

French institute of international relations

2002 annual report

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mission statement

The *Institut français des relations internationales* (Ifri), is France's foremost *independent* international relations center.

Ifri was founded in 1979 by *Thierry de Montbrial*. Its aims are:

- To provide public and private sector decision-makers with strategic insights on topical international issues as well as on emerging trends.
- To promote dialogue and exchange on the national and international level between decisions-makers, analysts and observers of the international scene and foster constructive interaction between researchers and practitioners.
- To stimulate and structure discussion of international issues.

The independence of Ifri is guaranteed in its charter. This independence is based on diversification of funding sources which in turn ensures total freedom in the selection and development of Ifri projects.

A *multidisciplinary research center*, Ifri conducts research on the international economy; on political-strategic developments, particularly in transatlantic relations; on regional issues, – with a focus on Europe, the United States, East Asia, the Middle East, Maghreb and Russia; cross-border issues (global governance, management of energy and other resources, the environment, the impact of migration in Europe, etc.).

The institute relies on a team of around 30 in-house researchers and on a large international network of outside specialists in France and abroad. Ifri works in close cooperation with several European institutes and maintains constant exchanges with counterparts in other parts of the world. The institute also contributes to training of young researchers in new and increasingly global conceptions of international relations and to developing research skills within France on major issues linked to international relations.

As a *meeting center*, through its independence, the institute offers an informal, non-partisan and uniquely appropriate framework for the exchange of views among actors – both public and private – analysts and French and foreign specialists. Closed meetings provide opportunities to examine divergences and convergence in a constructive spirit. And when needed, the institute plays a role of dialogue “facilitator.”

Ifri is a membership-based non-profit organization. Information about upcoming conferences is sent monthly to Ifri members. Since its inception, Ifri has ensured that part of its activities takes into account the specific demands of the corporate world with a dedicated program to that effect.

Publications

Ifri projects are available in several collections: “*Les Notes de l’Ifri*,” “*Travaux et recherches de l’Ifri*,” “*Les Cahiers et conférences de l’Ifri*,” “*Les Cahiers d’Asie*,” from the *Centre asie ifri* and “*Policy Papers*” from the French Center on the United States. These works are available in France and abroad for those who consider it important to be aware of the analyses and proposals produced by Ifri. They are also published through the *Documentation française*.

Ifri also publishes the quarterly review *Politique étrangère* and, since 1981, the *RAMSES* report, a yearly survey of major world trends. The new Ifri web site can be consulted at <www.ifri.org>.

message from the President

International affairs in 2002 were dominated by the many consequences of September 11, and this naturally provided strong direction for the work of Ifri. The United States chose to place Iraq at the top of its list of concerns in such a way that from the summer debate centered on the fate of the regime of Saddam Hussein. The European Union and NATO pursued their accelerated enlargement, raising more questions on the future of these two organizations which are regarded as very different by some and inseparable by others. The debate on globalization and international governance gathered pace, with terrorism itself a facet of the globalization process. Disillusionment was compounded by uncertainty on the economy (with the exception of China), an uncertainty heightened by Argentina's economic collapse and questions surrounding the Middle East. Ifri programs took these issues into account while also considering both structural aspects – such as changes induced by the internet – and regional aspects of world affairs.

Ifri itself is presently undergoing full transformation. At a time when the notion of the *think tank* seems to be fashionable in France, it is perhaps worth recalling that nearly a quarter-century ago our institution became the first of its kind in France and one of the first in Europe. And because of our legal status, the diversity of our financial backing and our basic culture, Ifri is the only truly independent *think tank* in France. Our goal is to become stronger in the coming years, and to this end we have begun a major restructuring. I have asked financial auditor Pierre Lepetit to work alongside me as executive director. In 2002, we also thoroughly developed our internet site which has been enthusiastically received by the public.

The notion of the *think tank*, combined with that of independence, is alien to French culture and thus faces many forms of resistance, notably political, legal and fiscal. I remain however more convinced than ever of the need for this type of institution where the general interest is not confused with public service. I believe more than ever in the importance of Ifri for France, whose real influence is mitigated by often poor understanding of it outside its borders. My strongest wish is to share this conviction in ever-wider circles.



Thierry de Montbrial
Member of the *Académie des sciences morales et politiques*

research

Research work conducted at Ifri results in individual or collective studies leading to publication, in seminars and meetings with similar international think tanks. It involves researchers from major international networks.

In 2002, programs on security focused on the developments of NATO on one hand and of the ESDP on the other hand, on the future of the transatlantic link, on the affirmation of the US military power, on the strategic implications of September 11 in Asia and on the new global threats.

In the economic field, the emphasis was put on national reactions to globalization, on economic governance, on the influence of multinational firms in developing countries, on developing processes as well as on the future of international trade.

Research work on Europe was mainly conducted from a Franco-German perspective. Numerous meetings were devoted to EU enlargement towards the Eastern part of Europe.

The Center on US and France's programs focused on the implications of September 11 and of the Iraq crisis for the transatlantic relations.

The Centre asie ifri strengthened its programs on China and on the Korean Peninsula. It also expanded the bilateral dialogues it conducts with its Asian counterparts.

Programs on Middle Eastern and Mediterranean issues put the emphasis on the Franco-American cooperation in the Middle East in the post-September 11 era and on the Euro-Mediterranean process. Programs on Maghreb were also devoted to the implications of September 11.

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security

Much of the activity was devoted to work on the strategic implications of major world trends, on the impact these trends could have on the system of international conflicts and thus on policy and security organizations. New forms of conflict and new security threats were a theme that structured the work carried out, as evidenced in the numerous seminars that took place on the relation between technology and conflict, the evolution of strategic zones and dynamics in weapons proliferation (Iraq, North Korea). The Franco-Russian dialogue on security issues meanwhile continued while deeper reflection was also given to the military affirmation of American power. The security studies sector, together with France's Ecole spéciale militaire, initiated the first annual conference of European Union military schools and academies, advancing dialogue between Europe's civilian and military spheres toward the construction of a common security culture.

American power

• The Future of US Overseas Commitments After September 11

This program was led by *Etienne de Durand* in collaboration with the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

Its objective was to evaluate US military engagements outside US borders. It included a meeting at Ifri on January 21 with Admiral *Jean Bétermier*, European Aeronautic Defence and Space Company (EADS), *Robert P. Grant*, senior associate with US-CREST, *Pierre Hassner*, Centre d'études et de recherches internationales (CERI), *Harvey Sapolsky*, director, Security Studies Program, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and Colonel *Daniel Smith*, head of research, Center for Defense Information.

• Transformations of the US Army

Study carried out by *Etienne de Durand*, December 2002

As the past two years have demonstrated, American power rests largely on the country's global military supremacy. Already apparent in the 1990s, the quantitative and for some qualitative gap between the armed forces of the United States and others continues to widen in the wake of September 11 and its consequences: a substantial increase in US defense spending, repeated attempts by US political leaders to restructure the country's armed forces to make them more responsive (the theme of "military transformation"), a clearly-stated will to dominate all possible rivals, etc. It is important thus to take stock simultaneously of military reforms in

progress in the United States and of their potential impact on European armed forces. It was from this perspective that the study of the US Army was carried out for the strategic affairs directorate at the French Ministry of Defense.

Non-proliferation and weapons of mass destruction

• Program of seminars in collaboration with France's Atomic Energy Agency (CEA)

This program is directed by *Dominique David*.

March 15

The India-Pakistan-China Strategic Triangle in the New International Environment

with *Brahma Chellaney*, professor of strategic studies at the Centre for Policy Research in New Delhi.

April 11

Cruise Missiles: Parades and Defenses

with *Dennis M. Gormley*, president of Blue Ridge Consulting Group, Inc., and consultant to the RAND Corporation.

June 10

Bioterrorism: How to Evaluate the Threat and Reduce the Risks?

with *Jonathan B. Tucker*, head of program for non-proliferation of chemical and biological weapons at the Monterey Institute of International Studies.

September 25

Do UN Inspections Still Have a Role in Iraq?

with *Robert J. Einhorn*, senior advisor at CSIS International Security Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, and *Thérèse Delpech*,

strategic affairs director, French Atomic Energy Agency (CEA) and commissioner with Unmovic (*United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission*).

December 16

North Korea's Conundrum

with *Gary Samore*, head of the program on “international consensus in the fight against proliferation of weapons of mass destruction” at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) and with the participation of *Thérèse Delpéch*, strategic affairs director, French Atomic Energy Agency (CEA) and commissioner with Unmovic.

• **UNMOVIC program: “Open Information on Iraq since 1998”**

Study carried out by *Thomas Gomart*

From May to September 2002, at the request of Unmovic (*United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission*), Ifri carried out “open sources” research from the European press, in the widest sense of the term, on weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. This program was led by *Thomas Gomart*, under the responsibility of *Dominique David*, and associated a team of young researchers: *Aline Leboeuf*, *Lydie Letourneau*, *Bernardo Ribeiro*, as well as *Jacques Beltran* and *Etienne de Durand* (advisors).

A report was delivered to Unmovic in September 2002.

In this framework a meeting was also held regarding North Korea:

July 9

Ballistic Proliferation: the North Korean case

with *Timothy V. McCarthy*, senior analyst at the Center for Nonproliferation and director of the Proliferation Research and Assessment Program at the Monterey Institute of International Studies, Monterey.

Contemporary conflicts

This program, led by *Dominique David* and *Etienne de Durand*, consisted of a series of seminars.

May 14

What State for Afghanistan?

with *Pierre Lafrance*, ambassador of France.

November 28

Nature and Limits of US Military Hegemony

with *Barry R. Posen*, professor of political science at MIT.

December 16

Round table: *Ethnic Tensions and the Risk of Genocide in Ivory Coast*

with *Benoît Claveranne*, French Ministry of the economy, finance and industry, *Gérald Gaillard*, University of Lille, *François Gaulme*, French

Development Agency (AFD), *David Mugnier*, strategic affairs directorate, French Ministry of defense, *Benoît Scheuer*, general secretary, *Prévention Génocides*, Brussels.

December 17

Workshop on *Catastrophic Terrorism*

“Strategic Prospective” program

• **Evolution of the Strategic Context**

The objective of this program, carried out in cooperation with France’s Procurement Agency (DGA) and led by *Dominique David* and *Etienne de Durand*, is to analyze developments of the geo-strategic context. Built around a series of seminars, it concluded with a report which will contribute to the Procurement Agency’s 30-year development plan.

July 10

Toward new Political Formations?

with *Alain Finkelkraut*, Ecole polytechnique, *Eddy Fougier*, Ifri, *François Paquement*, French Development Agency, *Olivier Roy*, National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS).

September 19

Forms of Conflicts to Come

with the participation of *Dominique David* and *Etienne de Durand*, Ifri

October 15

The Asian Periphery, South Asia, the Asia of Archipelagos

with *Sophie Boisseau du Rocher*, Centre d’études et de recherches internationales (CERI), *Andrée Feillard*, CNRS, *Pierre Lafrance*, ambassador of France, *Jean-Luc Racine*, Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS). Organized in collaboration with the Centre asie ifri.

• **“A Political-Military Study on Geo-Strategic Prospects for the Years 2000-2003,”** a report produced by *Dominique David* and *Etienne de Durand*, December 2002.

This report is Ifri’s contribution to the 30-year development plan currently under revision at the French Defense Ministry within the Procurement Agency (DGA). It is a draft strategic outlook for the period 2000-2030 incorporating new geopolitical hypotheses. It simultaneously analyzes structural factors (demography, energy, technological progress), the main actors (United States, Europe, China, etc.) and their probable interaction as well as various foreseeable configurations of the international order of the future.

• **“Hypotheses on Development of the Major Strategic Balances,”** a report produced by *Dominique David*, February 2002.

This study was carried out for the French Defense Ministry’s Directorate for strategic affairs.

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Franco-Russian Dialogue on Security Issues

• Russia within the European security architecture, Mgimo, Moscow, November 12-13

This seminar took place within the framework of annual meetings between the Moscow State Institute for International Relations (Mgimo) and Ifri, held alternately at Mgimo headquarters in Moscow and at Ifri with the participation of delegations from each institute. In 2002, the eighth Ifri/Mgimo seminar was held in Moscow under the direction of *Dominique David* and *Thomas Gomart*. Following a discussion of the global agenda, the two working days centered around three issues: Russian foreign policy, the fight against proliferation and Franco-Russian bilateral ties.

Participants: *Igor Borovkov*, head of the Intelligence Office, Moscow, *Hervé Dejean de la Bâtie*, French Foreign Ministry, *Camille Grand*, French Defense minister's staff, *Dominique Klein*, French Defense Ministry's Directorate for strategic affairs, *Alexandre Kuznetsov*, Russian Foreign Ministry, *Piotr Litavrin*, Russian Foreign Ministry, *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri, *Alexei Salmin*, "Russian Center for Political-Social Research" foundation, *Victor Sergeev*, Mgimo, *Bernard Sitt*, CEA, *Georges Sokoloff*, Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (Inalco), *Anne de Tinguy*, CERI-CNRS, *Ivan Tulin*, first vice-rector, Mgimo, *Alexei Voskresenski*, Mgimo.

European Defense

• First conference of European Union military schools and academies, Saint-Cyr, Coëtquidan, July 16-18

Under the leadership of *Dominique David*, Ifri co-sponsored, together with the French Ecole spéciale militaire de Saint-Cyr (on the occasion of its bicentennial) and the European Union, the first *Conference of Students and Cadets of the Military Academies of the European Union Member Countries*. The conference was organized around the theme of *Building European Defense*.

Students from 27 countries (EU members, candidates, associated countries) met for three days of debate at Saint-Cyr Coëtquidan. At Ifri's initiative, many experts took part in this inaugural conference which will henceforth be held annually in various European Union countries.

Discussion was opened by French Defense Minister *Michèle Alliot-Marie* and was closed by Lieutenant General *Rainer Schuwirth*, director of the general staff of the European Union, and General *Jean-Pierre Kelche*, chief of staff of the armed forces of France.

Other participants: *Yves Boyer*, *Tim Carmichael*, *Richard Cobbold*, *Didier Danet*, *Dominique David*, *Jean Dufourcq*, *André Dumoulin*, *Gérard Frère*, *François Heisbourg*, *Jolyon Howorth*, *Antonio Marquina*, *Valery Mazing*, *Dominique Moisi*, *Marc Otte*, *Alessandro Politi*, *Sten Rynning*, *Burkard Schmitt*, *Peter Schmitt*, *Stefano Silvestri*.

PUBLICATIONS

Dominique David

Book

Sécurité: l'après New York, Paris, Presses de Sciences-Po, February 2002.

Articles

"Armée et maintien de l'ordre: le militaire peut-il ordonner le monde?", Centre d'études d'histoire de la défense, 2002.

"Après novembre 1989 et septembre 2001: comment penser la sécurité?", *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, n° 1-2/2002.

"Rossiâ i Franciâ" (La Russie et la France), with Thomas Gomart, *Meždunarodnaâ Žizn'* (International Life), March 2002, Moscow.

"Moscou/Paris: quelle relation pour un nouveau monde?" in "Les Notes de l'Ifri" n° 41, *Les Rapports russo-français vus de Moscou*, by Thomas Gomart.

"La Méditerranée à l'épreuve du 11 septembre", *Confluences Méditerranée*, n° 40, Winter 2001-2002.

"Puissance dominante, puissance référence ou hyperpuissance? Une vue européenne sur les stratégies américaines et l'"antiaméricanisme" européen", *Les Cahiers Raoul Dandurand*, Research Paper n° 7, March 2003

"Europe et sécurité après le 11 septembre", *Mezinárodní Politika (Politique étrangère)*, Prague.

"Un an après le 11 septembre: Dix fenêtres qui s'ouvrent sur un monde pas si neuf", *Politique étrangère*, n° 3/2002.

Etienne de Durand

"Etats-Unis/Défense: la militarisation de la sécurité", in *RAMSES 2003*, Ifri – Dunod, Paris, 2002

"French Security Policy Under the New Government", Policy Brief, Brookings Institution, Center on France and the United States, November 2002.

"Les armes de l'Empire", *Politique internationale*, n° 97, Autumn 2002.

Thomas Gomart

Book

Les Rapports russo-français vus de Moscou, "Les Notes de l'Ifri", n° 41, June 2002.

Articles

"La relation bilatérale: un genre de l'histoire des relations internationales", *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps*, January-June 2002.

"Rossiâ i Franciâ" (La Russie et la France), with Dominique David, *Meždunarodnaâ Žizn'* (International Life), March 2002.

"Double détente: les relations franco-soviétiques de 1958 à 1964. Premières synthèses", *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, Autumn 2002.

PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS

Dominique David

Intervention, "What Euro-Mediterranean Security and Defense Community?" at the STRADEMED (Stratégie Développement Méditerranée) meeting, *Algiers*, March 6.

Presentation, "Russia and Europe's Defense Dynamics," Mgimo conference, *Moscow*, March 24-31.

Intervention, "Franco-Russian Bilateral Relations," Franco-German-Russian seminar at Ifri: *Russia Within the European Security Architecture*, *Paris*, April 12.

Presentation, "Post-New York Security Concerns," international colloquium *Globalization and Security*, *Algiers*, May 4.

Intervention, "Contemporary Conflicts and New Security Concepts," seminar Sciences Po/Mgimo, *Moscow*, May 23-24.

Intervention, "Dominant Power, Power of Reference, Hyperpower? A European view of American strategy," conference on *Perspectives of Anti-*

Americanism organized by the Raoul-Dandurand Chair in Strategic and Diplomatic Studies, University of Quebec, *Montreal*, June 3.

Intervention, "Asymmetrical Threats/Asymmetrical War," colloquium at NATO Defense College, *Rome*, September 27.

Presentation, "French Strategic Thinking," seminar at the Centre de politique de sécurité, *Geneva*, November 7.

Presentation, "Do Treaties Create International Order?," at introductory conference for cycle "Founding Treaties of the European Order" at the Centre d'études d'histoire de la défense, *Paris*, November 18.

Etienne de Durand

Participation in the conference *Space and Security* organized by MIT and the Embassy of France in Washington, Boston, April 18-24.

Participation in the *New Faces Conference, Europe Security and Defence Policy – Concepts, Prospects and Pitfalls*, *Hamburg*, March 14-17.

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transatlantic relations and ESDP

How can a long-term strategic partnership be maintained? This question has been at the forefront of the transatlantic debate since the attacks of September 11, 2001. Its relevance was highlighted more recently by the war in Iraq, which took place against a backdrop of mutual recriminations unprecedented in their virulence, above all in the French-US relationship. The crisis deepened a rift that cuts across not just the Atlantic Alliance but the European Union itself. In a context that no longer bears any relation to that of the Cold War, the challenges of the future are considerable: Can the United States do without its closest allies? Can the European Union remain a strategic partner of the United States? Can Europe and the United States come to an agreement on the rules of the international order? It is questions such as these that today dominate the European and Atlantic debate and which are likely to remain on the agenda for years to come.

Inter-institute dialogue on European Security and Defense Policy

This program focuses on the evolution of NATO, the European security and defense policy (ESDP) of the European Union (EU) and on their interaction. It was led by *Frédéric Bozo*, *Jacques Beltran*, *Jolyon Howorth* and the *Comité d'étude des relations franco-allemandes (Cerfa)* represented by *Hans Stark*.

How can those institutions that are guarantors of solidarity between the United States and Europe adapt to the new strategic context that has emerged in the aftermath of the Cold War and the appearance of new threats (terrorism, proliferation)? What impact will NATO and EU enlargement have on the European and Atlantic security? What should the missions and complementary purposes of these institutions be in the transatlantic arena and on a global scale? How can necessary maintenance of the transatlantic bond be reconciled with Europeans' desire for autonomous foreign and defense policies? Upon which institutional foundations should rebuilding a lasting transatlantic partnership be envisioned? This program attempted to find some answers to questions such as these.

With the goal of strengthening dialogue with our British, German and American partners, this program consisted of a series of seminars bringing together experts, representatives of public administration and academics.

• **Franco-German seminar: "European Security and Defense Policy,"** Paris, June 4
Organized jointly by *Hans Stark* and *Cerfa*, with the collaboration of *Frédéric Bozo* of *Ifri* and the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP)*

research institute, this seminar sought to assess the state of the Franco-German partnership, on one hand, and the goals and means of the ESDP (defense budgets, arms industries, etc.) on the other. Participants also contemplated missions for ESDP as well as the transatlantic bond (de-coupling?). *Marc Perrin de Brichambaut*, director of the French Defense Ministry's Directorate for strategic affairs, and *Karl Kaiser*, DGAP, summarized conclusions from the debate on the Franco-German couple.

Other participants

Gilles Andréani, master counselor, Audit Office, *Nicole Gnesotto*, director, EU Institute for Security Studies, *Eckhard Lübckemeier*, Planungstab, German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Franz-Josef Meiers*, Bonn University, *Dominique Moïsi*, *Ifri*.

• **Franco-British seminar, RIIA-Ifri**, London, July 3

This seminar, organized by *Jolyon Howorth*, University of Bath and associate researcher, *Ifri*, and *Jacques Beltran*, *Ifri*, took place in the framework of annual meetings between *Ifri* and Britain's Royal Institute for International Affairs, held alternately at RIIA and at *Ifri* with the participation of delegations from each institute.

Ifri was represented by *Jacques Beltran*, *Frédéric Bozo* and *Jolyon Howorth*, (Bath University and research associate, *Ifri*).

Other participants

Michael Clark, London University, *Thérèse Delpech*, Centre d'études et de recherches internationales (CERI), *Muriel Domenach*, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rear Admiral *Jean Dufourcq*, French deputy military representative on the EU Military Committee, *William Ehrman*, British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, *Laurence*

Freedman, London University, Roland Galbarague, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Julian Lindley-French, EU Institute for Security Studies, David Logan, director, Centre for Studies in Security and Diplomacy, University of Birmingham, Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, director, Strategic Affairs Directorate, French Ministry of Defense.

• **Trilateral Franco-German-British seminar (DGAP-Ifri-RIIA) “European Defence at the Crossroads,”** Paris, December 12-13

This seminar, organized by Frédéric Bozo, Jacques Beltran and Hans Stark with the participation of Cerfa, provided an opportunity for participants to exchange views on the future of the transatlantic relationship – particularly in light of the Iraq crisis – both in terms of institutions (ESDP, NATO) and on concrete security issues (the Balkans, the Middle East, etc.). It above all stimulated thinking on the European Union’s relative military weakness and on positions EU member states might adopt with regard to post-September 11 US strategy.

Other participants

The directors of the three institutes: Victor Bulmer-Thomas for RIIA, Karl Kaiser for DGAP and Thierry de Montbrial for Ifri, May Chartouni-Dubarry, Ifri, Eckhard Lübke, DGAP, Philippe Moreau Defarges, Ifri, Henning Riecke, DGAP, Claire Spencer, RIIA, Chris Wright, RIIA.

Transatlantic dialogue

• **Quadripartite meeting: Ifri-RAND-SWP-RIIA,** Arlington, October 2

For roughly the past 20 years, Ifri, the RAND Corporation (Washington), Germany’s Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) and Britain’s Royal Institute for International Affairs have held a small and informal annual conference centering on transatlantic security issues. Researchers and decision-makers use it freely to discuss the main strategic questions which are analyzed from the perspective of Euro-American relations. This year, it was RAND that hosted the meeting in Arlington. The fight against terrorism, the problems of European defense, the future of the Atlantic alliance following the Prague summit and the Iraqi crisis were at the heart of the debate. Ifri was represented by Thierry de Montbrial, Frédéric Bozo and Guillaume Parmentier.

• **The Transatlantic Relationship and the Enlargement and Transformation of NATO**

This study was carried out under the supervision of Frédéric Bozo with the collaboration of Philip H. Gordon, The Brookings Institution, Washington, Vladimir Baranowski, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Moscow, and Jolyon Howorth, University of Bath.

Even before the attacks of September 11, the Euro-American security relationship was marked by two main trends: on one hand, an inclination by the United States toward a degree of unilater-

alism along with an upgrading of American strategic priorities that could be regarded as “global;” and on the other hand, European focus on the political-military construction of the European Union (a common European security and defense policy, or ESDP) and concentration on Europe-proper security concerns (the Balkans). The “war on terrorism” reinforces these trends. Undertaken before the Iraqi crisis, the study was to respond to the following questions: What is the future of American and European policy with respect to the Alliance? What are the respective roles of NATO and the EU in the fight against terrorism? What are the prospects for geographical and operational expansion of alliances, transatlantic re-balancing and relations with Russia?

Researcher invited to the Norwegian Nobel Institute in Oslo

The Norwegian Nobel Institute, seat of the committee that attributes the Nobel Peace Prize, has for the past decade hosted a program for international researchers who are invited in connection with research themes that are determined each year. The research fellows (numbering from six to eight) are hosted for various periods of time up to five months and benefit from the optimal work conditions offered by the institute, in particular its excellent library specializing in history, law and international economics. The fellowship provides an opportunity for daily contact among researchers working on a common subject, and concludes with an international conference. In 2002, the program was devoted to the end of the Cold War.

Invited as a senior fellow at the Nobel Institute, Frédéric Bozo wrote and presented the paper “French Diplomacy and the Last Decade of the Cold War,” which comes ahead of a work in progress on French diplomacy at the end of the Cold War.

PUBLICATIONS

Articles

Jacques Beltran

“Etats-Unis: quelle politique étrangère après le 11 septembre?” (with Guillaume Parmentier), *Encyclopedia Universalis*, March 2002.

“French Policy Towards Iraq”, *Policy Brief*, www.brook.edu, Brookings Institution, October 2002.

Frédéric Bozo

“French Diplomacy and the Last Decade of the Cold War”, presentation at the Norwegian Nobel Institute, Oslo, June 2002.

“La fin d’un cycle? La France et l’Alliance atlantique de la guerre froide à l’après-11 septembre”, *Festschrift in honor of professor Gustav Schmidt* (forthcoming in 2003).

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“The Effect of Kosovo and the Danger of Decoupling”, in Jolyon Howorth and John T.S. Keeler (eds.), *Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, (forthcoming in 2003).

Dominique Moïsi

“The Trans-Atlantic Issues now: How Europeans Forge a Balance with American Superpower, or not?”, Gaiko Forum, February issue, 2003 (Japanese edition)

PARTICIPATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS

Jacques Beltran

Participation in the conference *The U.S., France and Iraq after September 11*, The Brookings Institution, Center on the United States and France, *Washington*, January 27-28.

Research trip under the Ifri/GMF program, “Business and Foreign Policy”, *Washington*, March 12-16.

Debate with Benoît d’Aboville, French ambassador to NATO “French NATO relationship”, Diplomatic Institute of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Paris*, March 29.

Participation in the Conference organized by the Council on Foreign Relations, *Bruxelles*, April 19-20.

Participation in the Annual Conference of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, *Geneva*, April 25.

Intervention “The Transatlantic Relationship: More Tinkering or Major Overhaul?” at the Conference *Unilateral order multilateral? Die EU und die USA im Streit um eine neue Weltordnung* organized by the Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, *Cologne*, April 29-30.

Invited by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to a seminar organized by The Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), *Oslo*, May 15-16.

Intervention “Implementing New Strategies” at the conference *The New NATO in an Asymmetrical Security Environment* organized by The Danish Institute of International Affairs (DUPI) and the US Embassy, *Copenhagen*, September 24-25.

Intervention “The US and European Responses to September 11th – A Comparison”, at the *New Faces Conferences 2002 - September 11th one Year Later: The Impact on Europe and the World*, Swedish Institute for International Affairs (SIIA), *Berlin*, September 27-29.

Participation in the seminar *The “Day After” in Iraq: Opportunities and Challenges for US-European Cooperation*, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, *Washington*, December 1-2.

Frédéric Bozo

Intervention “Transatlantic Relations and European Defense After September 11: A French Point of View” at the workshop *France, the Anglo-Saxons and Defence: From Nassau to Nice*, organized by la Maison française, *Oxford*, February 15.

Invited as a senior fellow at the Norwegian Nobel Institute, *Oslo*, May 1st- July 1st.

Participation in the “9th Colloquium of Castelgandolfo” organized by the Centro Studi di Politica

Internazionale (CeSPI), *The European Union as Security Producer: Shaping an EU Strategic Concept*, *Castelgandolfo*, July 12-13.

Participation in the 15th Review Conference on the Future Task of the Alliance, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, *Berlin*, September 25-26.

Participation in the colloquium *NATO, the Warsaw Pact and the Rise of Detente, 1965-1972*, *Dobbiaco/Toblach* (Italy), September 26-28.

Participation in the *Quadripartite Meeting*, RAND, Ifri, SWP, RIIA, *Arlington*, October 3-4.

Dominique Moïsi

Contribution to the *US Mission to NATO’s Annual Security Studies Workshop for Permanent Representatives*, *Brussels*, January 17-18.

Participation in the Policy Forum *US-European Relations: Impressions from the World Economic Forum Meeting*, International Peace Academy, *New York*, February 4.

Intervention “Europe: Preparing for Petersberg Tasks”. Panel discussion “Priority Security needs for the EU and NATO” at the conference *Europe and America: A New Strategic Partnership. Future Defence and Industrial Relations*, The Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA), *London*, February 18-19.

Participation in the meeting *Reinforcing the Transatlantic Relationship: Focusing on Strategy and Delivering Results*, European Parliament, *Brussels*, February 19.

Participation in the Annual Conference of the UE – Institute for Security Studies, *Paris*, July 1st.

Participation in the working breakfast with *Henry Kissinger* organized by *Pierre Lellouche*, MP and *Atlantic Partnership* and hosted by the British ambassador to Paris, September 23.

Intervention “Cooperation in Peace Operations in Europe”, at the conference *The UN, the EU and other regional actors: Partners in Peace?*, organized by The International Peace Academy, the UE – Institute for Security Studies and the French Ministry of Defense Directorate for Strategic Affairs, *Paris*, October 11-12.

Thierry de Montbrial

Participation in the 38th *Munich Conference on Security Policy*, *Munich*, February 1-3.

Intervention “Partnership or American Hegemony?” at the 11th *Evian French-German Meetings: Europe and the US: Cooperation or Rivalry?*, *Evian*, September 19-21.

Intervention “International perspectives of the US war on terrorism” at the conference, *The European perspective on the September 11 Attacks and the Current Crisis in the Middle East*, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, *Chicago*, April 8.

Participation in *The Trilateral Commission Annual Meeting*, *Washington*, April 5-8.

Participation in the *Quadripartite Meeting* RAND, Ifri, SWP, RIIA, *Arlington*, October 3-5.

Participation in the *International Conference prior to NATO Summit: NATO-EU-RUSSIA: Together against New International Security Threats*. Intervention “Iraq and Middle East” with Mikail Margelov, Chair of Foreign Affairs Committee, Council of the Russian Federation, DGAP, *Prague*, November 14-15.

the French Center on the United States

The French Center on the United States (Centre français sur les Etats-Unis – CFE) was created in September 1999 alongside the founding of the Center on the United States and France (CUSF) at the Brookings Institution in Washington. Its purpose is to contribute to a better understanding of the American political and economic system, particularly of public policy and the decision-making process. It is directed by Guillaume Parmentier.

CFE activities are structured around four programs:

- domestic policy and public decision-making in the United States,
- foreign policy and security,
- space policy,
- energy and climate change.

These programs include debates (small-group seminars, colloquiums) bringing decision-makers from the American public and private sectors together with French experts for informal dialogue as well as studies published in Policy Papers and Policy Briefs, essays and articles published in specialized reviews and the mainstream press.

Domestic policy and public decision-making

The goal of this program is to bring about better understanding of the US Congress on one hand and of American federalism on the other as well as to raise awareness in the French public of the major trends in American society. In 2002, an updated version of the guide to members and *staffers* of the Congress was published. The document *The International Leadership of the 108th Congress of the United States* is available on the Ifri website <www.ifri.org>.

Seminars

April 16

People to Watch in US Politics

with *Charles E. Cook, Jr.*, *Cook Political Report*, and *David Hawkings*, editor in chief of *Congressional Quarterly*.

May 15

After Enron: What Regulation?

Participants: *François Bernard*, chairman, RSM International, partner, Salustro & Reydel, *Philippe Bissara*, CEO, National Association of Joint Stock Companies, *Jean-Paul Bouttes*, deputy head of international strategy, Electricité de France (EDF), *Patrick de Cambourg*, chairman of the board & CEO, Mazars, *Philippe Danjou*, Commission des opérations de bourse (COB), *Peter Fox-Penner*, consultant, Brattle Group, *Michael Granoff*, professor of accounting, University of Texas, Austin, *Gérard de La Martinière*, member of the management board, AXA, *John Olson*, senior vice-president and

director of research, Sanders Morris Harris, Inc, *Jean-Pierre Ponssard*, National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), Laboratoire d'économétrie, Ecole polytechnique, *John Rieger*, administrator, Corporate Affairs division, OECD, *Peter J. Wallison*, co-director, AEI Financial Deregulation Project.

June 18

Economic and Demographic Changes in the United States: Lessons from the 2000 Census

with *Stephen Klineberg*, professor of sociology, Rice University, Houston.

September 6

The Roles of States and the Federal Government in Public Policy

with *Timothy Conlan*, professor, George Mason University.

Foreign policy and security

In 2002, the aftermath of September 11 and developments in the Iraqi crisis, particularly the impact these developments had on transatlantic relations, shaped the CFE's work on foreign policy and defense issues.

January 16

Transatlantic Security Landscape after 11 September with the participation of congressional staffers (House Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees) and with the support of the German Marshall Fund.

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June 5

The United States and Religious Freedom in the World

with *Leila Sadat*, professor of Law, member of the Commission on International Religious Freedom.

June 20

US Foreign Policy, French Foreign Policy since September 11

with the participation of a delegation of *Summer 2002 American Marshall Memorial Fellows* led by the German Marshall Fund (GMF).

July 8

Dialogue on the Middle East

with *Rita Hauser*, Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, *Geoffrey Kemp*, Regional Strategic Programs, The Nixon Center, *Craig Kennedy*, The German Marshall Fund of United States, *Christopher Makin*, The US Atlantic Club, *James Steinberg*, Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution, *J. Robinson West*, The Petroleum Finance Group.

September 16

Power and Weakness

with *Robert Kagan*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

October 30

Worldviews 2002

with *Marshall Bouton*, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, *William Drozdiak*, GMF, *Nathalie La Balme*, GMF.

November 5

The United States and the UN after the Cold War

debate among experts on US unilateralism following the September 11 attacks.

November 29

France seen by the United States: Reflections on Francophobia in Washington

with *Simon Serfaty*, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington.

Space policy

The CFE continued a long-term research program led by *Laurence Nardon* on space issues. As Europe today rethinks the structure of its space policy (EU, European Space Agency) it is of interest to focus on US space policy where the military aspect has become preponderant under the Bush administration.

April 5

Galileo and Perspectives on the US GPS Navigation System

with *Richard Skinner*, vice-president, Lockheed Martin Navigation Systems, Paris.

October 30

US Space Ambitions and the Policy Directions of the Bush Administration

with *Gil Klingler*, National Security Council.

December 19

Galileo and GPS: Euro-American Dialogue

with *Richard Garwin* and *Philip D. Reed*, senior fellow and director of the Science and Technology program at the Council Foreign on Relations, and *David Braunschvig*, managing director, Banque Lazard Frères, and adjunct senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations.

Energy and climate change

The aims of the “Energy and climate change” program are, on the one hand, to develop skills at the international level on the political, economic and international dimensions of US energy policies and, on the other hand, on climate policy. This program was directed by *Pierre Lepetit* until June 2002. Since then it has been led by *Pierre Noël*, research fellow, CFE.

January 15

After Marrakech, What Policy for the United States?

with *Raymond Kopp*, vice-president, Resources for the Future, Washington, and *Christopher Hessler*, deputy staff director of the Senate Committee on the Environment and Public Works.

March 26

Energy Program and Climate Changes

with *Richard Cooper*, professor at Harvard University, and *Roger Guesnerie*, director of studies, Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS) and professor at the Collège de France, Paris.

May 30

US Oil Dependence and Energy Security: Where Are we Now? Where Are we Going? What Should be Done?

with *Michael A. Toman*, Resources for the Future, Washington, and *John V. Mitchell*, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.

CFE PUBLICATIONS ¹

The US Climate Change Policy: A Preliminary Evaluation, Laurent Viguiet, Policy Brief, March 2002.

Satellite Imagery Control: An American Dilemma, Laurence Nardon, Policy Paper, March 2002.

L'Administration Bush et l'espace, militarisation, gestion et coopération, Laurence Nardon, Policy Brief, April 2002.

Les Etats-Unis face à leur dépendance pétrolière, Pierre Noël, Policy Brief, June 2002.

The United States and Climate Change, par Pierre Lepetit et Laurent Viguiet, Policy Paper, July 2002.

La Militarisation de l'espace, Laurence Nardon, Policy Brief, July 2002.

La Lutte contre le terrorisme et la Constitution américaine, François de Chantal, Policy Brief, September 2002.

1. *Policy Briefs* are available on “www.ifri.org”

Third annual CFE conference

“Post-September 11 and the Enron Affair: a New Era for the United States?”

December 12-13, Musée de l'Armée, Paris.

This conference, organized with the support of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, had two objectives: to inform the French public on changes in US domestic and foreign policy in the aftermath of September 11 and the Enron affair; to deepen French-American dialogue on subjects of common interest.

The political landscape following the mid-term elections was analyzed by *Karlyn H. Bowman*, American Enterprise Institute (AEI), *Charles Cook*, National Journal/Cook Political Report, and *Thomas E. Mann*, Brookings Institution, under the chairmanship of *Guillaume Parmentier*.

Three areas of real divergence between French and American positions were identified and became the subject of deep discussion: protection of the individuals' private life, with *Jeffrey Rosen*, George Washington University Law School, *Michel Gentot*, French Data Protection Authority (CNIL), chaired by *Sylvie Kauffmann*; corporate governance, with *Robert E. Litan*, Brookings Institution, *Peter J. Wallison*, American Enterprise Institute, *Laurent Cohen-Tanugi*, writer and lawyer, chaired by *Jacques Mayoux*, Goldman Sachs, Paris; climate change with *Rafe Pomerance*, Americans for Equitable Climate Solutions, *Corinne Lepage*, lawyer and former French environment minister, chaired by *Pierre Lepetit*, Ifri.

Three potential directions for US foreign policy were described and defended by *Christopher Caldwell*, Weekly Standard, *Charles A. Kupchan* and *Walter Russel Mead*, Council on Foreign Relations, in the session chaired by *François Bujon de l'Estang*, ambassador of France. The new American strategic doctrine was debated by *Philip H. Gordon*, CUSF, Brookings Institution, and *Guillaume Parmentier*, CFE, chaired by *Bruno Racine*, Fondation pour la recherche stratégique (FRS).

Participants were hosted at the US embassy by Ambassador *Howard Leach*.

Les Investissements directs des entreprises françaises aux Etats-Unis, Olivier Riscala, Policy Brief, October 2002.

La France vue par les Etats-Unis: réflexions sur la francophobie américaine à Washington, Simon Serfaty, Policy Paper, December 2002.

Superpower on the Cheap? The Difficulty of Funding US Foreign Relations, Anne Richard, Policy Paper, December 2002.

Le Secteur non-profit et les fondations aux Etats-Unis et en France, Pierre Buhler, Paul Light, Francis Charhon, Policy Paper (forthcoming).

Les Lobbies chinois et taiwanais et le Congrès des Etats-Unis, Emmanuelle Gallin, Policy Paper (forthcoming).

OTHER PUBLICATIONS²

Pierre Lepetit

Article

“Les Etats-Unis et le changement climatique de Rio à Johannesburg”, *Revue d'Economie financière* n° 66, July 2002.

Guillaume Parmentier

Book

Reconcilable Differences, French-US Relations in the New Era with *Michael Brenner*, Brookings University Press, April 2002.

Articles

“L'OTAN après la guerre froide: une surprenante résistance au changement”, *Encyclopedia Universalis*, March 2002.

“Etats-Unis: quelle politique étrangère après le 11 septembre?”, with Jacques Beltran, *Encyclopedia Universalis*, March 2002.

“Quo Vadis OTAN”, *Revue de l'OTAN*, Summer 2002.

“Comment dissiper les malentendus transatlantiques”, *Revue Défense*, n° 100, special issue, 2002.

“Etats-Unis et Europe: force, faiblesse, puissance? Réponse à Robert Kagan”, *Commentaire*, December 2002.

Laurence Nardon

Articles

“Galileo and GPS: Cooperation or Competition?”, “www.brook.edu”, Brookings Institution, Center on the US and France, June 2002.

“L'Industrie spatiale européenne face à Boeing”, *Revue politique et parlementaire*, January-February 2002.

“Espace militaire: les débats aux Etats-Unis, les avancées de l'Europe”, *Politique étrangère*, n° 1/2002, Spring 2002.

PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS

Pierre Lepetit

Participation in the workshops *The Transatlantic Dialogue on Climate Change*, organized by CEPS and Georgetown University, Brussels, 19 February and Washington, June 27.

2. Not mentioned here are contributions by CFE researchers to the media, notably articles by *Guillaume Parmentier* published in the *Financial Times*.

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Guillaume Parmentier

Contribution to the conference *The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century*, Ditchley Park, London, January 25-26.

Presentation “*The United States: The End of Isolationism*”, French Institute, Budapest, January 29.

Conference *NATO in a Changing World*. Intervention “NATO and ESDP”, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, February 13.

Participation in the conference *The World after 11 September: Which Lessons?*, Peace Academy, Monaco, March 8-9.

Intervention “Chocolates and Mints” at the conference *Human Needs in a Civilized Society*, FORUM 21, Divonne, March 21-24.

Presentation “International Security and the New Challenges” at the conference *Europe in a Changing International Environment.*, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin, April 22.

Conference: *2002 Marshall Forum on Transatlantic Affairs*, GMF, Special Session “Europe in America’s Shadow”, Evian, April 26.

Presentation “The Elections and their Implications”, at the annual CUSF conference *France after the Elections*, Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., June 23-27.

Presentation “Europe and the United States: Current International Disputes between Europe and the United States” at the conference *Europe in a Globalizing World*, DGAP, Berlin, July 9.

Intervention “Europe and the United States III” at the Summer school on European Foreign and Security Policy, DGAP, Berlin, July 29-30.

Participation in the conference *European Ideas Network* organized by EPP-ED Group, Summer University, Oxford, August 30-September 1st.

Presentation “The War on Terrorism: Where Do We Stand?”, at the conference *America and the World One Year after the Attacks*, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago, September 12-14.

Intervention “The Future of France and Europe’s world role”, at the Annual Joint Meeting of the Aspen Institute France Board and Advisory Board, *Franco-Indian Relationship*, Aspen Institute Lyon, Lyon, September 27-28.

Presentation “Transatlantic Relations and the International Order”, at the conference *The Future of Transatlantic Relations*, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Berlin, November 25-26.

Conference *The Future of Transatlantic Security: New challenges – A European American Discussion*, organized by FRS, Washington, D.C., December 5-7.

Europe

The Comité d'étude des relations franco-allemandes is a permanent focal point of French-German consultation and work on European development issues. It is expanded when necessary to include other partner countries. The Centre franco-autrichien pour le rapprochement économique en Europe (Franco-Austrian Center for Economic Rapprochement in Europe, or CFA) meanwhile deals with concrete aspects of the enlargement process.

The committee for research on Franco-German relations (Cerfa)

The Cerfa (Comité d'étude des relations franco-allemandes) was created in 1954 by governmental agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and France. Ifri, on the French side, and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP), for Germany, exercise administrative oversight of Cerfa. Financed in equal measures by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Auswärtiges Amt, Cerfa's mission is to contribute to better understanding of approaches taken in the two countries to politics and economics. This mission takes shape through: organization on a regular basis of Franco-German meetings and seminars that bring together senior officials, experts, journalists; research projects carried out in areas of shared interest (domestic and foreign policy, particularly EU policy, social developments, aspects of security). Hans Stark has served as Cerfa general secretary since 1991. Claire Demesmay joined Cerfa in 2002.

In 2002, Cerfa research and publishing activities were centered on the main issues in current international affairs linked directly to relations between France and Germany. Special attention was paid: to the elections in France and Germany, to the new Franco-German constellation that emerged from them and to the policy of the new coalition government, particularly its foreign policy (European integration, transatlantic relations); to Franco-German rapprochement (notably joint proposals within the Convention) and preparation of the 40th anniversary of the Elysee Treaty.

These themes were addressed essentially through monthly Cerfa conferences, aimed at a wider public, which took place starting in September 2002.

Colloquiums

European security and defense policy was the central theme of three large colloquiums organized by Cerfa in bilateral and multilateral settings where contrasting approaches were encouraged.

- **Franco-German seminar on ESDP**, June 4 (see Transatlantic relations – ESDP).

- **Trilateral Franco-German-British colloquium, "European Defence at the Crossroads,"** December 12-13 (see Transatlantic relations – ESDP).

- **Russia within the European Security Architecture**, April 12.

This France/Germany/Russia colloquium, organized by Cerfa in collaboration with the policy planning staffs of the French, German and Russian ministries of foreign affairs, brought together officials, experts and academics from the three countries. It was opened by *Michel Foucher* of the France's Policy Planning staff and *Achim Schmillen* of the *Planungstab*. Following a review of the domestic political balance in Russia and the options open to Russian diplomacy, the goal was to evaluate common strategic interests in light of NATO expansion and the course of future relations, especially in central Asia and between Russia and the European Union. This was in order to attempt to identify objectives shared by Paris, Berlin and Moscow.

Other participants:

Hannes Adomeit, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik/SWP, *Vladimir Baranovsky*, IMEMO (Institute of World Economy and International Relations), Moscow, *Christian Bec*, Centre d'analyse et de prévision, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Ulrich Brandenburg*, German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Dominique David*, Ifri, *Renata Fritsch-Bournazel*, French Centre d'études et de recherches internationales (CERI), *Alexandre Kouznetsov*, Policy Planning Staff, Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow, *Viktor Kremenyuk*, Center for US and Canadian Studies, Moscow, *Aleksei Malasbenko*, MGIMO (State Institute for International Relations) and the Carnegie Foundation, Moscow, *Vyacheslav Nikonov*, Politika Foundation, Moscow, *Alexandre Rabr*, DGAP, *Hans-Henning Schröder*, Bochum University, *George Sokoloff*, Centre d'études prospectives et d'informations internationales (CEPII), *Heinz Timmermann*, SWP, *Anne de Tinguy*, CERI, *Charles Urjewicz*, Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (Inalco).

This colloquium will be followed in 2003 by a second trilateral colloquium organized by Ifri, SWP and Mgimo in Moscow.

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Seminar

Globalization and Elections in Europe, Ifri, June 20

The purpose of this half-day seminar was to analyze the French political landscape in the aftermath of the April 21 vote, to bring about some clarification of the future electoral test in Germany and to raise questions about the rise, the diversity and the downplaying of the far right in Europe.

Speakers:

Roland Cayrol, CSA/Cevipof (Conseil Sondage Analyse/Centre d'étude de la vie politique française), *Dominique Moïsi*, Ifri, and *Hans Stark*, Cerfa/Ifri, along with correspondents from various European media: *Thaijis Berman*, NOS, The Netherlands; *Stefan Braendle*, *Der Standard*, Switzerland/Austria; *Andras Desi*, *Nepszabadsag*, Hungary; *Istvan Felkai*, RTBF, Belgium; *Claus Kragh*, *Berlingske Tidende*, Denmark; *Bernardo Valli*, *La Repubblica*, Italy.

Conferences

Beginning in early autumn 2002, Cerfa organized a monthly meeting/debate to inform and foster dialogue between French and German networks.

September 27

German Policy after the Elections: Rupture or Continuity?

with *Alfred Grosser*, professor emeritus at the Institut d'études politiques (IEP), Paris, director of the Centre d'information et de recherche sur l'Allemagne contemporaine (CIRAC), and *Romain Leick*, correspondent for *Der Spiegel* in France.

November 5

Franco-German Trade Relations at a Time of Economic Slowdown in Europe

with *Jörg Langer*, general director of the Franco-German Chamber of Commerce in Paris and *Christoph Nesshöver*, correspondent in France for the economic daily *Handelsblatt*.

November 27

Berlin-Washington: Transatlantic Relations after German Elections

with *Karsten D. Voigt*, coordinator for German-US cooperation at the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

December 19

The Elysee Treaty turns 40: Europe's Stake in a Franco-German Anniversary

with *Hans-Dieter Heumann*, minister-counsellor for political affairs at the Embassy of Germany in Paris, and *Daniel Vernet*, director for international relations at the French daily *Le Monde*.

Publishing developments

In 2002, Cerfa launched two new publication series: – the *Note du Cerfa*, a monthly publication available on the Ifri web site (www.ifri.org): an expert delivers regularly an update on an issue linked to current German affairs, Franco-German relations or European integration;

The Franco-German Tandem and Europe

Work on a constitution and on enlargement are putting the European Union to a major test. During this transitional phase for Europe, it is now more than ever the responsibility of France and Germany to unite their forces to ensure the success of this transformation and to ensure that Europe both overcomes problems inside the Union and affirms itself on the outside. With this in mind, Ifri and the DGAP began an ongoing assessment of the role that the Franco-German tandem can and should play in an enlarged Europe.

In 2002, this assessment resulted in a paper drafted jointly under the leadership of *Karl Kaiser* and *Thierry de Montbrial* and published in Paris and Berlin: *France, Germany and Europe. Perspectives* (1) with the collaboration of *Ulrike Guérot* and *Martin Koopmann* for the DGAP and *Maxime Lefebvre*, *Philippe Moreau Defarges* and *Hans Stark* for Ifri. ("Les Notes de l'Ifri" n° 53)

– *France, Germany and Europe. Perspectives* (see above): a biannual issue published jointly by Ifri and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik.

Projects

In 2003, particular emphasis is to be placed on four areas of research around which events and publications are to be developed:

- European integration, viewed from the perspective of Franco-German cooperation: institutions, economic governance, defense, identity;
- German foreign policy: transatlantic relations, relations with the countries of central and eastern Europe and with Russia;
- domestic and cultural policy: reorientation of the political landscape, civil society, immigration and integration;
- the economy, pensions, public health systems.

(The preceding two areas of research will be considered in large measure from a France-Germany comparative point of view).

The Franco-Austrian Center (CFA)

The Franco-Austrian Center for Economic Cooperation in Europe (CFA) is an intergovernmental organization created in 1978 with the aim of contributing to the development of economic relations between the countries of eastern and western Europe. Its headquarters is in Vienna. Following the events of 1989, the CFA, which originally included France, Austria, Hungary and Poland, was

expanded to take in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Romania and Bulgaria. Since the opening of EU accession negotiations with the countries of central and eastern Europe, it has been the goal of the CFA to support their integration into the EU. It sponsors colloquiums which take place regularly, alternately in Paris and in the capital of each member country.

Thierry de Montbrial has served as CFA chairman since 1985. The center's general secretary is Ambassador Peter Jankowitsch (Vienna).

The CFA's actions are geared toward **EU enlargement into eastern Europe**. It aims to help familiarize the economic actors of the countries of central and eastern Europe with developments taking place within the European Union in order to facilitate their integration. This year it focused on the evolution of public opinion on enlargement, policy regarding migration patterns, the roles of small and medium-sized businesses and institutional operations in the future EU. Meetings bringing together economic and social actors take place in the form of working breakfast debates or colloquiums. They are organized by Dominique Letourneur, and Eliane Mossé, Ifri, in collaboration with the CFA general secretariat in Vienna.

CFA meetings

Breakfast meetings

March 20

The Evolution of Public Opinion on Enlargement

A year before the first referendums on EU membership, it was important to analyze developments in public opinion in both the candidate and member states. It became clear that there was wide support for joining the EU in the candidate countries while at the same time serious doubts began to appear elsewhere, notably in France, Austria and Germany.

Speakers: Marc Bittner, sociologist at the Paul Lazarsfeld-Gesellschaft für Sozialforschung, Vienna; Bruno Jeanbart, director of studies at the Conseil Sondage Analyse, Paris; Petr Janyska, ambassador of the Czech Republic.

June 6

Bulgaria Today: The Issues, the Stakes, the Perspectives

A new formula for "CFA working breakfasts" was started here with the analysis of a single country rather than a cross-border theme. Bulgaria seemed a particularly interesting case: politically (having a former king as Prime minister and a communist president) and economically (after a long recession, signs of recovery).

Speakers: Marin Raykov, ambassador of Bulgaria in Paris; Bertrand Renouvin, writer and journalist; Xavier Richet, professor of economics, University of Marne-la-Vallée.

November 20

Poland on the Eve of Accession

Poland is an interesting case: among the "well-brought-up" candidate countries until 1999, it has

faced since 2000 some serious political and above all economic difficulties. Participants sought to understand the reasons for this evolution.

Speakers: Jan Tombinski, ambassador of Poland in Paris; Leon Podkaminer, economist, Vienna Institute for International Economic Comparison (WIIW), Vienna; Gilles Vaysset, French Ministry of Economy, Finance and Industry.

December 9

The Economic and Political Situation of Slovakia on the Eve of its Accession, Vienna

Slovakia showed poor economic performance and above all a disastrous political "branding" policy under the "Meciar system" which was punctuated by authoritarianism and corruption. However since 1998, following a change of government, its economic performance is one of the best among the candidate countries and foreign investment is pouring into the country.

Speakers: Martine Bolldorf, ambassador of Austria in Bratislava, Georges Vaugier, ambassador of France in Bratislava, Eliane Mossé, Ifri, Zdenek Lucas, expert with the WIIW, Michael Landesmann, research director, WIIW.

Colloquiums

• Policy and Management of Migratory Trends with a View to Enlargement: National Security and Social Cohesion

International conference, Bratislava, April 29-30

It has been the essential question since the fall of the Berlin Wall and will be even more so with enlargement: How can the principle of the free movement of people be respected while simultaneously averting illegal immigration, which is often a conduit of criminal activity (arms trafficking, drug smuggling, etc.)?

Speakers: Jan Czarnogursky, Justice minister, Slovakia; Jean-Jacques Lefebvre, CEO, Eiffage construction; Alenka Mesojedec-Pervinsek, under-secretary of state, Ministry of the Interior, Slovenia; Rainer Münz, professor, University of Humboldt, Berlin; Wolf Szymanski, Ministry of the Interior, Austria; Georges Vaugier, ambassador of France in Bratislava.

• The Role of Small and Medium-Businesses in the Enlargement Process

International affairs forum, Ljubljana, June 27-28

It turns out that small and medium-businesses, both national and foreign, play an important role in the transition and stimulate growth in countries where large state enterprises were dominant. It would be useful if better information existed to help small and medium-business of the European Union be more aware of opportunities presented by the candidate countries.

Speakers: Marie-Hélène Bérard, chairman and CEO, MHB SA, France; Erwan Fouere, EU Commission representative in Slovenia; Gabor Gernyi, head of the small and medium-business division, Ministry of the Economy, Hungary; Niko Herakovics, under-secretary of state, director of international scientific cooperation, Slovenia; Robert Krasner, GBI

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Consulting Mehlmauer-Larchre & Kastener OEG, Austria; *Tea Petrin*, Ministry of the Economy, Slovenia; *Alain Renck*, CEO, Alsace, BDPME, *Witold Sz wajkowski*, CEO, Fundusz Mikro, Poland.

• Characteristics and Functioning of the EU of Tomorrow

Franco-Austrian bilateral round table (CFA/Ifri), Vienna, October 8

This was the second bilateral Franco-Austrian colloquium focusing on institutional development: A 25-member EU will not be able to function using decision-making processes inherited primarily from a six-member EU. It seems however that reforms here will be difficult and that differences between large and small countries may worsen. By its very nature, the CFA is in a position to help advance thinking in this area.

Speakers: Thomas Eilmansberger, professor, University of Salzburg; *Jacques Faure*, deputy director for European cooperation, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris; *Benita Ferrero-Waldner*, Austrian minister of foreign affairs, Vienna; *Françoise de La Serre*, director of research, CERI, Paris; *Thierry de Montbrial*, CFA chairman, president of Ifri, Paris; *Manfred Scheich*, ambassador, former Austrian representative to the EU, Vienna; *Daniel Vernet*, director for international relations, *Le Monde*, Paris.

Projects

In 2003, the accent is on "rural development in an enlarged Europe" (colloquium in Budapest on April 3-4, which follows a colloquium on agriculture held in Warsaw in December 2001) as well as on "reform of public health systems in an enlarged Europe" (Lille, June 26-27). As in previous years, a bilateral meeting will take place on the development of European institutions: it will focus on the common foreign policy decision-making process. Lastly, on the occasion of the CFA's 25th anniversary, a major colloquium will be held on the economic, political and cultural reunification of Europe.

PUBLICATIONS

Thierry de Montbrial

Articles

"Vers l'Europe, "nation extraordinaire"?" in *Le courage de réformer*, Claude Bébéar (ed.), Paris, Odile Jacob, 2002

"Construire l'avenir politique de l'Europe", *La Lettre des Européens*, special issue, n° 13, January 2002

"Wo liegt die Zukunft Frankreichs?" in *Europäische Rundschau*, n° 1/2002

Philippe Moreau Defarges

Book

Les Institutions européennes, Armand Colin, collection "Compact", 6th edition.

Articles

"Europe: la Convention peut-elle relancer le débat institutionnel?" in *RAMSES 2003*, Ifri - Dunod, Paris, 2002.

"La France et l'Europe: l'inévitable débat", *Politique étrangère*, n° 4/2002, Winter 2002-2003.

Hans Stark

Articles

"Convergences et divergences franco-allemandes sur l'Europe", *Documents*, n° 2, March-April 2002.

"Les dilemmes de la politique étrangère de l'Allemagne", *Documents*, n° 4, July-August 2002.

"Germany's Post-Election Foreign Policy Dilemma", *The European Voice*, 26 September 2002.

"Serbie-Monténégro: le temps des ruptures", in *RAMSES 2003*, Ifri-Dunod, 2002.

"Transitions allemandes", in *RAMSES 2003*, Ifri - Dunod, 2002.

"L'Odyssée de l'Europe - Vers l'émergence d'une Europe-puissance?", *Tribunes de La lettre de Prospective* (Paris, Groupe Prospective du Sénat), 18 November 2002.

"Paris, Berlin et Londres: vers l'émergence d'un directoire européen?", *Politique étrangère*, n° 4/2002, Winter 2002-2003.

Claire Demesmay

"L'orientation européenne de l'Allemagne après les élections", supplement to *La lettre de la Fondation* (Paris, Fondation Robert Schuman), n° 93, 14 October 2002.

"Différences et démocratie en Europe", supplement to *La lettre de la Fondation* (Paris, Fondation Robert Schuman), n° 97, 11 November 2002.

Anita Tiraspolsky

"Europe centrale et orientale: les états d'âme des pays candidats", in *RAMSES 2003*, Ifri - Dunod, Paris, 2002.

PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS

Claire Demesmay

Presentation *The new European political landscape*, French-Portuguese Institute, *Lisbon*, November 26.

Philippe Moreau Defarges

Presentation *The European Constitution*, *Turin*, March 24-26.

Contribution to the colloquium *The European Union end's goals*, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), *Washington*, May 18-21.

Presentation *The New EU - The New Nato*, DGAP, *Berlin*, November 29-30.

Hans Stark

Presentation “Germany new international’s role” at the colloquium *Germany’s foreign policy*, Maison de l’Europe, Paris, January 21.

Presentation “A Paris-Berlin-London Alliance?” at the conference *The European Defense*, University of Lyon III-University Paris-Sud, Lyon, February 1st.

Participation to the 6th meeting of the Workshop on South-East Europe, EU-Institute for Security Studies, Paris, February 8.

Presentation “The Franco-German Constitutional Debate” at the Trilateral conference *ISPI-Ifri-DGAP, The European Convention*, Turin, March 24-26.

Presentation “Southeast Europe and the EU” at the conference *The EU Enlargement*, Goethe Institute, Belgrade, April 8-9.

Presentation “The EU politics vis-à-vis Russia” at the colloquium *Spain, France, Germany, Poland and the Future of the EU*, ASKO Foundation, Otzenhausen, April 12.

Intervention “Germany’s crisis prevention policy” at the colloquium *Crisis Management by the EU*, Centre d’analyse des différends et leurs modes de solution (Cadmos), University Paris XI, Paris, May 31.

Participation in the Franco-British colloquium *The European security and defense policy*, organized by Ifri and the University of Birmingham, London, July 3.

Participation in the workshop *Germany and European Public Law. From Westphalia to the “4 + 2” Treaty*. Intervention “Germany and the “4 + 2” Treaty as a component of a new European order”, Paris, November 22-23.

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global economy

For the past 10 years or so, the process of globalization has stimulated countless studies and debates. Ifri has played a large part in the analysis of globalization and of its consequences for national economies.

The program on reactions and responses to globalization notably examines the particular character of the protest movement in France and its influence on the political debate. More generally, this program demonstrates that participation in globalization has not led to a convergence of capitalist systems, notably those of the United States and Europe. Indeed study of the development process highlights the diverse “profiles” of emerging economies. Examination of the influence exerted by multinationals on developing countries is carried out with strict attention to the fundamental roles that context and national policy play in attracting direct foreign investment.

Work on economic governance, whether it be in relation to the digital economy of the Internet age or on financial markets, analyzes the central role of national policy. This work also underlines differences in perspective between the United States and the countries of Europe.

Looking ahead, Ifri, with the support of the European Commission, concluded in 2002 an ambitious study on the characteristics of global trade in the 21st century which remains the subject of numerous commentaries and analyses. This report looks ahead at global trade and economics up to 2050 and spotlights Europe’s unavoidable decline if changes are not made in the areas of demographics, research and obviously in political construction.

At the same time, Ifri is continuing, in association with other European institutes, a multi-year program on trade and sustainable development, a program in which the European Commission is also a participant.

In connection with activities related to the geopolitics of natural resources, a major study was concluded on the theme of the geopolitics and the energy stakes of the Caspian region. Other projects were also initiated in the areas of water and energy, within the framework of a cycle of meetings.

Research programs

Reactions and Responses to Globalization

This program, directed by *Frédérique Sachwald*, analyzes the reactions to the processes of globalization – ranging from proposals for reform of international institutions to questioning of the opening of borders and a more general contesting of the market economy – and responses to put into action. On an international level, global governance and the need to adapt existing institutions or even create new bodies became major themes of the political debate. At the same time, internal economic and social reforms appear just as important and urgent.

This program was supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States. It is led jointly by the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik* (DGAP, Berlin) and the *Institute for International Economics* (IIE, Washington, DC). It produced three seminars in 2002 and a series of six “Notes de l’Ifri.”

Seminars and colloquiums

• Dynamics of Global Inequality, Ifri, March 5

This seminar was devoted to the perception and evolution of inequality in the world, both among and within nations. The issue of inequality rightly occupies a central place in the debate on globalization. In essence, the economic and social upheaval unleashed by globalization appears legitimate only insofar as it stimulates development and makes “catch-up” processes possible, especially for the poorest countries. The diagnosis is often the opposite: globalization increases inequality and poverty. This view of the evolution of inequality, coming as it does from the press and from various demonstrations over globalization, does not take account of recent research on the measure of this inequality.

A summary of this meeting is available on the Ifri website.

Participants: François Benaroya, French Ministry of the Economy, Finance and Industry; Isabelle

Bensidoun, Centre d'études prospectives et d'informations internationales (CEPII); *François Bourguignon*, World Bank and the Ecole normale supérieure; *Jean-Pierre Cling*, Développement et insertion internationale (DIAL); *Michael Förster*, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD); *Pierre-Noël Giraud*, Center for Industrial Economics (CERNA); Ecole nationale supérieure des Mines de Paris; *Eric Maurin*, National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies, INSEE; *Anne Melchior*, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs; *Thomas Piketty*, National Center for Scientific Research, Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales (CNRS, EHESS), *Frédérique Sachwald*, Ifri.

• **Globalization, Innovation and Employment**, Ifri, October 7

This seminar was an opportunity for presentation of the most recent work on the interplay of globalization and employment. It gathered actors from a range of backgrounds. The first session stressed that North-South trade and “delocalization” are only one form of link between globalization and employment and it insisted on the role to be played by North-North trade and the intensification of competition through innovation. National characteristics, notably regulation of labor and goods markets, help explain why some countries benefit more than others from the opportunities of globalization. The second session explored consequences of greater innovation in adoption of new technologies in many sectors while also examining new, associated organizational practices within companies and production networks.

Participants: Philippe Askenazy, Centre d'études prospectives d'économie mathématique appliquées à la planification (CEPREMAP), *Andrea Bassanini*, OECD, *Thomas Bauer*, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA, Bonn), *Bernard Brunhes*, Bernard Brunhes Consultants, *Jean-Marie Cardebat*, Montesquieu University, Bordeaux, *Daniel Cohen*, Ecole normale supérieure, CEPREMAP, *Laurent Gouzenes*, STMicroelectronics, *Michel Houdebine*, Directory of External Economic Relations, *John Martin*, OECD, *Eric Maurin*, Centre for Research in Economics and Statistics (CREST/INSEE), *Frédérique Sachwald*, Ifri

• **Globalization and Corporate Governance**, Ifri, October 16

This colloquium centered on the evolution of financial systems and on corporate governance in Europe. Are the globalization of financial markets and the rise of institutional investors superceding the diversity of national financial systems and associated models of corporate governance? In the 1990s, the Anglo-Saxon model (the *shareholder*), more favorable to restructuring and to the creation of new businesses and competition through innovation, appeared to win over the Rhineland model (the *stakeholder*) to help bring about the new economy. At the same time, the development of financial systems in continental Europe did not bring

about real convergence. Can we envision a “hybridization” scenario in which a certain national diversity persists? Are new regulations in the United States also a new element of convergence?

Participants: Claude Bébéar, chairman of AXA supervisory board; *Gerhard Cromme*, chairman of Thyssen-Krupp supervisory board and of the European Roundtable of Industrialists; *Andreas Hackethal*, Goethe University, Frankfurt; *François Lagrange*, chairman, Comité des participations et des transferts; *Pierre Lepetit*, Ifri, *Yves Mansion*, chairman and CEO of Société Foncière Lyonnaise; *Colin Mayer*, Said Business School, Oxford; *Dominique Plihon*, University of Paris-Nord, member of the Advisory Council for Economic Analysis (CAE); *Frédérique Sachwald*, Ifri, *Reinhard Schmidt*, Goethe University, Frankfurt; *Marcel Tyrell*, Goethe University, Frankfurt.

Publications

“Les Notes de l’Ifri”, series “Reactions and Responses to Globalization”, directed by *Frédérique Sachwald*:

– *La Contestation de la mondialisation: une nouvelle exception française?*, Eddy Fougier (Prize Habert 2002), n° 46, September;

– *Les Syndicats à l'épreuve de la mondialisation*, Yves Chassard, Marie-José Fleury and Jacques Maire, n° 47, November;

– *Globalization, Innovation, and Inequalities*, Frédérique Sachwald, n° 48bis, November;

– *Globalization, Innovation and Employment*, Jean-Marie Cardebat et Eric Maurin, n° 49 (available on the Ifri website, www.ifri.org);

– *Les Mutations du capitalisme français: le rôle de la finance*, Dominique Plihon, n° 50, January 2003;

– *Globalization and Cultural Diversity. The Case of France*, Maryvonne de Saint-Pulgent, Pierre-Jean Benghozi and Thomas Paris, n° 51bis, September 2003.

International Trade and the Geopolitics of Resources

Characteristics of World Trade in the 21st Century: Scenarios for the European Union

This report was conceived and carried out for the European Commission under the direction of *Philippe Colombani*, assisted by *Thierry Paulmier* (United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development, UNCED, and World Trade Organization, WTO) and *Frédéric Blanc* (Euro-Mediterranean Forum of Economic Institutes, EMFED). It analyzes characteristics of world trade in the 21st century in three parts, complemented by a summary for decision-makers and a postscript of more geopolitical analyses.

The first part contains a long-term, historical analysis grounded in a theoretical approach which is followed by examination, through data and text tables, of five scenarios for growth and

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world trade until 2050. It notably forecasts for Europe a scenario (“Chronicle of a decline foretold”) where demographic and labor productivity trends of the past 40 years continue. Another scenario, more unlikely to come about in the absence of a real will to break with the past, foresees that Europe moves of its own volition to reinvent its economic, commercial, military and political power in order to preserve the relative weight it has today against the rise of emerging countries in Asia and the ongoing dynamism of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

The second part presents sector-by-sector scenarios in the areas of international division of labor, of services, of energy and of agriculture.

The third part addresses trade policy issues from the angle of the logic of actors as well as the balances of power around three major themes, present and future, in multilateral trade negotiations.

Lastly, a conclusion and a postscript of a geopolitical nature put the entire report in perspective, from Europe’s point of view.

This comprehensive study opened the door to future activity as a result of the notoriety it achieved. It also resulted in several meetings organized at Ifri.

The full text of the report is available on the Ifri web site, together with analyses from the written press.

The SUSTRA Network: Trade and Sustainable Development

The main goal of this program is to analyze the nature of the links between trade and development. It is led by a multidisciplinary network of European institutes – Ifri being part of them – piloted by the Ecole nationale supérieure d’agriculture de Montpellier (ENSAM). Two conferences have already been organized in 2002: one in Montpellier (May 13-14) on global public assets, and the other in Berlin (December 9-10) on “Architecture of the Global System of Governance of Trade and Sustainable Development”. Ifri, represented by *Philippe Colombani*, is more specifically charged with clarifying geopolitics and prospects as well as European governance on external trade and sustainable development matters. It is responsible for organizing the closing conference at the start of 2004, on the theme of European governance in the fields of trade and sustainable development.

See <www.agro-montpellier.fr/sustra/main.htm>

Geopolitics and the Energy Stakes of the Caspian Region

The goal of this program, directed by *Philippe Colombani* and supported by Total and the Policy Planning Staff of the ministry of Foreign Affairs, was to put issues related to the legal status of the Caspian Sea (energy, geopolitical and strategic aspects) into perspective. It called upon a multidis-

ciplinary, international team (Mehmet Ogutcu, Gaël Raballand, Helen Bird, etc.), which worked notably on the status and the economy of the countries of the region, the game of regional and international actors and the special place of major powers – the United States, Russia and China – in relation to this zone.

In November 2002, an international conference at Ifri brought together numerous specialists of the region.

A large portion of the study is now available on the Ifri web site.

Cycle on “Water Stakes in the 21st Century”

The theme of the first workshop in this cycle was “Water and Conflict”. It was held on October 21 at Ifri and chaired by *Philippe Colombani*. It brought together eminent international experts including *Tony Allan*, School of Oriental and African Studies, King’s College, London Water Research Group, *Frédérique Ferrand*, lawyer, *Yves Jeanclos*, Centre for Defense and Strategy, University Robert Schuman, Strasbourg, *Anne Le Strat*, Advisor of Paris, Chairman of SAGEP (Limited Company for the Management of Paris Water).

Tokyo Club Research Meetings (on economic governance)

The Tokyo Club Foundation for Global Studies was created in 1987 at the initiative of the leading Japanese business bank Nomura Securities, in order to stimulate study and debate on global economic management. This foundation associates two groups of research institutes: on one hand, five institutes from the G7 – the Brookings Institution (United States), the Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, IFO (Germany), the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Britain), the Nomura Research Institute (Japan) and Ifri (France); on the other hand, 10 research institutes from Asia (China, South Korea, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Taiwan). Its aim is to promote the work of these institutes on common themes that are identified each year. This work is published in the Tokyo Club Papers, available on <www.tcf.or.jp>.

• Issues on Internet Governance, Ifri, January 24-25

This meeting of the Tokyo Club, organized by *Frédérique Sachwald*, addressed various issues related to governance of the digital economy: intellectual property rights, e-commerce, innovation in developing countries and technological convergence and regulation.

Participants: Olivier Bomsel, CERNA, Ecole des Mines, Barry Bosworth, Brookings, Stéphane Buydens, OECD, Laurent Cohen-Tanugi, Cleary, Gottlieb & Hamilton, Brigitte Granville, RIIA, Pierre Jaquet, French Agency for Development (AFD), Bertrand de La Chapelle, Ifri, Gilles Leblanc, Ecole des Mines, François Lévêque, Ecole des Mines, Seiichi Masuyama, Nomura Research Institute,

Thierry de Montbrial, Ifri, *Teruyasu Murakami*, Nomura Research Institute, *Françoise Nicolas*, Ifri, *Frédérique Sachwald*, Ifri, *Hans Schedl*, IFO, *Takeshi Shinobara*, Nomura Research Institute, *Bertrand Warusfel*, University of Paris V.

Publications

– *Governance Issues in the Digital Economy*, Frédérique Sachwald (dir.), Tokyo Club Papers n° 15, Tokyo Club Foundation for Global Studies/Ifri, 2002.
 – *Governance Issues in the Digital Economy: Preparing for the Next Wave*, Policy Statement from the T-5, Tokyo Club Foundation for Global Studies, Tokyo, April (text available via the Ifri website, <www.ifri.org>).

• The Development of Capital Markets and Their Governance

This meeting of the Tokyo Club was devoted to the development of capital markets since the 1980s and resulting regulatory issues for both national and international authorities. Themes addressed included notably the evolution of financial markets in Germany, development of risk capital in France and the issue of accounting standards in a post-Enron context.

Participants: Barry Bosworth, Brookings, *Yukibiko Endou*, Nomura Research Institute, *Brigitte Grandville*, RIIA, *Shozo Hashimoto*, Nomura Research Institute, *Nobuyuki Hata*, Kokugakuin University, *Robert Litan*, Brookings, *Sushanta Mallick*, RIIA, *Seiichi Masuyama*, Nomura Research Institute, *Teruyasu Murakami*, Nomura Research Institute, *Akiko Nomura*, NRI, *Dorothee Rivaud-Danset*, University of Reims, *Frédérique Sachwald*, Ifri, *Hans-Günther Vieweg*, IFO.

Publication

The Development of Capital Markets and Their Governance: A Shift to Markets in Diverse National Contexts, Policy Statement from the T-5 Members of the Tokyo Club Foundation for Global Studies, Tokyo, Nomura Research Institute, 2003.

Digital Economy and Intellectual Property

Frontiers of Ownership in the Digital Economy: Information Patents, Database Protection and the Politics of Knowledge

This colloquium on the evolution of intellectual property in the digital economy was organized by *Frédérique Sachwald* and *Brian Kabin* (University of Maryland). It was part of the transatlantic program supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States. A specific web site has been created which contains the presentation of the colloquium and the texts of participants along with useful links. It can be accessed *via* the Ifri web site.
Participants: Knut Blind, Fraunhofer Institut, *Roger Burt*, IBM/UK, *Ian Cockburn*, Boston University,

Laurent Coben-Tanugi, Cleary, Gottlieb et Hamilton, *Paul David*, Oxford University, *Dominique Debert*, National Institute for Intellectual Property (INPI), *David Encaoua*, University of Paris I, *Dominique Foray*, OECD, University of Paris-IX, *Dominique Guellec*, OECD, *Francis Gurry*, World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), *Bronwyn Hall*, University of California, Berkeley, *Bernt Hugenbolts*, University of Amsterdam, *Justin Hughes*, University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), *Robert Hunt*, Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, *Brian Kabin*, University of Maryland, *Randall Kroszner*, Council of Economic Advisors, *Jacques Mairesse*, INSEE, *Harmut Pilch*, Foundation for a Free Information Infrastructure (FFII) and Eurolinux, *Grégoire Postel-Vinay*, Ministry of the Economy, Finances and Industry, *Frédérique Sachwald*, Ifri, *Ed Steinmueller*, University of Sussex, *Thierry Sueur*, Air liquide, *Mozelle Thompson*, Federal Trade Commission, *Michel Vivant*, University of Montpellier I, *Thierry Weil*, Ecole des Mines de Paris.

Publications

– *Internet et la propriété intellectuelle: le droit, l'information et les réseaux*, Michel Vivant and Agnès Maffre-Beaugé, "Les Notes de l'Ifri", n° 42, Transatlantic series, June.
 – *Concurrence par l'innovation et propriété intellectuelle*, Frédérique Sachwald, "Les Notes de l'Ifri", n° 52, Transatlantic series, December.

Emerging Countries in a Global Economy

Development Potential in Emerging Economies

This study, undertaken with the support of the French *Caisse des dépôts* Institute for scientific, economic, financial and social research and directed by *Françoise Nicolas*, was completed in 2002. Beginning with a review of recent theoretical and empirical literature on the foundations of economic growth in the particular case of developing countries, *Françoise Nicolas* et *Nathalie Avallone* highlight the importance of threshold effects and of complementing factors in the emergence of a dynamic of sustainable growth. Within a wide range of developing economies, the study makes it possible to define several growth "profiles" that take account of varying sources of growth and combine structural characteristics as well as macroeconomic and institutional data. The study notably calls into question the notion of a single model for development and instead emphasizes plurality of development paths (publication forthcoming).

Innovation in Vietnam

This study, led by *Frédérique Sachwald* and *Thierry Paulmier* with support from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, analyzes measures

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that Vietnam could take in order to stimulate international technology transfers and promote innovation. Frédérique Sachwald presented this study at the third session of the Franco-Vietnamese Forum organized by the *Association for the Development of Economic and Financial Techniques (ADETEF)* which was devoted to “Modernization of the production sector and promotion of innovation in Vietnam” and took place in Hanoi, March 20-21.

Publication

Quelle politique d'innovation pour le Vietnam? Frédérique Sachwald and Thierry Paulmier, “Les Cahiers de la coopération française au Vietnam”, n° 7, French Embassy in Hanoi, 2002 (in French and Vietnamese. French text available on the Ifri website, <www.ifri.org>).

The Role of Direct Foreign Investment in Korea

This program, directed by *Frédérique Sachwald*, is supported by the Korea Foundation. It examines the evolution of foreign investment in Korea and evaluates its role in the restructuring of large industrial groups and in the transformation of the Korean economy. In 2002, a contribution from *Françoise Nicolas* studied the case of the banking sector (“Revamping the Financial System in Korea: Can Foreign Investors Help?”).

Unemployment in East Asia and Europe – Comparative Perspectives

This study, led by *François Godement* for the Council for Asia Europe Cooperation (CAEC), was coordinated by *Françoise Nicolas*.

It built on two seminars, organized by Ifri, one in Bangkok (March 28-29) and the other at Ifri in Paris (July 1), which brought together Asian and European labor market experts. Contributions from various participants and discussion conclusions resulted in a publication, *Unemployment in East Asia and Europe*, under the direction of *Françoise Nicolas* and *Charit Tingsabadh*, “Les Cahiers d’Asie” n° 2, 2003 (see Centre asie Ifri). The working group drafted political recommendations which were submitted to various European and Asian governments ahead of the 4th ASEM summit which took place in Copenhagen on September 22-24.

Though western countries long ago became accustomed to relatively high unemployment rates, the phenomenon was virtually unknown in the economies of east Asia until recently. The 1997-1998 financial crisis altered this Asian exception and underscored the importance of social safety nets for difficult periods and of adjustment mechanisms for the labor market. Separately, the prolonged recession in Japan, on

one hand, and industrial restructuring and the peasant exodus in China on the other contributed to making the rise in unemployment a major source of concern throughout east Asia. This study analyzes this new situation and compares Asian and European experiences in dealing with unemployment. It shows that beyond the obvious differences between the two regions in the nature of the phenomenon there are to be found many similarities which offer opportunities for cooperation and concerted action.

PUBLICATIONS

Pierre Lepetit

“Enron: la fin de l’irrational exuberance”?, in *RAMSES 2003*, Dunod/Ifri, Paris, 2002.

Françoise Nicolas

“FMI: le débat sur la faillite des Etats”, in *RAMSES 2003*, Dunod/Ifri, Paris, 2002.

“L’expérience d’intégration monétaire européenne: leçons pour l’Asie”, *Accomex*, n° 48, November-December 2002.

“Les pays en développement: unité et diversité”, *Développement et mondialisation*, “Les Cahiers français”, n° 310, September-October 2002.

“Reforming the Financial Sector in the Context of the Knowledge-based Economy – The Case of Korea”, in M. Azali and *al.* (eds.), *Proceedings of the Asia Pacific Economics and Business Conference*, vol. 1, Universiti Putra Malaysia, Serdang, 2002.

“Théorie de la croissance: les leçons pour les pays en développement – Revue sélective de la littérature théorique et empirique”, with Nathalie Avallone, *Document de travail de la CDC*, (forthcoming).

Frédérique Sachwald

Foreign Direct Investment in Developing Countries: Leveraging the Role of Multinationals, with Serge Perrin, TIK Working paper n° 14/2002, University of Oslo, April 2002.

“Patterns of R&D Co-operation by European Firms: Cost-economizing *vs.* Technology-seeking”, with Luis Miotti, in S. Lundan (ed.), *Network Knowledge in International Business*, Edward Elgar, 2002.

“Co-operative R&D: Why and With Whom? An Integrated Framework of Analysis”, with Luis Miotti, in *Research Policy* (forthcoming).

“Les vagues de fusions-acquisitions”, *Les nouvelles logiques de l’entreprise*, “Les Cahiers français”, n° 309, July-August 2002.

Philippe Colombani

“Développement: le temps du réalisme”, in *RAMSES 2003*, Dunod/Ifri, Paris, 2002.

“La politique étrangère des Etats-Unis et les enjeux énergétiques”, *Encyclopedia Universalis*, 2003.

“Lesotho Highlands Water Project: une coopération plutôt réussie dans l’attente d’une politique régionale de l’eau en Afrique australe”, *Afrique contemporaine*, n° 205, Spring 2003.

“Les économies mondiales au XXI^e siècle: les défis pour l’Europe”, *Futuribles* (forthcoming).

PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS

Françoise Nicolas

Presentation “The FDI-Growth Nexus in the Mediterranean Economies” (with Stefania Bazzoni and Giada Giani) at the 4th International Conference *Economics and Finance of the Middle East and North Africa*, Lebanese American University, Byblos, Lebanon, May, 30-31.

Presentation “Enhancing Good Governance – The Role of the Financial Sector in Korea” at the International Conference *Good Governance – Perspectives and Practices*, University of Brunei Darussalam, Brunei, September 28-29.

Presentation “Reforming the Financial Sector in the Context of the Knowledge-based Economy – The Case of Korea” at the *Asia Pacific Economics and Business Conference*, co-organized by the Universiti Putra Malaysia, the Universiti Malaysia Sarawak and the Malaysian Agricultural Economics Association, Kuching, Malaysia, October 2-4.

Frédérique Sachwald

Contribution “Which R&D for a more innovative European ICT policy?”, at the International Seminar of the IDATE Foundation, Montpellier, 20 November.

Philippe Colombani

Contribution “War for Water? Water for Peace? A Near East Issue”, University of Aix-en-Provence, Israeli-Palestinian Contact Group (supported by the European Commission), July 3-5.

Presentation “Reducing Costs of Doing Business: Social Contract and Economic Efficiency in the Mediterranean Region”, at the Conference *The Maghreb Unbound Opportunities and Constraints of Private Investment*, Généralité de Catalogne, Barcelona, March 21.

Presentation “Geopolitics and Energy Security. Strategic Interdependences”, at the Conference *Energy: New Era, New Governance*, Chatham House, RIIA, London, March 18.

Presentation “Energy Security and Geopolitics: The Caspian Region”, at the conference *Reform Strategies and Private Participation in the Oil and Gas Sector*, International Training Program, World Bank/Institut français du pétrole (IFP), Ecole nationale supérieure du pétrole et des moteurs (ENSPM), June 1st.

Contribution “Oil and Geopolitics” at the *3rd International Oil Summit* (with Mikhail B. Khodorovsky and Andrei N. Illarionov), Paris, April 25.

Presentation “Corporate Policy in Post-Conflict Situations” at The Conference Board, Paris, June.

Contribution “Demographic Stakes and Europe”, at the International SUSTRA Workshop, *Architecture of the Global System of Governance of Trade and Sustainable Development*, Berlin, December 9.

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Middle East, Maghreb, Mediterranean

Among the consequences of September 11 has been a rise in tensions in this region as well as a widening gap in perception between an America that is fully mobilized in the war on terrorism and a Europe engaged in a delicate process with its neighbors on the southern side of the Mediterranean. The thrust of the work which was carried out in 2002 centered on attempting to refresh channels of transatlantic coordination, maintain Euro-Mediterranean dialogue and analyze the sources of strictly regional tensions in the Mediterranean as well as the impact of September 11 on the Maghreb.

Middle East

- **French-American Cooperation in the Middle-East: Is Consensus Achievable?**, an Ifri-RAND seminar, March 21-22

This bilateral Franco-American seminar, organized by *May Chartouni-Dubarry*, with participation by the French ministry of Foreign Affairs and in collaboration with the RAND Corporation (the Center for Middle-East Public Policy directed by *Jerrold Green*), was held in a purposely small-group, off-the-record setting to encourage frank, open exchanges. Introductory remarks were delivered by *Michel Foucher*, French Policy Planning Staff, and *David Gompert*, RAND. The seminar brought together experts, French officials and academics. Its goal was to attempt to bring French and American positions closer together on four key themes: the war on terrorism, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Iraq and Iran and the dangers of “linkage” between one theater of conflict and another in the region. Despite differences of approach – including within the two sides – an element of consensus emerged: for all of the regional actors (as well as international actors), the United States holds the key to a peace accord between Israel and its neighbors and only the United States could guarantee such an accord. The complexity of this Franco-American discussion underlined an interest in continuing and institutionalizing such exchanges on an annual basis.

Other participants: Loulouwa Al-Rachid, Institut d'études politiques, Paris, *Jacques Beltran*, Ifri, *Emmanuel Bonne*, French ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Frédéric Bozzo*, Ifri, *Nicolas Chibaeff*, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Shabram Chubin*, The Geneva Centre for Security Policy, *Alain Dieckhoff*, Centre d'études et de recherches internationales (CERI/CNRS), *Roland Galbarague*, French ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Jerrold Green*, RAND, *Azadeh*

Kian-Thiébaud, National Center for Scientific research (CNRS), *Patrick Lamentini*, French ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Ian Lesser*, RAND, *Dominique Moïsi*, Ifri, *Sophie Pommier*, French ministry of Foreign Affairs.

- **Round table: “The Israeli-Palestina Conflict: Internal Stakes and International Strategies”**, Ifri, June 18

Organized by *May Chartouni-Dubarry*, the goal of this round table discussion was to stimulate debate on the Middle East war in a context of rising violence and unprecedented political impasse.

Speakers: Alain Dieckhoff, research director, CERI/CNRS, *Dominique Moïsi*, Ifri, *Abmad Samih Khalidi*, senior associate member, St-Anthony' College, Oxford.

Mediterranean

Ifri is a founding member of the *Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission*, or EuroMeSCo. Ifri has been represented in the *Steering Committee* since 1996 by *May Chartouni-Dubarry*. In this capacity, Ifri hosted the network's annual conference.

EuroMeSCo

EuroMeSCo is a non-governmental network created in 1996 with support from the European Commission. It brings together the various independent foreign policy institutes from the 27 signatory states of the Barcelona Declaration (November 1995) which launched the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP). EuroMeSCo aims to foster political and security dialogue at the civil society level, especially among experts, researchers and academics and in itself constitutes a confidence building measure in EMP political and security work.

• **Annual conference: “Europe and the Mediterranean: toward a new approach to integration,”** Ifri, January 31-February 1

This conference was organized by *May Chartouni-Dubarry*, with support from the European Commission. It included notably representation from 35 EuroMeSCo member/observer institutes and European Commission officials.

The opening of the conference by *Hubert Védrine*, at the time French Minister of Foreign Affairs, was an indication of France’s interest in the Barcelona process and its relevance not just in the Mediterranean area but also to the situation in the Middle East. After warning against the risks of lumping the religious dimension – Islam – and the southern Mediterranean together, the Minister called for a re-invigoration of the Barcelona process, by focusing first on divisive issues rather than those on which there is a consensus.

Taking into account the impact of September 11 on Euro-Mediterranean relations, *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri, and *Alvaro de Vasconcelos*, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (IEEI, Lisbonne), introduced the debates. These debates were structured around four themes examined by working groups during the course of 2001: “Security Stakes”, with *Roberto Aliboni*, IAI, Rome, *Rachid Driss*, AEI, Tunis, *Jean-Louis Mignot*, French ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brussels, *Salim Nasr*, LCPS, Beirut; “European security and defense policy: perceptions of security and prospects for cooperation,” with *Fouad Ammor*, GERM, Rabat, *Peter van Ham*, Clingendael, The Hague, *Elvira Sanchez Mateos*, CIDOB, Barcelona, *Alexandre Zafiriou*, general secretariat of the European Council, Brussels; “What role for sub-regional cooperation?” with *Stephen Calleya*, MEDAC, Malta, *Abderrahmane Hadj-Nacer*, SBFI, Paris, *Mark Heller*, JCSS, Tel-Aviv, *Michael Webb*, European Commission, Brussels; “Civil society, the engine for North-South integration,” with *Mahdi Abdul Hadi*, PASSIA, east Jerusalem, *Volker Perthes*, SWP, Berlin, *Marc Schade-Poulsen*, *Human Rights Network*, Copenhagen, *Dorothee Schmid*, IEP, Paris, *Gamal Soltan*, ACPSS, Cairo. As a result of current events (this conference had initially been scheduled for autumn 2001), a fifth round table was devoted to the role of the EU vis-à-vis the Israeli-Arab conflict, with *May Chartouni-Dubarry*, Ifri, *Rosemary Hollis*, RIIA, London, *Eberhard Rhein*, EPC, Brussels, *Alvaro de Vasconcelos*, IEEI, Lisbon. The speeches and presentations initiated particularly stimulating and useful debate between representatives from the north and south sides of the Mediterranean. This conference demonstrated that even if the “Mediterranean space” remains in many respects an embryonic geopolitical entity, the Euro-Mediterranean project, despite being hampered by the Middle East conflict, appears more needed than ever.

• **Inter-State Conflicts in the Mediterranean: Challenges and Answers**

This research project, initiated by *May Dubarry-Chartouni*, approaches the issues from a cross-

border, comparative perspective and juxtaposes case studies as seemingly unrelated as Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, Algeria and the Balkans, each entity torn apart by internal strife whether of a community, ethnic, socio-economic and/or strategic nature. By incorporating into the collective research examples from outside the Mediterranean space (Canada’s success with the “consociational democracy” formula, Ireland’s failure to resolve its civil conflict) this project has two objectives: to dispel cultural misconceptions which attribute the problem to a congenital Mediterranean defect; to examine, across a wide range of case studies, formulas for prevention and/or resolution of this type of conflict. A seminar including all of the contributors is planned for autumn 2003.

Also associated with this project: *Florian Bieber*, European Center for Minority Issues, Belgrade, *Alain Dieckhoff*, CNRS/CERI, *Theodor Hanf*, Arnold-Bergstrasser Institute for Social Research, Fribourg, *Luis Martinez*, FNSP/CERI, *Patrick Murdoch*, academic, London School of Economics, *David Russel*, Democratic Dialogue, Belfast, *Nadim Shebadi*, director, Centre for Lebanese Studies, Oxford, UK.

• **Meetings**

May 31

Saudi Arabia, United States: Society and Succession
Alain Gresh, chief editor of *Le Monde diplomatique*
Chair: Rémy Leveau.

November 4

Saudi Arabia and the West
Madawi Al-Rasheed, senior lecturer in Social Anthropology, King’s College, University of London
Chair: May Chartouni-Dubarry.

December 5

Iranian Society and Politics: What are the National, Regional and International Stakes?
Azadeh Kian-Thiébaut, senior lecturer in Political Sciences, University of Paris VIII, researcher, Center for Iranian Studies, CNRS, Paris.
Chair: May Chartouni-Dubarry.

December 6

Al-Jazeera: the Emergence of an Arab Public Domain?
Mohamed El Oifi, teacher, Paris - Discussant:
Frédéric Charillon, political science professor
Chair: Khadija Mohsen-Finan.

Maghreb

• **The Maghreb after September 11**, Ifri, February 8

This seminar, organized by *Rémy Leveau* and *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, brought together experts, academics, journalists and columnists, diplomats and actors in civil society from the Maghreb and

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several European countries to reflect informally and free of outside interference on the effects that the events of September 11, 2001 have had on the Maghreb and on Euro-Maghreb relations. Special attention was paid to the expression of identity through religious debate exposing social tensions and to various ways to move ahead toward greater pluralism in the “stability pacts” that permit various political regimes to function.

Other participants: Bruno Aubert, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, MFA, Larbi Chouikha, University of Tunis, Philippe Droz-Vincent, IEP Paris and Toulouse, Roland Dubertrand, MFA, Akram Ellyas, *La Tribune*, Paris, Alain Freynet, MFA, Selima Ghezali, journalist, Algiers, 1997 Sakharov Human Rights Prize recipient, Mohamed Hachmaoui, IEP Paris, Abdellab Hammoudi, Princeton University, Aboubakr Jamaï, *Le Journal hebdomadaire*, Casablanca, Olfa Lamoum, University of Paris VIII, Hmida Layachi, El-Youm, Algiers, Barnabé Lopez Garcia, Autonomous University of Madrid, Djaffer Saïd, *Le Quotidien d’Oran*, Algiers, Marc Shaghié, *Courrier international*, Paris, Mohamed Tozy, Casablanca University, Malika Zeghal, Centre d’études interdisciplinaires des faits religieux/EHESS and IEP Paris.

This colloquium resulted in a publication, *Le Maghreb après le 11 septembre*, under the direction of Rémy Leveau and Khadija Mohsen-Finan, “Les Notes de l’Ifri”, n° 44, October.

• **Round table: “The Meaning of Elections in the Maghreb Today,”** Ifri, October 11

In 2002, Morocco and Algeria held legislative elections and Algeria also held local elections. In Tunisia, the head of state held a referendum to “consult” the people on constitutional reform allowing him to run for a fourth term in office. The purpose of this round table, organized by Khadija Mohsen-Finan, was to gather interpretations and analyses from academics, media representatives and actors in Maghreb politics on the meaning and implications of these electoral events.

Speakers: Myriam Aït-Aoudia, University of Paris I, Nizar Baraka, member of the central committee of the Istiqlal Party, Rabat, Yadh Ben Achour, Faculty of Law and Political and Social Sciences, Tunis, Michel Camau, Institut d’études politiques, Aix-en-Provence, Akram Ellyas, *La Tribune*, Paris, Vincent Geisser, Institut d’études politiques, Aix-en-Provence, Aboubakr Jamaï, *Le Journal hebdomadaire*, Casablanca, Rachid Kasbana, *El Mauquef*, Tunis, Luis Martinez, CERI/IEP Paris.

• **Meeting**

October 9

Morocco: From Political to Economic Transition

Speaker: Nizar Baraka, economist, member of the central committee of the Istiqlal Party.

PUBLICATIONS

Collective works

Monarchies arabes: Transitions et dérives dynastiques, Rémy Leveau with Abdellab Hammoudi (eds.). “Les études de la Documentation française”, Paris, 2002.

Le Maghreb après le 11 septembre, Rémy Leveau and Khadija Mohsen-Finan (eds.), “Les Notes de l’Ifri”, n° 44, Paris, 2002.

L’Algérie: une improbable sortie de crise, Khadija Mohsen-Finan (ed.), “Les Notes de l’Ifri”, n° 37, Paris, 2002.

New European Identity and Citizenship, Rémy Leveau, Khadija Mohsen-Finan and Catherine Wihtol de Wenden (eds.), Ashgate, London, 2002.

Articles and contribution to collective works

May Chartouni-Dubarry

“A French Perspective”, in Lyle Goldstein and Ahmed Hashim (eds.), *The Future of Iraq*, Center for Naval Warfare Studies, United States Naval War College, Rhode Island, 2002.

“L’après-Oslo: paix avortée ou guerre annoncée?”, *Politique étrangère*, n° 3/2002, Autumn, (editor of “Israël-Palestine: chronique d’une impasse” in the same issue).

“The Middle-East Debacle: A Prospective Analysis”, *The International Spectator*, vol. XXXVII, n° 1, 2002.

“L’action de l’UE et des pays de la rive Sud dans la crise actuelle”, in *Annuaire du GERM*, 2002.

“Proche-Orient – L’après-Oslo: paix avortée ou guerre annoncée”, in *RAMSES 2003*, Ifri-Dunod, 2002.

Rémy Leveau

“Nationalité, citoyenneté et islam comme identité collective”, in *Nationalité et citoyenneté, nouvelle donne d’un espace européen*, “Les travaux du centre d’études et de prévision”, Paris, 2002.

“Maroc: les trois âges de la monarchie moderne”, in Rémy Leveau and Abdellab Hammoudi (eds.), *Monarchies arabes: Transitions et dérives dynastiques*, “Les études de la Documentation française”, Paris, 2002.

“Être musulman en Europe”, *Pouvoirs*, n° 104, special issue “Islam et démocratie”, December 2002.

“La France, l’Europe et la Méditerranée”, *Politique étrangère*, n° 4/2002, Winter, 2002-2003.

“Vers une Europe des Migrations”, *Hommes et migrations*, December 2002.

Khadija Mohsen-Finan

“Le rôle de Bourguiba dans la chute du beylicat”, in Rémy Leveau and Abdellab Hammoudi (eds.), *Monarchies arabes: Transitions et dérives dynastiques*, “Les études de la Documentation française”, Paris, 2002.

“Tariq Ramadan: Voice of a New Religiousness”, in Wasif Shadid and Sjoerd Van Kongsveld (eds.), *Intercultural Relations and Religious Authorities: Muslims in the European Union*, université de Leiden, 2002.

“Promoting a Faith-based Citizenship: The Case of Tariq Ramadan”, in Rémy Leveau, Catherine Wihtol de Wenden and Khadija Mohsen-Finan (eds.), *New European Citizenship and Identity*, Ashgate, London, 2002.

“The Western Sahara Conflict and U.N. Pressure”, *Mediterranean Politics*, vol. 7, n° 2, 2002.

“Sahara occidental: une difficile sortie de crise”, in *Encyclopédie Universalis*, Paris, 2002.

“Monde arabe: la “rue”, nouvel acteur politique?”, in *RAMSES 2003*.

“Le conflit saharien sous pression onusienne”, in *RAMSES 2003*.

Dominique Moïsi

“Une politique commune impossible: les difficultés de parvenir à un accord entre les Etats membres de l’Union sur la crise du Proche-Orient”, *Cahier de Chaillot*, December 2002.

INTERVENTIONS IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS

May Chartouni-Dubarry

Intervention “The EU and the Mediterranean countries in the current crisis”, at the seminar *Bilan de l’action du PEM, de Marseille à Valence, face à la crise au Moyen-Orient*, GERM, Rabat, May 13.

Participation in the seminar *Building confidence in the Euro-Mediterranean Region: The Security Dimension*, CIDOB, Barcelona, June 12.

Presentation “French Policy toward Iraq: Old Dilemmas, New Challenges”, at the conference *The Future of Iraq and US Policy Options*, US Naval War College, Newport, July 18-19.

Intervention “The Evolving Political Culture in the Middle-East and its impact on the Euro-Mediterranean Process”, at the seminar *Mediterranean Crossroads: Culture, Religion and Security*, Eliamep, Halki, Greece, September 9-12.

Presentation “The US, Europe and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict” at the conference *Prospects for Peace in the Middle-East, Wilton Park*, September 23-26.

Participation in the EuroMeSCo meeting *Security in the Euro-Mediterranean Region: Building a Comprehensive Concept*, DUPI, Copenhagen, November 18.

Presentation “The United States, Europe and the Israeli-Arab Conflict”, at the Ifri/RIIA/DGAP conference *European Defence at the Crossroad*, Ifri, December 13.

Rémy Leveau

Participation in the conference *The Arab World in the Aftermath of September 11*, Institute of geopolitics, Budapest, February 5-6.

Participation in the meeting *Moroccan Elections in 2002*, University of Lausanne, Lausanne, March 16.

Participation in the conference *The European Dimension of French Islam*, Goethe Institute, Munich, April 12.

Participation in the seminar *Islam in Europe*, University of Strasbourg, Strasbourg, April 19-20.

Participation in the seminar *Toward Transnational Nationalism*, Centre Marc Bloch, Berlin, May 14.

Contribution to the meeting *Europe and the Iraq Crisis*, Aspen Institute, Istanbul, October 11-12.

Contribution to the meeting *Domestic/External Security*, COPRI, Oslo, November 18-19.

Participation in the colloquium *The Barcelona Process*, Dayan Center, Tel-Aviv, December 15-17.

Khadija Mohsen-Finan

Intervention “European Policy: a French View” at the conference *The EU’s Relations with Algeria*, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Algiers, March 18-19.

Dominique Moïsi

Hearing at the Senate Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee: “The Near East”, Paris, March 13.

Contribution to the Ifri-RAND colloquium *Franco-American Cooperation in the Middle East: Is Consensus Achievable?*, Paris, March 21.

Intervention “The Europe, the United States and the Middle East Conflict”, The Central European University, Budapest, April 28–May 4.

Intervention “The Politics and Economics of Europe”, at the conference *The International Forum (USA)*, Stockholm, April 25-26.

Participation in the colloquium *French and Franco-British views on Near and Middle East current developments* organized by the Franco-British Council, Paris, July 2-3.

Presentation “Respective role of the EU and its memberstates”, at the seminar *The EU and the Near East Crisis*, the EU - Institute for Security Studies, Paris, September 20.

Intervention “Europe and the greater Middle East”, at the seminar *The EU identity*, organized by the British Embassy and the Center for European Reforms (CER), Paris, October 31.

Participation in the colloquium *The Peace Process in the Near East*, organized by the Norwegian Embassy, Paris, November 29.

Presentation: “The Near East conflict: Which Role for Europe?” at the Franco-German discussion meeting organized by the German Chancellery, Berlin, December 9.

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the centre Asie ifri

Founded within Ifri in September 2001, the Center focuses its work on east Asia. Each of its researchers, whether they be staff members or visiting fellows, maintain close relations with the best international institutes, personalities, experts and practitioners of Asia. The Centre asie ifri is at the core of an extensive international network.

Together with its partners, both public and private, the Center conducts seminars and runs standing "Asia watch" workshops. Its works are discussed at Ifri or published in "Les Cahiers d'Asie".

The Centre asie ifri is headed by François Godement, historian and expert on Asia in general and contemporary China in particular. Régine Serra, a specialist on Japan and northeast Asia, coordinates the Center's projects.

The center conducts programs by theme and by region as well as bilateral and multilateral dialogue with various regional institutes.

Thematic Programs

Strategy and conflict resolution

The main issues dealt with at the Center in this field are the Korean crisis, relations between Taiwan and China, the fight against terrorism in east Asia, models for security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region and energy security.

Internal dynamics

Communal tensions and political changes in south-east Asia, political succession and institutional reform in China and political-administrative reform in Japan are the main internal dynamics upon which the *Centre asie ifri* develops meetings and research programs.

Socio-economic dynamics

Following the financial and economic crisis that hit east Asia in 1997, the *Centre asie ifri* developed a research program on the social policies that were implemented and proposed new areas of cooperation between Asia and Europe.

Regional Programs

China

Since September 2001, the *Centre asie ifri* has intensified its analytical work on China, proposing regular exchanges with the scientific community and Chinese research institutes. In particular, it set up a stranding strategic observation group on China. Political change and the regional and international integration of China are essential subjects of analysis.

In addition, the confrontation between European and American policies on China has been the subject of a new research program since January 2002.

Southeast Asia

The *Centre asie ifri* works focus on the future of ASEAN as a model of regionalization, socio-political transitions in the major countries of this region (notably Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand) as well as relations between ASEAN and its nearby neighbors (recent free-trade agreements with China and Japan, in particular).

Japan

The financial and economic crisis that hit Japan with the bursting of the stock market bubble should not obscure the major changes under way in Japan since the early 1990s. Through analysis of Japanese-US relations, regional commitments and exploration of defense issues the Japan research program is aimed at bringing clarity to current reforms.

Korean peninsula

The launch of the *Sunshine policy* by South Korea's Kim Dae-jung accompanied a resumption of the inter-Korean dialogue against a background of cyclical tensions between the United States, Japan and North Korea. The research and meetings organized by the *Centre asie ifri* bring about a better understanding of the complexity of North Korean policy and the international stakes surrounding North Korea's nuclear and ballistic missile programs.

Seminars

February 8, Ifri

Meeting-debate with *Chen Zhimin*, vice-dean and associate researcher at the Institute of International Relations, University of Fudan, China, and *Chen Yugang*, associate researcher, department of international policy, Institute of International Relations, University of Fudan, China. The meeting was the occasion for a lively discussion on European inte-

gration and the role of France and China's foreign policy.

March 1, Ifri

The New Strategic Framework and the New Chinese Concept of Security

Breakfast-debate with *Cui Tiankai*, director of the department of political studies with the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

October 25, Ifri

Political Trends and Succession in China

Meeting of a working group on China composed of *Stéphanie Balme*, Centre d'études et de recherches internationales (CERI), *Bates Gill*, Freeman Chair in China Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington, D.C., *François Godement*, Centre asie Ifri, *Cheng Li*, department of administrative science, Hamilton College, New York, member of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C., *Lu Xiaobo*, director of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University, New York, *You Ji*, School of Politics and International Relations, University of New South Wales, Sydney.

Publication

China and its Western Frontier

François Godement (ed.), "Les Cahiers d'Asie," n° 1, Ifri, Paris, 2002.

Since September 11, 2001, China has restarted its policy of development in territories bordering on the states of central Asia. This work analyzes the historical, political and economic dimensions of this Chinese version of "Go west young man".

Bilateral dialogues

The *Centre asie ifri* has strengthened and developed yearly meetings with Asian research centers, creating opportunities for regular exchanges of views among experts, officials and business leaders on its main research themes.

Dialogue Centre asie ifri/Japan Institute of International Affairs

Regular meetings with the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) began in 1991 and are held alternately in Tokyo and Paris. Ifri-JIIA contacts are among the routine channels of communication between France and Japan on political and strategic issues and ideas that emerge from these contacts have resulted in several publications.

November 28, Ifri

The International Community after September 11

The 11th joint *Centre asie ifri*/JIIA conference was devoted to the impact of September 11 on Japan and Europe and its international consequences. The Japanese delegation was headed by *Toshinori Shigeie*, JIIA interim director.

Dialogue Centre asie ifri/Chinese Reformers Forum

Since 1999, the *Centre asie ifri* has entertained a dialogue with the Chinese Reformers Forum (CRF)

which comprises experts from Chinese *think tanks*. Held alternately in Paris and Beijing, this yearly meeting offers an occasion for rich exchanges on Franco-Chinese relations as well as on China's political and strategic evolution.

November 25,

Fifth Centre asie ifri/Chinese Reformers Forum meeting

The fifth joint meeting was held in Beijing. Led by *Alain Dejammé*, ambassador of France, and *François Godement*, the delegation assembled by the *Centre asie ifri* included experts, officials and French business leaders. This meeting addressed the anti-terrorism fight, strategic issues in northern Asia (the Korean peninsula) as well as what's at stake with globalization in China.

Dialogue Centre asie ifri/Korea Foundation (South Korea)

In partnership with the Korea Foundation, the *Centre asie ifri* holds a colloquium every two years, alternately in Paris and in Seoul, on Franco-Korean relations and changes under way on the Korean peninsula. This meeting brings together experts, business representatives and officials.

March 25-26

The fifth meeting of the Korea Foundation and the *Centre asie ifri* which was held in Seoul, concentrated on political evolutions in Korea and France. The French delegation was led by *Jean-Bernard Ouwriet*, special representative of the French ministry of Defense.

Dialogue Centre asie ifri /Institute for Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) of Singapore

With a view to developing further its research programs on southeast Asia, the *Centre asie ifri* inaugurated in June 2002 a new partnership with the Institute for Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) of Singapore, the first meeting of which was held in Paris. The second meeting is scheduled to take place in Singapore on November 10-11, 2003.

March 11-12, Ifri

This seminar focused on regional structures in Asia and Europe, on Islam outside the Arab world, on international economic prospects after September 11 as well as on high-technology responses to asymmetrical threats.

Dialogue Centre asie ifri/Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) of Indonesia

The *Centre asie ifri* is also initiating a regular dialogue starting in November 2003 with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Jakarta.

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Dialogue with the Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, United States

January 10-11, Ifri

An Informal Franco-Euro-American Discussion on China: The Contribution of Western Policies to China's Future

This seminar, in which French, European and American foreign policy officials and experts participated on a non-official basis, offered clarification and debate on American and European policies vis-à-vis China and Taiwan, China's relations with its Asian neighbors, China and multilateralism, Chinese military modernization, political succession and lessons on relations with China.

Participants: Richard Baum, University of California, Los Angeles, Thierry Dana, technical advisor to the president of France, Jean-Luc Domenach, CERI, Rosemary Foot, St. Anton College, United Kingdom, Michel Foucher, French ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bates Gill, The Brookings Institution, François Godement, Ifri Asia Center, Lonnie Henley, government of the United States, Christoph Heusgen, Council of Europe, Donald Keyser, Department of State, United States, Christian Leclercq, French ministry of Defense, Françoise Mengin, CERI, Angelos Pangratis, European Commission, Peter Röhl, German representation to the European Union, Alan Romberg, Henry L. Stimson Center, Klaus Rupperecht, German Taipei Institute, David Shambaugh, Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University and The Brookings Institution, Volker Stanzel, German ministry of Foreign Affairs, Robert Sutter, Georgetown University, Washington, Pascal Teixeira, French ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rod Wye, British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Michael Yabuda, London School of Economics.

Publication

European and American Approaches Toward China: Different Beds, Same Dreams?, David Shambaugh, professor of political science and director of the China Policy Program, Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, May 2002.

This paper was also published in the March-April 2002 edition of *Perspectives chinoises* and the May-June edition of *China Perspectives*.

Multilateral dialogues

• Council for Asia-Europe Cooperation

The *Centre asie ifri* is a member of the Council for Asia-Europe Cooperation (CAEC). In this capacity, it leads working groups whose results are presented to participants at Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) summits.

Seminars

Task Force of the Council for Asia-Europe Cooperation on unemployment in east Asia and Europe.

This working group was led in coordination with the Centre for European Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, under the aegis of the CAEC and with the participation of the Europe-Asia Foundation (ASEF). It compared Asian and European experiences following the recent eruption of unemployment in the wake of the 1997-1998 financial crisis. Coordinated by Françoise Nicolas, this working group met on two occasions: – March 28-29 in Bangkok: presentation of contributions; – July 1 in Paris: conclusion of discussion and drafting of recommendation which were submitted to participants in the 4th ASEM summit held in Copenhagen in September 2002.

September 11, London

François Godement and Françoise Nicolas attended the Plenary meeting of the CAEC steering committee.

Publication

Unemployment in East Asia and Europe, Françoise Nicolas and Charit Tingsabadh (eds.), "Les cahiers d'Asie", n° 2, 2003.

• Council for Cooperation and Security in Asia and the Pacific

The *Centre asie ifri* has since 1999 headed the Secretariat of the European committee of the Council for Cooperation and Security in Asia and the Pacific (CSCAP Europe), a non governmental process for dialogue on security issue which is co-chaired by François Godement, Tom Hart, Stockholm School of Asian Studies, Hans Maull, University of Trier, and Michael Yabuda, London School of Economics. Régine Serra is in charge of the Secretariat. The *Centre asie ifri* is thus at the heart of a network of European experts on Asia-Pacific security issues. In this capacity, it hosts once a year the general assembly of the European committee and organizes CSCAP working groups sessions.

The results of CSCAP working groups offer many analyses on the entire range of strategic issues in the region. (website: www.cscapeurope.org).

Seminars

June 21, Paris

The general meeting of the CSCAP Europe was held at the *Centre asie ifri*. It centered on the strategic implications of September 11 in Asia.

Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, associate researcher at the *Centre asie ifri*, attended the 18th meeting of the CSCAP steering committee which was held in Singapore in December 9.

Hervé Dejean de la Bâtie, associate researcher at the *Centre asie ifri*, attended the meeting of CSCAP expert group on nuclear energy which was held in Valdivostok on September 14-15.

• Asia-Pacific security forum

The *Centre asie ifri* is co-organizer of the Asia Pacific Security Forum (APSF), in partnership with the Institute for National Policy Research (INPR) of

Taiwan, the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS) of the Philippines and the Pacific Forum of Hawaii. Once a year, the APSF organizes alternately a general conference on Asia-Pacific security and a working group on a specific theme. The *Centre asie ifri* organized the September 2000 meeting.

Seminar

November 9, Hawaii

The 2002 APSF round table, which was attended by *François Godement*, focused on “The Asia-Pacific Security Environment: Emerging Realities.”

PUBLICATIONS

François Godement

Book

China and its Western Frontier, (ed.), “Les cahiers d’asie”, n° 1, Centre asie ifri, Paris, 2002.

Article

“La Chine et ses voisins asiatiques”, *China and its Western Frontier*, “Les cahiers d’asie”, n° 1, Centre asie ifri, Paris, 2002.

Régine Serra

Articles

“Japon: bataille sur tous les fronts”, in *RAMSES 2003*, Dunod/Ifri, Paris, 2002.

“Chine, la grande ouverture?”, *L’Etat du monde, 2003*, La Découverte, Paris, 2002.

“EU-Asia Relations”, *The Encyclopedia of Asia*, Great Borrington, Ma., Berkshire, 2002.

“Japon: une nouvelle assurance à l’international”, *Défense*, n° 98, April 2002.

“Dialogue inter-coréen, rôle des Etats extérieurs et sécurité régionale”, *Annuaire français des relations internationales 2002*, Bruylant, Bruxelles, 2002.

PARTICIPATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS

François Godement

Participation in the 5th meeting of the Waldbröl Group *European and Euro-Atlantic Coordination of Security Policies vis-à-vis Pacific-Asia*, Berlin, December 11-12.

Participation in the Asia-Pacific program organized by the Institute for Defence and Strategic Studies of Singapour for the senior military officers, *Sentosa*, August 5-10.

Participation in the Transatlantic dialogue on China, a joint project of the Henry L. Stimson Center and the research institute of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP), Berlin, 9 September, and Washington, October 7.

Hervé Dejean de la Bâtie

Participation in the conference *El ingreso de China en la OMC: un enfoque multidisciplinar*, Barcelone, September 5-6.

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Ifri and the corporate sector

In response to the needs voiced by the business and financial community, Ifri has set up a program tailored especially to them. This program takes special account of their concerns and helps bring contextual clarity to their strategic decisions. It also offers business leaders many opportunities for informal contact with peers, public-sector representatives, foreign actors and decision-makers and the international research community. Ifri's many international links offer an important network for the benefit of its members.

This program centers on encounters in various formats – informal meetings, working breakfasts, off-the-record dinners discussions with French or foreign personalities, actors or analysts of the international scene. Notable events organized by Ifri this year included meetings with Fred Bergsten, head of the Institute for International Economics, Yevgeny Primakov, former Russian Prime minister and Duma member, Manfred Bischoff, EADS chairman, Gerhard Cromme, chairman of the ThyssenKrupp supervisory board, George Soros and Mexican President Vicente Fox.

Throughout 2002, a year of considerable turmoil, Ifri sought to assist its member companies on a range of issues including:

- a geopolitical approach to high-risk countries (Argentina, Brazil, Latin America in general),*
- problems of corporate governance as in the “Enron” case, and exploration of preemptory solutions,*
- the Iraq crisis,*
- the political-economic future of European countries and particularly of the European Union (institutional functioning, enlargement, specific problems such as the common agricultural policy and trade policy, the strategy of influence, etc.),*
- evolution in certain Muslim countries (Morocco, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, Turkey) and fundamental problems posed by Sharia.*

European integration in all of its aspects is at the center of the activities of the Franco-Austrian Center (Centre franco-autrichien, CFA). The purpose of these activities is to bring about deeper dialogue between its member companies and the economic actors of the countries of central and eastern Europe, with a view to EU enlargement.

Corporate leaders are also associated with research programs that have implications for the private sector (meetings organized in the framework of the Centre asie ifri or the

French Center on the United States). When needed, and at the request of companies, Ifri sets up meetings and projects specially adapted to their needs.

Ifri today intends further to develop its interaction with member companies by incorporating them into its projects. This undertaking is for the benefit not only of French or European companies but, in a general sense, for all those interested in developing their international activities.

Ifri's corporate relations are handled by Dominique Letourneur, with the assistance of business consultants Jean-Louis Andreu, Aymar de Lastours and Augustin Renaud.

Conferences and breakfasts

January 29

Presentation of World Bank Report on Transition in the countries of Central Europe, "Transition: The First 10 Years: Lessons to Draw," Praadeep Mitra, co-author of the report, director of the Europe and Central Asia region, World Bank, Eliane Mossé, advisor with the Ifri Franco-Austrian Center for economic rapprochement in Europe, Anita Tiraspolsky, Ifri researcher, Gérard Wild, advisor to the director of the Centre d'études prospectives et d'informations internationales (CEPII), Bernard Yoncourt, general director-delegate of Generali France Holding.

March 7

France and its International Environment

Nicolas Sarkozy, former minister, member of French parliament.

October 16

The Great Global Disorder

Sergio Romano, former ambassador of Italy to Paris.

Latin America

February 6

Argentina: Which Way out from the Crisis?

Celia Himelfarb, Institut d'études politiques (IEP) of Grenoble, Fleming Larsen, director of the European office of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Luis Miotti, University of Paris XIII.

June 26

Brazil: Increasing Uncertainty

Joaquim Oliveira-Martins, economist with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Carlos Quenan, University of Paris III.

July 5

Latin America: Crises and Regional Economic Integration

David de Ferranti, regional vice-president, Latin America and the Caribbean, World Bank.

September 16

The Presidential Election and the Political and Economic Situation in Brazil

Gilberto Dupas, University of Sao Paulo, Eduardo Giannetti Da Fonseca, University of Sao Paulo, Nelson Azevedo Jobim, chairman of the high electoral tribunal.

November 8

Brazil after the Presidential Election: Perspectives and Challenges

Luis Felipe Lampreia, former Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, chairman of the Brazilian Center for International Relations, Jacques Marcovitch, secretary of the economy and state planning of Sao Paulo, professor at the University of Sao Paulo.

Asia

January 30

Southern Asia Post-September 11th

Brajesh Mishra, principal secretary to Prime Minister of India, National Security adviser to the government of India.

February 11

Japan: Impossible Reform

Xavier de Villepin, chairman of the French Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defense and the Armed Forces.

February 19

Presentation of the Report from the World Bank Institute, "China and the Knowledge Economy: Seizing the 21st Century".

Co-authors: Carl J. Dahlman, program manager for development at the World Bank Institute, and Jean-Eric Aubert, senior policy adviser at the World Bank Institute.

Speakers: Philippe Colombani, project leader under the Ifri director, Hervé Dejean de la Bâtie, associate researcher with the Centre asie ifri, Françoise Lemoine, senior economist at CEPII, Thierry Paulmier, Ifri economist.

July 3

The Future Challenges of Indonesia

Jusuf Wanandi, member of the Board of Trustees and senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta.

December 17

India and Regional Change: the Challenges to Come

Kanwal Sibal, general secretary of the Indian ministry of Foreign Affairs.

(See also Centre asie Ifri and notably the fifth meeting of the Center and the Chinese Reformers Forum in Beijing, in which several corporate leaders participated).

United States

January 21

Bush's America and post-September 11

Stanley Hoffmann, professor, Harvard University.

March 28

Bush's America and the Fight against Terrorism: Entering a Second Phase?

Steve Szabo, associate dean for Academic Affairs, The John Hopkins University.

May 22

French-US Relations Today

Michael Brenner, professor of International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, Guillaume Parmentier, head of Ifri French Center on the United States (coinciding with publication of *Reconcilable Differences. US-French Relations in the New Era*, Brookings Institution Press, 2002).

May 29

Is there a New US Foreign Policy?

François Bujon de l'Estang, ambassador of France to the United States.

October 30

Public Opinion in the United States and Europe: Is there a Transatlantic Split?

Marshall Bouton, president of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, William Drozdiak, director of the German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Center.

Europe

February 5

The Future of the Common EU-Agricultural Policy (PAC) and European Construction

Jean Glavany, French Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries.

April 9

The State of Public Opinion on Europe and its Defense Capabilities

Denis Verret, senior vice president, Political Affairs France, EADS, Edouard Lecerf, president of IPSOS Opinion.

March 20

The Evolution of Public Opinion on Enlargement

Petr Janyska, ambassador of the Czech Republic to Paris, Marc Bittner, sociologist at Paul Lazarsfeld-Gesellschaft für Sozialforschung, Vienna, Bruno Jeanbart, director of studies at CSA (Conseil Sondage Analyse).

April 24

The European Union Strategy of Influence

Philippe Moreau Defarges, Ifri, Laurent Cohen-Tanugi, lawyer, Olivier Cattaneo, associate researcher at IEP of Paris.

June 6

Bulgaria Today: Issues, Stakes and Perspectives

Marin Raykov, ambassador of Bulgaria to Paris, Bertrand Renouvin, writer and journalist, Xavier Richet, economics professor at the University of Marne-la-Vallée.

June 14

Europe on the Front Lines

Pascal Lamy, EU trade commissioner.

September 27

German Policy after the Elections: Break or Continuity?

Alfred Grosser, professor emeritus at IEP of Paris, director of the Center for Information and Research on Contemporary Germany (CIRAC), Romain Leick, correspondent for *Der Spiegel* in France, Hans Stark, general secretary of the Comité d'étude de relations franco-allemandes (Cerfa).

November 5

Franco-German Trade Relations amid Economic Slowdown in Europe

Jörg Langer, general director of the Franco-German Chamber of Commerce in Paris, Christoph Nesshöver, correspondent in France for the economic daily *Handelsblatt*, Hans Stark, Cerfa general secretary.

November 20

The Situation in Poland on the Eve of EU Accession

Jan Tombimski, ambassador of Poland in Paris, Leon Podkaminer, economist with the Wiener Institut für International Wirtschaftsvergleiche (WIIW), Vienna, Gilles Vayssset, project leader with the French Ministry of the Economy, Finance and Industry, former financial advisor for the countries of central and eastern Europe and the Baltic states.

November 27

Berlin-Washington: Transatlantic Relations Following the German Elections

Karsten D. Voigt, German Ministry for Foreign Affairs, specialist in military and security issues.

November 28

Portugal and Europe

José Manuel Durao Barroso, Prime Minister of Portugal.

December 19

The Elysee Treaty Turns 40: The Stakes for Europe in a Franco-German Anniversary

Hans-Dieter Heumann, minister-counsellor for political affairs with the German embassy in Paris, Daniel Vernet, director of international relations at *Le Monde*.

Africa

September 10

Peacekeeping in Africa

Amadou Toumani Touré, president of the Republic of Mali.

October 15

UN Peacekeeping Operations in Africa

Jean-Marie Guéhenno, UN deputy secretary general in charge of peacekeeping operations.

Middle East – Maghreb

January 23

Tunisia's Contribution to Development of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership

Habib Ben Yabia, Tunisian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

February 27

Chronicles of an Eastern War

Gilles Kepel, professor, Institut d'études politiques, Paris.

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May 31

Saudi Arabia, the United States: Society and Succession

Alain Gresh, editor-in-chief of *Le Monde diplomatique*.

June 18

Round table: *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Internal Stakes and International Strategies*

Abmad Samih Khalidi, senior associate member, St Anthony's College, Oxford, Alain Dieckhoff, CERI/CNRS, professor at Institut d'études politiques, Paris, Dominique Moïsi, Ifri.

October 9

Morocco: From Political to Economic Transition

Nizar Baraka, economist, member of the central committee of the Istiqlal Party.

December 5

Iranian Society and Politics: What Are the Regional and International Stakes?

Azadeh Kian-Thiébaud, University of Paris VIII and researcher at the Centre for Iranian Studies, CNRS.

December 6

Al-Jazeera: The Emergence of an Arab Public Domain?

Mohamed El Oifi, instructor, Paris – Speaker: Frédéric Charillon, Institut d'études politiques, Paris.

Globalization

February 7

After Davos and Porto Alegre: What Organization for World Society?

Dominique Moïsi, Ifri, Bertrand de La Chapelle, Ifri.

April 9

The Protest Movement After Porto Alegre

Susan George, vice-president, ATTAC (coinciding with the appearance of her latest book in collaboration with Martin Wolf, *For and Against: Liberal Globalization*, Grasset, 2002).

October 28

Globalization and the Test of Opposition

Eddy Fougier, Ifri.

November 25 *

Corporations: Subjects or Objects of Global Governance

Bertrand de La Chapelle, Ifri.

December 16 *

Has Enron Killed the "Spirit of Capitalism"?

Pierre Lepetit, executive director, Ifri.

Luncheon-debates

May 27

Euronext, the First pan-European Stock Exchange

with Jean-François Théodore, Euronext president, at the invitation of Pierre Fleuriot, chairman of the Management Board of ABN-AMRO.

September 6

with Manfred Bischoff, chairman, EADS NV, at the invitation of Anne-Claire Taittinger, president of the *Société du Louvre*.

September 19

Governance, Regulation and Corporate Ethics

with Ethan Kapstein, Paul Dubrue Professor of Sustainable Development at l'INSEAD (*Institut européen d'administration des affaires*), Pierre Lepetit, head of project, French Center on the United States, Ifri, Frédérique Sachwald, Ifri head of economic studies, at the invitation of Jean-Cyril Spinetta, chief executive of Air France.

Dinner-debates

January 16

with Ernest-Antoine Seillière, president of MEDEF.

January 22

with Fred Bergsten, director, Institute for International Economics.

February 11

with Roland Koch, minister president of Hesse.

February 20

with Yevgeni Primakov, former Russian Prime Minister, member of the Duma.

February 26

with Seif el Islam Khadafi, Khadafi International Foundation for Charity Associations.

March 6

with Jean Lemierre, president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD).

March 13

with Rubens Ricupero, secretary general of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED).

March 25

with Michel Albert, Jean Boissonnat and Michel Camdessus, on the occasion of the release of *Notre foi dans ce siècle* (Paris, Arléa, 2002).

April 29

with Ismail Cem, Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs.

October 1

with Vaira Vike-Freiberga, president of Latvia.

October 16

with Gerhard Cromme, chairman of the ThyssenKrupp supervisory board, chairman of the European Roundtable of Industrialists.

November 5

with George Soros, chairman of Soros Fund Management.

November 14

with Vicente Fox, president of Mexico.

November 21

with Pierre Jacquet, Agence française de développement (AFD), Thierry de Montbrial, president of Ifri, Christian Morisson, OECD, Philippe Moreau Defarges, Ifri researcher, on the occasion of the release of *RAMSES 2003*, at the invitation of Patrice Mignon, president of Dresdner Kleinwort Wasserstein France.

sociétés membres

(à la date du 31 décembre 2002)

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ACCOR	ATOMIQUE	LAZARD FRERES
AGENCE FRANCAISE DE DÉVELOPPEMENT	CREDIT AGRICOLE INDOSUEZ	LES ECHOS
AIR FRANCE	CREDIT COMMERCIAL DE FRANCE	L'OREAL
AIR LIQUIDE	CREDIT FONCIER DE FRANCE	LVMH
ALCATEL	CREDIT INDUSTRIEL ET COMMERCIAL	MARSH
AMERICAN EXPRESS	CREDIT LYONNAIS	MAZARS & GUERARD
ANDERSEN LEGAL	CREDIT MUTUEL	MEDEF
ANVAR	CREDIT SUISSE GROUP	MERRILL LYNCH FRANCE
AREVA	DAIMLER CHRYSLER	MONDIAL ASSISTANCE
ARIANESPACE	DASSAULT AVIATION	MONITOR COMPANY
AXA	DEUTSCHE BANK	MORGAN STANLEY DEAN WITTER
BANQUE DE FRANCE	DEXIA - CREDIT LOCAL DE FRANCE	NOVARTIS FRANCE
BANQUE DU LOUVRE	DRESDNER KLEINWORT WASSERSTEIN FRANCE	PSA PEUGEOT CITROEN
BANQUE FEDERALE DES BANQUES POPULAIRES	EADS	RATP
BANQUE PATRIMOINE ET IMMOBILIER	EIFFAGE	RENAULT
BARCLAYS BANK	ELECTRICITE DE FRANCE	RHODIA
BAYARD PRESSE	ENTENIAL	ROLAND BERGER ET PARTNERS
BC PARTNERS	ENTREPRISE MINIERE ET CHIMIQUE	ROTHSCHILD & CIE BANQUE
BESV	FEDERATION DES INDUSTRIES DE LA PARFUMERIE	RTE
BNP PARIBAS	FEDERATION FRANCAISE DES SOCIETES D'ASSURANCES	SAGEM
BOUYGUES	FIIEC	SANOFI-SYNTHELABO
BRGM	FIMALAC	SCOR
BUREAU VERITAS	FONCIERE THERMALE	SEITA
BURELLE S.A.	FONDATION HIPPOCRENE	SIEMENS FRANCE
CABINET GIDE LOYRETTE NOUEL	FRANCE TELECOM	SOCIETE DU LOUVRE
CAISSE DES DEPOTS ET CONSIGNATIONS	GAZ DE FRANCE	SOCIETE GENERALE
CAISSE NATIONALE DE CREDIT AGRICOLE	GIMELEC	SODEXHO ALLIANCE
CAIXABANK	GLOBAL EQUITIES	SOFARIS
CENTRE NATIONAL D'ETUDES SPATIALES	GROUPE DE RECHERCHE SERVIER	SOFIL'LIONE
CHAMBRE DE COMMERCE ET D'INDUSTRIE DE PARIS	HSBC	SOFINNOVA
CHARBONNAGES DE FRANCE	IBM FRANCE	SOFRESA
CILAS	INSTITUT FRANCAIS DU PETROLE	SOLVING INTERNATIONAL
CITIBANK	JEANTET & ASSOCIES	STARSEM
CLEARY, GOTTlieb, STEEN & HAMILTON	JP MORGAN CHASE BANK	SUEZ
CNP ASSURANCES	KSB	THALES
COFACE	LA FINANCES	TOTAL
COFIP	LA MONDIALE	UNION DES INDUSTRIES MÉTALLURGIQUES ET MINIÈRES
COLAS	LA POSTE	UNISTRAT ASSURANCES
		USINOR
		VALLOUREC
		VIEL & CIE
		VIVENDI UNIVERSAL
		WENDEL INVESTISSEMENT

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meetings and debates

Ifri offers its members, partners and guests a program of monthly conferences that bring together officials, experts, business and economic leaders and top dignitaries, and that aim to inform, shape the debate and make first-hand information available to civil society. As an independent discussion forum, Ifri has become a natural venue for many official figures, including heads of state, who visit France.

Latin America

January 8

Round table: Haiti Today

Christophe Wargny, historian, *Gérard Barbélémy*, anthropologist, *Leslie Voltaire*, urban planner, *Quesnel Pharel*, economist, *Béatrice Pouligny*, researcher, CERI.

November 7

Latin America After the Brazilian Elections

Xavier de Villepin, member of the French Parliament.

Asia

January 16

Afghanistan After the Taliban: The Political and Humanitarian Dimension

Alain Boinet, director, Solidarités.

February 11

Japan: Impossible Reform

Xavier de Villepin, member of the French Parliament.

April 18

India-Pakistan: A New Strategic Reality

Xavier de Villepin, member of the French Parliament.

December 19

Afghanistan and International Islamic Networks

Bernard Dupaigne, professor at the *Musée de l'Homme*, *Olivier Roy*, research director, CNRS, Centre for Iranian Studies.

United States and transatlantic relations

January 21

Bush's America and post-September 11

Stanley Hoffmann, professor, Harvard University.

March 28

Bush's America and the Fight against Terrorism: Entering a Second Phase?

Steve Szabo, associate dean for Academic Affairs, The John Hopkins University.

May 22

French-US Relations Today

Michael Brenner, professor of International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, *Guillaume Parmentier*, French Center on the United States, Ifri (coinciding with publication of *Reconcilable Differences*. US-

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French Relations in the New Era, Brookings Institution Press, 2002).

June 24

After September 11: How to Deal With the United States?

Xavier de Villepin, member of the French Parliament, Dominique Moïsi, Ifri

September 12

Euro-Atlantic Security After September 11

Lord Robertson, NATO secretary general.

October 14

The United States and the European Union After September 11

Nicole Gnesotto, director, The EU-Institute for Security Studies.

October 30

Public Opinion in the United States and Europe: Is There a Transatlantic Split?

Marshall Bouton, president of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, William Drozdiak, director of the German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Center.

November 20

The Anti-American Obsession

Jean-François Revel, member of the *Académie française*.

Europe

April 23

Europe and Internal Security

Wencelas de Lobkowicz, head of the press information unit on enlargement, European Commission.

April 29

Turkey, Europe and Eurasia

İsmail Cem, Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs.

June 6

Kosovo: Between Reality and Hope

Rada Trajkovic, head of the Serb coalition of the parliament of Kosovo.

October 10

Greek Perspectives on the Future of European Defense

Yannos Papantoniou, Greek Minister of Defense.

Middle East – Maghreb

January 23

Tunisia's Contribution to Development of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership

Habib Ben Yabia, Tunisian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

February 26

The Future of Franco-Libyan Relations

Seif el Islam Khadafi, chairman of the Khadafi International Foundation for Charity Associations.

February 27

Chronicle of a Middle Eastern War

Gilles Kepel, professor at IEP of Paris.

June 18

Round table: *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Internal Stakes and International Strategies*

Abmad Samih Khalidi, senior associate member of St Anthony's College, Oxford, Alain Dieckhoff, CERI/CNRS, professor at IEP, Paris, Dominique Moïsi, Ifri.

October 23

A New Schism in Islam? Geopolitical Extension?

Jean-Paul Charnay, chairman of the *Centre de philosophie de la stratégie*, Sorbonne, CNRS (most recent work: *La Charia et l'Occident*, Paris, L'Herne, 2002).

November 4

Saudi Arabia and the West

Madaawi Al-Rasbeed, senior lecturer in social anthropology, King's College, London University (most recent work: *A History of Saudi Arabia*, Cambridge University Press, 2002).

December 5

Iranian Society and Politics: What are the Regional and International Stakes?

Azadeh Kian-Thiébaut, University of Paris VIII and researcher at the Centre for Iranian Studies, CNRS (most recent work: *Les Femmes iraniennes entre Islam, Etat et famille*, Maisonneuve & Larose, 2002).

Globalization

February 7

After Davos and Porto Alegre: What Organization for Global Society?

Dominique Moïsi, Ifri, Bertrand de La Chapelle, Ifri.

April 9

The Protest Movement after Porto Alegre

Susan George, vice-president, ATTAC (coinciding with the release of her latest book in collaboration with Martin Wolf, *For and Against: Liberal Globalization*, Grasset, 2002).

November 5

Globalization and America's Role in the World

George Soros, president of Soros Fund Management, founder of the Open Society Institute.

"Globalization Put to the Test"

A series of seminars led by Thierry de Montbrial (2002/2003)

October 28

Globalization Faces the Test of Opposition

Eddy Fougier, Ifri.

November 25*

Corporations: Subjects or Objects of Global Governance?

Bertrand de La Chapelle, Ifri.

December 16*

Has Enron Killed "the Spirit of Capitalism"?

Pierre Lepetit, Ifri.

International security

March 13

Post-September 11 and French Defense

Dominique David, Ifri, *Jean Guisnel*, journalist, *Christian Quesnot*, director of the *Défense Nationale* review.

May 23

The Policy of Chaos

Thérèse Delpech, associate researcher at CERI (most recent work: *Politique du chaos*, Seuil, 2002).

June 18

Reflections on September 11

Alexandre Adler, associate columnist, *Le Monde*, editorial director of *Courrier International* (most recent book: *J'ai vu finir le monde ancien*, Grasset, 2002).

October 1

The Baltic States in the Double Enlargement of NATO and the European Union

Vaira Vike-Freiberga, president of Latvia.

May 15

Renewal of the Russian Economy

Anders Åslund, senior associate, Carnegie Endowment, Washington.

September 19

20 Global Problems, 20 Years to Solve Them

Jean-François Ryschard, vice-president for Europe, World Bank (most recent work: *High Noon: 20 Global Problems, 20 Years to solve them*, Basic Books, 2002).

Global issues

March 19

Does the War on Terrorism Jeopardize Human Rights?

Kenneth Roth, executive director, Human Rights Watch, New York.

March 27

Debate: *How to Understand International Relations Today?*

Thierry de Montbrial, president of Ifri (most recent work: *L'Action et le système du monde*, PUF), *Georges-Henri Soutou*, professor of modern history, University of Paris IV-Sorbonne.

April 22

The United Nations in the 21st Century

Edward Mortimer, UN communications director and head of the secretary-general's speech-writing team, United Nations.

September 30

The International Court in International Debate

Robert Badinter, member of the French Parliament, former president of the Constitutional Council, *Gilbert Guillaume*, president of the International Court of Justice, The Hague.

November 21

Nationality and Immigration

Patrick Weil, research director, CNRS.

Round tables (half-day)

January 25

AIDS: A Global Security Problem

This round table, organized jointly with the Norwegian embassy on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Nobel prize, was opened by *Hilde Frøfford Johnson*, Norwegian minister of cooperation, and *Philippe Kourilsky*, general director of the Pasteur Institute.

It addressed the health issue (how to prevent an explosion of AIDS in poor countries?) and the geopolitical question (does AIDS lead to instability, conflict and war?).

It was concluded by *Bernard Kouchner*, minister-delegate for health.

Chaired by: Dominique Moïsi

June 20

Globalization and Elections in Europe

The goal of this round table, chaired by *Hans Stark*, was to explore the meaning of the April 21 vote in France (*Roland Cayrol* and *Dominique Moïsi*) and to analyze the situation in Germany (the Schröder/Stoiber duel) ahead of the September elections there (*Hans Stark*), with a view to evaluating the rise, the diversification and the downplaying of the far right in Europe. Representatives of various European media also took part.

October 2

Round table: *One Year Later*

(coinciding with publication of *RAMSES 2003*)

Introduced and chaired by *Thierry de Montbrial*, this round table discussion took place in the wake of September 11 and amid the early moves toward war in Iraq. It sought to evaluate the status of transatlantic relations (*Jacques Beltran*), the prospect of armed conflict (*Dominique David*), the decay of the Israeli-Palestinian crisis (*Alain Dieckhoff*) and the American domestic situation (*Guillaume Parmentier*). The round table was closed by *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, with a presentation of *RAMSES 2003*.

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Ifri complements its research and debate activities with the publication of the quarterly review *Politique étrangère*. The institute disseminates its work through RAMSES, an annual collective survey, and through various other channels: “*Les Cahiers et conférences de l’Ifri*”, dedicated to short studies or conferences reports; “*Les Notes de l’Ifri*”, which are analyses on topical issues; and “*Travaux et recherches de l’Ifri*”, which correspond to medium- and long-term research programs. The publications team is composed of Christophe Jaquet, head of publications, Marielle Roubach and Delphine Renard.

Les Notes de l’Ifri

n° 37 - *L’Algérie: une improbable sortie de crise?*, Khadija Mohsen-Finan (ed.), April.

Series: “The influence strategy of the European Union”
n° 38 - <i>L’Union européenne, empire démocratique?</i> , Philippe Moreau Defarges, March.
n° 39 - <i>Quelles ambitions pour la politique commerciale de l’Union européenne?</i> , Olivier Cattaneo, March.
n° 40 - <i>L’Influence normative internationale de l’Union européenne: une ambition entravée</i> , Laurent Cohen-Tanugi, April.

n° 41 - *Les Rapports russo-français vus de Moscou*, Thomas Gomart, June.

n° 42 - *Internet et la propriété intellectuelle: le droit, l’information et les réseaux*, Michel Vivant, Agnès Maffre-Baugé, June.

n° 44 - *Le Maghreb après le 11 septembre*, Rémy Leveau and Khadija Mohsen-Finan (eds.), October.

n° 45 - *La Russie de Vladimir Poutine. L’héritier du despotisme oriental se tourne vers l’Occident*, Daniel Vernet, transatlantic series, November.

Series: “Reactions and Responses to Globalisation”
n° 46 - <i>La Contestation de la mondialisation: une nouvelle exception française?</i> , Eddy Fougier, September.
n° 47 - <i>Les Syndicats à l’épreuve de la mondialisation</i> , Yves Chassard, Marie-José Fleury and Jacques Maire, November.
n° 48 - <i>Mondialisation, innovation et inégalités</i> , Frédérique Sachwald, November.
n° 48 bis - <i>Globalization, Innovation and Inequalities</i> , Frédérique Sachwald, November.
n° 49 - <i>Globalization, Innovation and Employment</i> , Jean-Marie Cardebat and Eric Maurin, available on www.ifri.org .

n° 52 - *Concurrence par l’innovation et propriété intellectuelle*, Frédérique Sachwald, transatlantic series, December.

Les Cahiers et conférences de l’Ifri

n° 1 - *Liberté, risque et responsabilité: nouveaux repères à l’heure de la mondialisation et du terrorisme international*, Bertrand de La Chapelle and Dominique Moisi (eds.), July.

n° 2 - *Moscou et Ankara, murailles ou passerelles entre l'Europe et l'Asie?*, Youri Roubinski, December.

Les Cahiers d'Asie

n° 1 - *La Chine et son Occident*, François Godement (ed.), August.

Other publications

Politics, Economics and the Search for Mediterranean Stability, Stefania Bazzoni and May Chartouni-Dubarry (eds.), Ifri/IEPM, January.

New European Identity and Citizenship, Rémy Leveau, Khadija Mohsen-Finan and Catherine Wihtol de Wenden (eds.), Ifri/Ashgate, February.

Monarchies arabes. Transitions et dérives dynastiques, Rémy Leveau and Abdellah Hammoudi (eds.), collection "Les études de la Documentation française", November.

Le Conseil de sécurité à l'aube du 21^e siècle. Quelle volonté et quelle capacité a-t-il de maintenir la paix et la sécurité internationale?, Pascal Teixeira, Ifri/Unidir, July.

Politique étrangère

• N° 1/2002 – JANUARY-MARCH

Topical issues

"11 septembre: une vision russe", *Vladimir Baranovsky*; "Les usages du savoir et de la violence: quelques réflexions autour du 11 septembre", *Malika Zeghal*.

Japan: Is Reform Possible?

"Oui, la réforme est possible", *Masato Kitera*; "Ruptures et continuités de la vie politique japonaise", *Shuichi Wada*; "Economie: la décennie perdue", *Saboko Kaji*; "Les nouvelles orientations stratégiques du Japon", *Marianne Péron-Doise*.

Trends in international affairs

"L'Iran des réformes: la société face au pouvoir", *Delphine Minoui*; "La radicalisation de l'islam, facteur de déstabilisation en Asie du Sud-Est?", *Nathalie Hoffmann*; "La révolution de l'information arabe aura-t-elle lieu?", *Yves Gonzalez-Quijano*; "La doctrine Bush au Moyen-Orient: continuité politique et engagement sélectif", *Kenneth W. Stein*; "1995-2002: un septennat de politique asiatique française", *René Dorient*; "Espace militaire: le débat aux Etats-Unis, les avancées en Europe", *Laurence Nardon*.

Commentary

"OGM et faim dans le monde", *Sylvie Brunel*.

Speakers's corner

"Faut-il vendre les instruments de la puissance?", *Bernard Cazés*.

• N° 2/2002 – APRIL-JUNE

India-Pakistan: Improbable War, Impossible Peace?

"Pakistan: vers une 'démocratie militaire?'", *Mariam Abou Zabab*; "Les enjeux régionaux autour du Pakistan", *Isabelle Cordonnier*; "Nationalisme et gouvernance en Inde: les dilemmes du pouvoir", *Jean-Luc Racine*; "La stratégie indienne: un changement de paradigme?", *Wabeguru Pal Singh Sidbu*.

NATO Between Marginalization and Expansion

"La relation transatlantique et la 'longue' guerre contre le terrorisme", *Frédéric Bozo*; "L'élargissement de l'OTAN: passé, présent, futur", *Ronald D. Asmus*; "L'élargissement de l'OTAN vu de Moscou", *Dmitri Trenin*.

Trends in international affairs

"Les deux voies de Doha – et au-delà", *Hugh Corbet*; "L'Amérique latine, entre Etats-Unis et Union européenne", *Jean-Pierre Derisbourg*; "Au-delà de la crise financière et institutionnelle, l'Argentine en quête d'un véritable projet", *Renée Frégosi*; "Défense européenne et contrôle démocratique: une tâche pour la Convention sur l'avenir de l'Europe", *Michael Hilger*.

Commentary

"A la charnière?", *Jean Dufourcq*.

Voices from the past

"Été 1914: deux visions allemandes de l'Europe", *Bernard Cazés*.

• N° 3/2002 – JULY-SEPTEMBER

Editorial

"Un an après le 11 septembre: dix fenêtres qui s'ouvrent sur un monde pas si neuf", *Dominique David*.

Israel/Palestine: Chronicle of an Impasse

"L'après-Oslo: paix avortée ou guerre annoncée?", *May Chartouni-Dubarry*; "De la paix manquée d'Oslo à la marche vers l'abîme", *Marius Schattner*; "Le conflit israélo-palestinien: retour vers le futur", *Abmad Khalidi*; "La politique israélo-américaine et le conflit israélo-palestinien", *Jerrold D. Green*.

European Union: The Inside and the Outside

"Europe des Etats - Europe fédérale", *Robert Toulemon*; "Minorités nationales en Europe et protection des droits de l'homme: un enjeu pour l'élargissement", *Sabine Riedel*; "Contagion anti-européenne en Europe centrale", *Georges Mink* and *Laure Neumayer*; "Ukraine, Biélorussie et Moldavie: entre l'Union élargie et la Russie", *Catherine Guicherd*.

Trends in international affairs

“Les relations économiques entre l’Allemagne et la Russie”, *Roland Götz* and *Christian Meier*; “Caucase du Sud: les enjeux de la coopération régionale”, *Gaïdz Minassian*; “L’Iran à l’heure du réformisme”, *Frédéric Tellier*; “Réflexions sur les émeutes inter-confessionnelles du nord du Nigeria”, *Ousmane Kane*.

Commentary

“Les rapports russo-ukrainiens: empire ou démocratie?”, *Annie Daubenton*.

Voices from the past

“Albert Sorel”, *Bernard Cazés*.

• N° 4/2002 – OCTOBER-DECEMBER

A special issue dedicated to France’s foreign policy.

What Foreign Policy for France?

“Cohabitation, Europe: comment se fabrique la politique étrangère?”, *Hubert Védrine*; “Une politique étrangère commune: l’heure de vérité?”, *Alain Lamassoure*.

Foreign Policy, the World, Popular Opinion

“L’étranger dans le champ de vision des Français”, *Jean-François Bureau*; “Peut-il encore y avoir une politique étrangère de la France?”, *Frédéric Charillon*; “La France et l’ONU, entre singularité et ambivalence”, *Thierry Tardy*.

France, NATO, the EU

“La France et l’Europe: l’inévitable débat”, *Philippe Moreau Defarges*; “Paris, Berlin et Londres: vers l’émergence d’un directoire européen?”, *Hans Stark*; “Europe de la Défense: y a-t-il encore une ambition française?”, *Gilles Andréani*; “La France, l’OTAN et la sécurité européenne: statu quo ingérable, nouveau introuvable”, *Jolyon Howorth*.

France, Africa, the Mediterranean

“La France, l’Europe et la Méditerranée: un espace à construire”, *Rémy Leveau*; “La France et l’Afrique: le crépuscule d’une ambition stratégique?”, *François Gouttebrune*.

View from abroad

“Un regard indien sur la politique étrangère française”, *Vasanth R. Raghavan*.

RAMSES 2003

Editors: *Thierry de Montbrial* and *Philippe Moreau Defarges*.

RAMSES is structured into four parts preceded by an introductory chapter by Thierry de Montbrial. The two first ones are dedicated to an analysis of global world trends. The third one focuses on selected regional developments. The fourth one offers analyses on major international events

including highlights on a broad range of countries.

Perspectives, *by Thierry de Montbrial*

Part 1: After September 11

Terrorismes, une rupture historique?, *by Michel Wieviorka*.

Terrorisme islamiste: de l’anticonnisme au jihad anti-américain, *by Gilles Kepel*.

La gestion des zones grises, *by Philippe Moreau Defarges*.

Mécanique et géopolitique du blanchiment de l’argent, *by Jean-François Thony*.

Part 2: Governance and Globalization

Industries culturelles et mondialisation, *by Thomas Paris*.

La pauvreté dans le monde, *by Christian Morisson*.

L’aide au développement dans la gouvernance globale, *by Pierre Jacquet*.

Part 3: The United States, Russia, China

La nouvelle révolution américaine, *by Stephen L. Klineberg*.

Le sursaut russe, *by Georges Sokoloff*.

La Chine: enjeux institutionnels de l’intégration globale, *by François Godement*.

Part 4: Survey

Carried out under the direction of *Eddy Fougier* and *Christophe Jaquet*, this section covers developments of the past year in around sixty “essays” listed alphabetically.

RAMSES also provides a chronology of the year, a substantial statistical appendix, an appendix of maps in color as well as a general index.

Other publications

Thierry de Montbrial

Books

L’Action et le système du monde, Paris, PUF, February 2002, 2nd edition forthcoming, collection “Quadrige”, PUF, October 2003.

La France du nouveau siècle (ed.), Paris, PUF, February 2002.

Retraites, santé: n’est-il pas trop tard? (ed.), Paris, PUF, June 2002.

Article

“Modéliser les relations internationales” *Sciences Humaines*, n° 128, June 2002.

Dominique Moïsi

Article

“9 novembre 1989-11 septembre 2001: de l’espoir à la peur”, *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, Universalis, 2003.

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Philippe Moreau Defarges

Books

Relations internationales, vol. II: *Questions mondiales*, collection. "Points-Essais", Le Seuil, 5th edition, 2002.

Dictionnaire de géopolitique, Armand Colin, 2002.

Article

"La gestion des zones grises", *RAMSES 2003*, Dunod/Ifri.

"The view from France: Steadfast and changing" in Simon Serfaty (ed.), *The European Finality Debate and its National Dimension*, CSIS, Washington.

Other interventions in international forums

Dominique Moïsi

Participation in the Strategic Planning Meeting held by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, *New York*, January 11-12.

Intervention to the *Davos meeting*, *New York*, January 27- February 3.

Participation in the meeting organized by the Commissioner for Human Rights and Leading International NGOs, Council of Europe, *Paris*, February 25.

Intervention "Strategic and Political consequences of September 11", at the colloquium *The World and France in the aftermath of September 11* organized by the Aspen Institute France at the Senate, under the chairmanship of the Senate president, *Paris*, February 26.

Participation in the Club of Three's meeting *Challenges of a Different World*, organized by Axel Springer Verlag AG, *Berlin*, March 8-9.

Intervention "11 September 2001: What Lasting Impact?", at the conference organized by The Ditchley Foundation, *Chipping Norton*, April 12-13.

Lecture *The international system* at the invitation of the French embassy in Lisbon and the Portuguese editor of *Le Monde diplomatique*, *Lisbon*, May 12-13.

Participation in the conference *The Futur of U.S. Foreign Policy*, organized by the Weatherhead

Center for International Affairs (Harvard University), *Talloires*, 14-16 June.

Intervention "The University as Policy Maker and Society's Friend", at the colloquium *The Future of European Universities. Project New Times: New Responsibilities*, organized by Europaeum, *Paris*, September 27-28.

Thierry de Montbrial

Presentation "Politics and Media", at the OIC-EU Joint Forum (Organization of the Islamic Countries – European Union forum), *Civilization and Harmony: The Political Dimension, Istanbul*, February 12-13.

Participation in the *G-8 Preparatory Conference: Global Responses to the New Global Challenges*, organized by *Fred Bergsten* (IIE). Proposals drafted at the meeting were conveyed to the G-8 countries leaders prior to the Kanaskakis Summit (Canada), Institute of International Economics, *Washington*, April 5.

Participation in the *Bilderberg Meetings* annual meeting. Intervention "Post Crisis Reconstruction / Nation Rebuilding", *Washington*, May 30-June 2.

Intervention "The Concept of Détente" at the colloquium organized by the Russian Academy of Sciences *Cold War and Détente, Moscow*, June 24-29.

At the invitation of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Thierry de Montbrial* together with a selected group did a study-trip from July 15 to 25 in Brazil. Interviews with President Cardoso and Foreign Minister Celso Lafer were arranged.

At the invitation of the Azerbaijani Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Thierry de Montbrial* traveled to Azerbaijan from September 1 to 5. He met numerous high dignitaries including the Azerbaijani President Haydar Aliev.

On this occasion, Ifri committed itself to grant a fellowship to French speaking students of the Academy for public management of Azerbaijan to promote the use of the French language. A protocol was signed between Ifri and the Academy to that effect.

the library and the documentation center

The Library

The *Guy Ladreit de Lacharrière* library (named after a former chairman of the board of Ifri), is managed by *Dominique Desgranges* assisted by *Dina Degras-Marx*, *Olivier Javay* and *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*, and interesting documents on World War II.

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.

Documentation center

The documentation center is essentially reserved for Ifri's researchers. 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 daily and weekly press, gray literature, etc. to develop an internal database – accessible through Ifri's intranet.

Another major task for the documentalists – *Guity Banan-Bailey*, *Dominique Desgranges*, *Daniel Marier*, *Gaëlle Laudrin*, assisted by *Azra Isakovic*, *Gerardo Ramos* and *Maryse Dupuy* – is to keep a watching brief – mostly on Internet – in the researchers' fields of expertise in order to identify the main sources of specialized information. They also disseminate information through a variety of documentation means, and they run point searches. The documentalists are closely associated to Ifri's major research projects.

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Thierry de Montbrial,
member of the Académie des sciences morales
et politiques, president

Pierre Lepetit,
executive director

Dominique Moïsi,
special advisor

Marie-Claude de Saint-Hilaire,
special assistant to the president

Thérèse Vigne,
assistant to the president

Marie-France Feigenbaum,
assistant to the executive director

Corporate members, meetings and CFA

Dominique Letourneur,
director for development

Éliane Mossé,
Senior research fellow, CFA

Jean-Louis Andreu, Aymar de Lastour,
Augustin Renaud,
advisors for corporate members

Martine Breux, Marie-Josèphe Turpault,
assistants

Research

Jacques Beltran, *research fellow*

Frédéric Bozo, *senior research associate*

May Chartouni-Dubarry, *senior research fellow*

Philippe Colombani, *senior research fellow*

Dominique David, *head of security studies*

Hervé Dejean de la Bâtie,
senior research associate, centre asie ifri

Claire Demesmay, *research fellow*

Christile Drühle, *research assistant, Centre asie ifri*

Étienne de Durand, *research fellow*

Eddy Fougier, *research fellow*

François Godement, *director of the Centre asie ifri*

Thomas Gomart, *research fellow*

Sean Guibert, *research assistant*

Jolyon Howorth, *senior research associate*

Jean Klein, *senior research associate*

Bertrand de La Chapelle, *senior research fellow*

Rémy Leveau, *scientific advisor*

Khadija Mohsen Finan, *senior research fellow*

Dominique Moïsi, *special advisor*

Philippe Moreau Defarges, *senior research fellow*

Éliane Mossé, *senior research fellow*

Laurence Nardon, *research associate,
French Center on the United States*

NATO, European security

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Middle East, Arab world, Mediterranean

Geopolitics of resources

Security studies

Asia-Pacific area

Germany, Europe

China

Strategic and military issues

Reactions to globalization, civil society

Asia-Pacific area

Russia

Economic issues

European security

Germany, disarmament

Global governance

Arab Muslim World

Maghreb, Immigration, Islam in Europe

Transatlantic relations, European issues

Globalization, European issues

Central and Eastern Europe

Space policies and industries

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Françoise Nicolas, <i>senior research fellow</i>	Emerging economies and development
Pierre Noël, <i>research fellow, French Center on the United States</i>	Energy
Guillaume Parmentier, <i>director of the French Center on the United States</i>	Transatlantic relations, NATO
Thierry Paulmier, <i>research fellow</i>	International trade
Frédérique Sachwald, <i>head of economic studies</i>	Globalization, innovation, corporate strategy
Régine Serra, <i>project coordinator, Centre asie ifri</i>	Asia-Pacific area
Hans Stark, <i>secretary general, Cerfa</i>	Franco-German relations, European issue
Anita Tiraspolsky, <i>senior research associate</i>	Central and Eastern Europe, CEI
François Vergniolle de Chantal, <i>research fellow, French Center on the United States</i>	United States
Laurent Viguiet, <i>research associate, French Center on the United States</i>	United States

Researchers' biographies are available on the Ifri website <www.ifri.org>.

Secretarial assistants:

Marie-Claire Bani Amer (Europe); Natacha Crance (membership, meetings); Nicole Bedel (CFE); Jeanne Frey (Middle East/Maghreb); Cécile Campagne (Asia and Cerfa); Françoise Thomas (Security).

Administrative staff

Florent Baran, *secretary general*
 Corinne Bureau, *assistant secretary general*
Accounting: Bernadette Chartrin
Secretary: Françoise Henry
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)
 Dina Degras-Marx (library)
 Dominique Desgranges (head of the library and documentation)
 Daniel Marier (political issues)
 Olivier Javay (library)
 Gaëlle Laudrin (economic issues)

Changes in the staff in the year 2003

Jacques Beltran left Ifri at the beginning of the year to join EADS as senior manager international development – Political affairs-France.

Visiting fellows and interns

Visiting fellows

Ethan Kapstein (United States), *Stassen professor of International Peace* at the University of Minnesota, guest professor at INSEAD, senior visiting fellow at Ifri since July 1st 2000.

Fumihiko Yamada (Japan), diplomat, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, senior visiting fellow at *Centre asie ifri* from September 3rd 2002 to June 6 2003. Worked on bilateral relations China-Japan and on Japanese domestic policy.

Interns

Julia Abramova, Institute for International Relations, MGIMO, Russia
 Marta Dias, University of Porto, Portugal
 Morgan Meier, Institut d'études politiques, Paris
 Anne Thevenet, Humboldt University, Berlin, FRG
 Eleanor Pavey, Institut d'études politiques, Paris
 Cristina Castillo Cerda, Ecole Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées, Paris
 Stephan Massing, Institut d'études politiques, Paris
 Lena Langbein, Institut d'études politiques, Paris

the board

(as at 31 december 2002)

Honorary Chairman

Maurice Faure, *Former Minister*

Chairman

Marceau Long, *Honorary vice-President of the Conseil d'Etat*

Members:

Robert Badinter, *Former Minister, Senator*

Serge Boidevaix, *Ambassador of France*

Jean-Claude Casanova, *member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques*

Bertrand Collomb, *Chairman and CEO of Lafarge*

Bertrand Dufourcq, *Ambassador of France*

Pierre Joxe, *Former Minister, member of the Conseil constitutionnel*

Philippe Jurgensen, *President and CEO of ANVAR*

Jacques Lanxade, *Former Chief of Staff*

Jacques de Larosière, *Honorary Governor of the Banque de France, member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques*

Deputy-Chairman and Secretary

René Galy-Dejean, *Deputy of Paris and Mayor of the 15th district*

Deputy Chairman and Treasurer

Michel François-Poncet, *vice-Chairman of BNP Paribas*

Jean Peyrelevade, *Chairman and CEO of Crédit Lyonnais*

Louis Schweitzer, *Chairman and CEO of Renault*

Yves-Thibault de Silguy, *Senior Executive vice-President in charge of international affairs of Suez*

Jean-Claude Trichet, *Governor of the Banque de France*

Jean-François Troglic, *National Secretary, CFDT*

Hubert Védrine, *Former Minister*

Xavier de Villepin, *Senator*

Prosper Weil, *member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques*

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consolidated accounts (euros)

EXPENDITURE		INCOME	
Expenditure	90 090	Public grants	2 122 026
<i>Stationary</i>	<i>51 594</i>	<i>Donations and members subscriptions</i>	<i>1 218 482</i>
<i>Power and water</i>	<i>18 075</i>	<i>Research funding</i>	<i>1 382 196</i>
<i>Books</i>	<i>6 706</i>	<i>Subscriptions to Ifri's Journal</i>	<i>123 267</i>
<i>Paper for Ifri's journal</i>	<i>13 715</i>	<i>Other income</i>	<i>52 332</i>
Other expenditures	1 749 163		
<i>Printing</i>	<i>140 946</i>		
<i>Rentals for machinery</i>	<i>94 877</i>		
<i>Maintenance</i>	<i>89 549</i>		
<i>Insurance</i>	<i>13 407</i>		
<i>Documentation</i>	<i>105 406</i>		
<i>Honoraria and professional services</i>	<i>607 168</i>		
<i>Donations, membership subscription</i>	<i>13 618</i>		
<i>General travel and meetings</i>	<i>534 214</i>		
<i>Postage and telephone</i>	<i>148 725</i>		
<i>Sundry expenses</i>	<i>1 253</i>		
Taxes	214 615		
Staff costs	2 613 857		
Depreciation and provisions	369 036		
Operational activities expenditures	5 036 761	Operational activities income	4 898 303
Financial costs	19 555	Financial income	64 829
Exceptionnal costs	1 196	Exceptionnal income	119 150
Net income for the year	24 770	Net expenditure for the year	0
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	5 082 282	TOTAL INCOME	5 082 282

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consolidated balance sheet (euros)

ASSETS	2002			LIABILITIES	2002
	cost	depreciation provisions	net value		
Fixed assets				Funds	
Intangible assets	277 105	230 995	46 110	General Fund	8 470 553
Tangible assets	10 802 860	2 307 518	8 495 342	Reserve	1 061 297
Financial assets	35 341	10 061	25 280	Restricted fund	47
				Deferred grant income	194 212
				Net income for the year	24 770
FIXED ASSETS	11 115 306	2 548 574	8 566 732	FUNDS	9 750 878
Current assets				Provisions	252 669
Inventories	2 727	0	2 727	Creditors	
Prepayments and accrued income	129 052	530	128 522	Bank overdrafts	26 726
Accounts receivable	406 211	0	406 211	Accounts payable and other liabilities	472 301
Others debtors	34 630	0	34 630	Taxes and social security	496 330
Portfolio (fixed interests)	1 903 824	0	1 903 824		
Bank balances	168 424	0	168 424	Accruals and deferred income	212 166
CURRENT ASSETS	2 644 868	530	2 644 338	CURRENT LIABILITIES	1 460 192
TOTAL ASSETS	13 760 174	2 549 104	11 211 070	TOTAL LIABILITIES	11 211 070

