special attention is given to the political, economic, trade and security dimensions of the relationship, particularly through the French Center on the United States (CFE), the goal of which is to contribute to a better mutual understanding of France and the United States by emphasizing the peculiarities of the American mechanism of decision-making in the public and private sectors.

Ifri’s regional expertise is focused on four areas: Greater Europe, including an observatory of Franco-German relations, Russia, Asia, the Middle East, the Maghreb and the Mediterranean region. The Institute is also developing its expertise on Africa.

In 2001, in matters of security, Ifri concentrated on the developments of NATO on the one hand, and of the CESDP on the other hand, as well as on the future of the transatlantic link. The Institute also started a reflection on the new concepts of defense policy. Its work in the second semester was greatly influenced by the events of September 11.

In the field of economics, the stress was put on the processes of globalization and some of its implications: national reactions, the impact of internationalizing R&D on the activity of multinationals as well as consequences for developing countries. Ifri also pursued its work on emerging economies.

European developments were addressed from various angles: the conditions for a strategy of normative influence by the Union were considered; the enlargement of the EU was discussed in two conferences with experts from candidate-countries; a study was led on Germany Eastern policy. Finally, the bi-annual research project on the problems of identity and citizenship raised by immigrant populations settling in Europe was completed.

Russia was discussed under the angle of a reassessment of Franco-Russian relations while bearing in mind the Franco-German perspective.

The French Center on the United States organized its activities around four projects: domestic US policy, foreign policy, space policy and finally, energy and climate change. Its second annual conference was largely dedicated to the impact of September 11 on US policy.

In 2001, the Asian sector consolidated its capacities under the umbrella of a Centre as Ifri in order to strengthen its ties and interactions with the public and private sectors. It continued its work on preventive diplomacy in East Asia, particularly in the framework of the CSCAP. It also launched a working group on the Korean peninsula, followed up on the Franco-Korean, Franco-Japanese and Franco-Chinese dialogues, and maintained its involvement in its long-term research project on China.

In the framework of the Middle East/Mediterranean/Maghreb sector, the emphasis was on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the internal implications for Iraq of the embargo. In addition, a conference was dedicated to the problems of succession in the Arab World. Ifri organized the annual conference of EuroMediterranean (research institutes’ network), which was opened by Hubert Vedrine, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. A comparative research project was launched on civil/interstate conflicts in the Mediterranean region. Work on the Maghreb was focused on Algeria.

Finally, Ifri launched a reflection on external interventions in Africa.
The security sector has organized its work around three poles: a reflection on transatlantic relations, a study of the political and military development of the Common European Security and Defense Policy (CESDP), and, more generally, a conceptual reflection on defense and security, whose precepts have been challenged by recent events.

**Europe and Transatlantic Relations**

- **The Future of the Alliance: New Missions and New Enlargement?**

This study, completed under the direction of Frédéric Bozo in collaboration with Jacques Beltran, is organized around two issues: the globalization of the mandate of the Atlantic alliance and NATO’s geographic enlargement. The study takes into consideration the early consequences of September 11 such as the war on terrorism and the development of closer strategic ties between NATO and Russia. The former confers an immediacy to the question of the globalization of NATO’s mandate, while the new ties with Russia have lifted an obstacle on the path to NATO enlargement. The study underscores the fact that, while the terrorist attacks serve to reinforce the new global priorities of the U.S., the globalization of the mandate of the transatlantic security link is incompatible with an American security strategy that is essentially unilateral and a Europe that is primarily preoccupied with internal European affairs. In an introductory section that is largely forward-looking, Frédéric Bozo considers several scenarios regarding the evolving mission and structure of the transatlantic relationship.

- **NATO after September 11: A New Alliance?**

This conference was organized by Jacques Beltran with the support of the Policy Planning Staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs three months after the September 11 attacks. It brought together American and European experts to debate the future of NATO. Although the September 11 events led to the first invocation of Article 5 (defining the fundamental mutual commitment of the member states of the Alliance), they raised questions about the ability of an organization inherited from the Cold War to deal with threats of a new kind. The conference also shed some light on the risk of a “decoupling” between the European and American sides as Europeans are content to invest in the stability of their immediate surroundings, while Americans, who are aware of the need to act globally, prefer a unilateral approach. Finally, the future of the NATO-Russia relationship and the enlargement of the Alliance were also discussed. While all agreed that the attacks accelerated the warming of relationships between Moscow and Washington, many noted the fragility of the situation, especially with regard to the internal anti-Western pressures that the Russian president faces.
This year, the Quadripartite Conference, which brings together delegations from the RAND Corporation, the Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA), the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) and Ifri was held in Paris, with the participation of Christoph Bertram, SWP, Victor Bulmer-Thomas, RIIA, Thierry de Montbrial, Ifri, and James Thompson, RAND. This meeting organized by Frédéric Bozo, was the first high-level transatlantic encounter after the September 11 attacks. The analyses were still marked by emotion, but the participants also expressed questions about the motivation and significance of these events and their consequences for American strategy (re-engagement or unilateralism?), for the position of Russia and for transatlantic relations.

Also participating were: Roy Allison, William Hopkinson, Julie Smith, RIIA: Jeremy Azrael, The Hon. Robert Hunter, Stephen Larrabee, RAND; David Gompert, Stephan De Spiegeleire, RAND Europe; Hannes Adomeit, Peter Schmidt, SWP; Michel Foucher, Roland Galharague, Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Nicole Gnesotto, WEU-Institute for Security Studies; Jacques Beltran, Ifri; Denis de Kergorlay, host to the meeting at Château de Canisy, John Major, former UK Prime Minister; Hubert Védrine, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Sir Nigel Broomfield, director, the Ditchley Foundation and Thierry de Montbrial, Ifri.

The discussion addressed first the causes of transatlantic tensions, which are heightened by the conflicting signals sent by Europe, according to some and by the “super-power syndrome” of the US, according to others. In view of the complexity of the two “systems”, European and American, it was admitted that a more sophisticated approach on both sides is required, particularly in order to counter mutual misperceptions. At the economic level, the participants recognized that, while the shareholders culture was not well established in Europe barring certain exceptions (“Rheinland capitalism”), there has been considerable convergence between economic systems over the last fifteen to twenty years. The discussion on globalization and the backlash against it led the participants to call for a dialogue on global governance. In fine, doubts about the very fundamentals of the economic system were expressed, a system threatened by demographic growth, environmental degradation, and many other issues. In the debate on security, the participants were divided between those who question NATO’s raison d’être and those who see it as necessary, due in particular to its role as an organization for collective security. There was consensus on the need for its enlargement and on the rejection of a division of labor that would assign to the United States the task of conflict management and to Europe the task of peacekeeping. It was unanimously recognized that Europe needs to address the weaknesses of its defense efforts in order to demonstrate that it is a responsible partner. In conclusion, it was affirmed that a mature relationship should be capable of managing certain divergences (for example, on the Middle East), that common interests on both sides of the Atlantic are considerable, that, without cooperating, neither...
America nor Europe could achieve their objectives, and finally, that unilateralism is doomed to failure. Essentially, it was established that a transatlantic divorce is unthinkable.

Also participating were:
- Robert Cooper CMG MVO, Defence and Overseas Secretariat, Cabinet Office;
- Sir Michael Jay, UK ambassador to Paris;
- Christopher Mallaby GCMG GCVO, former UK ambassador to Paris;
- The Lord Simon of Highbury CBE, consultant, Cabinet Office;
- Philip Stephens, Financial Times, for the British delegation;
- Robert Conway, The Goldman Sachs Group Inc;
- The Hon. Richard Gardner, Columbia University;
- James Hoge Jr, Foreign Affairs, Council on Foreign Relations;
- Christopher Makins, The Atlantic Council of the United States;
- The Hon. Richard Perle, American Enterprise Institute for Policy Research, for the American delegation;
- Wolfgang Ischinger, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin;
- Michael Stürmer, Die Welt, for the German delegation;
- Jeremy K. B. Kinsman, High Commissioner in the United Kingdom, for the Canadian Delegation;
- Jacques Andréani, ambassador of France, former ambassador to Washington;
- Thierry de Montbrial opened the symposium and Karl Kaiser (DGAP) closed it, drawing some lessons for the Franco-German couple.

The CESDP: the Emergence of a Strategic Culture and of a European Security and Defense Policy

This research program led to the organization of three one-and-a-half-day seminars that brought together researchers and high-ranking security and defense officials from France, Germany and Britain, to discuss the state of cooperation between Paris, London and Berlin in the context of the CESDP.

- France-Germany Symposium: “European Security and Defense Policy”
  Paris, 6 July
  This seminar was organized by Hans Stark (Ifri/CERFA), Frédéric Bos and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP). The participants underscored the role of Franco-German leadership in institution building (setting up new CFSP institutions, transforming the Eurocorps and in the development of the military dimension). But given the differences in their approaches, most notably the Franco-German disagreement on the federalist orientation of the Union, the participants also recognized the challenges posed by future institutional reforms (particularly the elaboration of a European constitution). As expected, the most controversial question was the transatlantic dimension of European security. The divergence concerned the necessity of the Union (autonomous global actor) as well as some structural aspects (political and military structures of the CESDP) and strategic aspects (defense concepts of both countries), hence the occurrence of roadblocks in the Franco-German dialogue. Thierry de Montbrial opened the symposium and Karl Kaiser (DGAP) closed it, drawing some lessons for the Franco-German couple.

  Paris, 2 October
  This seminar was organized by Jolyon Howorth, University of Bath, associate researcher at Ifri. Franco-British cooperation in ESDP matters was discussed in the post September 2001 context. Officials and experts from both countries argued that in the short term, European countries reacted to the events by adopting national positions. Most
participants, however, admitted that in the medium term, terrorist attacks would lead to an appreciable strengthening of the ESDP. While there was much agreement on the need to make the Rapid Reaction Force operational as soon as possible, there was more divergence about the dimension and ultimate role of such a force. On the other hand, there was remarkable convergence in the analyses concerning the transformation of NATO from an essentially military alliance to an increasingly political tool.


French participants: Frédéric Bozo, Jacques Beltran, Dominique Moïsi, Ifri; Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, Henry Zipper de Fabiani, Strategic affairs directorate, Ministry of Defense.

• France-Germany-UK Trilateral Symposium
  the Future of the CESDP
  after September 11
  Berlin, 23-24 November

This conference, opened by Karl Kaiser, DGAP, was organized jointly by the DGAP, the RIIA and Philippe Moreau Deforges and Hans Stark for Ifri. The September 11 attacks made the raison d’être of the Alliance the central question of the meeting. These events disclosed the latent politico-strategic divergences between Europe and the United States on the global security agenda in general, and on the articulation between short and long-term (the second phase of the American response) policies in particular. Several scenarios were laid out, most notably the search for a new strategic partnership between an increasingly global and unilateral US policy and a Europe that is preoccupied with its own political construction and the stabilisation of its periphery. The participants admitted that the realisation of such a scenario depends on one condition: that Europe appear militarily credible to America.

French participants: Frédéric Bozo, Jacques Beltran, Dominique Moïsi, Ifri; Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, Henry Zipper de Fabiani, Strategic affairs directorate, Ministry of Defense.

• Simulation of Regional Crises
  Etienne de Durand, research fellow at Ifri, led two successive studies with Josué Priser aimed at developing a method of crisis simulation including possible military aspects. These models of regional crisis management constitute the first elements of a competency for crisis simulation at Ifri.

• A Review of the Geo-strategic Hypotheses of the Thirty Year Prospective Plan
  The French Ministry of Defense acquired a planning tool a few years ago, allowing it to integrate in a global structure models of future arms and procurement programs. This 30-year plan (PPR3) is based on an analysis of the geo-strategic context and how it might evolve over the next three decades. Under the direction of Dominique David and with the collaboration of Élisabeth de Durand, a review of the major trends of the international system has been undertaken, the results of which could be integrated into future versions of the 30-year plan. Ifri will publish a version of its findings on the matter, which could lead to a large debate.

* "La mondialisation et le militaire" (Globalization and the Military)
  Dominique David in Nations unies, 2001 (chapter), p. 46-48

"11 septembre : premières leçons stratégiques" (September 11: The First Strategic Lessons)
  Dominique David
  Politique Étrangère n° 4/2001

"La défense antimissile: un nouveau paradigme stratégique" (Missile Defense: a New Strategic Paradigm)
  Camille Grand
  Politique Étrangère n° 4/2001

"La mondialisation et le militaire" (Globalization and the Military)
  Dominique David in Nations unies, 2001 (chapter), p. 46-48

"Pour un grand débat européen" (For a Broad European Debate)
  Camille Grand and B. Schmitt
  Politique Étrangère n° 4/2001

"La défense antimissile: un nouveau paradigme stratégique" (Missile Defense: a New Strategic Paradigm)
  Camille Grand
  Politique Étrangère n° 4/2001
Seminar Program in Cooperation with the Atomic Energy Agency (CEA)

Under the direction of Dominique David

8 March - 9h00-11h00
Europe and the United States: Partnership, Division of Labor or Rupture?
David Gompert, president of RAND Europe, discussed the possible scenarios for the future of transatlantic relations: disconnection following a division of tasks that confines Europeans to the management of their regional crises, or a new partnership involving, among other things, a shared antimissile defense system.

15 June - 9h00-11h00
Russia-US Relations and Arms Control
William Potter, director, Center for Non-Proliferation, Monterey Institute, and Dmitri Trenin, deputy director, Carnegie Moscow Center, analyzed the options left open by the divergence of Russian and American interests. (The texts relevant to this seminar were published in Politique étrangère, N° 4/2001).

25 June – 14h30-16h30
Caucasus and Chechnya: Implications for Political and Military Relations with Russia
Anatol Lieven, senior associate, Carnegie Endowment, Washington, gave a presentation of the chain of destabilization in the region, focusing in particular on Georgia and on the difficulty of viable solutions to the Chechnya war.

24 October – 17h00-19h00
Internal Responses to Mass Terrorism: the American View
Michael Wermuth, an analyst at the RAND Corporation working on the Gilmore Commission on terrorism using weapons of mass destruction, presented the American view, largely predating September 11th, on the control of mass terrorism by civil society.

22 November - 9h00-11h00
The Future of the Deterrence of Medium-size Nuclear Powers, France and Great Britain
Sir Michael Quinlan raised questions about the justification of maintaining nuclear power in a world where it appears to be relatively marginalized, the possible future of the arsenals of medium-size nuclear powers, the necessary modernizations and the premises for collaboration between these powers.

Seminar in Collaboration with SIPRI • Building Nuclear Stockpile and Warhead Dismantlement Transparency Regime: Issues and Options
Paris, 8-9 February
This seminar was held in the context of a program initiated by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and will culminate in the publication of a book under the direction of the institute's director, Daniel Rotfeld.

The seminar put forth the various approaches, European, American and Russian, on the transparency of the management and dismantling of nuclear arsenals.

STUDY TRIP
With the support of both the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Potomac Foundation, Jacques Beltran stayed for three months in Washington as a visiting fellow at the GHI and at the Brookings Institution (Center on the US and Europe). His fellowship enabled him to get better acquainted with the new Administration and Congress positions on Iraq, missile defense and NATO enlargement.
In 2001, Ifri carried on its analysis of the world economy and of the perspectives of developing better institutions of global governance. The economic team continued to follow the process of globalization, with studies on multinationals, the international diffusion of innovation and economic cooperation in Asia. Two themes gave rise to several activities in the course of the year: the adjustment of national economic and social policies in the context of globalization, and the questions posed, in developed and developing economies, by the emergence of a knowledge-intensive economy.

**Globalization: Backlash and National Adjustment**

*National Reactions to Globalization*

Opposition to globalization led Ifri, the Institute for International Economics/IIE, in Washington DC, and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik/DGAP in Berlin to launch a comparative research project on reactions to globalization in 2000. This project, supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States, is coordinated by Pierre Jacquet and Frédérique Sachwald. In 2001, it gave rise to several contributions and meetings on the difficulties faced by national economies in adjusting, and on the different perceptions of globalization, which are different from one country to the next.

**Workshop on Reactions to Globalization**

DGAP-IIE-IIE, March 21, Berlin

This seminar discussed different aspects of the adaptation of national economies and the issue of evolving financial markets and their regulation. The contributions on labor markets (Eric Maurin, INSEE, Helger Gersmann, Freie Universität in Berlin and David Richardson, IIE) argued that the interactions between globalization and technical progress explain changes in employment. They also stressed the importance of specific policies aimed at low-skilled workers. The debate showed that national approaches to this issue differ across countries, in particular between the US and Europe.

The contributions by Bernhard May (DGAP) on the mergers and acquisitions in Germany and by Frédérique Sachwald (Ifri) on evolving national innovation systems also emphasized distinctive national features in the face of growing competition due to globalization. The national models of capitalism are put under pressure, raising serious concern, as with the case in the cellular phone industry with the Vodafone takeover of Mannesmann. The analysis of public policy and corporational reactions during the 1990s suggests that adjustments are possible, and that they don’t necessarily imply a total convergence of these “models”.

The session dedicated to financial markets, which benefited from contributions by Klaus Günter Deutsch, Deutsche Bank, Pierre Jacquet, IIE, and Fred Bergsten, IIE, underscored the differences in the national approaches to reforming international financial institutions.

**Civil Society and Political Parties in the face of globalization**

Ifri, March 30

This seminar aimed at analyzing the French reactions to globalization, particularly the movement of criticism of “liberal globalization”. The seminar, chaired by Pierre Jacquet, brought together representatives from various non-governmental organizations which are heavily involved in this movement, namely Gustave Moulin (CÉDETI) and Philippe Potier (Action contre la faim). The debate built upon the contributions by Frédérique Sachwald (Ifri), on “NGOs and the political debate in France in the face of globalization”, by Philippe Moreau Defrance (Ifri), on “the reactions of political parties” and Eddy Fougier (Ifri), “The Anti-Globalization Phenomena: An Analysis”.

Eddy Fougier in Annuaire français de relations internationales, Brussels, Bruylant (forthcoming)
and by Dominique Plihon (University of Paris-Nord and member of the scientific committee of Attac) on "civil society and governance." The discussion placed the present moment in a historical perspective and provided an opportunity to identify some important issues in the globalization debate, such as the rise of inequalities which will be addressed in the "Reaction to Globalization" program in 2002.

**Global Governance**

In 2001, Pierre Jacquet continued his work on global governance under attack. He was also one of the main contributors to the report of the French Council of Economic Advisers (CAE). Governance mediates the institutions economic de la mondialisation with Jean-Philippe Fontaine and Yves Doz. He took part in the conference on "Globalization and Capitalism," the "ASEM Roundtable on Globalization and Regional Responses," and "Patterns of R&D Co-operation by European Firms: Cost-saving vs Technology-seeking." He also contributed to the book "Network Knowledge in International Business," and to the "Multinationals and National Economies" series. His work focused on the internationalization of research and development and the constitution of global networks of innovation by firms.

**Multinationals and National Economies**

Ifri is conducting a research project on the activity of multinationals and their interactions with national economies in developed and developing countries. These analyses have, for several years, constituted an important part of the institute's work on globalization.

**Internationalization of R&D and Localization of Innovation**

During 2001, Frédérique Sachwald continued her work on the internationalization of research and development and the constitution of global networks of innovation by firms.

**Innovation-led Competition and Global R&D Management**

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Frédérique Sachwald continued her research project on the internationalization of R&D in French firms, especially in the context of the CNRS (National Centre for Scientific Research) program on “The Implications of Innovation”. This project is based both on statistical analysis and on a qualitative survey of French firms. Some of the findings were presented in international conferences.

“R&D Cooperation by French Firms”, in collaboration with Luis Miotti: presentation at the conference on “The Impact of Innovation and Globalization in Europe, ANI Project” (Madrid 25-26 May)

“Geographical distribution of R&D across the case of France”, presentation with Luis Miotti at the international conference at CEPI (Paris XIII, 28-29 June)

“Emerging Patterns of R&D Internationalization: a paper presented at the seminar on New Forms of Global Firms and Innovation, Center for Knowledge and Innovation Research, Helsinki School of Economics and Business Administration (Helsinki, 13-15 August)

The findings of the project on Korean investment abroad and its role in the recent development of Korea were published in Going Multinational, The Korean Experience of Direct Investment. In 2001-2002, the Korea Foundation is supporting another research project on the Korean economy, led by Frédérique Sachwald: This project analyzes the conditions under which investments by multinationals lead to technology transfers, which positively affect the productivity of the investing economy. Based on the findings of numerous studies, it seeks to identify local policies that are likely to amplify the beneficial effects of the presence of multinationals in developing countries.

The Role of Foreign Investment in the Development of the Korean Economy

The role of foreign intervention in the restructuring of the financial system, a Korean priority since the 1997 crisis. Her research trip in Korea in October 2001 allowed her to meet with academics and with bankers involved in the process.

Serge Perrin and Frédérique Sachwald presented a paper on the case of Korea at the meeting on “FDI, Human Capital and Education in Developing Countries”, OECD Development Centre (Paris, December 13-14)

Frédérique Sachwald and Serge Perrin are preparing a report on the impact of foreign investment on developing economies as part of a research project coordinated by the University of Chile. This report analyzes the conditions under which investments by multinationals lead to technology transfers which positively affect the productivity of the investing economy. Based on the findings of numerous studies, it seeks to identify local policies that are likely to amplify the beneficial effects of the presence of multinationals in developing countries.

knowledge-intensive Economies: Opportunities and Challenges

The accelerated rate of technical progress was singled out as one of the fundamental factors in the growth of the world economy since the 1980s. With the development of the Internet and the diffusion of information technology, the entry into a more knowledge-intensive economy offers new opportunities and raises new challenges for both developed and developing countries alike. In 2001, IFRI addressed many different aspects of this fundamental issue.

Going Multinational, The Korean Experience of Direct Investment
Frédérique Sachwald (dir.)
London, Routledge, 2001
Governance Issues in the Digital Economy

Tokyo Club Research Meeting

Ifri, 24-25 January 2002

After analyzing the characteristics and significance of the development of information and communication technology in 2000, the Tokyo Club focused on governance issues posed by the Internet and the development of the digital economy. Its work underscores not only the need for a strong, innovative, rules-based governance but also the extent of adjustment in progress at the national level be it in competition law, in regulation or in the tax system.

Ifri organized the annual meeting of the five institutes (postponed until January because of September 11th). On the first day, contributions presented by each institute on issues related to the rise of the internet and digital technology were discussed by external experts: the evolving politics of regulation in the era of digital convergence (Takeshi Shinohara, NRI), competition policy (Hans Schedl, IFO), intellectual property rights (Frédérique Sachwald, Ifri, and Bertrand Warusfel, University of Paris-V), electronic commerce taxation (Barry Bosworth, Brookings Institution) and the perspectives of technological catching up opened to developing countries by the Internet (Caroll Scott-Leonard and Brigitte Granville, RIIA). The second day was largely dedicated to the drafting of a joint memo summarizing the five institutes’ analyses and policy recommendations. This Policy Statement from the T-5 will be published and available on Ifri’s website, <www.ifri.org/).

Whither Innovation in Vietnam?

In view of the Third Franco-Vietnamese Forum organized by ADETEF (Association for the development of exchanges in economic and financial technology, Ministry of Economy, Finance and Industry) in Hanoi in March 2002, Frédérique Sachwald and Thierry Paulmier completed a joint study on innovation in Vietnam. The study aimed at analysing how a poor but fast growing country such as Vietnam, can take advantage of international technology transfers to enhance its development. Thierry Paulmier’s study trip to Vietnam between December 3rd and 14th 2001, allowed him to visit Vietnamese and foreign firms as well as research centers. The study, commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, will be published in 2002.
New Technologies and Development

In RAMSES 2002, Françoise Nicolas and Nicolas Occis examine the role that information and communication technology (ICT) can play in the growth of developing countries. After analyzing the extent of the digital divide between North and South and confirming the concern that it raises, the authors point out the benefits that developing countries can draw from ICT; they also hint at the risks and costs that may come with this technological revolution. Although ICT is no miracle solution, it can nevertheless help human and social development in these countries and accelerate their rate of growth by allowing for greater productivity and integration in the international networks of production.

Emerging Economies

Development Potential

The research program on the development potential of emerging economies, led by Françoise Nicolas and supported by the Institut Caisse des dépôts pour la recherche scientifique, économique, financière et sociale, continued through 2001. The study aims at establishing a typology of developing economies that takes into account the structural characteristics as well as institutional and macroeconomic data. Starting with a survey of the relevant literature (both theoretical and empirical) on the foundations of economic growth in developing countries, Françoise Nicolas and Nathalie Audiere underscore the importance of threshold effects and complementarities in the emergence of durable growth dynamics. The study questions the very notion of a model of development and seeks to identify different economic profiles likely to lead to different development paths.

Projects in 2002

International Trade

Two research projects were launched at the end of 2001 conducted by Philippe Colombani.
- “World Trade Patterns in the 21st Century”, a forward-looking study on world trade in the twenty-first century. Its main actors, factors and trends. This program benefits from the support of the European Commission.
- In the framework of the “Sustainable Trade” research project run in partnership with various European institutes led by ENSAE (Montpellier) and coordinated by Laurence Tubiana, IFRI manages the workshop on “European governance” in the fields of trade and sustainable development.

Energy

IFRI launched a study on “The Caspian Sea and the regional and global energy game”. Led by Philippe Colombani, this multidisciplinary study will deal with legal, strategic and economic aspects related to the economics of hydrocarbons. It will bring together IFRI researchers, Anita Tiraspolsky among others, as well as external experts. It is supported by a mix of public and private funds.

New Exchange Rate Policies in East Asia

After two years of serious economic turbulence, the main ASEAN economies, and Korea, have returned to relatively stable growth rates. Various attempts at regional cooperation have been presented, namely in the financial and monetary sector, within the so-called ASEAN+3 (China, Japan and South Korea) framework. In several studies, Françoise Nicolas examined the progress of cooperation in exchange rate policies in the region, and assessed the dangers and benefits that these initiatives might create in the context of greater regional integration.

Institut Caisse des dépôts pour la recherche scientifique, économique, financière et sociale
Eastern Policy of Schröder’s Germany

This study, directed by Hans Stark, reveals Germany’s aspiration to a diplomatic return to “normalcy” and to an international role that matches its economic and industrial potential. This orientation is expressed by Germany’s active policy towards Eastern Europe and its harmony with the Federal Republic is especially intense in two countries – Poland, the proof of Germany’s rapprochement policies between Central Europe and Western Institutions, and Russia, because Berlin aspires to playing a mediating role between Moscow and the West – and in a strategic aim the Eastern enlargement of the EU.

Roland Götz and Christian Meier (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin) said the Germany-Russia aspect. The authors note that Germany’s aspirations are well received in Russia, since Moscow considers Berlin to represent Russian interests in the West. At the economic level, they underline that, while Germany is Russia’s largest trading partner, the share of Russian debt remains a point of potential friction. "Hanns Hoff" (Kommerzbank Stiftung), the financial discussion between Germany and Poland. He points out that interests between Berlin and Warsaw are converging, but that contact and exchange at the popular level are still insufficient and...
feed a suspicion that could be the source of tensions
in the context of a larger Europe. Hans Stark analyses
Germany’s policy on EU enlargement. While enlargement
promotes Germany’s interests, its will to limit the
financial impact of enlargement, and its attachment
to an institutional deepening (preserving the EU’s
acquis) carry the seeds of possible divergence between
Germany and Poland. The study highlights the limits
of Germany’s willingness to play the role of the
mediator between East and West.

• Conditions of an Influential
EU Policy on a Global Scale

This study led by Philippe Moreau Defarges is
organized in three parts. The first, by Philippe
Moreau Defarges, discusses the general problematics
of an influential EU strategy modelled by history,
geography, values and structures. This problematics
relies on two imperatives for the EU to exist,
organising its periphery (Central and Eastern Europe
and the Mediterranean) is an absolute necessity, and
the EU, being the association of democratic states,
can only promote the rule of democracy.

In the second part, Olivier Cattaneo analyses the
external and internal dimensions of the EU’s trade
policy. The only truly common foreign policy, trade
policy is a favorite instrument of the EU, which has
embarked on a race for influence with the United
States in order to assert itself in the international arena.
Using an approach that is bilateral while actively
seeking multilateralism, it participates in the regulation
of the global market.

In the third part, Laurent Cohen-Tanugi evaluates
the European Union’s international normative
influence and highlights the assets as well as the
weaknesses of Europe in this field. He identifies the
parameters of a successful normative strategy to
obtain influence, and confirms in concrete the
indissolvability of the political and institutional
dimensions in the European project, and the path
that Europe needs to tread before it can become a
true international normative power.

•  France, Poland and the EU
Warsaw, 22-23 June

Organized by Dominique Letourneur for Ifri with
the Committee of European Integration of the Polish
Republic in collaboration with the France-Poland
Foundation and the French Embassy in Warsaw, this
conference received the patronage of the French and
Polish Prime Ministers and was part of the mutual
effort for deeper Franco-Polish relations in the future
enlarged European Union. The conference was held
at the Chancellery of the Polish Prime Minister
Jerzy Buzek, who opened the debate. Pierre Moscovici,
French Minister for European Affairs, Jacek Saryusz-
Wolski, Secretary of State for European Integration,
and Thierry de Montbrial, introduced the
discussions. The meeting was an opportunity to
review the main stakes in enlargement for both
parties. The participants – French and Polish
parliamentarians, academics and experts – analysed
the potential mutual perceptions with complacency.
Among the participants were Philippe Marini, Senate
Member (Paris), Czeslaw Bielecki, Sejm, Warsaw.
They discussed the new challenges raised by the
institutional architecture of the EU and the
complementarities that are likely to be developed in a
regional framework, with Alain Barreau, National
Assembly, Paris, Jerzy Lukaszewski, former
Ambassador to Paris, College of Europe (Bruges),
Françoise de La Serre, CERI, Jan Kulakowski, Polish
negotiator at the EU, Marek Borowski, Marshal
of the Diet, Warsaw. Agricultural policy was
discussed serenely and with relative optimism from
both sides, by Jan Trzceuski, Presidential
Chancellery, Warsaw, and Henri Nallet, former
minister of Agriculture. Finally, the new premises of
internal and external security – in the framework of
the ESDP – led to constructive exchanges (Philippe
Lemaître, Le Monde, Jacek Saryusz-Wolski and
Alain Lamassoure, member of the European Parliament).

• Romania: Internal Dynamics
and International Integration
Paris, 26-27 September

For the first time, French and Romanian experts
gathered for a day and a half in a dialogue, led by
Dominique David, which focused on three themes: the internal developments and the stakes in Romania (the birth of a new political culture, the consequences of demographic developments, Romania in regional dynamics, focusing on the economic aspects (development of exchanges, slaves of the Danube traffic) and on security matters; finally, the re-appraisal of the Euro-Atlantic institutions (perspectives for entry into the Union, nature of the insertion of defense policy in the enlargement of the Alliance; and finally the specific role of Franco-Romanian bilateralism). These exchanges benefited from the presence of representatives from the European Union and the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe and were characterized by free exchanges and a realistic attitude by both parties to the difficulties to face.

The main participants were: Sergiu Celac, Romanian Association of the Roma Club and the Romanian Institute for International Studies, Bucharest; Catherine Durandin, National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations, INALCO; Corneliu Dobritou, Ministry of Defense, Bucharest; Didier Fau, Coordination of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, Brussels; Richard Harding, European Union delegation, Bucharest; Francis Lebihan, University of Toulouse; Zoe Petre, Institute for Regional Cooperation and Conflict Prevention, Bucharest; Patrick McClay, European Commission, Brussels; Mihaila Matei, Ministry of Defense, Bucharest; Thierry de Montbrial, Ifri; Violette Rey, Ecole normale supérieure, Lyon.

New European Identity and Citizenship

This research program on the problems of identity and citizenship raised by immigrant populations settling in Europe was undertaken in July 1999 under the scientific direction of Rémy Leveau and was led by Khadija Mohsen-Finan with the support of the Ford Foundation. It was completed in 2001 with a closing seminar and the publication of two books: Nouvelles citoyennetés: réfugiés et sans-papiers dans l’espace européen and L’Islam en France et en Allemagne. Two approaches were chosen: the field approach (Jordi Moreras, CIDOB, Spain; Dietmar Loch, Bielefeld University, Germany; Gilles Kepel, CNRS/IEP-Paris, France; Stefano Allievi, Padoue University, Italy; Adrian Favell, University of California, and John Crowley, CERI-FNSP), as well as research done in the US (Jocelyne Césari, University of Colombia, and Mark Miller, University of Delaware). There were two salient dimensions: a global apprehension of the question of citizenship (Rémy Leveau, Gilles Kepel, Mark Miller, Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, CNRS-CERI), and a local apprehension, tackled through new aspects such as the role of media in the construction of Muslim communities, the Young Turk connective tissue in Strasbourg or the question of citizenship and ethnicity in the school environment. The works of the study were synthesized by Rémy Leveau and Mark Miller.
Russia was dealt with from a Franco-Russian perspective and through Franco-German exchange of views.

• Relations between France and Russia from Moscow's Perspective

This study led by Thierry de Montbrial is based on interviews conducted by a group of Russian analysts (academics, experts, diplomats and specialists). It is a response to the apparent deterioration in relations between Russia and France, especially under President Putin's ascension to power, and tries to understand the reasons. The Franco-Russian relationship compared to Russia’s other bilateral relations as well as to the existing relations between Moscow and multilateral organizations (EU, NATO, OSCE).

The first part discusses the points of convergence: the deterioration of relations – due primarily to Russia's policy in Chechnya – the priority given by Russia to relations with Germany and the EU, and the difficulty of relations with NATO. The analysis underscores the Islamic threat warning on Russia. The second part lays out the divergence on the security rivalry between Russia and the EU, on the future of the EU-NATO relationship and on the mechanisms of dialogue between the EU and Russia. The result is a question of deepening and speculation. The third part offers a criticism of the discourse of analysts still caught in ideological residues. Recommendations are given in order to avoid isolating Russian analysts whose views reflect a certain degree of distress.

• Franco-German Seminar on Russia

Paris, June 28

This meeting organized by HansStark (CERFA-Ifri) is the first Ifri seminar bringing together the Policy Planning Staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its German counterpart, the Planungstab, represented by their respective director, Michael Kästner and Achim Schmillen. The meeting was part of the renewal of the Franco-German cooperation in the framework of the “Blaesheim process”. It aimed at analyzing and comparing and, when appropriate, contrasting the points of view of the main French and German actors and observers on the political and economic developments in Russia and more generally in the CIS. The exercise indicated that the German and French participants had, by and large, converging views.

Other participants: Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, permanent secretary, Institut de France; Pierre Cochard, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Maurice Guyader, European Commission, Brussels; Thierry de Montbrial, IFRI; Klaus Segbers and Heinz Timmermann, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin; Rolf Schumacher, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin; Wolfram Schrettl, Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW), Berlin; Daniel Vernet, Le Monde; Colonel Pascal Vinchon, directorate of strategic affairs, Ministry of Defense; Anita Tiraspolsky, IFRI; Gérard Wild, CEPII, Paris.

• Annual Ifri/MGIMO Seminar on Security

Moscow, 14-15 November

Thierry de Montbrial opened the 2001 edition of the Dialogue between Ifri and MGIMO (Moscow State Institute for International Relations) – organized by Dominique David. The questions raised during this seminar, which brought together some fifty French and Russian experts and decision makers, touched on antimissile defense, the European security structure, Franco-Russian bilateralism. Dominique David’s presentation on Franco-Russian relations will be published in the magazine Meimo of the IMEMO (Institute of World Economy and International Relations), Moscow.

• EXE R.A. IFRI 2001/Anglais 30/08/2002 09:46 Page 19
The French Center on the United States (CFE) was founded on September 1, 1999 at Ifri on the same initiative as the creation of the Center on the United States and France (CUSF) at the Brookings Institution in Washington. The CFE aims at French and European understanding of the American political and economic systems, focusing in particular on decision-making mechanisms. Its programs are determined independently.

Research Programs

In 2001, the activities of the CFE were structured around four programs:

- **Domestic Policy and Public-Sector Decisions in the United States**
  One of the priorities of the CFE is to familiarize French decision-makers and experts with the complexity of the decision-making mechanisms in the United States. The CFE organizes work in this field along two main themes. The first seeks a better understanding of the American Congress. Thus, several meetings were held with a number of staff and Congressional experts (including from the Congressional Research Service, The Congressional Research Programs Quarterly, and The National Review). A handbook was published listing key members and staffers of the 107th Congress on committees with competence in international affairs. It also describes U.S. parliamentary procedure (key role of committees, the passage of legislation through both authorization and appropriation committees). The volume is updated monthly by Margaret A. Cone in Washington, DC. It is available to CFE partners on the CFE website.

- **U.S.-French Relations in the New Era**
  The second orientation focuses on the mechanisms of American federalism, with the publication of The Challenge of Dual Sovereignty, a study that sheds light on the influence of the Supreme Court under Judge William Rehnquist on the relations between the federal government and the states. There has been a trend, recently, to return certain powers to the states that were centralized during and after the New Deal.

- **Reconcilable Differences**
  U.S.-French Relations in the New Era
  Michael Brenner and Guillaume Parmentier

  “An intelligent, comprehensive, dispassionate and eminently fair analysis of Franco-American divergences over the future of world politics, the role of NATO, and the evolving economic conflicts of interest. The proposals for improving relations, even though differences will remain, are modest and sensible.”
  Stanley Hoffmann, University Professor, Harvard University.

  “Parmentier and Brenner argue convincingly in the volume in favor of an analysis of Franco-American divergences over the future of world politics, the role of NATO, and the evolving economic conflicts of interest. The proposals for improving relations, even though differences will remain, are modest and sensible.”
  Guillaume Parmentier, head of the CFE, non-resident professor, University of Paris II, Pierre Lepetit, senior research fellow (energy), Laurence Neal, in residence at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, research fellow (spatial policy), Pierre Neill, research fellow (energy), Laurent Viguier, associate research fellow (climate change), Margaret A. Cone, associate research fellow (domestic U.S. policy) Nicole Rebe, assistant to G. Parmentier, Thierry de Menthon chairs an advisory board which meets annually.

The FCF does not depend on public subsidy. Longterm research programs are financed by interested partners. These partners have access to all the center’s activities and publications. The CFE is supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

**Team 2001**

- Guillaume Parmentier, head of the CFE, non-resident professor, University of Paris II
- Pierre Lepetit, senior research fellow (energy)
- Laurence Neal, in residence at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, research fellow (spatial policy)
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**Website**

www.cfe-ifri.org
This trend is the subject of heated legal and political debate in the United States. This American dilemma is both pertinent and instructive for European construction.

• US Foreign and Security Policy

The inauguration of the new administration and the events of September 11 dominated the work of the CFE on foreign and defense policy during 2001. Meetings were organized on several foreign policy themes, going from the Middle East policy of the new administration to its attitude on European security. The CFE organized meetings with Congress staff, as well as with people close to the new administration. The researchers of the Center also expressed their views in the media through interviews and Op-Ed contributions, in France as in the United States. The CFE published a policy paper on The United States and the U.S. in the Post-Cold War Era, which is a topic of growing divergence between the United States and European countries, especially France. Its publication led to an instructive and animated debate. A better understanding of the constraints on American policy is clearly needed.

Policy papers on the respective activities of the Chinese and Taiwanese lobbies in foreign policy and on the difficulty of obtaining Federal financing for internationally-led civil operations were commissioned in 2001 for publication in 2002.

• Space Program

At the beginning of 2001, the CFE undertook a long-term research project on spatial issues, led by Laurence Nardon. The United States is the world's leading spatial power. While Europe reconsiders the structure of its space policy (EU, European Space Agency, etc.) it is important to look towards US policy since America is itself seeing a shift from a policy developed according to scientific and industrial imperatives to a policy developed primarily according to the new administration's military concerns. The Pentagon has made space policy a new priority and is reorganizing in order to better manage its capacity in this field. There are still, however, problems to be addressed, such as the U.S. overcapacity, especially in launchers, or the quandary with Congress about launching procedure to control costs. This project aims at better informing European officials and sensitizing the larger public to spatial issues.

• Program on Energy and Climate Change

This program, launched in September 2001 by Pierre Lepetit, senior research fellow with the CFE, aims at analyzing the decision-making mechanisms in matters of energy in the US and evaluating its ability to adopt coherent long-term national policies (implicitly taking into account the general interest), which, when crisis arises, national opinion considers to be essential.

Among projects commissioned in 2001:

The United States and its dependence on oil: what are the political options?

This study, led by Pierre Noël, looks first at data on long-run oil supply in the United States and the growing need for imported oil. Careful interpretation of US oil policy, constantly followed since the early 1980s, reveals that the United States does not seek to achieve energy independence but rather looks to secure access to imported oil to respond to the growing demand for oil. The study also examines the possible effects of September 11 on oil policy.

The convergence of US and European climate policies

A European debate has begun on the system needed in order to implement the emissions reduction plans announced at Marrakech, while the United States could, if pressed by certain firms and several key senators, define a new policy for reducing the greenhouse effect. Laurent Viguier seeks to identify the options that are likely to lead to convergence between the United States and Europe at a negotiation table. The aim should indeed be to reduce the impact of political and methodological
divergences on the relative competitiveness of the European and American economies, and, in particular, of international corporations. The CFE will organize an Euro-American dialogue on these issues on the basis of the work carried out jointly by European and American researchers.

MEETINGS AND SEMINARS

1st February
US-France Strategic Dialogue
With:
Ronald D. Asmus, senior fellow, Council on Foreign Relations;
Antony Blinken, former special assistant to the President, National Security Council;
Jeffrey Gedmin, executive director, The New Atlantic Initiative;
Philip H. Gordon, director, Center on the US and Europe, senior fellow, the Brookings Institution;
Bruce P. Jackson, chairman, US Committee on NATO;
Stephen E. Biegun, staff director, Committee on Foreign Relations;
Stephen A. Cambone, director, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University.

26 February
The Middle East and the Bush Administration
Edward Djerejian, director, The James Baker III, Institute for Public Policy, Houston, Texas

3 March
The Challenge of the Dual-Sovereignty - The Rehnquist Court and Contemporary American Federalism
Timothy J. Conlan, professor, George Mason University

22 March
US Energy: Is Equilibrium Achievable?
Gifford E. Sner, AGS director, professor Nuclear Engineering, University of Illinois

15 May
US Foreign Policy and the New Economy
Elhanan Helpman, professor, Harvard University, US Embassy in Paris, Yann Marton, MO Verknon, and Jonathan Spoto, Aeroflot

15 June
Future Restructuring of the Aircraft and Defense Industry: the Transatlantic Dimension
Gordon Adams, professor, George Mason University; Francis M. Cuesta, vice-president, Aeronautics & Associates, Inc.

25 June
The Non-Profit Sector
Peter C. Goldmark, chairman, The International Herald Tribune, Paris

23 October
Space Policy:
A Priority for the Bush Administration
Jefferson Holmes, director, International Export Policy & Strategy, Boeing Co;
Laurence Nardon, research fellow, CFE-CSIS

5 November
The U.S. and the United Nations
In the Post-Cold War Era

Second Annual Conference G. W. Bush's America Before and After September 11
Ifri, Paris, 13-14 December
The impact of September 11 on the “State of the Union”, and on US economic, foreign and defense policy was the first item discussed, focusing in particular on the notions of continuity and change. The session entitled “Has the US political system changed?” emphasized the divisions at the heart of American society before the events of September 11 and its subsequent rallying around the president and the federal government after the attacks. The introduction of antiterrorism measures was discussed at length at the session on “Crime and punishment: Have US values changed?”, in addition to criminality and capital punishment. The speakers at the roundtable on “Free trade and fair trade: is US protectionism looming?” discussed the policies that transatlantic partners need to adopt in order to thwart the recession without altogether falling into...
the trap of a commercial war. The session on US energy policy broached the issues of energy security and global resource depletion. The panel on "What does the US need?" sparked a debate on the absence of a real US military doctrine and on the emergence of a European defense policy. The roundtable on "The new forms of American leadership: multilateralism or unilateralism?" contrasted the traditional American tendency toward unilateralism and the multilateral approach of the Bush Administration in its war on terrorism. Organized with the support of the German Marshall Fund of the United States and of the Policy Planning Staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this conference brought together an audience confined to about a hundred French and American decision-makers in each session. The Secretary General of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs hosted the participants at the Quai d’Orsay. They were also hosted by the US ambassador to Paris and Mrs. Howard Leach at a luncheon at which Edwin Meese III, Heritage Foundation, former Secretary of Justice of the United States, gave a speech.
The Asia sector, the activities of which were consolidated within the Centre asie ifri, pursued its work on preventive diplomacy and crisis management in Asia especially through its involvement in the Council for the Cooperation and Security in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP). The dialogue with Chinese intellectuals and officials was strengthened through regular seminars, individual meetings or studies, most notably on the reforms and development projects launched in China. In addition, bilateral dialogues with Korean and Japanese researchers and officials were also pursued.

Preventive Diplomacy and Crisis Management

The research project focuses on strategic developments in East Asia. The architecture of regional security, the situation in the Korean peninsula and the Taiwan question are naturally at the core of its concerns.

The European Committee of the Council for the Cooperation and Security in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP Europe) co-chaired by François Godement and whose secretariat is led by Régine Serra has allowed the Center to be an active participant in the informal dialogue (track two diplomacy) on Asia security (see CSCAP insert).
• CSCAP and CSCAP Europe

The Council for Cooperation and Security in the Asia-Pacific or CSCAP was created in 1993 by the ten countries of the Asia-Pacific region to set up a structured regional process that would contribute to the discussion of confidence building measures in the region. Today the Council includes representatives from every country in the region including North Korea plus the European Union, the United States and Russia. Since the admission of the People’s Republic of China in 1996, Taiwanese experts participate on an unofficial basis. This reduces the opportunity for informal discussions between expert members of the network.

CSCAP Europe is co-chaired by François Godement (France), Tom Hart (Centre for Pacific Asia Studies, Stockholm University, Sweden), Hanns Maull (University of Trier, Germany) and Michael Yahuda (London School of Economics, United Kingdom). Régine Serra is in charge of the secretariat based at Centre asie ifri. (Internet site: www.cscapeurope.org)

• CSCAP CSBM and North Pacific Working Groups Joint Meeting

Paris, 28-29 June

This meeting was co-chaired by the three CSCAP Europe co-chairs, François Godement (France), Tom Hart (Sweden), Hanns Maull (Germany) and by the co-chairs of the respective working groups Brian Job, University of British Columbia, CSCAP–Canada, and Yoshinobu Yamamoto, Tokyo University, CSCAP–Japan, for the North Pacific working group, as well as Ralph Cossa, Pacific Forum/CSIS Honolulu, US CSCAP for the CSBM working group.

It was CSCAP’s first working group meeting to be held in Europe since Europe joined the CSCAP process. The decision to bring together two important working groups considering the subjects tackled and their dynamism to Paris is therefore proof that the partnership with Europe is valuable and that our Asian friends are keen on learning from Europe’s experience in preventive diplomacy and confidence building, as well as from its unique experience in reconciliation. In addition, discussions on non-military defense were an opportunity to assess US–China relations, each country being represented by its respective committee.

The four most salient aspects of the meetings were the desire to promote US–China dialogue, the half–contained tension between Japan and China, the policy of mutual observation between the two Koreas, and finally, the desire of South East Asian states to take confidence building measures.

The participation of a great number of CSCAP committees should also be underscored, especially the


“EU-Asia Relations” Régine Serra in Encyclopedia of Modern Asia, Berkshire (forthcoming)

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Asian Issues

CSCAP AND CSCAP EUROPE

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involvement of all the active members of the North Pacific working groups: Mongolia, China, Japan, South Korea and North Korea.

The meeting was organized by François Godement and Régine Serra in partnership with the chairs of each of the working groups.

• The Asia Pacific Security Forum (APSF)
  2001 Roundtable
  Taipei, 29-30 August

The Asia Pacific Security Forum (APSF), launched on the initiative of the Institute for National Policy Research (INPR) of Paris, brings together four institutes renowned for their expertise in security in the Asia-Pacific region: the INPR itself, the Institute for Security and Development Studies (ISDS) of Manila, the Pacific Forum-CSIS, Honolulu, and the Centre asie ifri.

The forum holds an annual meeting, alternatively hosted by each of the involved institutes (the previous meeting had been held in Paris in 2000). The forum met in Taipei in 2001 and was co-chaired by Huang Chu-wen, INPR, Ralph Cossa, Pacific Forum-CSIS, François Godement, Centre asie ifri, and Carolina Hernandez, ISDS. The forum discussed the development of Chinese and Taiwanese policies in the Asia-Pacific region, the new US strategy, Sino-Soviet relations in the 21st century and their implications for Taiwan, the relations between India and China and strategic developments in China, India and Taiwan, and, finally, the future of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).

• Working Group on the Korean Peninsula
  Paris, 27 June

The working group, brought together by François Godement and Régine Serra, made it possible to compare different approaches (American, British, French, German and South Korean) to the situation in North Korea and the Korean peninsula. The meeting benefited from the valuable participation of the UK representation in Pyongyang. James Hoare, whose presentation provided useful information about living conditions in North Korea and the difficulty of diplomatic negotiations with Pyongyang.

The meeting focused on four topics: the domestic situation in North Korea, and Kim Dae-Jung’s “sunshine policy”; diplomatic relations with North Korea and the British experience; the United States as a strategic mediator; and the strategic situation in China. Written contributions were presented by Pierre Chabal, professor, Le Havre University, France, Ralph Cossa, president, Pacific Forum-CSIS, Honolulu, Aidan Foster Carter, director of research, Leeds University, United Kingdom, Tom Hart, professor, Centre for Pacific Asia Studies, Stockholm University, Sweden, Kwon Dunghee, professor, Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS), Korea, Hans Maull, professor of international relations, University of Trier, Germany.

Bilateral Dialogue

• Franco-Korean Dialogue
  Meeting with the Seoul Forum
  Paris, 13 March

The meeting, organized by François Godement and Régine Serra, was held within the context of the regular exchanges between Ifri and Korea. The Seoul Forum is a private organization bringing together high-ranking Korean personalities. Chaired by Thierry de Montbrial, the meeting discussed inter-Korean relations and the new policy of the Bush administration towards North Korea.
The participants for the Korean delegation were: Lee Hong-koo, former Prime Minister, president, Seoul Forum; Han Sung-Joo, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, director, Illmin Institute for International Affairs; Lee In-ho, president, the Korea Foundation; Hyun Hong-Choo, former ambassador to the United States; Young Soogil, former ambassador to the OECD; Paik Jin-Hyun, professor, National University of Seoul; for the French delegation: François Godement, head of the Centre asie IFRI; Cyril Bouyeure, technical adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs; Dominique Girard, director, Asia and Oceania, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Dominique Moïsi, deputy director, IFRI; Camille Grand, research fellow, IFRI; Françoise Nicolas, senior economist, IFRI; François-Xavier Ortoli, honorary president, MEDEF International; Jean-Claude Paye, former secretary general of the OECD; Serge Perrin, associate researcher, IFRI; Frédérique Sachwald, head of economics studies, IFRI; Xavier de Villepin, chairman, Senate Committee for Foreign Affairs and Defense; Régine Serra.

Franco-Japanese Dialogue
“Franco-Japanese Strategic Dialogue”
10th Ifri-JIIA seminar
Tokyo, 18-19 June
This joint conference with the Japan Institute for International Affairs – the tenth one since 1991 – was held in Tokyo on the eve of the meeting between high-ranking officials from the French and Japanese Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense (2+2 strategic dialogue). Topics put on the table this year included alliances, the situation in China, Russia, and the Korean peninsula. It gave the opportunity for Japanese experts to express qualified perceptions and views.

The French delegation, led by Xavier de Villepin, president, Senate Committee for Foreign Affairs and Defense, included: Théophile Delphine, director of strategic affairs, CEA, François Godement, head of the Centre asie IFRI; Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, director, Strategic Affairs directorate, Ministry of Defense; Georges Sokoloff, scientific advisor, CEPII and professor, INALCO.

This conference was organized by François Godement and Régine Serra.

Franco-Chinese Dialogue
The dialogue with Chinese institutes, experts and officials was reinforced in 2001. One of the dialogue’s main axes remains the regular meetings held with the China Reform Forum (2001). This meeting, organized by François Godement and Régine Serra, benefited from the support of the ADDETIF (the Association for the Development of Exchanges in Economic and Financial Technology, Ministry of Economy, Finance and Industry) and of the Policy Planning Staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This conference was organized by François Godement and Régine Serra.
Research Asian Issues

Science. Following the assessment of the various dimensions of the bilateral relationship, both delegations went into an in-depth analysis of their respective experiences in relation to China’s recent moves regarding public sector opening, social change, infrastructures and facilities modernisation. A whole session was devoted to an exchange of views on post September 11.

Other participants from the CRF besides Zhou Hong were: He Ping, Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare; Pang Zhangying, Qinghua University; Wu Baiyi, Foundation for International and Strategic Studies (FIIS); Zhang Hanya, State Committee for Development and Economic Planning; Zhou Qiyan, Europe/CFR relations. Besides François Godement, French participants included, Jean-Marie Aoust, National Council of Advisors for External Trade; Pascale Béracha, ADETEF; Caroline Montalcino, Ministry of Economy, Finances and Industry; Michel Roucher, Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Hervé Dejean de la Bâtie.

First Meeting with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
Paris, April 19

In informal relations with individual experts of the CASS are numerous. On April 19th, Ifri hosted, for the first time, a meeting with a delegation from the CASS led by its president, Li Tieying. The debate focused on the issue of sovereignty and integration in the European and Chinese contexts.

This meeting was organized by Régine Serra and François Godement.

Research Programs on China

Since 1998, Ifri has led a research program on China that aims at analysing specific research year. Some of the topics that have been analysed are the participation of China in the multilateral security dialogue in the Asia-Pacific; the relations between China and the United States; the political debates in China (see Politique étrangère n°1/2001). This year, the program focused on China’s “Go West Policy”.

China and Its Western Frontier
Paris, 4-5 October

On October 4th, a first, closed, meeting bringing together experts on China’s policy in the Western provinces was held, with written contributions by David Goodman, director, Institute for International Studies, University of Technology, Sydney; Nicolas Becquelin, EHESS, Paris; Peter C. Perdue, professor of History, MIT, Cambridge; Xavier Croizat, research fellow, Centre asié Ifri; Olivier Roy, researcher, CNRS; Jagvaral Hanibal, director of Information, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia. This seminar resulted in a lively and fruitful dialogue on the central government’s policy on and commitment to the Western provinces (primarily in Xinjiang and Tibet) on the one hand, and on Beijing’s stability goals for China’s borders in Central Asia on the other hand.

Jean Desazars de Montgailhard, Lafarge,
Patrick Bourrier, Alcatel,
François Godement, Chen Yuan, Nicolas Occis.

• EXE R.A. IFRI 2001/Anglais  30/08/2002  09:47  Page 28
A second, open meeting, held on October 5th, provided an opportunity to define both aims and results of the central government’s development policy in Western China. The interest of the debate was enhanced by the participation of Chen Yuan, the governor of the Chinese Development Bank (CDB). The meeting also benefited from Nicolas Becquelin’s presentation on the political economy of Xinjiang and Nicolas Occis’s survey on the development opportunities in the West, as well as from the remarks of corporate representatives involved in the field (Patrick Bourrier, Alcatel; Jean Desazars de Montgelard, Lafarge; Olivier Laroche, Snecma). This event benefited from the support of Lafarge. The results of this program, led by François Godement with the cooperation of Régine Serra, will be published in the collection Les Cahiers d’Asie from the Centre asie ifri, in 2002.

Central Asia

Central Asia: Towards Conflict?
Paris, 16 October

This debate was organized jointly by the Centre asie ifri and the International Crisis Group (ICG) around John Schoerberlein, specialist on Central Asian conflicts and director of the Central Asian Project of the ICG, and Robert Templer, director of the ICG’s Asia Program (Brussels).

Projects

In 2002, the Centre asie ifri plans to reinforce its collaboration with South East Asia institutes, by developing a regular dialogue with the Institute for Defense and Strategic Studies (IDSS) of Singapore. A program on the political succession in China and on energy security in Asia should also be launched.

Régine Serra joined the helicopter-carrier Jeanne d’Arc, French Naval Academy, from Shanghai to Kuala Lumpur. She delivered two series of lectures on the strategic situation in the South China Sea region and on US-China relations (between March 18 and 26).
2001 was one of the bleakest years in terms of security and peace in the Middle-East and the Mediterranean. The ruthless war without frontiers between Israelis and Palestinians represents a major threat for regional stability as a whole. It also undermines the viability of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership.

The Middle East

- The Israeli-Palestinian Quagmire: a Forward-Looking Analysis

This study, conducted by May Chartouni-Dubarry, adopts a scenario approach and attempts to examine the most plausible outcomes in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the medium-term. These salient cases can be identified: status quo with the inherent risk of escalation, the complete collapse of the Palestinian Authority, and possible ways out of the crisis. The analysis was based on the author’s research fieldtrips to the Middle East between August 12th and 24th.

- Joint Ifri/MENARG (Middle East and North Africa Research Group, Foreign and Commonwealth Office) Meeting on the Middle East

Paris, 27 April

Organized by May Chartouni-Dubarry, this Franco-British meeting brought together diplomats and prominent specialists (researchers, academics and journalists) on the Middle East and the Maghreb. A full lunchtime session was devoted to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, seven months after the onset of the intifada. This informal discussion was pursued in the afternoon session by four working groups that debated relevant issues for each of the Near-East, Iraq, Iran and the Maghreb.

- Iraq: Internal Implications of a Decade-Long Embargo

This study, conducted by Loulouwa Al Rachid, is based on several study trips. She analyzes the new logic of survival developed by the regime, the durability of which has been made possible by the "Oil for Food" program and which relies on a de-structuring of the old social order. She also tries to understand how the Iraqi people manage to cope with the hardships of daily life. Lastly, she draws conclusions for the future: Iraq is a wounded society that has also become somewhat more hardened and demanding. The study will give rise to forthcoming publications.

- Monarchies, Successions and Dynastic Drifts in the Arab World

Paris, May 21-22

Organized by Rémy Leveau and Khadija Mohsen-Finan in partnership with Princeton University, this conference brought together academics, experts, diplomats and journalists. It offered an opportunity to reflect upon the survival strategies of the Arab monarchies and the political mechanisms that continue to ensure the perpetuation of royal power in the face of the challenges posed by the general political and social environment.
The Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Maghreb

University, and its director, Abdellah Hammoudi, this seminar aimed at examining the future of monarchical type regimes and their ability to preserve their identity in the face of globalization. The discussion centered around three main areas: historical (successes and failures of some monarchies - Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia - in relating demands for pluralism and democracy after decolonization), religious (legitimization of monarchical power in some cases), and forward-looking (perspectives of succession and transition).

Participating in this seminar were, in addition to Prince Moulay Hicham Ben Abdallah El Alaoui, Morocco: Philippe Ardant, University of Paris II; Yadh Ben Achour, Faculty of Juridical Political and Social Sciences, Tunis; Mounia Bennani Chraïbi, Institute of political and international sciences, University of Lausanne; François Burgat, CNRS/CEFAS, Sanaa; Marie Camberlin, IEP, Aix en Provence/CEFAS; Frédéric Charillon, University of Auvergne and IEP, Paris; Philippe Day-Hard, IEP, Paris; Mohamed El Hédi Chérif, University of Tunis; Ali Kassaï, Amman; Franck Mermier, CNRS, Maison de l'Orient, Lyon; Fatiha Dazy-Heni, IEP, Paris; Marie Camberlin, IEP, Aix en Provence/CEFAS, Sanaa; Mohamed Tozy, University of Casablanca.

Iffi is a founding member of the Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission or EuroMedCo. It is represented in the Steering Committee since 1996 by May Chartouni-Dubarry.

EURO-MEDITERRANEAN STUDY COMMISSION/EuroMedCo

EuroMedCo is a non governmental network set up in 1996 with the financial support of the European Commission completing independent foreign policy institutes from 27 signatory states of the Barcelona Declaration which established the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP). EuroMedCo seeks to promote a political and security dialogue within civil society and more particularly amongst experts, researchers and academics acting as confidence-building measure for EMP.

Activities of the network in 2001:
- Launching of the third phase of the EuroMedCo network
- Representatives from the nine member institutes of the Steering Committee met in Paris on February 24 and 25, 2001 to launch the third phase of works of the EuroMedCo. Iffi (May Chartouni-Dubarry) will coordinate, alternately with the Al Ahram Center in Cairo, a working group on the "Interlinkages within the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership". This working group will extend over three years.
- Meeting with the High Officials in charge of implementing the Barcelona Declaration
- Organized under the Swedish presidency of the European Union, in collaboration with the EuroMedCo secretariat at the Iffi (May Chartouni-Dubarry) held in Brussels on June 20th and looked at the promotion of civil society as vector of dialogue and rapprochement between the two sides of the Mediterranean.

Annual conference
"Europe and the Mediterranean:
Towards a New Integration Approach"
Iffi, January 31st - February 1st 2002

This conference, organized by May Chartouni-Dubarry with the financial support of the European Commission was initially scheduled for the fall of 2001. It was rescheduled because of the events of September 11.
The opening of the conference by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hubert Vedrine, confirmed France's interest in the Barcelona process and the Mediterranean region in general and in Middle-East developments. Thus, in front of a packed auditorium in which 30 members of the Institut d'études politiques méditerranéennes (IEPM) and representatives of the European Commission were present, the French minister unveiled his proposals in favor of revitalizing the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. These “ideas” took over the larger part of the first morning session. Hubert Vedrine also warned against the risk of mixing the religious dimension – Islam – and the southern Mediterranean region. It was on the whole a stimulating message, eminently dynamic and constructive in its criticism of the method of the Barcelona process (naivety, implementation too global), which aimed to give new life to a project that he deems “strategically excellent”. Addressing the “hard, not the easy, topics” was the slogan he chose to enhance trans-Mediterranean dialogue.

Thierry de Montbrial and Alvaro de Vasconcelos, IIEI (Lisbon), introduced the debates taking into account the impact of September 11 on Euro-Mediterranean relations. The debates were centered around the four themes of the working groups launched during 2001: “Security issues – Common Ground and Common Language”, with Roberto Aliboni, IAI, Rome, Rachid Driss, AEI, Tunis, Jean-Louis Mignot, coordinator of the Barcelona process, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brussels, Safin Naej, LCPS, Berlin; “ESDP: Security Perceptions and Prospects for Cooperation” with Fouad Ammor, GERM, Rabat, Elena Sanchez Mateos, CIDOB, Barcelona, Peter van Ham, Clingendaël, the Hague, Alexandre Zafiriou, General Secretariat of the European Council, Brussels; and “The Role of sub-regional cooperation?” with Stephen Collings, MEDAC, Malta, Abderrahmane Haq Haoj, SBFI, Paris, Mark A. Heller, (CSS), Tel Aviv, Michael Waldburger, European Commission, Brussels. “Civil society as an essential factor of North-South Integration” with Mount, Alida Had, IESUP, West Jerusalem, Volker Perthes, SWR, Berlin, Marc Schueten-Huys, Human Rights Watch, Copenhagen, Dominique Silveldi, IIEP, Paris. Geneviève Sales, ACPMS, Cairo. In view of current events, a fifth round table was convened about the role of the EU in the Arab-Israeli conflict, with Thierry de Montbrial, Brussels; Rosemary Hollis, RIIA, London, Eberhard Rhein, EPC, Brussels, Alvaro de Vasconcelos, IIEI, Lisbon. The interventions led to a stimulating and constructive debate among representatives of the North and the South of the Mediterranean. The conference demonstrated that, while the Mediterranean remains, at many levels, an embryonic geopolitical unit, the Euro-Mediterranean project, although harnessed by the persistent conflict in the Middle-East, is more necessary now than ever before.

**Activities of the IEPM**

The IEPM was created in 1999 by the Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale, ISPI, Milan, and Ifri with the support of the Principality of Monaco as well as French and Monacan donors. IEPM is an independent institute. Its role is twofold: to promote research and debate on all Mediterranean topics. A research program is carried out each year; to act as a forum to favor interaction between political figures, representatives of the corporate sector, scholars and experts as well as media representatives from the whole region, by organizing regular encounters.

IEPM is established under Monacan law, and its headquarters are located in Monaco. The presidency of IEPM is rotated between ISPI and Ifri for three year periods. Thierry de Montbrial was named president in 1999. May Chartouni-Dubarry ensures coordination of research for Ifri.
Civil Strife in the Mediterranean Region: Challenges and Responses

This research project launched by May Chartouni-Dubarry adopts a transversal and comparative approach by addressing cases-studies as dissimilar as Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, Algeria and the Balkans, yet all torn by internal divisions, be they communal, ethnic, socio-economic and/or strategic. By bringing into the collective research project, cases-studies from outside the Mediterranean region from Canada, Switzerland, South Africa (all successful models of consociational democracy) and Ireland (a case of failure in resolving or regulating the civil conflict), the project’s aims are twofold: avoid all culturalist prejudice that would reduce the analysis to a consensual Mediterranean issue and examine the wide array of cases-studies in search of prevention and/or resolution models of this kind of conflict. A seminar bringing together the contributing writers is scheduled for the fall of 2002. It will be organized jointly with the Center for Lebanon Studies at Oxford. All the written contributions will be collected in both French and English in a book to be published by the end of 2003.

Associated with this project are: Mariane Birer, European Center for Minority Issues, Belgard; Alain Drachhoff, Arnold-Schmidt-Institute for Social Research, Freiburg; Luis Martinez, FNHP/GDR; Maria Miranda, academic, London School of Economics; United Kingdom; David Hudson, Democratic Dialogue, Belfast; Nadim Shehadi, Center for Lebanese Studies, Oxford.

Maghreb

Algerian Civil Society

Can Algerian civil society contribute to the creation of an autonomous political space?

The research project aims at identifying the vigor of the rising civil society in Algeria and its ability to contribute to democratization. Khadija Mohsen-Finan organized four roundtable discussions with representatives of the Algerian civil society.

Maghreb

L’Algérie : une improbable sortie de crise? (Algeria: the Unlikely End of the Tunnel)

Khadija Mohsen-Finan (ed.)
"Les Notes de l’Ifri", n° 37, March 2002

Conference

22 March

The new Bush Administration and the Middle East

speaker: Kenneth Stein, William E. Schatten Professor of Contemporary Middle Eastern History and Israel Studies, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia
Chair of the session:
May Chartouni-Dubarry

Seminars

23 November

Nezar Hamdoun, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iraq
Chair of the session:
May Chartouni-Dubarry

2 May

US Middle East Policy under the Bush Administration

Jerald Green, Director, Center for Middle-East Public Policy, RAND
Chair of the session:
May Chartouni-Dubarry

9 July

Algeria between a democracy of communities and a democracy of citizens

Daho Djebalt, historian, director of NQDmagazine.

12 July

Media in Algeria

Ghassan Moulah, independent journalist; Djaker Saïd, journalist at "Quotidien d’Oran"; Achakar Jamil, director of theEchos and Le Journal websites, Algiers.

31 October

NGOs in Algeria

Mustapha Kheiri, president of FONMD (National Foundation for Fostering Health and Research Development), Algiers.

6 November

The informal economy and associative network in Algeria

Daho Djebalt, historian and director of NQD magazine; Ahmed Henni, economist and dean of the faculty of economics at Bordeaux.
Chair of the sessions:
Khadija Mohsen-Finan

Seminar

16 May

The reintegration of Libya in the Euro-Mediterranean cooperation process

Françoise Burgat, CNRS French Center for Archaeology and Social Sciences, Siena.

André Laronche, professor of ancient history, University of Paris IV.

30 May

Remarks on the Algerian crisis

Dr Ahmed Yaceine Jaffar, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria, presidential candidate in 1999.

24 October

After September 11: reactions in the Arab world

Christophe Ayad, journalist, Libération.

6 November

Knowledge, Belief and Islamic Power: an Interpretation

Molboe Jega, researcher, Interdisciplinary Center for Religious Facts, CNRS.
Chair of the sessions:
Khadija Mohsen-Finan

L’Algérie • ANNUAL REPORT 2001
The deterioration and increase in the number of conflicts in Africa have led Ifri to conduct a project on international interventions, in particular on the military role of the old colonial powers in Sub-Saharan Africa. The project is led by François Gaulme, research associate at Ifri.

### Ten Years of International Intervention in Africa

This one-day seminar brought together French and foreign academics, members of the administration and the military to discuss international security interventions in Africa. Among the participants were Eddy Maloka, executive director of the Africa Institute of South Africa (Johannesburg), General Khalil Fal, the former Secretary General of ANAD, colonel Eric Bonnemaison from the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, in Washington, two representatives from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Mel McNulty, Africa Research Group, and Tom Porteous, Africa Division, as well as representatives from the US and UK embassies. The participants reviewed the role of the UN in Africa, in particular in Sierra Leone, and addressed the role of Africans themselves. While it appeared that the latter wished to take security initiatives, it was clear that they could not do so on their own. The new French policy in Africa – which has yet to be fully articulated – was also evaluated. One item seemed certain: French troops stationed in Africa in accordance with the agreements with African states should be maintained, even if the existing defense agreements need to be reviewed and updated. Military cooperation between France and Britain in the framework of the Saint-Malo agreements was also evoked.

### Intervention in Africa: the Franco-British Dilemma

The direct intervention of Great Britain in Sierra Leone in May 2000 re-opened the question of the military role of the old colonial powers in Sub-Saharan Africa. The analysis of two parallel crises, in Sierra Leone and in the Central African Republic, underlines the divergence between French and British policies. On the one hand, and in the manner of the United States, France advocates indirect support to multinational forces in the framework of missions valued only in peacekeeping while strengthening African capacity. On the other hand, the Labour government in Britain saw direct and rapid intervention as necessary in a situation where UN troops seemed impotent. After analyzing both approaches, and situating the British approach in the context of New Labour’s strategy, which is characterized by a new realism and sensitivity to problems of development, the study foresees a middle way based on Franco-British cooperation in accordance with the Saint-Malo agreement.
meetings
and debates
To inform, to stimulate debate on international issues, and to explore new avenues: it is in this mindset that Ifri organizes cycles of monthly conferences for its members and partners – i.e. government representatives, corporate circles, scholars and the media. A forum of independent debate. Ifri has become a natural platform for numerous official figures, including heads of state and government visiting France.

**A HUNDRED YEARS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**16 January**

François Bédarida, honorary director of research at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS);
Georges-Henri Soutou, professor at the University of Paris IV;
Dominique David, Philippe Moreau Defarges and Anita Tiraspolsky.

**AFRICA**

**9 May**
The Challenges of Change in South Africa
Tony Leon, leader of the Democratic Alliance, main opposition party in South Africa.

**5 December**
China and Africa: Leadership and Good Governance
John Agbahienu Kufuor, President of the Republic of Ghana.

**LATIN AMERICA**

**22 January**
Diplomacy for Peace: Colombia’s Axis of Foreign Policy
Andrés Pastrana, President of the Republic of Colombia.

**12 December**
The Delta Development Cycle: the Position of Emerging Countries
Marta Lucia Henriquín Risco, Minister of Foreign Trade of the Republic of Colombia.

**ASIA**

**31 January**
Non-Globalization and the Perils of Asian Regionalism
Jean-Marie Lehmann, president of the Ifri Group and professor at the International Institute for Management Development, Lausanne.

**31 January**
India and Stability of the Asian Continent
With Brijesh Mishra, Principal Secretary to Prime Minister of India, National Security Adviser to the Government of India.

**6 February**
China’s Entry to the WTO: Domestic Debates and National Decision Procedure
Yang Yang, associate professor, School of International Studies, University of Beijing.

**5 March**
Nepal and the New International Order
Girja Prasad Koirala, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Nepal and president of the Nepalese Congress Party.

**12 December**
China and the World in the Twenty First Century
Hu Jintao, Vice-President of the People’s Republic of China.

**THE UNITED STATES**

**22 March**
The New Bush Administration and the Middle East
Kenneth W. Stein, William E. Schaff professor of Contemporary Middle Eastern History and Israel Studies, Emory University, Atlanta.
18 April
The Bush Administration’s Trade Policy
Bruce E. Stokes, senior fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, D.C.

25 April
The Middle East
Hassan Nasrallah, professor, University of Paris VIII; Justin Vaisse, researcher, the Brookings Institution; Jean-Luc de Maizière, German Foreign Minister.

29 May
America and Europe: Tensions but not Divorce
Robert J. Lieber, professor, Department of Government, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

EUROPE/EURASIA

8 February
The Challenges of the OSCE at the Dawn of the New Millennium
Mircea Geoana, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania (conference organized in the framework of Romania’s presidency of the OSCE).

3 March
The CFSP in an Enlarged Union
Javier Solana, Secretary General of the EU, EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy.

26 April
Tomorrow: the Czech Republic in the European Union
Jan Kavan, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic.

5 July
Towards a European Strategy of Energy Supply
Loyola de Palacio, member of the European Commission, vice-president in charge of Relations with the European Parliament, Transport and Energy.

15 September
Russia: the Society and the State
Sergei Khrushchev, former Prime Minister of the Russian Federation (March-August 1996), plenipotentiary representative of the President in the Federal Viola region.

23 October
Austria and Europe Facing the New International Deal
Berlits Reiner-Walther, Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria.

22 November
German Identity
Ingo Kolboom, professor of French Civilization at Dresden University, guest professor at the University of Montreal, and Henri de Bresson, journalist at Le Monde. On the occasion of the publication of their respective books Pièces d’identité: Signets d’une décennie allemande 1989-2000 (Presses de l’université de Montréal, 2001) and La nouvelle Allemagne (Stock, 2001).

5 December
The Europeanization of the Balkans
Rodney Michael, President of the Republic of Albania.
### Meetings and Debates

#### Conferences

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<td>Europe in a Globalized World</td>
<td>Pierre Moscovici, Minister, in charge of European Affairs.</td>
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<td>7 November</td>
<td>The Arab World Facing the Current Crisis</td>
<td>Nassif Hitti, representative of the Arab League in Paris.</td>
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<td>Globalization</td>
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<td>7 June</td>
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<td>Roundtable with Pierre-Jean Benghozi, director of research at CNRS, Michael Nacht, dean and professor of Public Policy at UC Berkeley, Yvon Thiec, general manager, Eurocinéma (Brussels).</td>
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<td>11 June</td>
<td>Ballistic Defense Missiles and Stability in the Twenty First Century</td>
<td>Thérèse Delpech, director of research, CERI/FNSP; Michael Nacht, dean and professor of Public Policy at UC Berkeley.</td>
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<td>12 April</td>
<td>Ethics and Corporations</td>
<td>Ethan Kapstein, Stassen professor of International Peace, University of Minnesota, guest professor at INSEAD, senior visiting fellow at Ifri.</td>
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<td>The Geopolitics of Hunger: what Role for Humanitarian Action</td>
<td>Roger Godino, chairman, Action contre la Faim (ACO), Sylvie Brunel, adviser, ACF.</td>
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<td>31 October</td>
<td>The Multicultural Lebanese Identity: for a true Dialogue of Cultures</td>
<td>Bahjat E. Rizk, cultural attaché of the permanent delegation of Lebanon at UNESCO.</td>
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<td>21 June</td>
<td>Towards a Contractual Organization of the World</td>
<td>Edgar Pisani, former Minister.</td>
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### Meetings and Debates

#### Conferences

**Post 11 September**

- **17 September**
  - *First Analyses after the Events of September 11*
  - Roundtable discussions with Ifri researchers:
    - May Chartouni-Dubarry
    - Dominique David
    - François Godement
    - Romain Jacquet
    - Thierry de Montbrial
    - Guillaume Parmentier

- **28 November**
  - Roundtable discussions with Ifri researchers:
    - Jacques Beltran
    - Frédéric Bozo
    - Dominique David
    - François Godement
    - Jolyon Howorth
    - Pierre Jacquet
    - Rémy Leveau
    - Dominique Moïsi
    - Thierry de Montbrial
    - Philippe Moreau Deffarges

- **18 May**
  - *The Environment and Global Warming*
  - Roundtable discussions with Ifri researchers:
    - Dominique Dron
    - Daniel Esty
    - Jean-Charles Hourcade
    - Hervé Le Treut
    - Laurence Tubiana

**RAMSES 2001 Conference Cycle**

- **11 January**
  - *Asia: The New Stakes*
  - Romain Bertrand, Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and researcher at CERI
  - Jean-Luc Racine, director of research at the Center for the Study of India and South East Asia (EHESS)
  - Christian Sautter, former Minister of Economy, Finances and Industry, director of studies, EHESS
  - François Godement, former Minister of Economy, Finance and Industry, director of studies, EHESS
  - Thierry de Montbrial, chair

- **2 March**
  - *Intervention after Kosovo*
  - Radomir Diklic, ambassador of Yugoslavia to Paris
  - Nikola Dimitrov, defense adviser to the President of the Republic of Macedonia
  - Jacques Rupnik, director of research, CERI
  - Serge Sur, professor, University of Paris II
  - Pierre Jacquet, Philippe Moreau Deffarges, Hans Stark

- **18 May**
  - *Foreign Policies after the September 11 Attacks*
  - Frédéric Charillon, professor of Political Science, Sciences Po, Paris
  - On the occasion of the publication of the book *Les politiques étrangères, ruptures et continuités* (La Documentation française, 2002)

- **11 December**
  - *Reflections on the Geostrategic Situation after September 11*
  - Admiral Jacques Lanxade, strategic adviser EADS France, former chief of staff
Meetings and Debates

Participation of Ifri's Researchers in International Conferences

European Construction
European Security

- Jacques Bethlen
  Participated in the seminar on European Security and Defense in the Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS), Washington, D.C., 5 April.

- Camille Grand
  Participated in the 14th EU-Japan Journalist Conference organized by the EU, Delegation of the European Commission in Japan, Dublin, 7-8 March.

- Thierry de Montbrial
  Participated in the meeting Bucharest Retreat: A discussion on Romania’s Current Challenges and Priorities (off-the-record meeting with the new
Participation of Ifri’s researchers in international conferences

meetings and debates

Romanian governmental team, with the participation of the President Ion Iliescu and the Prime Minister Adrian Nastase, East-West Institute, Bucharest, 26-27 January.

Visit to Latvia at the invitation of the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 14-16 February.

Participated in the Club of Three Meeting, Latvia, 28-29 September.

Participated in the Triennial Commission meeting Europe, Budapest, 5-11 November.

Participated in the Club of Three Meeting, European Enlargement and the Future of European Institutions, Vienna, 23-24 November.

* Guillaume Parmentier

Participated in the conference “Gouvernance et sécurité européenne: de l’identité européenne de défense à la politique commune de sécurité”, Peace Academy, Monaco, 30-31 March 1st April.

* Philippe Moreau Defarges

Lecturer at the Training Seminar on European Affairs, organized by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Budapest, 20-30 May.

Participated in the international conference EU External Relations: Competition, Cooperation, Association and Accession, Institute of European and American Studies (IEAS), Tel Aviv, 10-14 September.

Presentation on “The EU’s Foreign Policy”, European Commission, Brussels, 7 November.

Participated in the meeting A European Constitution, IESP, Milan, 19 December.

* Hans Stark

Participated in a series of workshops on issues and Consequences of Enlargement, Bertelsmann Foundation and the Centre for European Policy Analysis, Munich, 1-2 February.


Participated in the fourth meeting of the ad-hoc think-tank on South-Eastern Europe at the WEU-Institute for Security Studies, Paris, 11 May.

Presentation on “The CEDSR: Prospects and Limits” at the conference jahrestagung des Deutschen Militärischen Bevollmächtigten Frankreich, Portembresius, 12 September.

Participated in the 2nd Advisory Board Meeting of the European Academy of Otzenhausen, organized in the framework of the project on the Comparative Analysis of Foreign Policies in Europe of the University of Trier, Trier, 26-28 October.


Transatlantic relations/Non-proliferation/Disarmament

* Jacques Beltran

Submitted his views to the French National Assembly Committee on Foreign Affairs on “The U.N. and the sanctions issue” (the focus was on the Iraqi embargo and economic sanctions), Paris, 24 January.

Submitted his views to the European Parliament Committee on Foreign Affairs on “Iraq and the International Community” (the focus was on the embargo reform), Brussels, 26 February.


* Thierry de Montbrial

Meetings and Debates

Participation of Ifri's researchers in international conferences

• Guillaume Parmentier
  Participated in the conference Relations Between France and the United States, organized by the American Defense Industry Forum (ADIF), Brussels, 22-23 January.
  Participated in the conference NATO After Kosovo: A European View, Geneva Center for Security Policy, Geneva, 5-6 March.
  Conference The United States and France After 11 September, French General Consulate in New York, 1-5 October.
  Participated in the conference NATO and the EU in the new Millennium, American University in Paris, Paris 8 December.
  Presentation "Europe, East Asia, Missile Proliferation, and Missile Defense", at the Pugwash Conference East Asian Security, Seoul, 3-6 April.

Missile Defense

• Jacques Beltran
  Participated in the conference "Missile Defense, the ABM Treaty and NATO", chaired by Henry Kissinger, American Enterprise Institute, Paris, 28 May.
  Presentation "National Missile Defense: The Political Implications of the Choice of Technology", at the meeting "The International Implications of Ballistic Missile Proliferation and Ballistic Missile Defense: Mounting Center for International Studies, Southampton, 30 March-1 April.

Economic Issues

• Pierre Jacquet
  Participated in the Tokyo Club Foundation for Global Studies Meeting, Tokyo, 25-26 April.
  Participation in the workshops Management of Europe organized by The European Round Table of Industries (ERT), Brussels, 30 July and 31 October.
  Participated in the conference Europe Role in Global Governance and Challenges to East organized by the Institute for Global Economics, Seoul, 7-11 October.

• Frédérique Schneider
  Presentation "Globalization and Capitalism", at the ASEM Roundtable on Globalization and Regional Responses, Seoul, 26-29 May.
  Presentation "R&D Cooperation by French Firms", with Luis Miotti, at the colloquium "The Impact of Innovation and Globalization in Europe: ATEG Project", Munich, 25-26 May.
  Presentation "Distribution géographique des investissements FDI, Human Capital and Education in Developing Countries", OECD Development Center, Paris, 3-6 April.
  Presentation "A case study: Korea", at the meeting PDI, Human Capital and Education in Developing Countries, OECD Development Center, Paris, 13-14 December.
  Discussion on the panel "Did Government Regulation Matter?", at the French-American conference The Global Internet Economy, organized by the Regional H. Jones Center, the Wharton Club of Paris and the Center of research in management of Ecole polytechnique, Paris, 12 March.


Participation of Ifri's researchers in international conferences

Asia

- Françoise Nicolas
  Presentation "Can Exchange Rate Policy Help Boost FDI-led Growth in ASEAN?", at the international colloquium Location of Economic Activity Regional Development and the Global Economy, co-organized by the University of Le Havre and the University Inha, Incheon (Korea), 26-27 September.

- François Godement
  Presentation "Did China's Relations With Its Main Partners Influence Chinese Internal and External Policies?", at the conference China: External Relations, Southern Center for International Studies/Ditchley Foundation, Atlanta, 10 June.
  Participated in the Euro-Japanese symposium Europe Common Foreign and Security Policy: Lessons for Japan, organized by the Japanese-German Center Berlin (JDZB), the Yomiuri Shinbun and Ifri, Tokyo, 20 June.
  Participated in the Working Group on Security in East-Timor in a Regional Context, Instituto de Estudos Estratégicos e Internacionais (IEEI), Lisbon, 13-14 July.

Europe

- May Chartouni-Dubarry
  Participated in the workshop The EU and the Mediterranean, Geneva Center for Security Policy (GGSIP), Chaired the session "EU and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Problems and Opportunities", Geneva, 5-6 March.
  Presentation "The Impact of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict on the EMU", Second Forum Managing Agremment Interdependence within the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership – A German Perspective Center for European Integration Studies (CIS), Bonn, 2 April.
  Participated in the meeting "Towards a renewed Franco-German Security Strategy" How to move forward? organized by the National Assembly with the participation of Yasser Abed Rabbo, PA minister of Culture and Information and Yossi Sarid, member of the Knesseth, Paris, 31 May.
  Presentation "Identity-based Nationalism in Europe and the Mediterranean" at the XXV International Conference Europe-Asia and the Mediterranean Identity, Fundamental Values and Security in the Aftermath of the 11 September, Instituto de Estudos Estratégicos e Internacionais (IEEI), Lisbon, 8-9 November.

Middle East/ Arab world

- Hervé Dejean de la Bâtie
  Participated in the conference PLA 2001, PLAs Repress in the Context of a More Determined America, organized by the American Enterprise Institute, The Heritage Foundation and the US Army, War College, Carlisle Barracks (Pennsylvania), 7-9 September.
  Participated in the conference PLA’s Europe-Asie, organized by the Danish Institute of International Relations, the Vietnamese Institute of International Relations and ASEF, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, SWP, Berlin, 13 December.
  Participated in the Fourth meeting of the Waldbröhl Group on European coordination of the security policies in Asia-Pacific, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, SWP, Berlin, 10-11 December.

- Xavier Crombé
  Participated in the conference The PLA and Security and Autonomy in a new Strategic Era: Which Implications for Korea in the XXIst Century? Written contribution "L'autonomie dans l'Alliance: quelle pertinence dans le cadre de l'Alliance FXP", Center for International Studies, CSCAP, Yonsei University, Seoul, 5 December.
  Participated in the 29th Meeting of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP) Steering Committee, Canberra, 10 December.

Meetings and Debates
Meetings and Debates
Participation of Ifri’s researchers in international conferences

- Rémy Leveau
  Participated in the conference Islam in Europe, organized by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Berlin, 1 February.
  Participated in the conference Les enjeux actuels au Maghreb, Geneva University, IUED, Geneva, 2-3 April.

- Khadija Mohsen-Finan
  Participated in the setting up of the Working group “Islam in Europe” at the Laboratory “Society, Law, Religion in Europe”, CNRS, Strasbourg, 21-22 June.
  Participated in the conference The Future of the Western Sahara and Development of the Maghreb Area, organized by the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Barcelona, 20-27 September.

- Dominique Moïsi
  Participated in the meeting German-Jewish Dialogue organized by the Club of Three and the Bertelsmann Foundation, Berlin, 14-15 February.
  Participation in the seminar The EU and the Middle East: How to renew the Peace Process, the WEU-Institute for Security Studies, Paris, 26 February.
  Submitted his views at the National Assembly for the Council of Europe. Spokesman of the Committee on Political Issues on the theme: “Post-Oslo – Which Peace Prospects in the Middle East?”, Paris, 12 March.
  Participated in the conference The Arab World after the 11 September Attacks, organized by the WEU-Institute for Security Studies, Oslo, 18 October.

- Thierry de Montbrial
  Participated in the Bilderberg Meeting, Gothenburg, 24-27 May.

- Philippe Moreau Defarges
  Participated in the conference Corporate Sector and Globalization, organized by the Association Progress du management, La Réunion, 18-21 April.

- Global Issues

- Dominique Moïsi
  Second session of the Annual Planning Conference The Role of Ideas in International Relations, Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris, 2 February.
  Participated in the Geneva Global Issues Group meeting, Washington, 4-6 April.

- Thierry de Montbrial
  Second session of the Annual Planning Conference The Role of Ideas in International Relations, Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris, 2 February.
  Participated in the Geneva Global Issues Group meeting, Washington, 4-6 April.
ifri and the corporate sector
Considered from the beginning as key actors in international relations, firms are given special attention by IFRI. The program developed for its 150 corporate members addresses their concerns and aims at clarifying their current strategic choices. CEOs find numerous opportunities for informal contacts – with their peers, with representatives of the public sector, with foreign decision-makers or with the international research community. Thanks to the many international links established by IFRI, the institute has access to a widespread network, which its members can benefit from.

The program is structured around meetings of various formats – informal meetings, working lunches, off-the-record dinners – discussions with prominent French or foreign figures, actors or analysts of international affairs. It aims at developing a geopolitical approach to country risks, to phenomena of regional integration (in Europe, Asia and Latin America) and to larger global issues, like resource management (energy, water...), the environment, health, etc.... The program is closely linked to the research activity of the economic sector, which is largely dedicated to the study of the dynamics of globalization in its various dimensions (international trading system, direct foreign investment, multinationals, the role of technological progress, the insertion of developing countries in globalization) and to the exploration of new modes of regulation (global governance).

In 2001, the meetings featured Mike Moore, the director-general of the WTO, Javier Solana, secretary-general of the Council of the European Union and EU high representative for the CFSP, Mikhail Gorbachev, Ali Rodríguez, secretary general of OPEC, as well as figures like Felix Rohatyn, David de Rothschild, Bill Chrétien, (Calpine) and European commissioners Loyola de Palacio and Franz Fischler. A series of meetings was dedicated to the discussion of energy.

European integration, in all its dimensions, is at the heart of the activities of the Franco-Austrian Center (CFRE). The goal is to give rise to a deep dialogue between the corporate members and economic actors in Central and Eastern Europe in the perspective of enlargement.

Corporate executives are also associated with research programs with implications for the private sector (meetings organized by the Asian sector or the French Center on the United States, CFE). Upon occasion and at the request of companies, IFRI likewise arranges meetings and projects adapted to their needs.

IFRI intends to develop interaction with its corporate members by having them participate even more in its work. Given its nature, this initiative not only reaches out to French and European companies, but, in a general manner, to all those who are concerned with the development of their international activities. Relations with companies are handled by Dominique Letourneur, with the assistance of Jean-Louis Andreu, Aymard de Lastours and Augustin Renaud, company consultants.
Conferences

All the conferences were naturally open to corporate members. Please see list page 36.

**Breakfast Discussions**

"Eco" series

Directed by Marie-Hélène Labbé

11 January

Energy Stakes in France and in Europe in the 21st Century

With Yves Cochet, Green Party, MP, vice-president of the French National Assembly

24 January

The International Development Strategy of EDF (Electricité de France)

With François Roussely, chairman and CEO, EDF

14 March

The Greenhouse Effect and Energy Policy

With Pierre Radanne, chairman of the Agency for the Environment and Energy Control (ADEME).

3 April

International Markets for Gas and Electricity: the Fundamentals for Private Enterprise

With Jean-Pierre Hansen, managing director, chairman of the General Management Committee, Tractebel, member of the Executive Committee Suez.

16 May

Relations between Producing and Consuming Countries: Is an Agreement Possible

With Christophe de Margerie, senior executive vice-president and president of Exploration and Production, member of the Executive committee TotalFinaElf

27 June

Gaz de France's Strategy and the Evolution of the European Energy Markets

With Pierre Gadonneix, chairman and CEO, Gaz de France

Chair of sessions: Marie-Hélène Labbé – Thierry de Montbrial

**Economic topical issues**

6 February

With Jean Pisani-Ferry, scientific adviser to the Council of Economic Analysis (CEA). Chair: Gérard Moatti

23 January

How the Head of Wipro Transformed a Soap Company into an Information Technology Giant?

With Azim H. Premji, chairman and managing director, Wipro Ltd. Chair: Frédérique Sachwald

8 June

Internet: the End of a Bubble or a New Challenge?

With Francis Lorentz, president, e-LaSer, chairman and CEO of the Audiovisual and Telecommunications Institute in Europe (IDATE). Chair: Frédérique Sachwald

25 September

The Global Economy: Recession or Recovery

With Rüdiger Dornbusch, professor of Economics, MIT Chair: Pierre Jacquet

11 October

Illegal Financial Practices: Laundering, Corruption, Tax Havens: Recent Developments and Challenges

With Richard Labevière, head of the international department, RFI (Radio France International), and Jean-François Thony, advisor to the Court of Appeals of Versailles. Chair: Rémy Leveau

6 December

Roundtable Ifri/Rexecode

The Economic Challenges of the New Geopolitical Deal

With Christian De upside, chairman and CEO of EDF, Michel Díaz, CEO Rexecode, Pierre Jacquet, deputy director, Ifri, Thierry de Montbrial, director, Ifri, Jean-Marc Lorette, general manager Ifri, Yves-Thibault de Silguy, senior executive vice-president in charge of international affairs.Mage
EUROPE
7 February
Unions and Ruptures: Slovenia Ten Years after its Independence
With Dimitrij Rupel, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Slovenia
Chair: Dominique Ménié
29 March
Europe, Austria and the Enlargement of the European Union
With Erhard Busek, former vice-chancellor of Austria
Chair: Thierry de Montbrial
14 May
Greece's Integration into the European Union and NATO: A Major Contribution to Regional Stability
With Lucas Papademos, Prime Minister of Greece
Chair: Thierry de Montbrial
13 June
The Liberalization of Public Utilities in Europe
With Anne-Marie Jorritsma, Minister of Economic Affairs and Vice-Prime Minister of the Netherlands
Chair: Pierre Jacquet

UNITED STATES
12 February
The New American Administration
With François Bujon de l'Estang, Ambassador of France to Washington
Chair: Thierry de Montbrial
23 February
Iraq and the United States
With Néstor González, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs
Chair: May Chartouni-Dubarry
13 May
US Middle East Policy under the Bush Administration
With Jared D. Brown, director of Development and director of the Center for Middle East Policy, RAND Corporation
Chair: May Chartouni-Dubarry
See also the meetings organized by the French Center on the United States (CFE)

ASIA
31 January
India and Stability of the Asian Continent
With Benjy Mathew, Principal Secretary to Prime Minister of India, National Security Advisor to the Government of India

5 November
China and the World in the Twenty First Century
With Hu Jintao, Vice-President of the People's Republic of China
See also the meetings organized by the Ifri Asia Center

18 May
The Reintegration of Libya in the Process of Euro-Mediterranean Cooperation
With François Burgat, CNRS French Center of Archaeology and Sciences in Sanaa, and André Laronde, professor of Ancient History at the University of Paris IV

28 May
Comments on the Algerian Crisis
With Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria and presidential candidate in the 1999 elections

24 October
After September 11: Reactions in the Arab World
With Christophe Ayad, Journalist, Libération, and Rémy Leveau, scientific adviser (Arab and Muslim World), Ifri

6 November
Knowledge, Belief and Islamic Power Today: looking for an interpretation
With Malika Zeghal, researcher at the Center of Interdisciplinary Study of Religious Matters, CNRS
Chair: Rémy Leveau and Khadija Mohsen-Finan

LUNCHEON-DISCUSSIONS
15 May
With Felix Rohatyn, former ambassador of the United States to Paris

9 October
The Banque and European Monetary Policy
With Jean-Claude Trichet, Governor of the Banque de France

29 November
The Weaknesses and Upturns of the Japanese Economy
With Jacques de Larosière, consultant at BNP Paribas, and François Godement, head of the Centre asie ifri and professor at INALCO, at the invitation of Louis Schweitzer, chairman and CEO, Renault
ifri and the corporate sector

Corporate program

19 December
American Foreign Policy: Who Decides?
With Dominique Mié McKee, deputy director Ifri, Guillaume Rencurell, head of the French Center on the United States (CFU), Ifri, and Bjorn Vangst, visiting professor at HEC; senior visiting fellow at Ifri, at the invitation of Jean-Claude Gruffat, managing director, Citibank

10 January
With David de Rothschild, statutory general partner, Rothschild & Cie Banque, at the invitation of Anne-Claire Taittinger, president of the board of directors, Société du Louvre

8 February
With Philippa Leggett, chairman and CEO, JP Morgan

8 March
With William Case-Olson, president of the Civilian Corps, Public Employees Retirement System Board of Administration, at the invitation of Anne-Claire Taittinger, president of the board of directors, Société du Louvre

24 April
With Thierry Breton, chairman and CEO, Thomson Multimedia

7 September
With Mike Moore, director-general of the WTO

DINNER-DISCUSSIONS

President: Thierry de Montbrial
(To encourage freedom of discussion while preserving positions or opinions of speakers and participants, these sessions are subject to rules of non-attribution. Media present are not allowed to quote remarks made.)

1st February
With Adalberto Rodriguez Giavarini, Minister of Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Culture of Argentina

7 February
With Roger Fauroux, former Minister, chairman of the High Council on Integration, and Bernard Spitz, member of the Conseil d’Etat, on the occasion of the publication of their book: Notre Etat: la vérité de la fonction publique

1st March
With Javier Solana, secretary general of the EU Council, EU High representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), secretary general of the EU

11 April
With Bernard Kouchner, Minister of Health, former head of the UN interim administration mission in Kosovo

26 April
With Juan Gallardo, chairman and CEO, Grupo Embotelladoras Unidas, coordinator of the Mexican Business Council for Free Trade Agreements and the Mexican Business Roundtable for Foreign Policy Committee

15 May
With Mike Moon, director-general of the World Trade Organization (WTO)
21 May
With Brigitte Sauzay, adviser to President Gerhard Schröder on Franco-German relations.

13 June
With Ferenc Madl, President of the Republic of Hungary.

5 July
With Loyola de Palacio, member of the European Commission, vice-president, responsible for Relations with the European Parliament, Transport and Energy.

11 July
With Franz Fischler, member of the European Commission, responsible for Agriculture, Rural development and Fisheries.

4 September
With Yuan Chen, governor of the China Development Bank (Chair: François Godement).

22 October
After September 11
With the Ifri team and Olivier Roy, director of research at the CNRS, Laboratory on the Iranian World.

4 December

5 December
With Rexhep Meidani, President of the Republic of Albania.

11 December
With Mikhail Gorbachev.

• Liberty, risk and responsibility:
New Bearings in the Age of Globalization
Ifri, 13 November

While our modern society perpetually seeks to reduce individual as well as collective risk, and while global interdependence multiplies them, this conference, organised by Bertrand de La Chapelle and Dominique Moïsi, aimed at contributing to the debate on the dialectic between individual liberty and the responsibility of the State. Are new rules needed to guarantee the security and liberty of individuals in sectors we do not expect, public health and the freedom of the press? Can such rules emerge at an international level? These are some of the questions raised and discussed. Fifteen personalities, who face these challenges on a regular basis in varied fields shared their experiences and more importantly the principles on which they based their daily decisions. Luc Ferry and Alain Finkielkraut gave philosophic interpretations, William Dabb, CNAM, Gérard Pascal, INRA, Patrick Peugeot, La Mondiale, dealt with public health. Jean d'Amécourt, Monitor Company, Jean-Christophe Le Toquin, AFA, and Gérald de Roquemaurel, Hachette Filipacchi Medias, discussed risks produced by society itself (alcoholism, video games, freedom of the press).

Finally, special attention was given to the balance between regulation and self-regulation in an era when independent agencies of all kinds are profit-making and when civil society has increased its say on every issue. Isabelle Falque-Pierrotin, Forum des Droits sur Internet, Marie Georges, National Commission on Information Technology and Liberties (CNIL), Florence Schmidt-Pariset, cabinet of the Premier Minister, Nicolas Véron, Lycos France, and Jean-Louis Bruguière, first vice-president of the Court of Paris.
ifri and the corporate sector

Corporate program 2001

Patrick Bourrier, vice-president, international affairs, Alcatel

Amaury-Daniel de Sèze, member of the executive committee, BNP Paribas

Jean Guyot, partner, Lazard Frères et Cie

Daniel Dewavrin, president UIMM

Jean-Louis Beffa, chairman and CEO, Saint-Gobain

Gérard Mestrallet, chairman and CEO, SUEZ

Philippe Jurgensen, president and CEO, ANVAR

Jean-Jacques Tamburini, member of the supervisory board, Crédit industriel et commercial

René de La Serre, member of the supervisory board, Compagnie financière Edmond de Rothschild Banque

Pierre Bellon, chairman and CEO, Sodexho Alliance

Gilles de Margerie, executive vice-president, member of the executive committee in charge of finance and logistics, Crédit Agricole de Suez

Michel Blanc, chairman, Merrill Lynch

Jacques Maiyoux, vice-chairman, Goldman Sachs Europe

Thierry de Montbrial, Jean-René Bernard, member of the Monetary policy council, Banque de France

Jean-Bernard Lartigue, executive vice-president, Atofina

André François-Poncet, managing partner, BC Partners

Michel Guillet, managing partner, BC Partners

Tristan d’Albis, member of the Cour des Comptes

Thierry de Beaucé, senior executive vice-president international affairs, Vivendi Environnement

Philippe Journo, president and CEO, Vivendi

Jean-Jacques Testart, member of the supervisory board, Compagnie française des établissements Blanche
Franco-Austrian Center (CFA)

The Franco-Austrian Center (CFA) is a Franco-Austrian intergovernmental organization created in 1989 for the purpose of contributing to the development of economic relations between Eastern and Western European countries. Its headquarters are in Vienna. After the events of 1989, the CFA, which originally included France, Austria, Hungary and Poland, brought in the Czech and Slovak Republics, Romania and Bulgaria. Since the opening of accession negotiations of Central and Eastern European countries to the European Union, the CFA aims at facilitating their integration within the EU in order to facilitate their integration.

This year, the center focused on health care reform, the role of civil society, the war on organized crime, the development of agriculture and rural areas, the role of the new information technologies in the process of transition, as well as the evolution of European institutions.

Conferences

• The Role of the New Information Technologies in the Process of Transition of the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe

International Business Forum, Vienna, 19-20 April

This forum, organized as six thematic roundtable discussions, was followed by a half-day of exchanges between corporations. The debates were opened by Bertrand de La Chapelle, head of the CT mission to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (France), and by Paul Saljka, Federal Minister of Transport, Infrastructure and Technology of Austria. The first roundtable dedicated to a presentation of Francos, Austrians and Central and Eastern European countries’ markets was chaired by Friedrich Bock, president of the working group “Information Society” of the Federal Chamber of Commerce of Austria. The second roundtable, focused on the European regulatory framework, was held by Thomas-Mark, Institute of Computer Science at the University of Vienna and Alain Henriot, Chamber of Commerce, Industry, and Technology of France. The third roundtable, chaired by Nenad Prelog, ambassador, member of the Strategic Group for the Computerization of Croatia, discussed the opportunities and the risks and the financing needs in Central and Eastern European countries.

Breakfast-Discussions

20 March

Health Care Reform in the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the Context of the European Union

Participants: Anne-Marie Brocas, secretary general, special advisory Committee on Pensions; Brigit Kofler, consultant, Vienna; David Marx, adviser to the President, Senate Commission on Health and Social Affairs, Czech Republic.

The three experts laid out the major stakes in the reform policies of their respective national health care systems in the European context.

Chair: Peter Jankowitsch, secretary general of CFA

11 December

The Role of Civil Society in the Integration of the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the European Union

Participants: Gyorgy Granasztoi, general director of the Teleki Laszlo Institute in Budapest; Gerald Hinterweger, former secretary general of the Economic Commission on Europe at the United Nations.

The growing role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the European debate was underscored, as was the emergence of non-establishment NGOs with international ramifications.

Chair: Peter Jankowitsch, secretary general of CFA
• European Cooperation for the Prevention of and Fight against Organized Crime
Bucharest, 26-27 June
Organized by the CFA, under the high patronage of
the President of the Republic of Romania, Ion Iliescu,
this international conference took place, taking stock of
current police and judicial cooperation within the
European Union as well as with Central and Eastern
European countries. The participants focused on the
effectiveness of the fight against organized crime and
money laundering, as well as preventive measures
required at the European and global levels. The debate
benefited from contributions by:
Dory Trifoi, secretary of State at the Ministry of
Justice of Romania,
Tanase Joita, attorney general of Romania,
Pierre Joxe, former minister of the Interior,
member of the Conseil Constitutionnel (France),
Willibald Pahr, former minister of Foreign Affairs of
Austria,
Thierry de Montbrial, Ifri,
Pierre Conesa, Minister of
Defense (France),
Jan Garnogursky, Minister of
Justice of Slovakia,
Mugur Isarescu, Governor of the
Central Bank of Romania,
Patrick Mordacq, Cour des
Comptes (France),
Karl Schramek, ambassador,
permanent representative of Austria to the OECD,
Yves Berthelot, co-director of the UNIHP.
The number of represented countries was an indication of
the degree of interest sparked by the problem of
organized crime.

• The Evolution of European Institutions
Franco-Austrian Bilateral Roundtable
Paris, 16 October
This meeting opened by Thierry de Montbrial,
chairman of the CFA, director of Ifri and Peter
Jarkevits, ambassador, secretary general of the CFA,
designed to combat the impact of what comes after Nice.
This conference brought together French and Austrian
academics, civil servants and parliamentarians to four
roundtables chaired, respectively, by Hubert Haenel,
senator (France), Jan Noordewijer, director of European
Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria,
Gerhard Fuchs, deputy (France), and Monfried Stech,
ambassador. It tackled the question of institutional
reform in the European Union and the functioning of
institutions in an enlarged Union.

• Agriculture and Rural Areas,
Whither Development?
International Conference
Warsaw, 29-30 November
Organized jointly by the CFA, the French and
Austrian Ministries of Agriculture, as well as the
National Institute for Agronomic Research in Paris
(INRA), this large-scale conference brought together
150 civil servants and researchers from France,
Austria and all of Central and Eastern Europe. It was
an opportunity for the participants to exchange
information on rural development and perspectives
on agriculture in the participating countries. Opened
by Jaroslaw Kalinowski, minister of Agriculture of
Poland, the meeting benefited especially from the
participation of Benoit d’Aboville, ambassador of
France to Warsaw, Wolfgang Staininger, ambassador
of Austria to Warsaw, Andras Rupprecht, representing
the Ministry of Agriculture of Austria,
Jaroslaw Kalinowski, deputy secretary of state, Ministry
of Agriculture of Poland, Dominique Cairol,
CEMAGREF, France, Tomas Zidek, vice-Minister of
Agriculture of the Czech Republic, Philippe
Laxomb, scientific director at INRA, Gerhard
Pochner, from the Ministry of Agriculture of
Austria. The participants expressed their desire for
furthering their joint work in future meetings.
Isti’s corporate members (as at 31 December 2001)
publications, library and the documentation center
In the security field, the report underscores the consequences of globalization and the technological revolution on the military (Dominique Moïsi) and on strategic approaches (Camille Grand). Both contributions show the limits and dangers of technological revolutions that fail to be backed by a corresponding renewal in political and strategic concepts, in a world where the security problem is increasingly complex. This section concludes with an analysis of the limits of the UN's capacity (Dominique Moïsi).

In a second part, RAMSES emphasizes three evolutions. The first is the rise of the anti-globalization movement and its implications for global governance (Pierre Jacquet) focuses on the main characteristics of these movements and explores some of the possible governments' responses. The second topic discussed is the contribution of new information and communication technologies to development by Frankois Nicolas and Nicolas Drots. The third topic is the intensification of urbanization, which makes cities major globalization agents in the synergetic linking local to global (Georges Cavallier).

This year's issue was published a few days before the September 11 attacks, and though considerable upheaval will result from the events, they only confirmed the major international trends identified in the report. Thus, RAMSES 2002 sheds light on the new globalization movement while anticipating some of its limits.

In an introductory chapter, Thierry de Montbrial reviews the year gone by: the consequences of the American economic slowdown and the first steps taken by the Bush Administration, Europe and the unexpected developments in Serbia as well as the emergence of a debate about a European Constitution after Nice. Publics Russia returning to a certain normalcy without miracles, and finally, the rising hopes in China as it pursues its policy of opening up.


Recognized for its in-depth analyses, RAMSES has been published since 1981. In order to address the growing complexity of the international environment, its structure was revamped in 1999. RAMSES today focuses on two complementary approaches: the study of major international trends and regional issues; and a survey of political, strategic and economic developments of the past year.

The result of a collective effort and published under the direction of Thierry de Montbrial and Pierre Jacquet, RAMSES draws on the expertise of Ifri researchers as well as numerous outside specialists.

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Each issue of Politique étrangère highlights one or two topics which are dealt with from different angles.

In 2001, special attention was given to China (N. 1/2001). The state of reforms, relations between the army and the Communist Party, the problematic of relations between the People’s Republic of China and Taiwan and the weight of economic exchanges between Beijing and Taipei are analyzed by Daiwei Zeng (Hong Kong University), Yoonsi (University of New South Wales, Australia), Sau-ijin Ho (national Chengchi University, Taipei) and Philippe Chavelart (University of Tohy). These analyses are complemented by Nicolas Occis’ contribution (N. 4/2001) on the challenges of China’s membership in the WTO.

Issue 2/2002 focuses on the European Union after Nice. Françoise de La Serre (CERI) discusses the dialectic of deconstruction and re-founding, Philippe Moreau Defarges (Ifri) and Ulrike Guerot (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik) take on institutional perspectives, Hans Stark (Ifri) deals with the future of Franco-German relations and Günter Verheugen (European Commission) on the future of EU’s enlargement. The survey is completed by Chris Patten’s remarks (in issue 3/2001) on Europe’s contribution to conflict prevention.

The third issue (3/2001) focuses on Russia after Putin with George Sokoloff (CEPII) and Anne de Tinguy (CERI), and on the perspectives and questions raised by globalization with contributions by Gilles Andréani (Cour des comptes) on the problem of global governance, Eddy Fougier (Ifri), on the perception of globalization in France and in the United States, Ethan B. Kapstein (INSEAD and visiting fellow, Ifri), on “corporate ethics”, and Zaki Laïdi (CERI) on the globalization/democracy issue.

The last issue (4/2001) gathers the first few thoughts on the events of September 11, namely, their impact on the United States, by Jacques Beltran and Guillaume Parentenier (Ifri). It also contributes to the new strategic debate sparked by the missile defense system with Jean-Kries, Ifri, the contrated points of view of Jack Mandelbrot (vice-president and executive director of the Law and Alliance for World Security, Washington, former director of the Arms Control Association), Kim Holmes (Vice-President of the Heritage Foundation), and Dmitri Trenin (deputy director of the Carnegie Center, Moscow). The debate was already broached by François Heisbourg (Fondation pour l’études stratégiques) in the previous issue.

It is also worth mentioning Thomas E. Mann’s (The Brookings Institution, Washington DC) remarks on the United States presidential election, Federico Rampini’s (economist, journalist) contribution on the lessons of the Italian elections, Jacques Rupnik’s (CERI) and Anne Baerbock’s (Science Po) articles on the difficulty of a reconciliation between the Czech Republic and Germany, and Hamid Rosanli’s (EHESS) contribution on Turkey’s candidacy to the European Union. François Godement focuses on Asian perspectives: peace, prosperity or a shift towards crises and wars? Eric Lair (Eiderwoed University of Columbia, Bogota) takes stock of the situation wavering between war and peace in Colombia, and Fiona Hill (The Brookings Institution) looks at America’s uncertain strategy in the Caucasus and Central Asia since 1991.

Finally, Politique étrangère addresses the issue of global warming with Bob van der Zwaan (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam) (Issue 2/2001) and ideates an article into the discourse of legitimation of Palestinian “martyrs” with Pénélope Larzillière (Issue 4/2001).
POLITIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE n° 1/2001 - JANUARY-MARCH

TOPICAL ISSUES

Les violences de la paix (A violent peace)
Rémy Luvara and Dominique Moïsi

Réflexions sur l'élection présidentielle aux Etats-Unis (On the Presidential Election in the U.S.)
Thomas G. Donohue

China in focus

(China 1998-2000 : la dernière vague de réformes en panne ("The stalled Fifth Reform Package")
David Steinkig

Politique et rhétorique dans les relations Chine-Taiwan (Politics and Semantics in Cross-Strait relations)
Szu-yin Ho

Trends in International Affairs

Une paix pacifique est-elle possible sans architecture régionale ?
François Godement

L’armée et le pouvoir : vers une nouvelle donne (Civil-Military Relations in China)
You Jin-Ho

China-Taiwan : the influence of Economic Exchanges
Philippe Chevalier

TOPICAL ISSUES

Europe-États-Unis : vers un vrai découplage ?
Dominique Moïsi

The EU After Nice

Le traité de Nice : déconstruction ou refondation de l’Union ?
Françoise de La Serre

Après Nice : vers un gouvernement fédéral ? (France and Germany: what after Nice ?)
Hans Stark

La difficile réconciliation tchéco-allemande
Anne Bazin and Jacques Rupnik

Scission et permanence au sein de l’Union européenne
Andrés Ortega and José M. de Areilza

Les dimensions politiques de l’OPEP (The Political Dimensions of OPEC)
Robert Malin

La candidature de la Turquie à l’Union européenne (Turkey’s Candidacy to the European Union)
Anne Boin and Jacques Rupnik

Les tensions et perspectives de l’Europe orientale (The Tensions and Perspectives of Europe East)
Hans Stark

In tribute to

Le système mondial de Susan Strange (S. Strange’s World System)
Jonathan R. Glenn

PUBLICATIONS
POLITIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE n° 3/2001 - JULY-SEPTEMBER

TOPICAL ISSUES
Les leçons des élections italiennes (Lessons from the Italian Elections) Federico Rampini

RUSSIA AFTER PUTIN
Vladimir Poutine et l’Occident (V. Putin and the West: Towards Pрагmatism) Anne de Tinguy
Routine saurait-il infléchir la trajectoire russe ? (Does Putin Know how to Deflect the Russian Trajectory?) Georges Sokoloff

ABOUT GLOBALIZATION
Gouvernance globale : origines d’une idée (Global Gouvernance: the Origins of an Idea) Gilles Andriani
La mondialisation en France et aux USA (Perceptions of Globalization in France and the United States) Edith Fougier
La croisade pour l’éthique d’entreprise (The Corporate Ethics Crusade) Bruno B. Kaptelov
Mondialisation et démocratie (Globalization and Democracy) Zaki Lidii

TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
Défense antimissile : l’analyse des Européens (Missile Defence Systems: Strategic Analyses and Interests in Europe) François Heisbourg
La politique américaine de défense antimissile (Is the Third Time the Charm? The American Politics of Missile Defence) James M. Lindsay
Prévention des conflits et gestion des crises (Conflict Prevention, Crisis Management: a European Contribution) Chris Patten
Dynamiques régionales au Proche et au Moyen-Orient (Regional Dynamics in the Near and Middle-East) Volker Bethes
La politique danoise de sécurité (Danish Security Policy) Sten Rynning

SPEAKERS’ CORNER
Un projet mort-né : la Confédération européenne (The European Confederation; an Abortive Plan) Roland Dumas

SEPTEMBER 11 : THE DAY AFTER
Premières leçons stratégiques (The First Strategic Lessons to be Drawn from September 11) Dominique David
Les États-Unis à l’épreuve de la vulnérabilité (American Politics at the Age of Vulnerability) Jacques Beltran
et Guillaume Parmentier
Le monde arabe à la croisée des chemins (A New Challenge for the Arab World) Rémy Leveau
L’héritage de choc asiatique (The Postscript and its Target) François Godement

ANTIMISSILE DEFENSE: THE NEW STRATEGIC DEBATE
La défense antimissile : un nouveau paradigme stratégique (Missile Defence: The New Strategic Paradigm?) Camille Grand
La France et la défense antimissile (France and Missile Defence) Jean Klein
Sécurité nationale et maîtrise des armements sous l’Administration Bush (National Security and Arms Control Under the Bush Administration) Jack Mendelsohn
Par le choix de la destruction mutuelle assurée (The Role of Missile Defence in Ensuring Peace and Stability) Kim Holmes
La politique de sécurité de l’Europe (European Security Policy) Odingi Shen

U.S.-RUSSIAN RELATIONS: THE ARMS CONTROL AGENDA
Les relations russo-américaines et la maîtrise des armements (Russian-American Relations and the Future of Arms Control) William C. Potter

RUSSIA-UNITED STATES - RUSSIA: THE QUESTION OF ARMS CONTROL
Le “martyr” des jeunes Palestiniens pendant l’Intifada (Youth Martyrdom during the Al-Aqsa Intifada) Phnéleseh Lassadillié
Le sauveur de Sogpo: A New Franco-British partnership for the 21st Century (From Suez to Skopje: A New Franco-British partnership for the 21st Century) Frédéric Charlier
Les enjeux de l’adhésion de la Chine à l’OMC (China’s Accession to WTO: What’s at Stake?) Nicolas Gross

SPEAKERS’ CORNER
L’action extérieure de la France : un exemple possible de réforme de l’État (The Reform of the Quai d’Orsay: a possible Pattern for State Reform) Bernard Ardon
Ifri collections

• “Travaux et recherches de l’Ifri”
Observation et théorie des relations internationales - Volume 2, Seminar debate led by Thierry de Montbrial, 204 pages, May.
L’Asie nucléaire, Isabelle Condronnier and Bruno Tarlais, 158 pages, May.

• “Les Cahiers de l’Ifri”
N° 33 : Les Éclats de l’empire ou la Communauté des États indépendants (CEI), Youri Roubinski, May.

• “Les Notes de l’Ifri”
N° 22bis : The Use of Force in the Kosovo Affair and International Law, Serge Sur, Transatlantic series, May.
N° 23bis : The United States and the Alliance, Étienne de Durand, Transatlantic series, May.

Other publications by researchers

• Security
Jacques Beltran
Book

Articles
The aim of the book is to lay down the foundations of a “science of action” or “praxeology.” The praxeology is given a broad sense that makes it applicable to very diverse situations. The author gives special attention to the complementary fields of economics and international relations. More specifically, international relations offer a vast array of praxeological problems, i.e., problems pertaining to interactions among the elements of a group of “active units” and to their consequences, in a world that is still fragmented into distinct and conflicting political units. The book provides in-depth analysis of contradiction, both at a theoretical level and through case studies as well as an assessment of the international system at the turn of the century.

“The book is in two parts. The first is a theory of the “praxis,” that is, according to Aristotle, of relations between individuals and between groups, assuming that the driving force is the taste for power. The formalization begins with the definition of an elementary component, which Montreal calls to call the “active unit,” [...]. The second part is as rich as the first. With the foundations of the conceptual platform laid down, Thierry de Montbrial applies it to the actual world to test its validity [...]. This book has a biblical which draws on a lifetime of reflection and action [...] Schumpeter, Clausewitz, but also Raymond Aron, it is against such minds that Thierry de Montbrial has dared to pit himself. Successfully.”

“A book is not a political testament. It is also a political adventure. The book tells us that the world is changing. It is time to change. It is time to think. It is time to act.”


“At the beginning there was action. Thinking by Goethe rallied an entire committed generation during the time of its ambiguity. [...] This is the foundation that makes Thierry de Montbrial’s book, L’Action et le système du monde, exceptionally interesting.”

Alain Besançon, director of studies at the School of Higher Studies in Social Sciences (EHESS), Les Echos.

“Here is most certainly an important and rare book. Important because it addresses one of the most ideological liberalism, a great voice that has never contented itself with either of these magical solutions woven in its own fashion: it left behind the great epigraph of the great era of light. September 11, 2001, men power international relations in better and to serve its destiny. Mushawi wrote the ‘Library of Republican’, Thierry de Montbrial gives us a manual of democracy for a season of storms.”

Alexandre Adler, Le Monde.

“The work of Thierry de Montbrial is a first rate contribution to the analysis of national and international policies in a global framework, and therefore in their global dimensions. It is as important as the famous Raymond Aron book War and Peace Between Nations in which it brings up to date.”

Raymond Barre, former Prime Minister, Le Figaro.

“La France du nouveau siècle

Thierry de Montbrial (dir.) - Paris, PUF, 1st quarter, 2002

The volume in its entirety forms a sort of encyclopedia of present times that is essentially forward-looking: those who seek to know what will become of language, of the firm, of the economy, of the university, of justice and of the state will find it valuable to consult this book.”

Guy Sorman, writer, Le Figaro.

Contributors:
"Les États-Unis, le concept de sécurité concertée", Anneaux français de relations internationales, Brussels, Bruylant.

"Les États-Unis, la mondialisation et la défense antimissile", in Nicolas Kauppi and J.-L. Mamei (eds.), Anneaux français de relations internationales, Brussels, Bruylant.

"National Missile Defense: The Issue of Morality?", in Annuaire français de relations internationales, Brussels, Bruylant.


"La France et l’Alliance depuis la fin de la guerre froide. Le modèle gaullien en question", in Catherine du Centre d’études d’histoire de la défense, n° 17.

"La mondialisation et le militaire", in RAMSES 2002.


"La gouvernance globale à l’épreuve des contestations", in RAMSES 2002.


"La gouvernance globale à l’épreuve des contestations", in RAMSES 2002.


"La mondialisation et le militaire", in RAMSES 2002.


"La gouvernance globale à l’épreuve des contestations", in RAMSES 2002.

"La tradition golliste de la France: il bilancio, l’eredita, l’adattamento", in Massimo de Leonardis (ed.), "La nuova NATO: i membri, le strutture, i compiti", Bologna, Il Mulino.

"Partenaires multinationales dans l’alimentation mondiale" (with Jean Pisani-Ferry), in Laurence Tubiana, Council of Economic Analysis, Paris, La Documentation française.

"La France et l’Alliance depuis la fin de la guerre froide. Le modèle gaullien en question", in Catherine du Centre d’études d’histoire de la défense, n° 17.

"Les États-Unis, la mondialisation et la défense antimissile", in RAMSES 2002.


"La mondialisation et le militaire", in RAMSES 2002.

"Les États-Unis, la mondialisation et la défense antimissile", in RAMSES 2002.


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"La gouvernance globale à l’épreuve des contestations", in RAMSES 2002.


"La mondialisation et le militaire", in RAMSES 2002.


Frédérique Sachwald

Book

Articles
“Les multinationales coréennes” (with Luis Miotti and Serge Perrin), Economie internationale, 1st quarter 2001, Paris, CEPII/La Documentation française.


“Patterns of R&D Co-operation by European Firms: Cost-economising vs Technology-seeking”, in S. Lundan (éd.), Network Knowledge in International Business, Edward Elgar (forthcoming).

France

François Godement

Book
Chine-Etats-Unis. Entre méfiance et pragmatisme (éd.), Paris, La Documentation française.

Articles


“La réassurance stratégique, préalable à la résolution de la question de Taiwan”, Perspectives chinoises, n° 66, July-August.

“Comment le réel survit à l'idéal”, Raisons politiques, “Ce qui reste du communisme”, Paris, Presse de Sciences Po, August.


Régine Serra

Articles


“Chine : la longue marche vers la mer”, Città Nuove, n° 2574, May.

“EU-Asia Relations”, in Encyclopedia of Modern Asia, Berkshire (forthcoming).

Europe

Dominique Moïsi

Articles

“Vers un nouvel équilibre Europe-Etats-Unis”, Franco-German Forum, April.

“The Real Crisis over the Atlantic”, Foreign Affairs, vol. 80, n° 4.


Guillaume Parmentier

Articles


“European Approaches to Changing Patterns of Energy Consumption and Supply” - Remarks to a panel on “Reducing Energy Dependence on the Middle East”, Washington, European Institute, October.
Hans Stark
Articles
"Les relations germano-polonaises. Un partenariat difficile", Documents, n° 5.

Middle East and Arab World
May Chartouni-Dubarry
Books
Politics, Economics and the Search for Mediterranean Stability (co-edited with Stefania Bazzoni), IEPM, December.

Articles
"Armée et nation en Egypte : pouvoir civil, pouvoir militaire", in Armée et nation en Egypte : pouvoir civil, pouvoir militaire May Chartouni-Dubarry (ed.), "Les Notes de l'Ifri", n° 31, March.
"Proche-Orient : le compte à rebours", in RAMSES 2002.

Rémy Luxeau
Books
La Bourgeoise : les trois âges de la vie associative issue de l'immigration (with Catherine Wiltot de Wenden), Paris, CNRS Editions, April.
Nouvelles citoyennetés : réfugiés et sans-papiers dans l'espace européen (co-editor with Catherine Wiltot de Wenden and Khadija Mohsen-Finan), " Traux et recherches de l'Ifri ", Paris, October.

Khadija Mohsen-Finan
Books
Nouvelles citoyennetés : réfugiés et sans-papiers dans l'espace européen (co-editor with Catherine Wiltot de Wenden and Rémy Luxeau), " Traux et recherches de l'Ifri ", Paris, October.

Others
Philippe Moreau Dejarges
Articles

Thierry de Montbrial
Books
La France du nouveau siècle PUF, Paris, 1er quarter 2002.

Monographs and articles
"Mondialisation. La montée de la contestation", in Panorama, RAMSES 2002.

Articles

Thierry de Montbrial
Books
La France du nouveau siècle PUF, Paris, 1er quarter 2002.

Monographs and articles
The Library

The “Guy Ladret de Lachambre” library (named after a former president of Ifri), is managed by Chantal Vérité with the help of Dina Degras-Marx and the assistance of Maud Beau. It inherited the library of the Centre d’études de politique étrangère and includes collections from the first half of the twentieth century, as well as foreign journals from the same period (e.g. the Royal Institute of International Affairs’ Bulletin of International News, the Far Eastern Survey, Pacific Affairs, …). The library holds a large collection on World War I from the Carnegie Foundation, in particular The Economic and Social History of the World published in the late 1920s. It also holds interesting documents on World War II, like the French version of the 42 volumes published by the international military tribunal on The Trial of War Criminals at Nuremberg.

Continually updated, the library today possesses around 32,000 French and foreign volumes on issues linked to international relations, and 1,000 journals titles. It welcomes numerous readers every year, including members of Ifri, students, scholars, researchers and journalists specialized in international relations.

The documentation software Xthèque - which contains around 106,000 references (articles and books) - allows readers to run searches by title or by author. A bimonthly catalogue of journals lists a brief description of the latest periodicals available.

In addition to processing the material that reaches Ifri (books, publications, reports) from around the world, the librarians’ main work consists of developing the databases in order to facilitate the use of the Spirit software.

The Documentation center

The documentation center is essentially reserved for researchers at the institute. It covers current international, economic and political-strategic affairs. Data collection and analysis are carried out using electronic sources (websites and press agencies) as well as external and local press, gray literature, etc. in order to develop an internal database – accessible through Ifri’s intranet using the software Spirit.

Another major task for the documentalists – Guity Banai-Bailey, Dominique Desgranges, Valérie Dupré and Daniel Marier, assisted by Elisabeth Louedec, Azra Isakovic, and Gerardo Ramos – is to keep a watching brief mostly on Internet - on the researchers’ fields of expertise in order to identify the main sources of specialized information. They also disseminate information through a variety of means, and they run point searches. The documentalists are closely associated to Ifri’s major research projects.
The team (as at 31 December 2001)

Thierry de Montbrial, member of the Institut de France, director

Pierre Jacquet, Dominique Moïsi, deputy directors, editors of Politique étrangère
Marie-Claude de Saint-Hilaire, special assistant to the director
Thérèse Vigne, assistant to the director
Marie-France Feigenbaum, secretary to the deputy directors

Corporate members, meetings and CFA
Dominique Letourneur, assistant director for corporate members
Eliane Mossé, advisor for CFA
Jean-Louis Andrieu, Aymeric de Lapradère, Augustin Renard, advisors for corporate members
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Philippe Colombani, senior research fellow
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Pierre Jacquet, deputy director
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Bertrand de la Chapelle, senior research fellow
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Karima Mhamdi Férès, research fellow
Dominique Moïsi, deputy director
Philippe Monaux-Delforge, senior research fellow
Eliane Mossé, senior research fellow
Laurence Nardon, research fellow, French Center on the United States
Françoise Nicolas, senior research fellow
Pierre-Noël, research fellow, French Center on the United States
Thierry Paulmier, research fellow
Frédéric Schwedt, head of economic studies
Roland Serra, research fellow and project coordinator, Centre asié ifri
Hans Bardi, secretary general, CERFA
Anita Tiraspolsky, senior research fellow

Biographies of the researchers are available on Ifri’s website (www.ifri.org).

Secretarial assistance
Marie-Claire Bani Amer (Europe); Natacha Crance (Membership, meetings); Nicole Bedel (CFE); Jeanne Frey (Middle East/Maghreb); Béatrice Francou (Centre asié ifri and CERFA); Françoise Thomas (Security).
The team (as at 31 December 2001)

Administrative staff
Florent Baran, secretary general
Corinne Bureau, assistant secretary general

Accounting
Bernadette Chartrin

IT supervisor
Daniel Safon

General services
Nathalie Rivet, head of facilities
Selim Bouabsa, Alex Maleau, Mustapha Zitouni

Reception
Corinne Milloux, Dayra Gastine

Publications
Christophe Jaquet, head of publications
Marielle Roubach, Delphine Renard, editorial assistants

Library, Documentation center
Guity Banan-Bailey (political issues)
Dominique Desgranges (economic issues)
Daniel Marier (political issues)
Chantal Vérité (librarian)

Visiting fellows and interns

Visiting fellows
Ethan Kapstein (United States), Swan Professor of International Peace at the University of Minnesota, guest professor at INSEAD, senior visiting fellow at Ifri since July 1st 2000. Works on the new economy.
Masato Kitera (Japan), diplomat, senior visiting fellow at Centre asie ifri from September 1st, 2001 to April 15th 2002. Worked on Sino-Japanese relations and domestic Japanese policy.

Interns (and field of research)
Alix de Bosredon, research assistant at the French Center on the United States from October 2001.
Corentin Buatetian (August 1st-October 1st, 2001).
Eléonore Cargill, research assistant at the French Center on the United States (September 1st-December 30th, 2001).
Marta Dias (Portugal), University of Porto (December 1st, 2001-March 30th, 2002). Transatlantic Relations.
Stephan de Fay, student engineer at ENSTA, (March 5th-June 5th, 2001). Countries of Central and Eastern Europe and Enlargement.
Sonia Kaznina (Russian Federation), MGIMO/Moscow State Institute of International Relations (September 15th-January 31st, 2002). Internship in the context of a cooperation agreement with MGIMO and Sciences Po (Paris). OSCE and the European Security.
Patrick Murdoch, (Canada), London School of Economics (October 15th-December 15th, 2001). Intra-State conflicts.
Nicolas Orde, student engineer at Ecole nationale des Ponts et chaussées. Development issues, China.
Valérie Stolba, University of Paris-Sud, (March 1st-June 1st, 2001). German-Czech Relations.
Board (as at 31 December 2001)

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