# Message from the President

*...*

---

## Mission Statement

*...*

---

## Research

- **Europe**
- **The French Center on the United States (CFE)**
- **Transatlantic Relations and ESPD**
- **Centre Asie IFRI**
- **Middle East, North Africa**
- **Security**
- **Global Economy**

## Ifri and the Corporate Sector

*...*

---

## Conferences and Debates

*...*

---

## Publications

*...*

---

## The Library and the Document Center

*...*

---

## The Team

*...*

---

## Board of Directors

*...*

---

## Financial Annex

*...*
message from the president

The year 2003 was dominated by the war in Iraq, the collapse of Saddam Hussein’s regime, and those events’ manifold consequence, most notably as regards transatlantic relations and European unity – both of which were sorely tested. Ultimately, the difficulties the coalition experienced following its crushing and swift military victory forced all parties to subdue their differences and returned the United Nations Organization, itself not unscathed, to a role at once crucial and secondary. A year after the war in Iraq began, the administration of president George W. Bush remains loyal to its ideals, but the “neo-conservatives” are no longer favored by circumstances.

Throughout the year, Ifri contributed actively to the debate on all of these issues simultaneously continuing to work on persisting issues such as European enlargement and the development of the European Constitution; the structure of US policy-making systems and their impact on domains such as space and energy; regional developments, notably in the Maghreb and in Asia; the various aspects of the very real problems of weapons of mass destruction proliferation and the growing asymmetry brought about by the “revolution in military affairs”; some of the key political and economic dimensions of globalization, such as popular resistance and the capacity of economies to benefit from it; and the growing global economic role of emerging countries and the future of multilateral trade negotiations.

These works bore fruit in the form of numerous analytical documents that can be consulted on Ifri’s website, <www.ifri.org>, which is now one of our new channels of communication. The RAMSES annual report and the Politique étrangère review remain our key instruments of communication: this year, both publications offered a broad spectrum of expert viewpoints on major international issues and regional developments.

Ifri continues to undergo vigorous reform from within. Our reform effort will bolster our institute’s skills potential and utility, while at the same time preserving the characteristics that have enabled Ifri to make its mark: independence, openness at the highest level to international expertise, and research rigor.

With the support of our partners and the commitment of all of our team, Ifri is moving forward along a path that will further strengthen its position on an ever more international “ideas market.”

Thierry de Montbrial, president of Ifri, member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques
The *Institut français des relations internationales (Ifri)* is France’s foremost independent research and debate center. Ifri is a key contributor to today’s debate on European issues.

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

– to provide public and private sector decision makers with insight, choices, and proposals;
– to facilitate constructive collaboration between French and overseas researchers and policymakers;
– to foster and structure the debate on international issues and to contribute to keeping society informed and responsible.

Ifri’s independent status is written into its charter. This independence is underpinned by the Institute’s non-reliance on any single source of financing, and it ensures the Institute’s total freedom in the selection and orientation of its projects.

As a multidisciplinary research center, Ifri conducts research programs on the international economy (the impact of globalization, the dynamics of multinational corporations, trade policy, direct investment, emerging economies); political and strategic developments and transatlantic relations; regional issues, with a particular focus on Europe, the United States, East Asia, the Middle East and Maghreb, and Russia; and global issues (international governance, resource management and energy in particular; the environment; the impact of migration in Europe, etc.).

Ifri relies on a team of around thirty researchers and on a broad network of outside specialists both in France and abroad. Ifri works in close collaboration with a number of research institutes in Europe, and runs permanent exchange programs with its counterparts in other parts of the world, most notably in the United States, Asia, and the Middle East. Ifri also works to instill in young researchers a fresh and more global view of international relations, and to provide France with skilled researchers specializing in the major issues that shape the evolution of the international system.

As a meeting venue, Ifri is a forum for frank discussion open to French and foreign figures. Through its independence, Ifri offers an informal, non-partisan and uniquely appropriate framework for discussion between public and private policymakers, analysts, and French and foreign specialists. Ifri’s closed meetings provide opportunities to identify and assess points of agreement and divergence. When needed, Ifri also plays the role of “dialogue facilitator”.

Information on upcoming conferences is sent monthly to Ifri members.

**Publications**

Ifri’s works are available in several collections: “Les notes de l’Ifri”, “Travaux et recherches de l’Ifri”, “Cahiers et conférences de l’Ifri”, “Cahiers d’Asie” (published by the Centre asie ifri), and “Policy Papers” (published by the French Center on the United States). These works are distributed within France and abroad to those who should be aware of the analysis and proposals produced at Ifri. They are also distributed by the Documentation française.

Ifri also publishes the quarterly review “Politique étrangère”, and since 1981, the RAJES report, a yearly survey of major world trends. The new Ifri website can be visited at <www.ifri.org>.

---

4 | Ifri, 2003 annual report
The objective of research led at Ifri is to provide both private and public decision-makers within France and Europe with policy-oriented analyses.

Ifri's research programs are based on intensive international networking and have promoted a multidisciplinary and comparative approach.

In 2003, Ifri research focused on:

– European construction. Key issues such as the debate over the Constitution, the enlargement and integration problems were deeply reviewed. Sensitive topics such as the enlargement’s consequences, its extension to the Balkans and the Turkish membership were also addressed;

– Transatlantic relations and US domestic and external evolutions. In addition to its usual activities, the French Center on the United States reinforced its programs on climate change and on space-related issues;

– Economic and social dimensions of globalization, the world economy governance and the integration of emerging economies in an increasingly globalized world. A long term research program on governance and multilateral commercial negotiations after Cancun has been launched;

– Security issues. The different forms of conflict as well as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction continued to be focused;

– The Asia Center continued to specifically concentrate on the rise of China and its regional implications. In addition, it focused on the evolutions within South East Asia and on multilateral approaches to security in Northern Asia. Studies on energy-related security issues were also carried out. A new program was launched aimed at studying the regional integration process in Asia and the role of China.

– Middle East. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict and its regional implications were addressed. A special attention was also paid to Arab public opinions, especially in the countries of North Africa. The meaning and significance of Islam in France was consistently studied.

As in previous years, Ifri moreover consulted and debated extensively with its European, American and Russian counterparts.
Europe

2003 was an eventful year for Europe. The Iraq crisis sparked a deep divide between European countries and led the European Union to debate a new “European security strategy”; the Convention on the Future of Europe put the finishing touches on a draft of the European Constitution; and the accession treaties of the ten new EU member States were signed. Ifri, which gained a new European affairs expert in Maxime Lefebvre, contributed to the debates on these issues. The Cerfa and the French-Austrian Centre also made their respective contributions.

Ifri’s focus was threefold:
• the debate on the European Constitution, in which Ifri participated in the context of the EPIN (European Policy Institutes Network), which brings together a large number of European institutes around the Center for European Policy Studies (CEPS). Several round tables were conducted (see Cerfa);
• the preparation for enlargement to twenty-five member States, the outstanding candidate countries, and partnership with countries lying on the periphery of the European Union (see conferences/breakfasts and debate dinners, Cerfa and CFA);
• external and common security policy and the development of an European defense (see conferences and Cerfa, trilateral seminar of November 27-28, “The Global Role of Europe: Challenges, Responsibilities and Instruments”).

European Constitution Meetings
May 14
Where Is the Convention Going?
A debate with Robert Badinter and Pierre Lequiller

September 30
From the Convention to the IGC: What Kind of Constitution for Europe?
Maxime Lefebvre, researcher, Ifri, Philippe Moreau Defarges, researcher, Ifri, Etienne de Poncins, Foreign Affairs adviser, member of the European Convention Secretariat.

December 19
The Constitution: A Step Forward for Europe?

Enlargement Conferences
One conference was held to discuss enlargement in the Baltic States and another to address the Turkey enlargement issue:

April 29
Europe and the Baltic States After the Prague and Copenhagen Summits
Co-organized with the embassies of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and inaugurated by Christian Poncelet, president of the Senate, this eminently constructive conference was an occasion for the young Foreign Affairs ministers of the three Baltic States, Sandra Kalniete (Latvia), Kristiina Ojuland (Estonia) and Antanas Valionis (Lithuania), to focus attention on their countries’ potential and to express their expec-
tions of and commitment to Europe in what became a remarkably spontaneous exchange. Carsten Soeberg, Denmark’s Foreign Affairs minister, Hans Magnusson, his Swedish counterpart, and Pekka Orban, their counterpart for Finland, underlined the regional integration of the three Baltic States. The French position was expressed by three parliamentarians with a particular awareness towards the situation in the Baltic region (Hubert Haenel, president of the European Union parliamentary delegation at the Senate, Pierre Lequiller, president of the National Assembly delegation for the European Union, and Denis Baër, president of the France-Baltic States friendship group at the Senate), and by Michel Foucher, French ambassador to Latvia.

The conference, which was chaired by Thierry de Montbrial and Dominique Moïsi, was closed by Edouard Balladur, president of the Foreign Affairs Commission at the National Assembly.

December 12

Turkey Between Middle East and Europe

with Kenan Irkoçi, professor of political science and international relations, Jean Monnet professor of European Affairs, and director of the European Studies Center at the Bogazici University of Istanbul (meeting organized with the support of the CEA).

The Center for Research on Franco-German Relations, Cerfa

Established in 1954, the Cerfa is today one of the oldest Franco-German institutions. The Cerfa is jointly administered by Ifri for France and by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP) for Germany. The Cerfa is financed on parity by the French ministry of Foreign Affairs and by Germany’s Auswärtiges Amt, and its board of management has an equal number of French and German representatives.

The Cerfa’s objective is to contribute to a better understanding of each country’s respective approach to political and economic matters. With this in mind, its mission is to analyze the principles, conditions and state of Franco-German relations in the political, economic, and international spheres; to throw light on the concrete issues and problems that Franco-German relations raise at a governmental level; and to formulate practical proposals and suggestions with a view to deepening and harmonizing relations between the two countries. This translates into regular meetings and seminars between senior civil servants, experts, and journalists from the two countries, as well as research conducted into areas of common interest.

In 2003, forty years after the signing of the Elysée Treaty, the Cerfa focused on the new dynamism that has infused Franco-German relations, notably in the context of the Convention on the Future of Europe. The Cerfa also looked at the social reform process launched by the German government. Franco-German dialogue also worked to achieve a common position with respect to Russia, transatlantic relations, the Balkans, and Turkey.

Hans Stark, Claire Demesmay
Seminars and Conferences

September 16-17
The European Union and Russia in the New World Order
This seminar, held in Moscow, was organized by the Cerfa, the Russian State Institute for International Relations (Mgimo), represented by the Institute’s rector Anatoli Torkounov, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Ifri and the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP, Berlin), in collaboration with the policy planning departments of the Russian, French and German Foreign Affairs ministries, represented by their respective directors, Alexandre Kuznetsov, Gilles Andréani and Georges Dick. The Ifri delegation, led by Thierry de Montbrial, comprised Dominique David, Thomas Gomart, Maxime Lefebvre, Françoise Nicolas and Hans Stark (Cerfa).

October 7-10
The Washington-Paris-Berlin Triangle: Lessons of the Iraq Crisis
This Franco-German seminar, which brought together around twenty experts from France and Germany, looked at the future of the Washington-Paris-Berlin triangle in the light of the Iraq crisis. It considered the direction taken by US foreign policy, torn between the temptation of unilateralism and its multilateral anchors, as well as transatlantic differences over trade and monetary policy and the role of NATO following the Iraq crisis.

November 25-26
The Balkans Within the European Security Architecture
This seminar dealt with geopolitical trends in South-East Europe, specifically Bosnia-Herzegovina (the consolidation process and secessionist trends), Albania (the status of Kosovo), Macedonia (attempts at integration and the risk of disintegration), and Serbia and Montenegro (internal democracy-building and external ruptures). It also addressed relations between the European Union and the Balkans, notably the stability pact and the EU accession prospects of the countries of South-East Europe. The seminar was organized by Hans Stark and Claire Demesmay.

Participants:

- Jean-Marie Pauwels, Helga Hafendorf, Jens Van Schepenbergen

Also dealt with ways of stabilizing the world economy (and therefore economic governance and globalization) and with North-South relations. European Policy on Security and Defense (ESDP), the Convention on the Future of Europe, and the partnership between the European Union and Russia were also discussed.

Other speakers: Hannes Adomeit, SWP, Berlin; Vladimir Baranovsky, IMEMO, Moscow; Olga Baturina, Mgimo, Dmitry Danilov, Institute of Europe, Moscow; Jean-Jacques Gabas, IEP, Paris and University of Paris XI, Klaus-Jürgen Gern, Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, Kiel; Camelie Grand, French ministry of Defense; Andrei Granovsky, Russian ministry of Foreign Affairs; Leonid Grigoriev, Mgimo, Alexandre Konsoulotse, Mgimo, Alexei Mechkov; Russian deputy minister of Foreign Affairs; Andrei Melville, Mgimo, Peter Nussenbaum, Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, Kiel; Alexander Rabr, DGAP, Berlin; Peter Schmidt, SWP, Ulrich Schneckenburger, SWP; Thierry Tardy, Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), Geneva; Heinz Timmermann, SWP.
Macedonia to NATO, Predrag Simic, University of Belgrade, Mladen Santic, Institute for International Relations (IMO), Zagreb. Ida Szombati, Ambassador of Hungary to the U.K., Miodrag Vlajoetic, Center for Regional and Security Studies, Podgorica (Montenegro).

**Conferences and Debates**

**February 25**
The Franco-German Dynamic: a Durable Renewal for Europe?
Jean-Louis Bianco, member of Parliament, former secretary general of the Elysée, member of the France-Germany Group at the National Assembly, and Andreas Schockenbeff, member of the Bundestag, president of the France-Germany parliamentary group at the Bundestag.

**February 28**
Common Foreign and Security Policy and its Impact on Transatlantic Relations
Sascha Müller-Krämer, director of the Heinrich Böll Foundation (Berlin).

**March 13**
The European Union on the Eve of an Historic Enlargement: Challenges and Prospects
Günther Verheugen, member of the European Commission, in charge of enlargement.

**April 22**
The Convention: What Project for Europe?
Elmar Brok, member of the European Parliament, member and coordinator of the European People’s Party (EPP) within the Convention.

**May 22**
Islam, Migration and European Identity: a Franco-German Perspective
Valérie Amiraux, senior research fellow at the CNRS, expert on Islam in Europe, and Bassam Tibi, professor of International Relations at the University of Göttingen, expert on Islam.

**June 16**
Germany and NATO after the Iraq Crisis
Klaus Naumann, former president of the NATO Military Committee (1996-1999), former chief of staff of the Bundeswehr.

**October 14**
Has Germany become Marginalized? Foreign Policy under Gerhard Schröder
Hanns W. Maull, professor of political science at the University of Trier, and Jean-Paul Picaper, former permanent correspondent of Le Figaro in Germany.

**November 13**
An End in Sight to the Recession? Germany’s Economy under the Schröder Government
René Lasserre, professor, director of the Centre d’information et de recherche sur l’Allemagne contemporaine (CIRAC), president of the University of Cergy-Pontoise, and Isabelle Bourgeois, senior research fellow at the CIRAC, editor-in-chief of Regards sur l’économie allemande.

**Cerfa publications**

**Notes de l’Ifri**

**Notes du Cerfa** (electronic publications)
N° 2: L’Économie allemande entre faiblesses structurelles et volonté de réformes, Cansel Kiziltepe and Camille Logeay, German Institute of Economic Science (DIW), Berlin, April 2003.
N° 5: Le Débat constitutionnel européen – une vision allemande, Jürgen Schwarze, University of Freiburg, October 2003.

Isabelle Bourgeois, Hans Stark, René Lasserre


The Franco-Austrian Center for European Cooperation (CFA)

The Franco-Austrian Center for Economic Cooperation in Europe (CFA) – which has been renamed the Franco-Austrian Center for European Cooperation in 2003 in order to better correspond to the nature of its activities – 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 new Eastern countries and a forum for sharing experiences and views on the conditions that will determine the success of enlargement. The Center marked its twenty-fifth anniversary in 2003 with an international conference patronized by the presidents of France and Austria.

CFA Meetings

June 3
After Visegrád

March 13
The Czech Republic on the Eve of Accession
Petří Janyska, ambassador of the Czech Republic to France, Jacques Rupnik, research director, Centre d’études et de recherches internationales (CERI), and Joseph Poeschl, economist, WIIW, Vienna.

Conferences

In 2003, the meetings organized by the CFA addressed the key challenges of the enlarged Europe: agriculture, healthcare reform, and developing a common foreign policy.

April 3-4
Agriculture and Sustainable Development in Europe on the Eve of Enlargement
This conference, which was organized in partnership with the Vienna Eco-Social Forum, the National Institute for Agronomic Research (INRA) in Paris, and the French and Austrian ministries of Agriculture, took place in Budapest and was attended by Franck Eschler, European Agriculture Commissioner. It brought together ministers from many countries of Central Europe and from France and Austria, as well as researchers and business leaders from food and agriculture conglomerates. The extremely useful debates enabled the participants to understand the new challenges posed by the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), the reforms that have already been accomplished, and the changes in the relationship between the European Union and the future new member States (who are progressing towards open markets). The closing sessions focused on the demands of sustainable development, with notable contributions by Bertrand Hersheux, INRA, and Josef Riegler, Vienna Eco-Social Forum. Thierry de Montbrial also contributed actively to the debates.

June 26-27
The Reform of Healthcare Systems in the Enlarged Europe
Organized in collaboration with the European Commission (TAEX Agency, Technical assistance information exchange), this business forum took place in Lille and was attended by the Health ministers of several Central European and Baltic countries, senior civil servants, and leaders of pharmaceutical companies from France, Austria and the new member States. The participants looked at how healthcare systems in the European Union and the accession States are evolving, the challenges they face (in particular social and economic inequality), healthcare cost evaluation, and the consequences of enlargement for the pharmaceutical industry.

October 7
Europe Between the Iraq Crisis and Enlargement
This French-Austrian bilateral conference took place in Vienna. It brought together French and Austrian policy makers, defense and strategy specialists, and experts on European affairs. The participants first analyzed the differences that emerged during the Iraq crisis and the lessons to be learned from those differences for the Union as a whole and for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). The participants then discussed the choices that need to be made by the enlarged Europe: deepening of integration mechanisms, a stronger role for Europe at international institutions, and closer cooperation on economic and social policies. Ifri was represented by Dominique David, Thierry de Montbrial and Eliane Mossé.

The Transition Process in Europe: Current Situation and Prospects on the Eve of Enlargement

The conference, which was inaugurated by Johannes Kyrke, secretary general of the Austrian ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Stamatílas de Laboulaye, assistant secretary general and director of political and security affairs at the French ministry of Foreign Affairs, was hosted at Ifri. It brought together former Prime ministers and ministers of Foreign Affairs from various Central European countries – Pétre Roman and Teodor Melescanu for Romania, Kazimíra Prunškienė for Lithuania, Jiri Dienstbier for the Czech Republic, Ahoz Péterle for Slovenia, as well as former French ministers Pierre Josse, Bernárd Kouchner, Robert Badinter, and Hubert Védrine, as well as numerous figures from politics and academic life. The conference provided an opportunity to measure the progress achieved during the transition period in the political, economic, cultural and scientific domains, and to look at how the identity of the enlarged Europe might be shaped. An important contribution was made by Eurodeputy Jean-Louis Bourlanges. Looking to the future in a brilliant historical exposé, Hélène Carrère d’Encausse raised the issue of the frontiers of Europe, while Hubert Védrine and Thierry de Montbrial spoke on the uniqueness of the European project and the importance of the time factor.

Other participants:

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Claire Demesmay


Maxime Lefebvre


Hans Stark
EXTERNAL EVENTS

Claire Demesmay
“A Constitution without a people: the paradoxes of European policy”, European Academy, Otzenhausen, Saarbrücken, June 13.

Jean Klein
Participation to the international conference on The Franco-German cooperation and the European Construction, European Academy, Otzenhausen, Saarbrücken, March 24.
Presentation to the international conference The European Security System, University Keimyung, Séoul-Daeu (South Korea), May 23-24.

Maxime Lefebvre
Colloquium on The Franco-German Relationship, organized by the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies and the Embassies of France and Germany, Washington, January 16-17.
EPIN meeting at the CEPS, Brussels, February 5-6.

International Conference on Federalism in history, Institute of Central-East Europe (IESW), Lublin, April 25-28.
Conference on the Future of Europe National Debates, CEPS/European Institute, Sofia, May 31-June 2.
EPIN Meeting on The New EU Constitution: Firm basis for the enlarged EU or weak compromise?, Brussels, June 25.
Meeting on Old and New Europe, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Budapest, October 9-10.
Speech at the Colloquium on The European Union in multilateral negotiations, Strasbourg Research Centre, Dubrovnik (Croatia), October 20-21.
Conference on France and Europe, Diplomatic Academy, Vienna, November 22-25.

Thierry de Montbrial
Speech, “After Iraq and the Convention: Where is European Construction now?” at the conference on Thinking Europe, organized by the Romanian Academy, UNESCO and the National Foundation for Sciences and Arts of Romania, Brasov, October 2-3.

Philippe Moreau Deforges
“Great Europe”, AFG, Nancy, June 26.

Hans Stark
“The Balkans Policies of France and Germany”, seminar on the European Union and South-East Europe organized by the OFAJ, Sète, March 15.
“Prevention and intervention, Franco-German experience and perspectives for the CESF”, 5th Franco-German Dialogue, European Academy, Otzenhausen, Saarbrücken, May 22-23.
“France, Germany and Security Policy”, Kiel University of Political Sciences, Kiel, June 5.
“French Foreign and Security Policy”, conference organized by the Centre Thucydide, University of Paris II, the Deutsch-Französisches Institut (DFI) at Ludwigsburg and the Polish Institute of International Relations, Paris, November 17.
the French Center on
the United States (CFE)

The French Center on the United States (CFE) was created in September 1999 along with the Center on the US and France at the Brookings Institution in Washington. Its purpose is to contribute to a better understanding of the American political and economic system and to foster greater mutual understanding between France and the United States. CFE is supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF).

CFE conducts research on political, economic and social changes in the United States, as well as on Franco-American and transatlantic relations. It organizes regular meetings that bring together public and private sector decision makers and publishes articles and policy papers. CFE’s programs cover periods of several years, and are defined in conjunction with the enterprises and partners that provide the Center’s support base. These programs are designed to spearhead in-depth research into issues of interest to business and political leaders in France and in the United States.

During 2003, CFE focused its efforts on preparing two important documents for publication: an update by James Lindsay (Research Director at the Council on Foreign Relations) of his guide to the US Congress, “The International Leadership of the 108th Congress of the United States”, and a collective work edited by Guillaume Parmentier, director of the CFE, in which 10 high-profile analysts looked at the way in which the United States is changing today.

CFE’s Programs

CFE’s activities are structured around four areas: domestic policy and decision making; foreign and security policy; energy and climate change policy; and space, aeronautical and defense policy. Given the recent crisis in transatlantic relations, which highlighted several area of mutual discord, CFE plans to expand the scope of its activities. CFE first plans to take a more systematic look at the close relationship between American judicial culture and its political systems. Second, it plans to initiate a program that will explore US and European approaches to risk policies.

Foreign and Security Policy

The consequences of the war in Iraq, and in particular their impact on transatlantic relations, were naturally the chief focus of CFE’s activities in the Foreign and Security Policy Program. The transatlantic dimension was addressed through a series of seminars.
Seminars

January 22
Opening NATO’s Door: How the Alliance Remade Itsel for a New Era with Ron Asmus, GMF.

March 7

July 22
The Fight Against Terrorism and Transatlantic Cooperation with Christopher Makins, The Atlantic Council.

September 10
Transatlantic Trends Overviews with Craig Kennedy, president of the GMF, and The Compagnia di San Paolo.

October 14
Domestic Imperatives in United States Policy on Israel with Dana H. Allen, International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), and Steven Simon, RAND Corporation.

October 17
Franco-German Security Relations in a Post-Iraq World in collaboration with the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies.

December 2

Publications


La crise budgétaire des États fédérés, François de Chantal, Policy Brief, August 2003.


Energy and Climate Change

The purpose of this program is to look at United States policy on energy and climate change, and to help the French government and private sector to better understand its underlying issues, objectives, and international implications.

Research fellow: Pierre Noël

Climate Change Seminar

January 14
Climate Change: the United States’ Position and the Mobilization Prospects of Developing Countries

This seminar saw contributions from Odile Blanchard, conference manager at the University of Grenoble

(“Climate Change: the United States’ Position and the Mobilization Prospects of Developing Countries”) and from David Reiner, Judge Institute of Management, Cambridge University (“Climate Change’s Tower of Babel: Kyoto, the Trans-Atlantic Divide and Burden Sharing”).

Colloquium
March 19
Climate Change: Beyond Kyoto?
How can the process of implementing an international system regulating greenhouse gas emissions move forward? CFE and Resources for the Future (RFF, Washington, DC) brought together around twenty European and American experts to look at the current state of international talks and to discuss some of the more promising ways to move ahead. The participants looked at ways of reducing uncertainty, controlling implementation costs, mobilizing developing countries, and accelerating the technological transition.


Energy
Seminar
September 23
“Energy and Environmental Policy in the US” with Sue Tierney, The Analysis Group Inc.
Sue Tierney, formerly of the United States Department of Energy, looked at how energy and environmental policies are developed in the United States, with a particular focus on how the federal government and the individual states interact. Her presentation focused on the liberalization of the electricity sector and on climate change policy.

Studies
In 2003, CFE’s team conducted two studies on the United States international oil policy as part of a series of research contracts carried out for the French ministry of Defense:
– “To what extent are America’s military deployments in the world linked with the implementation of the United States’ energy policy?”, January 2003.

Publications

Space, Aeronautical and Defense
This program is based on three key objectives: to provide precise, up-to-date and long-term data on changes in American space policy; to facilitate dialogue between American, French and European players in this area; and to increase European public awareness of space issues, particularly in the transatlantic context. The scope of the program’s effort has been expanded and now includes issues related to the aeronautical and defense sectors.

Research fellow: Laurence Nardon

Seminars
October 3
Conference: “NASA and the Future of Manned Spaceflight Programs” with John Logsdon, director of the Space Policy Institute, and Xavier Pasco, researcher at the Strategic Research Foundation (FRS).
December 18

Studies carried out for program partners (Laurence Nardon)
“India, the United States’ New Ally in Asia”, November 2003.
“Between NSC and National Policies Reports, the White House’s Options Regarding Spacecraft and Manned Spaceflight”, December 2003.

Publications

IVth Annual Conference: the United States After the War in Iraq

December 11-12
Organized in partnership with the GMF, this conference aimed at analyzing Franco-American relations at the end of 2003. Two sessions, one dealing with “American exceptionalism” and “the French exception” (with Erik Izraelewicz, Les Echos, Stéphane Rozes, CSA, Bruce Stokes, National Journal, and Pierre Mélandri, Institut d’études politiques de Paris), and the other dealing with Franco-American relations after the crisis (with James Dobbins, The RAND Corporation, Guillaume Parmentier and Hubert Védrine, former minister of Foreign Affairs), focused specifically on bilateral relations. With one year to go before presidential elections in the United States, the debates also touched upon the evolution of United States domestic politics (with Adam Clymer, Annenberg Public Policy Center, Norman J. Ornstein, American Enterprise Institute (AEI), Stuart Rothenberg, The Rothenberg Report) as well as America’s foreign policy resources (with Michèle Fleurnoy, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Tod Lindberg, Policy review, Hoover Institution, and Gilles Andréani, policy planning directorate, French ministry of Foreign Affairs). The economic policy of the Bush administration was addressed in a highly stimulating debate by Christian de Boissieu, president of the Economic Analysis Council, William Gale, Brookings Institution, Kevin Hassett, AEI, and Philippa Malmgren, Canonbury Group. The future prospects of the Doha cycle were also debated by Christophe Padilla, Assistant US Trade representative, William Antholis, GMF, and Kevin Nealer, The Scowcroft Group.

The participants were hosted at the ministry of Foreign Affairs by Foreign Affairs minister Dominique de Villepin. The United States ambassador in Paris, Howard Leach, also held a reception in their honor.
OTHER PUBLICATIONS

François de Chantal


Guillaume Parmentier


Pierre Noël


Laurence Nardon


EXTERNAL EVENTS

Laurence Nardon

(Senior visiting fellow at the CSIS in Washington, DC, through March 2003).

Pierre Noël


Guillaume Parmentier

Presentation on “Transatlantic Difficulties: Where are We Going?” at the Institute for International Studies conference, Copenhagen, April 1, 2003.

transatlantic relations and ESDP

Debates on the implications of the events in Iraq for transatlantic relations and for the European Union’s foreign policy took the center stage once again this year. Beyond the simply bow to restore the transatlantic link, the key issue is how to manage the international system using a set of rules on which Europe and the United States can agree, and how to prioritize the challenges that will arise in the future. This matter was addressed during two conferences organized by Frédéric Bozo.

October 2-3, London
Quadripartite Meeting – Ifri-RAND-SWP-RIIA/
Chatham House
The traditional “quad” annual meeting between Ifri, its German (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik; SWP) and British counterpart (Chatham House) and RAND Corporation, which rotates between Paris, Berlin, London, and Arlington (United States), was convened at Chatham House in 2003. In the light of the political and military lessons to be drawn from the lead-up to the war in Iraq, from the war itself, and from the post-war situation, the purpose of the meeting was twofold: to look at the functioning of multilateral institutions – the United Nations, NATO and the European Union (European Security and Defense Policy, ESDP) – and possibly to redefine their role and reflect on the capacity of Europe and the United States to jointly and constructively manage the global strategic agenda (the fight against terrorism, weapons of mass destruction proliferation, conflicts in Africa, etc.). The regional impact of the war and its implications for the regimes in the neighboring countries and for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict were also discussed during the meeting. The delegation from RAND was led by James Dobkins with the International Security and Defense Policy Center. The delegation from the SWP was led by Christoph Bertram and the Ifri delegation was led Dominique Moisi. The delegation sent by RIIA included Victor Bulmer-Thomas and Sir Tim Garden.

Other participants included: RAND: Robert Bradtke, State Department, David Gompert, Jerrold Green, Center for Middle East Public Policy; Robert Hunter, James Thomson, Zalmay Khalilzad, James Hoagland, Washington Post, Kori Schake, National Security Council; SWP: Muriel Asseburg, Jens van Schepenbergh, Ifri: Guillaume Parmentier, Frédéric Bozo, Thierry de Montbrial, Atomic Energy Agency (CEA), Gilles Andréani, Analysis and Forecasting Center (CAP), ministry of Foreign Affairs; RIIA: Chris Wright, Rosemary Hollis, Julie Smith, Lord Wallace of Saltaire, Council member, Mick Cox, London School of Economics (LSE), Simon Webb, ministry of Defense.

November 21-22
The United States and France Beyond Iraq –
Shared Threats, Shared Goals, Shared Policies?
Organized jointly by the New Atlantic Initiative/ American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (AEI) and Ifri, this conference took place at the Château Mont-Royal, Chantilly. It brought together representatives of the French and United States governments, researchers, and scholars. Once again, the purpose of the conference was to identify the roots of the transatlantic crisis and to look at ways of adopting a concerted approach to future challenges within existing modes of cooperation. The participants expressed their respective standpoints regarding the Middle East, and measured the adequacy of the existing forums for concerted action between the two countries. The highly frank dialogue revealed numerous differences in opinion between the two parties. The conference was opened by Thierry de Montbrial and Radek Sikorski of the New Atlantic Initiative, with opening addresses by Richard Perle, AEI, and Alain Richard, former minister of Defense.


EXTERNAL EVENTS

Frédéric Bozo
Participated in the conference on The Future Role of NATO, Ditchely, February 21-23.
Participated in a seminar on US-European Relations, Georgetown University, Fiesole, May 2-3.

Thierry de Montbrial

Lecture on *The Evolving Image of the USA in France,* at Georgetown University, Washington, January 29.


Lecture on *Europe and the United States After the War in Iraq,* at the Dialogo Association, Madrid, June 5-6.


Participation in the symposium on *US Unilateralism and the Future World Order,* organized by the Asahi Shimbun, Tokyo, October 25.

Participation in the meeting of the “Club of Three”, *The Big Friendly Giant: Europe Living with a Hyperpower,* Embassy of the United Kingdom, Paris, November 14-15.
Centre asie ifri

The Centre asie ifri, which was founded in September 2001, focuses mainly on East Asia. All of its researchers, whether staff or visiting fellows, maintain close relations with the leading international institutes, experts, and specialists on Asia. The Center is thus at the core of a broad academic network of international expertise. Together with its Asian, European and US counterparts, the Center offers a forum for dialogue that contributes research into multilateral and bilateral issues affecting North East and South East Asia. The Center hosts seminars, watchdog groups and analytical projects in conjunction with its public and private sector partners. The results of these works are published in Les Cahiers d’asie and are discussed at Ifri.

The Centre asie ifri is run by François Godement, a historian specializing in East Asia and contemporary China. During 2003, the Center’s project work was coordinated by Régine Serra, a specialist on Japan and North East Asia. Other valued staff at the Center include Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, a researcher specializing in South East Asia and regional integration in Asia, and Françoise Nicolas, an emerging economies specialist and associate senior lecturer at the University of Marne-la-Vallée. During 2003, research assistant Christile Drulhe edited Les Nouvelles de Chine, a monthly review of the Chinese press. Hervé Dejean de la Bâtie worked at the Center through September 2003 as an associate researcher, while Fumihiko Yamada was a visiting research fellow at the Center through April 2003.

Multilateral Issues and Dialogue

• Regional Integration in Asia and in Europe

During 2003, the Center hosted a number of working-papers-based meetings addressing the issue of relations between Europe and Asia. The most important of those, which was jointly organized with the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF), took place in Paris between October 1-3.

October 1-3

Regional Integration in Asia and Europe

The purpose of this public conference was to exchange viewpoints on the foundations, and the driving forces underpinning regional integration. The participants drew on their own respective experience to look at the challenges and issues raised by integration as an organized form of interdependence. Three major topics were examined in depth: regional economic cooperation in the context of globalization (financial, trade and agricultural issues); the goals of a common approach to security; and institutions, rules and cross-border exchange as driving forces of regional integration.

Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, a Centre asie ifri researcher, was in charge of this event, which culminated in two days of uniquely useful and constructive discussions.
The conference was opened by François Godement (Centre asie ifri) and Delfín Colomé, director of ASEF, both of whom stressed the importance of political will for the endeavour to be successful. Other speakers included Rodolfo Severino, former Secretary general of ASEAN, and Gilles Andréani, director of the Policy Planning Staff, French ministry of Foreign Affairs. The debate on economic integration was opened by Jean-Pierre Lehmann, IMD and Evian Group, Switzerland, and saw stimulating contributions from Malaysian economist Jomo Kwame Sundaram from the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, from the Chinese specialist Fan Gang of the National Institute for Economic Research, China Reform Foundation, and from Eisuke Sakakibara, former Japanese deputy minister of Finance. Eisuke Sakakibara also chaired discussions on financial and monetary issues. The issue of building a common approach to security issues was addressed by Franco Algieri, Applied Politics Research Center, Munich, Dewi Fortuna, Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), Indonesia, Jusuf Wanandi, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta, Timothy Huxley, IISS, London, and by former minister of Defense of the Philippines, Orlando Mercado, de la Salle University, Manila. The contribution made by Chinese specialist Zhou Hong, from the European Studies Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, cut straight to the core of the debate. The conference closed with a meaningful speech by former Indonesian president Abdurahman Wahid.


• Europe-Asia Cooperation and Energy Security

As a founding member of the Council for Asia-Europe Cooperation (CAEC), the Centre asie ifri conducts regular task forces that report their findings to the participants in the ASEM (Asia-Europe Meeting) summits. The results of the Center’s 2002 research into employment policies in Europe and Asia and cooperation between the two regions were published in *Les Cahiers d’asie*. Given the added pressure on the energy markets provoked by China’s increasing influence, energy security has become a matter of increasing urgency in Asia and elsewhere. In 2003, the Centre asie ifri, in collaboration with the Institute for International Policy Studies (IIPS) in Tokyo, set up a new CAEC task force to look at energy security in Asia and in Europe and to assess the prospects for energy cooperation between Europe and Asia.

The task force, which is composed of European and Asian energy experts, convened for a preparatory meeting on March 3-4, and held its plenary meeting in Paris on October 23-24. Françoise Nicolas is responsible for this program.


October 23-24: Task Force meeting

Asia-Europe Energy and Security Cooperation Potential and Challenges


The CSCAP and the CSCAP Europe

The Council for Security and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific, or CSCAP, was founded in 1993 by ten Asia-Pacific countries determined to launch a structured regional process that would contribute to the discussion on confidence building measures in the region. Today, the Council’s members include all of the Asia-Pacific countries, including North Korea, plus the European Union, the United States, and Russia. Taiwan has been sending experts to the Council as Taiwanese delegates since the People’s Republic of China joined the Council in 1996. The CSCAP serves as a channel for the exchange of information and proposals with the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). The CSCAP Europe Committee, or CSCAP Europe brings together European institutes with a strong expertise on strategic issues related to the Asia-Pacific region. The CSCAP Europe today has some 90 members and is co-chaired by François Godement (Centre asie Ifri, France), Tom Hart (Stockholm School of Asian Studies, Sweden) and Frank Umbach (DGAP, Berlin).

Working groups dealing with cross-border crime (Manila, June 27-28), confidence building measures (Singapore, August 11-12), and maritime cooperation (Singapore, September 6-7). The Centre asie Ifri also hosted the annual general meeting of the CSCAP Europe committee in Paris. The Center’s CSCAP activities, which were coordinated in 2003 by Régine Serra, place the Centre asie Ifri at the core of a network of European experts specializing in Asia-Pacific security issues, experts whose work provides a valuable analysis of the strategic issues in the region.

November 7

2003 General Meeting of the CSCAP Europe - Paris

The 2003 general meeting of the CSCAP Europe was held at the Centre asie Ifri. The meeting, which was opened by the three co-chairmen of the CSCAP Europe, François Godement, Tom Hart and Frank Umbach, DGAP, Berlin, addressed developments on the Korean Peninsula and the prospects for reunification. The meeting also addressed nuclear and social and economic matters, the role of external participants in the “Six-party talks” launched in August 2003, and the European standpoint.


• Europe-US Dialogues on China

With a view to securing deeper analysis on China, the Centre asie Ifri has decided to share its expertise with that of partner institutions in the United States by holding regular meetings.

- Security and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region

Since 1999, the Centre asie Ifri has acted as the Europe committee secretariat of the Council for Security and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP), which is co-chaired by François Godement. During 2003, in its capacity as secretariat of the Council’s Europe committee, the Center assured a European presence at the meetings of the CSCAP’s steering committee (Owen Greene represented the European committee at Kuala Lumpur on August 6 and at Jakarta on December 6-7, where François Godement spoke of Europe’s stance regarding the international order after the war in Iraq). French and European delegates were also sent to the meetings of three working groups dealing with cross-border crime (Manila, June 27-28), confidence building measures (Singapore, August 11-12), and maritime cooperation (Singapore, September 6-7). The Centre asie Ifri also hosted the annual general meeting of the CSCAP Europe committee in Paris. The Center’s CSCAP activities, which were coordinated in 2003 by Régine Serra, place the Centre asie Ifri at the core of a network of European experts specializing in Asia-Pacific security issues, experts whose work provides a valuable analysis of the strategic issues in the region.

November 7

2003 General Meeting of the CSCAP Europe - Paris

The 2003 general meeting of the CSCAP Europe was held at the Centre asie Ifri. The meeting, which was opened by the three co-chairmen of the CSCAP Europe, François Godement, Tom Hart and Frank Umbach, DGAP, Berlin, addressed developments on the Korean Peninsula and the prospects for reunification. The meeting also addressed nuclear and social and economic matters, the role of external participants in the “Six-party talks” launched in August 2003, and the European standpoint.


• Europe-US Dialogues on China

With a view to securing deeper analysis on China, the Centre asie Ifri has decided to share its expertise with that of partner institutions in the United States by holding regular meetings.
June 25

China’s Current Cooperative Strategy: Tactical or Strategic Shift?

As part of an exchange program launched by Ifri and the RAND Corporation dealing with strategic and regional issues, the Centre asie ifri has created a framework for dialogue on China with the RAND Corporation’s Center for Asia-Pacific Policy. The June 25 seminar was the first meeting in this program, which is supported by the Atomic Energy Agency (CEA).

Participants: Thérèse Delpech, CEA; François Godement, Centre asie ifri; David Gompert, RAND; Evan Medeiros, RAND; James Mulvenon, Center for Asia-Pacific Policy, RAND.

June 26-27

Europe-United States Seminar on China

This seminar was the second in a series of Europe-US seminars dealing with China co-organized with the Elliott School of International Affairs’ China Policy Program (George Washington University), with the support of the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). The purpose of these high-level meetings is to look at Western policy on China. Every 18 months, they bring together European and Asian experts, as well as Asia and regional affairs department heads from the German, British and French ministries of Foreign Affairs and the United States department of State. The seminar was organized by François Godement.

US participants: Bates Gill, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS); Robert Kapp, US-China Business Council; Hon. Donald W. Keyser, principal deputy assistant secretary of State, East Asia and Pacific; David M. Lampton, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS); James Mulvenon, Center for Asia-Pacific Policy, RAND; David Shambaugh, George Washington University and Brookings Institution; Robert Sutter, University of Georgetown.

European participants: Nigel Cox, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, United Kingdom; Peter Hauswedell, Federal ministry of Foreign Affairs, Germany; James Moran, External Relations DG, European Commission; Volker Stanzel, Federal ministry of Foreign Affairs, Germany; Franck Unbach, DGAP, Germany; Kez Van Bij, Policy Unit of the EU High Representative for CFSP; Adam Ward, IFS, United Kingdom; Rod Wye, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, United Kingdom; Michael Yabuda, London School of Economics, United Kingdom.

Among the French participants: Marc Abensour, ministry of Foreign Affairs; Stéphanie Batme, CERI; Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, Centre asie ifri; Jean-Pierre Cabestan, French Center for Research on Contemporary China; Thierry Dana, ministry of Foreign Affairs; Alain Dejemmet, diplomat; Hervé Déjean de la Bâtie, Centre asie ifri; Marie Holzman, University of Paris VII; Marianne Péron-Doise, ministry of Defense; Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, ministry of Defense; Régine Serra, Centre asie ifri.

Round Tables and Conferences

April 28

Asian Development Outlook 2003 Round table on the occasion of the publication of the Asian Development Bank’s (ADB) latest report. A presentation on the report was given by John Lintjeter, vice-president of the ADB, and Douglas Brooks, the bank’s chief economist. The discussion was launched by Françoise Nicolas, economist at Ifri, and by Véronique Seltz, Asia economist at the Economic and Financial Research Department of CDC-IXIS.

December 18

South East Asia between Terrorism and Political Instability: the Security of a Region Discussion with Amitava Acharya, assistant director, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), Singapore.

July 2

Islam and extremism in Central Asia Round table co-organized by the Centre asie ifri and the International Crisis Group (ICG). Speakers: David Lewis and Aizatulla Ghazi, Central Asia project director and senior analyst, respectively, at Tashkent bureau of the ICG; Olivier Roy, research director at the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS).

Regional Issues and Dialogues

North East Asia

China

China has always figured high on the list of the Centre asie ifri’s research priorities. In-house research is carried out by a “strategic observatory” which has a dual focus, centering both on analysis of political change in China and China’s regional and international integration. The international dimension to the Center’s research effort is based on regular in-depth exchanges with the Center’s western partners on the one hand (see Europe-United States dialogue), and with the Chinese scientific and research community on the other hand.

Studies and Meetings

November 13

The Chinese Perception of International Society

This public conference was held in the context of the “China Year” events in France. Its purpose was to facilitate a broader understanding of the Chinese perception of the international system. Four major issues were addressed: What role does the notion of power play in international relations? Does the international community exist? How does China view the phenomena of international and supranational integration? How can international conflict be prevented and contained in the post-Cold War period? The debate, chaired by François Godement, brought together four Chinese experts: Ding Kuisong, vice-president of the Chinese Reformers Forum (CRF), Li Junba, vice-president of the Chinese Communist Party Central School, Wu Jianmin, president of the Diplomatic Institute and vice-president of the Chinese People’s Consultative Conference on Policy of the Foreign Affairs Commission Standing Committee, Zhang Boli, professor and director of the Scientific Research Department of the CCP Central School.
November 13-14
Sixth Round of Franco-Chinese Dialogue
This closed seminar was co-hosted by the Chinese Reformers Forum (CRF) and the Centre asiﬁ ifri. The discussions alternate between Beijing and Paris, and have been ongoing since 1999. These bilateral meetings provide a forum for regular contact between Chinese experts from a number of different institutions, and facilitate informal political and economic dialogue between France and China.
Chinese participants: Ding Kaixong, CRF; He Dalong, Center for World Studies, Xinhua Agency; Hu Jun, CCP Central School; Li Junru, Centre asiﬁ ifri; Pan Zhenqiang, Institute for Strategic Studies, National Defense University (NDU); Wang Xiaobu, SIIS, Beijing; Xun Buhler, Institute for Political Studies (IEP), Paris; Jean-Pierre Cabestan, CNRS; Laurence Cohen-Tanugi, Clearly; Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton; Françoise Colas, EDF; Beijing; René Consolo, ministry of Foreign Affairs; Hervé Degrémont, ministry of Foreign Affairs; Arnaud d’Andurain, CAP; ministry of Foreign Affairs; Bin Gao, AXA; Alain Lombard, commissioner general, “Les années France-Chine 2002-2003”, Thierry de Montbrial; Ifri; Valérie Niquet, IFRI; Arnaud Roux, ministry of Foreign Affairs; François Sheer, AREVA; Alexandre Sheldon-Duplaix, French Navy History Service; Bernard Sitt, CEA; François Godement and Régine Serra, Centre asiﬁ ifri.
Round Tables and Conferences
February 18
The Modernization of China’s Armed Forces
Speaker: David Shambaugh, professor at George Washington University.

October 22
China and European Policies
Closed meeting on the occasion of the visit of a delegation from the Shanghai Institute for International Studies (SIIS).
Participants: Zhao Gancheng, SIIS; Lu Gang, SIIS; Charles-Philippe Godard, French ministry of Defense; François Godement, Centre asiﬁ ifri; Wu Jianmin, SIIS; Françoise Mengin, CERI, Paris; Zhang Pei, SIIS; Marianne Périn-Doze, French ministry of Defense; Wang Xiaobu, SIIS; Zhang Ziaqian, SIIS.

Publications
Les Nouvelles de Chine: this monthly China review, edited by Christèle Druelle and François Godement, provides analysis on developments in political, economic, social, strategic and international relations in China. Les Nouvelles de Chine draws mainly from Mandarin language press sources and presents the viewpoint of the People’s Republic of China and the Chinese world in general on current affairs. Launched in November 2002, Les Nouvelles de Chine began publishing contributions from the French Center for Research on Contemporary China (CEFC, Hong Kong) in October 2003.

Korean Peninsula
The launch of South Korea’s sunshine policy by Kim Dae-jung marked the resumption of dialogue between the two Koreas against a backdrop of renewed tension between the United States, Japan and North Korea. The revelations of North Korea’s persistent efforts to obtain nuclear capacity sparked a new international crisis in October 2002. The research projects and meetings conducted by the Centre asiﬁ ifri aim for a better understanding of the complexity of the North Korean problem, its international stakes, and the risks engendered by the ongoing tension.

Round Tables and Conferences
February 5
North Korea: an Irrational Step Forward in a well Considered Strategy?
Speaker: François Godement, director of the Centre asiﬁ ifri.

March 5
Relations Between the Two Koreas
Closed meeting with Park Jin, special advisor to the chairman of the Grand National Party (GNP), South Korea’s main opposition party: a spontaneous talk on relations between the two Koreas and the future of the sunshine policy after Kim Dae-jung.

November 21
The North Korean Nuclear Issue: how to Build Peace in North East Asia?
Speaker: Yoon Young-Kwan, minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Republic of Korea, former director of the Korean Institute for Future Strategies. Chair: Thierry de Montbrial.

Japan
An end to the financial and economic crisis that hit Japan following the stock market collapse finally came into sight at the end of 2003. The Centre asiﬁ ifri organized a public colloquium to look at the structural reform progress already achieved in Japan and the debates surrounding the reform process, a process that heralds the dawn of a new era in that country. Other publications, including Asie orientale 2003 in particular, throw light on the changes that have taken place in Japan’s international policy.

Studies and Meetings
March 6
Reform Prospects in Japan
This public conference, which was co-chaired by senator Xavier de Villepin and François Godement, received the support of the Japanese Embassy in Paris. Kuniko Inoguchi, ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, took part in the meeting alongside Hiroshi Hirabayashi, Japan’s ambassador to Paris. The conference set out to provide clarification on Japan’s international engagements now that the long post-war era has been finally consigned to the past, on the contrast between Japan’s micro-economic upturn and the structural obstacles to growth, and on the socio-political changes seen in the transfor-
mation of local democracy and the electorate’s growing detachment from the country’s political parties.


South East Asia

The Centre asie ifri South East Asia program essentially focuses on the regionalization model developed by the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN); the social and political transitions taking place in key countries in the region (notably, Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand); and relations between ASEAN and its closest neighbors (the recent free-trade agreements with China and Japan, in particular), etc. In order to expand the scope of its research programs, the Centre asie ifri launched a new partnership with the Institute for Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), Singapore, in June 2002. The first meeting between the two establishments took place in Paris. The second meeting took place in Singapore on November 10-11, 2003. The purpose of the partnership is to identify areas of common interest with a view to developing cooperation in the future.

Studies and Colloquiums

November 10-11

Second Round of France-Singapore Dialogue – Singapore

This meeting, which was co-hosted with the IDSS, addressed the following issues: integration and the building of national identities (a comparative study on Islam in France and in Singapore), challenges of regional integration, and the human factor of new technologies and military applications.

The French delegation was led by Sophie Boisseau du Rocher and François Godement from the Centre asie ifri. Participants included Amélie Blom, IEP, Paris, Jean-Louis Bruguière, Court of First Instance, Paris, Etienne de Durand, Ifri, Claire Delamé, CNRS, Guillaume Parmentier, French Center on the United States (CFE), Ifri, Michel Pétré, ministry of Defense.

Centre asie ifri Workshops

The Centre asie ifri holds regular workshops that provide a forum for informal discussion with university researchers and government representatives.

January 30

Malaysia: the Mahathir Legacy

Introductory remarks: Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, researcher at the Centre asie ifri.

March 27

Asia and the War in Iraq

Introductory remarks: François Godement, director of the Centre asie ifri.

April 24

The North Korean Issue


May 22

Chinese IR Think Tanks and China’s Energy Security in Post-9.11 Era

This meeting discussed a report prepared by Janet X. Liao (PhD), researcher at the Center for Energy, Petroleum and Mineral Law and Policy, University of Dundee (Scotland, United Kingdom). The report is a contribution to the research work on contemporary China carried out by the Centre asie ifri.

May 23

The East Asian Perception of the United States

Introductory remarks: François Godement, director of the Centre asie ifri.

October 27

Security in the Asia-Pacific Region

Closed seminar co-organized by the Centre asie ifri and the Bureau of Policy Planning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Taiwan.

EXTERNAL EVENTS

Sophie Boisseau du Rocher


François Godement

Presentation on “Directions for Open Global Economies – The WTO, Greater China and Multilateralism”, 2003 The Evian Group Hong Kong Initiative, Hong Kong, March 18-19.

Presentation on “Political Developments in China and East Asia”, internal seminar at the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Versoix, Switzerland, April 3.


Presentation on “Strategic Perspectives in Asia Pacific: Europe’s View of the Global Order after Iraq”, general conference of the CSCAP, Jakarta, December 7-9.
**Régine Serra**
Presentation on Japan and North Korea at the French Foreign Trade Center (CFCE), Paris, April 4.

**OTHER PUBLICATIONS**

**Books**

**Francois Godement**

**François Nicolas**
“East Asia, Production Base or Market Place? The State of Play”, *Communications and Strategies*, issue 52, 4th quarter of 2003.

**Sophie Boisseau du Rocher**

**Régine Serra**

**OTHER PUBLICATIONS**

**Books**

**Francois Godement**

“La Chine, puissance revendicatrice ou intégrée”, in *La Chine aujourd’hui*, Université de tous les savoirs, Yves Michaud (ed.), Paris, Odile Jacob.


“Americans and Europeans Widened the Gulf before the Iraq War”, *Yale Global Online*, March 19.

**Françoise Nicolas**


**Sophie Boisseau du Rocher**

Middle East, North Africa

The year was dominated by the war in Iraq, with its regional and transatlantic implications, and by the downward spiral of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Through a series of seminars, Ifri sought to refocus attention on the conflict, to look at how Franco-American action is proceeding, and at the regional impact of the shift in US policy.

January 24
Ifri-ECFA - France-Egypt: Complementary Approaches to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict?
This seminar between Ifri and its Egyptian counterpart, The Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs (ECFA), was the first in a cycle of regular Franco-Egyptian meetings whose purpose is to facilitate an open debate on issues of common interest regarding the Middle East. Egypt and France share the same concern to contain the spread of conflict. The meeting, which was coordinated by May Chartouni-Dubarry, provided a forum for French and Egyptian public figures and specialists to present their viewpoints to a broad audience. The meeting focused on the gravity of the regional consequence of the “declared war” in Iraq. The Egyptian delegation expressed the bitterness felt in the Arab world at the tone of the US discourse (the use of the term “crusade”) and reaffirmed its condemnation of terrorism (suicide bombings) while at the same time drawing a distinction between terrorism and “resistance of occupation”.

Having noted the vacuum of debate created around the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the two parties agreed that this conflict should be prioritized. The parties agreed broadly on the need to involve a third party in solving the conflict. The debates highlighted the complementary approaches of France and Egypt in the search for a solution: Egypt in light of its role with regard to the Palestinian authorities, and France as part of the Quartet, where it seeks to reaffirm the role of the European Union. The seminar was opened by Esmat Abdel Meguid, former secretary general of the Arab League and former permanent representative for Egypt to the United Nations Organization (UNO) in New York, and by Thierry de Montbrial, Mohamed Sid-Ahmed, writer and columnist for the daily newspaper Al-Ahram, reported on the meeting.

Other participants: Mohamed Abdelilah, vice president of the University of Alexandria, former president of the Foreign Affairs Commission at the Egyptian Parliament, Denis Bauchard, president of the Institut du monde arabe (IMA), Alain Dieckhoff, Centre d’études et de recherches internationales/centre national de la recherche scientifique (CERI/CNRS), Nassif Hitti, director, Mission of the League of Arab States to Paris, Agnès Levadoux, Nord-Sud Export, Mona Mahram-Ebeid, professor at the American University of Cairo, former member of Parliament, Cairo, Hassan Nafaa, professor of political science at the University of Cairo, Alain Rémy, North Africa-Middle East department, French ministry of Foreign Affairs, Patrick Seale, writer, journalist.

November 2
Ifri-RAND/CMEPP – Franco-American Conference on the Middle East, Washington

This one-day workshop, which was jointly organized by the Center for Middle East Public Policy/RAND Corporation directed by Jerrold Green, and Ifri, was the second bilateral meeting between the two institutions, to be held regularly in the future. The French delegation was led by Olivier Roy,
research director at the CNRS. The participants took a sweeping look at the key regional players and at the Israeli-Arab conflict. The French delegation stressed at the outset that the differences in opinion between Europe and the US concerned timetable and priorities more than interpretation of the issues. The debate revealed significant differences of opinion regarding the notion of regime change, which US neo-conservatives see as the panacea to all of the region’s problems. The French and the majority of Europeans, however, view the resolution of the Israeli-Arab conflict as the key. The French delegation also questioned the notion of democratization of the Arab world from outside.

The main points of agreement concerned the situation in Iran and the mixed and mainly pessimistic views regarding the situation in Afghanistan.

Participants: RAND delegation: Jim Thomson, president and CEO, Michael Rich, executive vice president, Jerrold Green, director of the Center for Middle East Public Policy (CMEPP) and International Programs, David Gompert, emeritus vice president, Bruce Hoffman, director Washington Office of External Affairs, Jim Dobbins, director of International Security and Defense Policy Center, Steve Larrabee, Corporate Chair in European Security, Caryl Bernard, senior political scientist, John Parachini, policy analyst, Steven Simon, senior policy analyst. Ifri delegation: Olivier Roy, research director, CNRS, Alain Dieckhoff, research director, CERI, Farhad Khosrokhavar, research director, Centre d’analyse et d’intervention sociologiques (CADIS/Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales [EHESS]), Rémy Leveau, professor emeritus, Ifri, scientific adviser, Ifri.

October 20

The New Dimension to Relations between the United States and the Arab World

Organized by Rémy Leveau and Khadija Mobsen-Finan, the purpose of this one-day workshop was to re-evaluate the situation by looking at how the US has realigned its strategy in the Arab world. The debates highlighted the emergence of Arab public opinion, which is becoming ever more autonomous of governments and spiritual leaders as it forms its own perceptions of the democratization process.


Round tables

May 15

The Representation of French Islam

with Franck Frégoi, researcher at the CNRS, Rémy Leveau, Ifri, Khadija Mobsen-Finan, Ifri, Catherine Wibtold de Wendem, research director at the CNRS/CERI, and Xavier Ternisien, journalist, Le Monde.

The purpose of this round table was to offer an overview of the works published in the context of the New European Identity and Citizenship program led by Rémy Leveau, Catherine Wibtold de Wendem and Khadija Mobsen-Finan.

June 17

Israelis and Palestinians: the Shared War

with Alain Dieckhoff, research director, CERI/CNRS, and Rémy Leveau, professor emeritus at the IEP, Paris, scientific adviser, Ifri.

September 11

Political Authoritarianism: Reflexion Based on the Case of Tunisia

with Michel Cameau, professor, IEP, Aix-en-Provence, Vincent Geisser, research fellow at the CNRS, Aix-en-Provence, Sadi Khiaru, University of Paris VIII.

PUBLICATIONS

Collective Works


Rémy Leveau


Khadija Mobsen-Finan

Articles

“Maghreb : ce que voter veut dire”, Marchés tropicaux et méditerranéens, n° 3000, May 2003.


EXTERNAL EVENTS

Rémy Leveau

Participated in the conference on The Middle East on the Eve of US Intervention in Iraq, University of Lausanne, Lausanne, January 6-7.


Mission on The Middle East Crisis and conference on Space and Conflict in the Middle East – Muslim Culture and Immigration in Europe, various research institutes, Beijing and Shanghai, March 5-7.

Conference on Muslim Communities in Europe, The Institute for the Transregional Study of the Contemporary Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia, Princeton, March 27.

Participation in the seminar on Europe and the Middle East, British Council, London, April 10.

Speech on “The Role and Impact of Arab Communities in Europe”, international colloquium on Relations between Europe and the Arab World, Institut du monde arabe, Paris, June 26-27.


**Khadija Mohsen-Finan**


Presentation “The Emergence of a New Muslim Leadership: Tariq Ramadan”, at the workshop *Changes and Emerging Players in European Islam*, Robert Schuman University, *Strasbourg*, April 10.

Presentation “Socio-Economic and Cultural Aspects of Migration” at the first workshop of the Groupe d’études et de recherches interdisciplinaires sur la Turquie (GERIT) on *Young Researchers on the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, École des hautes études en sciences sociales/Institut d’études de l’islam et des sociétés du monde musulman (EHESS-IISMM), Paris*, May 30.

One week field research in Morocco, June.

Visiting fellow at Princeton University, July.


During 2003, the security studies department focused its efforts on four major themes: how conflict is evolving (contemporary conflict classification, conflict containment, the evolution of terrorism); how weapons are transforming (new developments in the US and their lessons, the outlook for military/civilian relations in Russia); issues raised by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery (nuclear, chemical and biological, missiles) with a particular focus on the lessons to be drawn from the Iraq conflict; and, finally, approaches to collective international action (shifts in alliances, the role of the European Union, ad hoc coalitions, etc.).

Conflicts, Weapons Proliferation

March 20-21
What Future for Missile Proliferation Control?
The purpose of this expert seminar, organized in collaboration with Unidir (United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, Geneva), directed by Dominique David, was to measure the scope for the creation of a missile control plan, to identify the missiles and missile technologies that should be covered by such a control plan, to take stock of existing systems, to analyze the impact of anti-missile defense efforts, and to evaluate proposals.

Participants: Christophe Carle, Unidir, Bernd Kubbig, Peace Research Institute, Frankfurt, Dingli Shen, Center for American Studies, Fudan University, Shanghai, Aaron Karp, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, Wahoguru Pal Singh Sidhu, University of Delhi, New Delhi, Mark Smith, Mountbatten Centre for International Studies, University of Southampton.

April 9
Biotechnology, Biological Weapons and Biological Terrorism
This seminar, which was organized with the support of the ministry of Defense, the ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the French Atomic Energy Agency (CEA), and was directed by Dominique David, looked at what the future might be for the 1972 Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Biological Weapons. The participants surveyed the existing regulatory environment. They also evaluated how the European Union has adapted to post-September 11, and examined the epidemiological surveillance instruments currently available.

Participants: Malcolm Dando, Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, Thérèse Delpech, director of long-range planning, CEA, Patrick Lamb, Counter-Proliferation Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), Graham Pearson, Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, Alexander Kelle, Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, René Van Sloten, European Chemical Industry Council (CEFIC), Brussels, Ottorino Cosivi, World Health Organization (WHO), Geneva, David Franz, Vice President, Chemical and Biological Defense Division, Southern Research Institute, Frederick, Maryland.

The seminar was closed by Dominique Klein, assistant director, Strategic Affairs Delegation (DAS), ministry of Defense.

October 16-17
Proliferation Crisis Scenario Simulation
The purpose of this seminar, which was organized for the Strategic Affairs Delegation by Etienne de Durand, was to test a simulated crisis scenario involving a proliferation country (a SICREP). The
Ifri and the corporate sector

Conferences and debates

Publications

The Library and the Document Center

The Team and the Board of Directors

Financial Annex

research

Ifri, 2003 annual report | 31
Ifri campus and at Mgimo headquarters in Moscow and are attended by delegations from each of the two establishments. In 2003, the Ifri/Mgimo seminar was held in Moscow under the supervision of Dominique David.

The opening session, which was dedicated to considering how military force has been used in the post-Cold War period, with Thierry de Montbrial, director general of Ifri, and Andreï Kokochine, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences and State Duma deputy, was followed by a series of debates on the relationship between civil authority and military authority in the political, strategic and economic domains in France and in Russia. The participants set out to evaluate the significance of the armed forces in the Russian and French systems, the adaptation of operational concepts to various strategy hypotheses, the influence of the military industrial complex in Russia, and the prospects for industrial cooperation between Russia and Europe.

Other participants included: Nicolas de Chezelles, French ministry of Defense (DGA), general Jean Coulloume-Labarthe, commandant of the Écoles de Coëtquidan (Saint-Cyr), Dominique David, Ifri, commodore Jean Dufourcq, France’s assistant military representative to the European Union, Etienne de Durand, Ifri, general Vladimir Dvorkin, Russian ministry of Defense, Yuri Fedorov, Mgimo, Louis Gautier, former defense advisor to the Prime minister, Youri Hozainov, Comittee for Military and Technical Cooperation, Moscow, Maxime Pyadushkin, Center for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies (CAST), Moscow, Ivan Safarnectebou, Center for Defense Information, Moscow, Colonel Vitaly Schlikov, member of the presidium of the Foreign and Defense Policy Council, Moscow.

Studie

The Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) and Asymmetrical Strategies

After more than ten years of heavy investment and spectacular technological advances the overwhelming military superiority of the United States today means that the U.S. adversaries can no longer give serious consideration to engaging with the United States today militarily using classical means. They are systematically forced to rely upon cunning and deception, approaches which are now categorized as “asymmetrical strategies”. These strategies, as an adapted response to American supremacy, constitute a challenge that the RMA, which is concerned with “targeting strategies”, is ill-suited to deal with. The purpose of this study, led by Etienne de Durand, is to look at the implications of these “asymmetrical strategies”.

The Impact of the Concept of Coalitions of Circumstance on Defense Organizations (NATO, ESDP, etc.)

Led by Jolyon Howorth, professor at the University of Bath and associate researcher at Ifri, the aim of this study is to evaluate the present and future implications of coalitions of circumstance, a concept which has emerged with the recent changes in US strategic thinking, for the North Atlantic Alliance and for the European defense project and institutions. It sets out to analyze its implications for political and strategic concepts, operational choices, and institutions (armed forces and defense industries).

PUBLICATIONS

Dominique David

Articles


Etienne de Durand


**Thomas Gomart**

**Books**


**Chapters and articles**


“Vladimir Poutine ou les avatars de la politique étrangère russe”, *Politique étrangère*, issue 3-4, fall-winter 2005.


**EXTERNAL EVENTS**

**Dominique David**


Speech, “Post-September 11”, as part of the cycle on *Terrorism, Conflict and Violence in a World in Mutation* at the Société de lecture, Geneva, February 27.


Speech, “After the Empire, What Kind of Relationship between the Two Sides of the Mediterranean?”, during the 10th edition of the Averroès Meetings *Colonialism and Post-Colonialism in the Mediterranean*, organized by Espace Culture, Marseille, November 8.

**Etienne de Durand**

Speech during the colloquium at the Institut d’études politiques (IEP), *Transatlantic Relations: the Stakes of Influence and Power*, Paris, May 27.

Research trip to Iraq and preparation of a report for the Analysis and Forecasting Center (CAP), French ministry of Foreign Affairs, October.

Speech, “The RMA and Middle Powers”, during the annual meeting between Ifri and the IDSS (Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies), Singapore, November 10-11.

**Thomas Gomart**


**Thierry de Montbrial**

Participation in the Munich Conference on Security Policy, Munich, February 8-9.

In 2003, Ifri focused on two major issues: the role played by national circumstances and policies in the ability of economies to benefit from the opportunities of globalization, and the growing integration of the emerging countries with the global economy.

The program on reactions and responses to globalization, which was wound up in 2003, highlighted the uniqueness of France’s “altermondialiste” movement and its influence on political debate. More generally, it demonstrated that the growing integration of the global economy has not led to total convergence between capitalist systems, most strikingly between the United States and Europe. The research conducted on the influence of multinationals in developing countries threw light on the key role played by national contexts and policies in enabling countries to benefit from integration with the global economy.

The various debates and studies conducted in 2003 with respect to global economic governance underlined both the importance of national circumstances and the need for harmonization, or at the very least the need for compatibility and dialogue, on the global level. Ifri also set about looking at the consequences of the growing role of emerging countries in global economic governance, and, specifically, in multilateral trade negotiations.

2003 Programs

Reactions and Responses to Globalization

Led by Frédérique Sachwald, this program, completed in 2003, analyzed reactions to the globalization process and the responses that could be deployed. The political debate at the international level has been dominated by global governance and the need to adapt existing institutions or even create new institutions. The program also highlighted the equal importance and urgency of internal economic and social reforms. Ifri is continuing to build on this approach.

The program was supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). It was conducted jointly with the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP, Berlin) and the Institute for International Economics (IIE, Washington, DC).

February 24, Washington, DC
Obstacles to Globalization: Transatlantic Comparisons

This third Ifri-IIE-DGAP seminar, which was hosted by the Institute for International Economics, was dedicated to comparing obstacles to globalization in France, Germany and the United States, and to understanding the clear differences between the three countries. Eddy Fougier spoke on resistance to globalization in France at the session on anti-globalization movements; Frédérique Sachwald dealt with changing inequalities in the globalization context.

Key participants: C. Fred Bergsten, IIE, Kimberly Elliot, IIE, Eddy Fougier, Ifri, Phil Henderson, GMF, Karl Kaiser, Otto-Wolf-Stiftung and DGAP, Bernard May, DGAP, Reimhard Rode, University of Halle, Frédérique Sachwald, Ifri, John Williamson, IIE.
Eddy Fougier’s contribution can be downloaded from the Ifri website. Frédérique Sachwald’s contribution was published in “Note de l’Ifri”, no. 48, Mondialisation, innovation et inégalités. An English translation of the document can also be downloaded from the Ifri website.

Publications

Follow-up to the series “Notes de l’Ifri”, “Réactions et réponses à la mondialisation”, edited by Frédérique Sachwald:
- Mondialisation, innovation et emploi, Jean-Marie Cardébat and Eric Maurin, no. 49 (available on the Ifri website).
- Les Mutations du capitalisme en France : le rôle de la finance, Dominique Plihon, no. 50.

Global Economic Governance

January 8, Paris

Shadow G8: The Role of the G8 in Global Economic Governance

An initiative of Fred Bergsten (IIE), the Shadow G8 has brought together once a year since 2000 around twenty experts from the G8 countries. Thierry de Montbrial is a regular member. Ifri organized the Shadow G8’s 2003 meeting, which coincided with the G8 summit at Evian. The Shadow G8 elaborates proposals that are submitted to the governments of the G8 countries before each summit.

The Shadow G8 one-day workshop, which was hosted at Ifri, discussed the role of the G8, and, more specifically, the need for the G8 to evolve and change in the context of globalization. The outcome of the debates highlighted the need for the G8 to refocus on its initial objectives and to revert to its original role in order to contribute in a more effective way to global economic governance. It also underlined the responsibility borne by governments as regards their analysis and representation of globalization, which is all too often used as a scapegoat.

Key participants, in addition to Fred Bergsten and Thierry de Montbrial: Richard N. Cooper, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University; Boris Fedorov, former Russian minister of Finance; Yoichi Funabashi, Asahi Shimbun; Paolo Giaretta, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome; Toyo Gyohten, Institute for Monetary Affairs, Tokyo; Karl Kaiser, DGAP, Bonn; Sergei Karaganov, former president of the Presidium, Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, Moscow; Barbara McDougall, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Toronto; Richard Portes, Centre for Economic Policy Research, London; Renato Ruggiero, European Investment Bank. From Ifri: Pierre Lepetit, Françoise Nicolas, Pierre-Noël and Frédérique Sachwald.

The meeting was supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

May 22, Paris

Debate: What Reforms can Spur Growth?

The Recommendations of the Shadow G8

Frédérique Sachwald, who heads economic studies at Ifri, presented the conclusions drawn by the Shadow G8 at the opening of a debate on the global economy and the policies of the industrialized countries with Jean-Philippe Cotis, chief economist with the OECD, and Jacques Mistral, financial advisor and minister at the Embassy of France in Washington.

Tokyo Club Work on Digital Economy Governance and Financial Markets

The Tokyo Club Foundation for Global Studies was established in 1987 by Japanese investment banking company Nomura Securities to facilitate research and debate on global economic governance. The foundation federates two groups of research institutions: five institutions from the G5 countries, the Brookings Institution (United States), the Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, IFO (Germany), the Royal Institute of International Affairs (United Kingdom), the Nomura Research Institute (Japan) and Ifri; and ten research institutions from Asian countries (China, Korea, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, the
Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Taiwan). Its purpose is to promote work conducted by these institutions on issues that are defined jointly every year. Results of the work are published in the Tokyo Club Papers and the Joint Policy Statement, which outline public policy recommendations.

The Tokyo Club hosted two workshops in 2002. Results were published in 2003.

The first series of publications looked at governance issues raised by the digital economy (competition policy, intellectual property, etc.):


The second series of publications looked at the evolution of the financial markets since the 1980s, and the regulatory problems posed by financial markets for national governments and at the international level:


March 9, Paris
Restructuring Sovereign Debt

This workshop was organized at Ifri by Pierre Lepetit and Françoise Nicolas in partnership with the Institute for International Economics (Washington, DC), with the support of the French ministry of the Economy, Finance and Industry. The workshop, which took place on the eve of the IMF annual meetings, brought together around fifty participants from the central banks and ministries of Economy and Finance of the G7 and G20 countries, as well as representatives of international financial institutions (the IMF and the World Bank). The meeting was also attended by representatives of the banking sector and academics. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the various options for dealing with sovereign debt.

The working paper used as a basis for the discussions was prepared by Nouriel Roubini, Stern School of Business, New York University, and Brad Setser, Council on Foreign Relations. The paper can be downloaded from the Ifri website.

International Trade and Trade Policy

April 25, Paris
The Characteristics of Global Trade in the Twenty First Century. Scenarios for the Future of Europe

The purpose of this roundtable was to present the Ifri report on The Characteristics of Global Trade in the Twenty First Century: Scenarios for the European Union, carried out by Philippe Colombani. The report was published at the end of 2002 (text available on the Ifri website).

Key participants: Hassan Abouyoub, ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco in France, Jean-Claude Chesnais, Institut national d’études démographiques (INED), Philippe Colombani, Ifri, Jean-Pierre Lebannan, International Institute for Management Development, founder of the Euvian Group, Paul-Henri Ravier, former director general of the WTO.

Launch of the program “Multilateral Trade Negotiations and the WTO”

The purpose of this applied research program on political economy, launched in October 2003 by Jean-Marie Paugam, is to identify the basic “problems” confronted by the global economic system, and to carry out case studies that may provide useful guidelines in the elaboration of public policies and private strategies. The program focuses on short-term and medium-term analysis of the forces at play and issues at stake in international economic confrontation, as well as obstacles to the system of governance. It will focus initially on three topics: the multilateral system after Cancun; the transatlantic economic partnership; and civil society and economic governance. These themes will be looked at in further detail during the first half of 2004.

Debates

September 2, Paris
Cancun: A Technical Phase or a Political Test for the Development Cycle?

A round table with Paul-Henri Ravier, former assistant director general of the WTO, Jacques Desponts, president of the MEDEF and UNICE WTO Committee, Tom Lines, Oxfam, and Hervé Fournier, European Commission Trade DG.

October 15, Paris
The Failure of Cancun: A Turning Point?

A round table with Jacques Desponts, president of the MEDEF and UNICE WTO Committee, Olivier Cattaneo from the French Development Agency (AFD), Jean-Marie Paugam, researcher at Ifri.

Trade and Sustainable Development

This program was elaborated in the context of the SUSTRA (Sustainable Trade) network of multidisciplinary institutions. The member institutions organize conferences and foster expertise on the interaction between trade and sustainable development. The purpose of the program is to analyze the nature of the links between trade and development. Ifri, represented by Jean-Marie Paugam, is more specifically charged with providing geopolitical and legal analysis and looking at how European governance may impact external trade and sustainable development. SUSTRA organized a conference in March 2003, the aim of which was to assess the sustainability of trade liberalization. An e-forum was held in September on trade and development from a sustainable development perspective. Ifri will host the closing conference in June 2004 on European governance in trade and sustainable development.

1. ENSAM (École nationale supérieure d'agriculture de Montpellier, France), Ecole polytechnique (France), Centre d’études et de recherches internationales (CERI, France), Ifri (France), Ecologic (FRG), Institute for Environmental Studies (IVM, Netherlands), Sussex European Institute (SEI, United Kingdom), Centre de philosophie du droit (CPDR, Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium), Solalgrau (France), FIELD (United Kingdom), Universidad politecnica de Valencia (UPV, Spain). See <www.agro-montpellier.fr/sustra/main.htm>.
The Growing Role of Emerging Countries in the Global Economy

Developing Economies in Globalization

Françoise Nicolas analyzed the theme of confiscated sovereignty in a chapter of RAMSES 2004, where she looked at the reality of the constraints imposed by globalization and the international economic institutions (IMF, World Bank and WTO).


Multinationals and Development

This program, conducted jointly with the French Development Agency (AfD), analyzed the contributions made by foreign direct investment to development. The publication contains a review of a large number of empirical studies of the impact of multinationals (technology transfers, impact on trade and productivity, etc.) and sets out to provide public policy recommendations.


The Role of Foreign Direct Investment in Korea

This program, run by Frédérique Sachwald, is supported by the Korea Foundation. It looks into how foreign direct investment in South Korea is evolving and evaluates its role in the restructuring of major industrial groups and in transforming the Korean economy. It focuses in particular on the role of foreign corporations in the “realignment” that has seen the Korean economy shift from imitation-based development to growth through innovation and from hostility towards foreign investment to its promotion.

Debates

April 16, Seoul
FDI and International Learning: Is Korea an Exception? Presentation by Frédérique Sachwald at the Korea Development Institute.

France’s Economic Growth Outlook

This program, which is run by Frédérique Sachwald in conjunction with Luis Miotti, Françoise Nicolas and Vincent Vasques, analyzes trends in French economic growth over the period 1950-2030. It looks at avenues that France can explore and the steps the country can take to restore growth potential and reverse the growing gap with living standards in the United States that has opened up since the 1980s.

PUBLICATIONS

Philippe Colombani

Pour une relance du cycle du développement : refonder le consensus multilatéral après Cancun

Le dialogue économique transatlantique est-il hors sujet ? Mettre à jour le partenariat pour le restaurer

Jean-Marie Paugam


Frédérique Sachwald


“Cooperative R&D: who and with whom” (with Luis Miotti), Research Policy, 2003.


Thierry de Montbrial

François Nicolas
“East Asia, Production Base or Market Place? The State of Play”, Communications & Strategies, n° 52, 4th quarter of 2003.


Eddy Fouger


Thierry de Montbrial

François Nicolas
“East Asia, Production Base or Market Place? The State of Play”, Communications & Strategies, n° 52, 4th quarter of 2003.


Jean-Marie Paugam


Frédérique Sachwald


“Cooperative R&D: who and with whom” (with Luis Miotti), Research Policy, 2003.


Thierry de Montbrial

François Nicolas
“East Asia, Production Base or Market Place? The State of Play”, Communications & Strategies, n° 52, 4th quarter of 2003.


Jean-Marie Paugam


Frédérique Sachwald


“Cooperative R&D: who and with whom” (with Luis Miotti), Research Policy, 2003.


Thierry de Montbrial

François Nicolas
“East Asia, Production Base or Market Place? The State of Play”, Communications & Strategies, n° 52, 4th quarter of 2003.


Presentation at the conference on Food balance and agricultural policies, organized by The Economist, Paris, October 2.

Presentation on “Geostrategic balance for 2010” during the annual oil day, Oil and Gas 2010: Challenges and Partnerships, organized by the Association of Oil Technicians and Professionals (AFTP), Paris, October 8-9.

Thierry de Montbrial
Speech on “Key issues on the Doha agenda: governance, services and market access”, at the international conference on The Future of the World Trade System: the US, the EU and the Doha Development Agenda, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and Harvard University, Taloires, June 13-15.


Participation as board member in the first meeting of the WTO Consultative Board set up by the WTO secretary general, Geneva, December 8.

François Nicolas
Report on “East Asia’s Fast Changing Financial Architecture” at the France-Vietnam conference on The new economic configuration in Asia and foreign direct investment flows, co-organized by the CVFG, Hanoi, the CEDIMES (University of Paris II) and the ESCP-EAP/Paris, Hanoi, February 13-14.


Report on “Monetary and Trade Integration in East Asia: Is Europe’s Experience Relevant?”, at the 5th study day of the Centre asié ifri, The new dimensions of regional devolution – Theoretical debates and Asian references, Centre asié ifri/EPIID/LEPH, Pierre Mendès France University (UPMF), Grenoble, June 15.

Report on “Economic Governance of Globalization” at the Mgimo/Ifri/SWP meeting on Europe and Russia in the New World Order, Mgimo, Moscow, September 16-17.


Participation in the 4th international conference on Regional Cooperation and Economic Integration, co-organized by the University of Le Havre and Inha University (Incheon). Report on “East Asian Economic Integration – Going Beyond the Chang Mai Initiative”, Incheon (Korea), September 7-9.

Presentation on “East Asia: Economic and Geopolitical Milestones” at the international seminar on Market trends and development models for TIC in Asia, IDATE Foundation, Montpellier, November 19.


Jean-Marie Paugam
Participation in the seminar on Trade and Migration, organized by the OCDE, the World Bank and the IOM, Geneva, November 12-14.

Participation in the Conference on the Global Governance of Trade, Environment and Sustainable Development, Moving forward from Cancún, Concerted Action on Trade and Environment (CAT&E), Berlin, October 30-31.

Frédéric Sachwald
Presentation on “FDI and International Learning: Is Korea an Exception?”, during a seminar at the Korea Development Institute, Seoul, April 16.

Invited speaker at the conference on Understanding FDI-Assisted Economic Development, The Centre for Technology, Innovation and Culture Centre (TIK), University of Oslo, Oslo, May 22-25.


Invited speaker at the joint meeting of experts of the OECD Development Center and the Asian Development Bank on Foreign Direct Investment in Developing Asia, OECD, Paris, November 26-27.

Ifri and the corporate sector

With their dynamic and operational approach, all of the debates organized at Ifri are designed to be of interest to the business and financial community. Ifri also offers businesses a special program that focuses particularly on the issues that matter to them. The goal of that program is to give businesses contextual clarity to guide their strategic choices.

The program is based around meetings, in a variety of formats: informal get-togethers, working lunches, and off-the-record dinner discussions with French and foreign policy-makers and analysts on the international scene. These meetings fulfill a double function of information and exchange: they offer business leaders multiple opportunities for informal contact with their peers, with public sector representatives, with foreign counterparts and policy-makers, and with the international research community. Thanks to its international links, Ifri is able to make its extensive international network available to its members.

This year, Ifri hosted Vaclav Klaus, president of the Czech Republic; Arun Jaitley, minister of Trade and Industry of India; Ana Palacio, minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain; Supachai Panitchpakdi, director general of the WTO; and Lord Simon of Highbury, a close advisor to Tony Blair.

2003 also saw numerous debates on the Iraq war and post-war Iraq. Oil-related issues were addressed during a cycle of meetings. Europe on the eve of enlargement was also broadly discussed from the point of view of its institutional, economic and political dimensions.

The Franco-Austrian Center (CFA), which works in close collaboration with the corporate sector on strengthening economic, social and security integration in Europe, continued to pursue that goal by facilitating exchanges between the business and economic sectors in the accession countries.

Business leaders also participate in research programs that have implications for the private sector (organized by the Centre asie ifri and the French Center on the United States, CFE). Whenever requested by businesses, Ifri sets up meetings and projects adapted to their needs.

Ifri plans to expand its collaboration with its member companies by inviting them to participate more fully in its projects. With this in mind, Ifri is not just targeting French or European businesses, but rather all businesses that seek to develop their business internationally.

Corporate relations are handled by Dominique Letourneur, assisted by Jean-Louis Andreu, Aymar de Lastours and Augustin Renaud, corporate advisors.
Meetings

Europe

February 19
Organizing France's European and International Policy
Admiral Jacques Lanxade, former French ambassador in Tunis, Nicolas Tenzer, policy officer at the Commissariat général du Plan.

February 24
Croatia and Europe
Stipe Mesić, president of the Republic of Croatia.

March 27
Goran Svilanovic, minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia and Montenegro.

April 30
Where is the Convention going?
Robert Badinter, senator for the Hauts-de-Seine department, Pierre Lequiller, member of Parliament for the Yvelines department.

May 21
Islam, migration and European identity: a Franco-German perspective
Valérie Amiraux, research fellow, CNRS/CURAPP, Bassam Tibi, professor of international relations and specialist in Islam, University of Göttingen.

June 16
Germany and NATO after the Iraq crisis
Klaus Naumann, former president of the NATO military committee.

September 30
From the Convention to the IGC: what kind of constitution for Europe?
Philippe Moreau Defarges, researcher, Ifri, Etienne de Poncins, advisor at the ministry of Foreign Affairs, member of the European Convention Secretariat, Maxime Lefebvre, researcher, Ifri.

October 14
Is Germany marginalized? Foreign policy under Gerhard Schröder
Hanns W. Maull, professor of political science, University of Trier, Jean-Paul Picard, former Figaro correspondent in Germany.

Asia

April 28
Asian Development Outlook 2003

April 29
Corporate restructuring and governance in Korea. Prospects for foreign businesses

November 21
The nuclear question in North Korea: How can peace be achieved in North East Asia?
Yoon Young-kwan, minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Republic of Korea, former director of the Korean Institute for Future Strategies.
December 18
Southeast Asia between terrorism and political (in)stability: the security of a region
Amitav Acharya, assistant director, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Singapore.

Africa
March 26
The crisis in Côte d’Ivoire
François Bakou, Octide SA, Nicole Chevillard, editor-in-chief, Afrique, Nord-Sud (Le Monde Group), Jean Heirich, president of the surveillance board, GEOS.

Middle East
March 26
Iraq: domestic issues
Loulouwa Al Rachid, Iraq researcher and analyst at the International Crisis Group.
March 27
Iraq: the War and after the War
April 25
Iraq: the first Lessons of the War with Thierry de Montbrial, Khadija Mobsen-Finan, Dominique Moisi, Pierre Noel and Guillaume Parmentier, Ifri.
November 25
Can democracy be imposed from outside in the Arab world?
Bassma Kodmani, senior program officer, Ford Foundation, The Middle East and North Africa Office, Cairo.
December 3
Iraq: A look at the chaotic post-war situation
Peter Harling, independent researcher, journalist.

Transatlantic Relations
May 14
Transatlantic relations tested by the War in Iraq
François Bujon de l’Estang, French ambassador.

September 24
Transatlantic rift: how to bring the two sides together?
Charles Grant, director, Centre for European Reform, London, Gilles Andréani, director, CAP, ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Human Rights
February 6
The Human Rights Commission: Lessons from the Past and Priorities for the Future

International Economy and Trade
April 25
Global trade in the twenty-first century – scenarios for the Future of Europe
May 22
What reforms will spur growth? The recommendations of the Shadow G8
Jean-Philippe Cotis, chief economist, OECD, Jacques Mistral, minister financial counsellor, Embassy of France in Washington, Frédérique Sachwald, economic studies director, Ifri.
June 17
Are there limits to financial globalization?
Kenneth Rogoff, economic advisor and research department director, IMF.
October 15
The failure of Cancun: a turning point?
Olivier Cattaneo, policy officer, French Development Agency, Jacques Desponts, president of the WTO Committee of the Medef and the Unice, Pierre Lepetit, executive director, Ifri, Jean-Marie Paugam, researcher, Ifri.
Energy

- Energie 2003 - cycle
under the supervision and chairmanship of Philippe Colombani

February 21
Iraq’s oil after Saddam Hussein: issues and scenarios
Vera de Ladoucette, director Middle East Research, Cambridge Energy Research Associate, Paris, Valérie Marcel, senior Research Fellow, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, Pierre Noël, researcher, French Center on the United States, Ifri.

March 18
Europe’s energy markets
Pierre de Gaulle, vice-president France and Belgium, RWTE Trading UK Ltd, Christiam Vroljik, analyst, Natsource Tullet Europe.

April 15
Energy market regulation
Raphaël Hadas-Lebel, commissioner, Energy Regulation Commission.

June 6
The opening of the Electricity Markets: the Role of network administrators
André Merlin, director of the Electricity Transport Network administrator.

March 27
The war underway and its consequences
with Thierry de Montbrial and Étienne de Durand invited by Jean-Claude Gruffat, CEO of Citigroup.

June 12
The globalization strategy of PSA group
with Jean-Martin Folz, chairman of PSA Peugeot Citroën, in collaboration with the Harvard Business School Club de France.

June 23
with Conrad Black, chairman and CEO of Argus Corporation Ltd, Hollinger Inc, Canada, Hollinger Inc, USA and chairman of Telegraph Group Ltd, London invited by Anne-Claire Taittinger, chairman of the board of Groupe Taittinger and CEO of the Société du Louvre.

December 19
End of economic crisis and start of political crisis in Germany?
with René Lasserre, director of the CIRAC and president of the University of Cergy-Pontoise, and Hans Stark, general secretary of the Cerfa invited by Benjamin Cohen, deputy chairman of the board of Accor.

Dinner Debates

February 4
with Lord Simon of Highbury, adviser to Tony Blair.

February 19
with Pascal Couchepin, president of the Swiss Confederation.

March 13
with Günter Verheugen, member of the European Commission, in charge of enlargement.

April 28
with Supachai Panitchpakdi, director general of the WTO.

June 17
with Kenneth Rogoff, economic advisor and research director at the IMF.

Lunch Debates

January 22
China: the consequences of a trend
with François Godement, director of the Centre asie ifri invited by Grégoire Olivier, chairman of the board of directors of Sagem.

January 29
Energy and sustainable development
with Thierry Desmarest, chairman and managing director of Total, in collaboration with the Harvard Business School Club de France.

July 15
with Vaclav Klaus, president of the Czech Republic.

September 4
with Ana Palacio, Spanish minister of Foreign Affairs.
October 1
with Eisuke Sakakibara, former Japanese deputy minister of Finance for international affairs, professor at the Keio University of Tokyo, in the context of the Ifri Asia Center’s “East Asia and Europe: Experimenting with Region Building” colloquium.

November 3
with Arun Jaitley, Indian minister of Trade, Industry and Justice.

November 20
with Ion Iliescu, president of Romania.

December 18
with Ghassan Salame, UN special advisor on Iraq.
Ifri’s corporate members

(as at 31 December 2003)

ABN-AMRO FRANCE
ACCOR
AGENCE FRANÇAISE
DE DÉVELOPPEMENT
AIR FRANCE
AIR LIQUIDE
ALCATEL
ALTADIS
AMERICAN EXPRESS
ANVAR
ARCELOR
ARCHIBALD INTERNATIONAL
AREVA
ARIANESPACE
AXA
BANQUE DE FRANCE
BANQUE FÉDÉRALE
DES BANQUES POPULAIRES
BANQUE PATRIMOINE
ET IMMOBILIER
BARCLAYS BANK
BAYARD PRESSE
BC PARTNERS
BESV
BNP PARIBAS
BOUYGUES
BRGM
BURELLE S.A.
CABINET GIDE LOYRETTE NOUEL
CAISSE DES DÉPÔTS
ET CONSIGNATIONS
CAIXABANK
CARREFOUR
CCF
CENTRE NATIONAL D’ÉTUDES
SPATIALES
CHAMBRE DE COMMERCE
ET D’INDUSTRIE DE PARIS
CHARBONNAGES DE FRANCE
CILAS
CITIGROUP
CLEARY, GOTTLIEB, STEEN
& HAMILTON
CNP ASSURANCES
COFACE
COFIP
COLAS
COMMISSARIAT
À L’ÉNERGIE ATOMIQUE
CRÉDIT AGRICOLE S.A.
CRÉDIT AGRICOLE INDOSUEZ
CRÉDIT FONCIER DE FRANCE
CRÉDIT INDUSTRIEL ET COMMERCIAL
CRÉDIT LYONNAIS
CRÉDIT MUTUEL
CRÉDIT SUISSE GROUP
DAIMLER CHRYSLER
DASSAULT AVIATION
DEUTSCHE BANK
DEXIA - CRÉDIT LOCAL DE FRANCE
DIRECTION GÉNÉRALE
DE L’AVIATION CIVILE
DRESDENER KLEINWORT
WASSERSTEIN FRANCE
EADS
EIFFAGE
ÉLECTRICITÉ DE FRANCE
ENTENIAL
ENTREPRISE MINIÈRE ET CHIMIQUE
ERAMET
FÉDÉRATION DES INDUSTRIES
DE LA PARFUMERIE
FÉDÉRATION FRANÇAISE
DES SOCIÉTÉS D’ASSURANCES
FÉDÉRATION NATIONALE
DES TRAVAUX PUBLICS
FIEEC
FIMALAC
FONCIÈRE THERMALE
FONDATION HIPPOCRENE
FRANCE TELECOM
GAZ DE FRANCE
GIMELEC
GLOBAL EQUITIES
GROUPEMENT
DES CARTES BANCAIRES
HSBC
IBM FRANCE
INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DU PÉTROLE
JEANTET & ASSOCIÉS
JP MORGAN CHASE BANK
KSB
L-A FINANCES
LA MONDIALE
LA POSTE
LABORATOIRES SERVIER
LAFARGE
Lazard FRÈRES
LES ECHOS
L’ORÉAL
LVMH
MARSH
MAZARS
MEDEF
MERRILL LYNCH FRANCE
MONDIAL ASSISTANCE
MONITOR COMPANY
MORGAN STANLEY
NATEXIS BANQUES POPULAIRES
PSA PEUGEOT CITROÉN
RATP
RENAULT
RHODIA
ROLAND BERGER ET PARTNERS
Rothschild & CIE BANQUE
RTE
SAGEM
SANOFI-SYNTHELABO
SIEMENS FRANCE
SOCIÉTÉ DU LOUVRE
SOCIÉTÉ GÉNÉRALE
SODEXHO ALLIANCE
SOFILLIONE
SOFINNOVA PARTNERS
SOFRESA
STARSEM
SUEZ
THALES
TOTAL
UNION DES INDUSTRIES
MÉTALLURGIQUES ET MINIÈRES
UNISTRAT ASSURANCES
VALLOUREC
VIEL & CIE
VIVENDI UNIVERSAL
WENDEL INVESTISSEMENT
conferences and debates

The aim of the monthly conferences program is to inform and structure the debate on international issues and to provide civil society with first-hand information and analysis. The conferences are targeted at Ifri members and the organization’s partners: government representatives, parliamentary deputies, senior officials, the business community, and the media. As an independent forum of debate, Ifri is now at the top of the list of venues visited by many foreign dignitaries on official trips to France.

Asia

February 5
North Korea: an irrational step forward as part of a coherent strategy?
François Godement, director of the Centre asiatique Ifri.

February 18
The modernization of China’s armed forces: developments, obstacles and outlook
David Shambaugh, professor of political science, George Washington University.

The United States and Transatlantic Relations

March 12
The United States, the United Nations and Iraq
David Malone, president, International Peace Academy, New York.

April 24
Washington and the world: a superpower’s dilemma
Pierre Hassner, emeritus director of research, CERI.

June 19
“Gulliver on the Rampage”. George W. Bush’s foreign policy
Stanley Hoffmann, professor at Harvard University.

September 17
September 11, 2001 and the war in Iraq: an historic rupture?
Thérèse Delpech, senior lecturer, CERI, Marcel Gauchet, director of studies, EHESS, Thierry de Montbrial and Philippe Moreau Defarges, Ifri
On the occasion of the publication of RAMSES 2004.

October 8
In the face of hyper-power: what can be done?
Hubert Védrine, former French minister of Foreign Affairs.

October 15
The West versus the West
André Glucksmann, philosopher and writer.

November 12
The American West and the European West: how to avoid divorce?
Dominique Moïsi, Ifri.

Europe

January 22
Turkey and the European Union in the wake of the Copenhagen summit
Soli Ozoğ, advisor to the president of TUSIAD, lecturer at Bilgi University, Istanbul.

February 3
Italy and the test of the Second Republic
Marcello Pera, president of the Senate of the Republic of Italy.

February 25
The Franco-German Dynamic: a sustainable recovery for Europe?
Andreas Schockenhoff, deputy, president of the France-Germany group at the Bundestag, and Jean-Louis Bianco, deputy, member of the France-Germany friendship group at the National Assembly.

February 27
The democratic legitimacy of Europe
Larry Siedentop, professor of political philosophy at the University of Oxford and at Keble College.

March 13
The European Union on the eve of an historic enlargement: challenges and prospects
Günter Verheugen, European enlargement commissioner.

April 22
The Convention: what kind of project for Europe?
Elmar Brok, European deputy, PPE member and coordinator at the Convention.

May 22
What future for the CFSP?
Guy Legras, external relations director, European Commission.
June 23
The European Union after enlargement
Edouard Kukan, Slovakian minister of Foreign Affairs.

September 4
The European Union and its neighbors: the Euro-Mediterranean partnership and Middle East relations
Ana Palacio, Spanish minister of Foreign Affairs.

December 1
The marginalization of foreigners. The logic behind the Schengen visa
Didier Bigo, senior lecturer, IEP, Paris.

December 3
Roma minorities
Prince Radu of Hohenzollern-Veringen, special representative of the Romanian government for integration, cooperation and sustainable development.

Middle East – North Africa

January 30
Coalitions in conflicts: the lessons of the past (the Gulf, Kosovo, Afghanistan...) and the implications for Iraq
Andrew Pierre, associate professor, School of Foreign Service, and research fellow at the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University.

March 26
Iraq: domestic issues
Loulooua Al Rachid, Iraq researcher and analyst at the International Crisis Group.

March 27
Iraq: the war and the post-war period
Thierry de Montbrial, Dominique David, Etienne de Durand, Dominique Moisi, Ifri, and Fatiba Dazi-Heni, senior lecturer at the IEP, Paris.

April 25
Iraq: the first lessons of war with Thierry de Montbrial, Khadija Mobsen-Finan, Dominique Moisi, Pierre Noël and Guillaume Parmentier, Ifri.

June 3
Egypt after the war
Xavier de Villepin, delegated vice-president of the centrist union group at the Senate.

June 4
The experience of Kurdish self-government and the Kurds in the Iraq of tomorrow
Kendal Nezam, president if the Kurdish Institute in Paris.

June 10
The Iraq of the new generations
Farhad Khosrokhavar, director of studies, EHESS.

June 17
Israelis and Palestinians: a shared war?
Alain Dieckhoff, director of research at the CERI, and Rémy Leveau, professor emeritus at the IEP, Paris, and scientific advisor at Ifri.

September 11
Political authoritarianism: reflections based on Tunisia
Michel Cazau, professor at the IEP, Aix-en-Provence, Vincent Geisser, research fellow at the CNRS, Aix-en-Provence, and Sadri Khiari, political scientist, University of Paris-VIII.

November 25
Can democracy be imposed from outside in the Arab world?
Bassma Kodmani, senior program officer, Ford Foundation, The Middle East and North Africa Office, Cairo.

December 10
Lessons to be learnt from Afghanistan for ending the crisis in Iraq?
Alain Boinet, director of Solidarités, and Olivier Roy, research director at the CNRS.

June 3
Islam and extremism in Central Asia
David Lewis, Central Asia project director, International Crisis Group.

Russia

April 11
Chechnya after the March 23 referendum
Alvaro Gil Gobles, human rights commissioner at the Council of Europe.

International Trade – Globalization

April 28
The WTO and regulations
Patrick Messerlin, professor of economics, IEP of Paris.

September 2
Cancun: a technical phase or a political test for the development cycle?
Paul-Henri Ravier, former assistant director general of the WTO, Jacques Desponts, president of the WTO Committee of the Medef and the Unice, Annick Jeanet, Advocacy Officer, Oxfam International, and Hervé Jouanjean, WTO and OECD director at the European Commission Trade Directorate General.

Global Issues

October 21
The role of civilizations in the international system
Yadh Ben Achour, professor of international law, Tunis Social and Political Science Faculty, member of the International Law Institute.

October 28
15 years that rocked the world
Thierry de Montbrial, director general of Ifri.
The “Globalization” Cycle
directed by Thierry de Montbrial
as part of the CNAM – 2002/2003
(the conferences took place at Ifri)

January 13
Globalization and trends in inequality
Frédérique Sachwald, economic studies director, Ifri.

February 24
The environmental impact of globalization. A case study on energy resources
Pierre Noël, researcher at the CFE, Ifri.

April 28
The WTO and regulations
Patrick Messerlin, professor of economics at IEP of Paris, director of the World Economy Group at Sciences Po.

March 10
The IMF and the challenges of financial globalization
Françoise Nicolas, Ifri researcher.

May 19
The social responsibility of corporations
Ethan Kapstein, Harold Stassen Professor of International Peace, University of Minnesota, invited researcher at Ifri.

June 16
The European Union and globalization
Philippe Moreau Defarges, Ifri researcher.

“International Relations Theory
and Reality” Cycle
directed by Thierry de Montbrial
as part of the CNAM – 2003/2004
(the conferences took place at Ifri)

November 20
Power and the international system: the thirty year outlook
Étienne de Durand, Ifri researcher.

December 18
The end of the Rhine model? Reform issues in Germany
Hans Stark, Ifri researcher.
Ifri publishes the quarterly review Politique étrangère and the annual collective survey RAMSES (World Annual Report on the Economy System and Strategies). RAMSES looks at international issues using a complementary, two-pronged approach: one section addresses broad trends and emerging debates, while the second section provides thematic analysis of events and trends of the past year and their implications.

Ifri also disseminates its works via other channels, which provides updates on medium and long-term research programs. Ifri’s publishing activities are looked after by Christophe Jaquet, Marielle Roubach and Delphine Renard.

### Les Cahiers d’Asie

- **N° 2** – *Unemployment in East Asia and Europe*, François Nicolas andCharit Tingsabadh (eds.), 295 p., April 2003

### Les Notes de l’Ifri


**Series “Réactions et réponses à la mondialisation”**

- **N° 49** – *Mondialisation, innovation et emploi*, Jean-Marie Cardebat and Eric Maurin, bilingual text available at <www.ifri.org>

### Travaux et recherches de l’Ifri


During the year, Ifri disseminated its works via other channels, which provides updates on medium and long-term research programs. Ifri’s publishing activities are looked after by Christophe Jaquet, Marielle Roubach and Delphine Renard.

### Politique étrangère

- **n° 1/2003 – January-March**
  - *Les États-Unis, la puissance et la guerre*

  **Autour de la crise irakienne**
  - “L’adversaire irakien”, David Baran; “La politique étrangère en Iran: de la révolution à l’hui du mal”, Farbad Khoosrokhavar; “La Turquie: puissance régionale et forteresse assiégée”, Hamit Bozarslan

### Repères


### Libre propos

“Mitterrand, l’Europe et la réunification allemande”, Daniel Vernet

- **n° 2/2003 – April-June**
  - *Mondialisation, politiques nationales et gouvernance globale*
Afrique: conflits et développement

Répères

Libre propos : l’Irak
“La guerre d’Irak, la stratégie du faible face à la puissance américaine”, David Baran; “Irak : et si la France s’était trompée ?”, Pascal Cucbe

• n° 3-4/2003 – July-December
2003, une année tournant?
“L’Amérique a redécouvert les limites de la puissance”, interview with Thierry de Montbrial

L’Amérique et l’Occident
“Pour une nouvelle politique américaine de paix et de sécurité”, Zbigniew Brzezinski; “Rénover l’Occident”, Dominique Moïse; “Gulliver au banc des accusés”, John G. Mason

De l’Irak à l’Afghanistan: le nouvel arc de crise

L’économie en questions
“Y a-t-il un risque de déflation mondiale?”, Patrick Artus; “Pétrole : mythe et réalité de l’hégémonie des États-Unis”, Michel Chatelus; “Mondialisation : l’ère des refus”, Eddy Fougier

Sécurité, territoires
“Violence islamiste et terrorisme international”, Alain Chouet; “Les réseaux terroristes islamistes : moins puissants, plus violents”, François Legaré; “SRAS et bioterrorisme : au risque de la mondialisation”, Antoine Andremont

L’avenir des Nations unies

Europe(s)

Religions et histoire
Other publications

Philippe Moreau Defarges

Books


Articles


Thierry de Montbrial

Books

L’action et le système du monde, 2nd edition, Quadrige 2003, PUF (Several translations forthcoming).


Article


Ethan Kapstein

Books

Income and Influence. Social Policy in Emerging Economies
with Branko Milanovic, Upjohn Institute, 2003.
When Markets Fail: Social Policy and Economic Reform
with Branko Milanovic, Russell Sage, 2003

Articles

the library and the document center

The Library

The Guy Ladreit de Lacharrière Library, named after a former chairman of the board of Ifri, is run by Dominique Desgranges, who is assisted by Dina Marx and Olivier Javay. It inherited the library of the Centre d’études de politique étrangère and includes remarkable collections on the first half of the twentieth century and foreign journals from that era (the Royal Institute of International Affairs' Bulletin of International News, the Far Eastern Survey, Pacific Affairs, etc.). It also holds a large collection of works on World War I from the Carnegie Foundation and interesting documents on World War II.

The Library, which is continually updated, today possesses nearly 32,000 French and foreign volumes on international relations issues. Every year, the Library serves large numbers of readers, Ifri members, students, teachers, researchers and journalists specializing in international relations. It also subscribes to some 250 French and foreign journals.

The Documentation Center

The Documentation Center, which covers international, economic, political and strategic current affairs, is mainly reserved for Ifri’s researchers. The Center compiles and processes information from electronic sources (websites, press agencies) and print sources (daily and weekly press, unofficial papers, etc.), which it stores on internal databases and in press files.

The Center’s documentation specialists – Guity Banum-Bailey, Dominique Desgranges (documentation manager) and Daniel Marier, and two assistants, Azra Isakovic and Gerardo Ramos – also monitor information sources in the researchers’ subject areas (mostly via the Internet) in order to keep abreast with the main sources of specialized information. They also disseminate information in various documentary formats and carry out individual research projects. The Center’s documentation specialists play a key role in the major research projects conducted at Ifri.
the team
(as at 31 December 2003)

Direction

Thierry de Montbrial, member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, president
Pierre Lepetit, executive vice-president
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 vice-president

Development Department

Dominique Letourneur, vice-president for development
Jean-Louis Andreu, Aymar de Lastour, Augustin Renaud, advisors for corporate members
Martine Breux, Marie-Josèphe Turpault, assistants
Natacha Crance, membership assistant

Secretarial Assistants

Marie-Claire Bani Amer, Europe
Nicole Bedel, CFE
Cécile Campagne, Asia and Cerfa
Jeanne Frey, Middle East/North Africa
Françoise Thomas, Security

Research

Christophe Bertossi, research fellow, Citizenship, Immigration
Florence Biot, project co-ordinator of the Centre asie ifri
Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, research associate, Asia-Pacific area
Frédéric Bozo, senior research associate, NATO, European security
Corentin Brustlein, research assistant, Security and strategic issues
Anne-Lorraine Bujon de l’Estang, CFE project co-ordinator
Dominique David, head of security studies, Security and strategic issues
Claire Demesmay, research fellow, Germany, Franco-German relations, Europe
Christile Druilhe, research fellow, Asia-Pacific area
Etienne de Durand, research fellow, Strategic and military issues
Eddy Fouger, research fellow, Reactions to globalization, civil society
François Godement, director of the Centre asie ifri, Asia-Pacific area
Thomas Gomart, research associate, Russia
Jolyon Howorth, senior research associate, European security
Jean Klein, senior research associate, Germany, disarmament
Aline Leboeuf, research fellow, Security and strategic issues
Maxime Lefebvre, research fellow, European issues
Guy Legras, scientific advisor, Agricultural policies
Remy Leveau, scientific advisor, Arab muslim world
Luis Miotto, senior fellow, Economic growth, competitiveness
Khadija Mohsen-Finan, head of Middle-East and North Africa studies, Immigration, Islam in Europe
Dominique Moïsi, special advisor, Transatlantic relations, European issues
Philippe Moreau Deffarges, senior research fellow, Globalization, European issues
Elaine Mossé, senior research fellow, Central and Eastern Europe
Laurence Nardon, research associate, Space policies and industries
Francoise Nicolas, senior research fellow, Emerging economies and development
Pierre Noel, research fellow, United States
Guillaume Parmentier, director of the French Center on the United States (CFE), Transatlantic relations, NATO
Jean-Marie Paugam, senior fellow, International trade, WTO
Pierre Rainelli, senior research fellow, Agricultural policies
Frédérique Sachwald, head of economic studies, Globalization, innovation, corporate strategy
Dorothée Schmid, research fellow, Middle-East, Mediterranean
Régine Serra, research fellow, Asia-Pacific area
Hans Stark, secretary general of the Cerfa, Franco-German relations, European issues
Vincent Vasques, research assistant, Economy
François Vergniolle de Chantal, research fellow, United States (domestic policy)

Researchers’ biographies are available on the Ifri website <www.ifri.org>.
Changes in the staff in 2003

Leaving Ifri:
Jacques Beltran, research fellow, security
May Chartouni-Dubarry, research fellow, Middle East, Arab world, Mediterranean
Philippe Colombani, research fellow, geopolitics of resources
Anita Tiraspolsky, senior research associate, Central and Eastern Europe, CEI

Joining Ifri
Christophe Bertossi, research fellow
Florence Biot, project co-ordinator, Centre asie ifri
Anne-Lorraine Bujon de l’Estang, CFE project co-ordinator
Aline Leboeuf, research fellow
Guy Legras, scientific advisor
Luis Miotti, senior fellow
Jean-Marie Paugam, senior fellow
Pierre Rainelli, senior research fellow
Dorothee Schmid, research fellow
Vincent Vasques, research assistant

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
Benoit de Treglodé, research associate

Interns

Germany
Max Buege, IEP, Paris
Timon Perabo, IEP, Rennes – Humboldt Universität, Berlin
Sophie Hofmann, IEP, Paris
Gerrit Schломach, IEP, Paris
Esther Moeller, Maison de Rhénanie-Palatinat
Janine Ziegler, University of Munchen

United States
Jessica Kraintz, American University of Paris
Sandra Gonzalez, IEP, Paris
Timothy Campbell, IEP, Paris
Angela Wallace, University Jean Moulin, Lyon 3

France
Florian Kessler, University of Paris V
Guillaume Launay, University of Marne-la-Vallée
Linda Oulmane, University of Paris II Assas
Marguerite Collignan, University of Paris X Nanterre
Carine Chichkowsky, University of Paris II Assas
Benoit Auguste, University of Paris I Panthéon
Valentine de Crévoisier d’Hurbache, IEP, Paris
Fanny Blanchi, IEP, Grenoble
Amelie Jacquet, ISIT, Paris
Rachid Zairi, University of Paris XIII Nord
Benoit Auguste, IEP, Paris
Helene Wulfman, IEP, Paris
Marianne Kac-Vergne, École normale supérieure, Cachan

Russia
Ksenia Tratchouk, MGIMO-Moscow/IEP, Paris

Sri Lanka
Eleanor Pavey, IEP, Paris

Administrative Staff
Florent Baran, vice-president for finance and administration
Corinne Bureau, assistant vice-president for finance and administration
Bernadette Chartrin, accounting
Françoise Henry, secretary
Daniel Marier, webmaster
Daniel Safon, information system supervisor

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

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

Library, Documentation Center
Dominique Desgranges, head of the library and documentation
Guity Banan-Bailey, political issues
Dina Degas-Max, library
Daniel Marier, political issues
Olivier Javay, library
Gaëlle Laudrin, economic issues

Reception:
Dayra Gastine, Catherine Meniane
board of directors

(as at 31 December 2003)

Chairman
Bertrand Collomb
Chairman of Lafarge

Deputy Chairman and Secretary
René Galy-Dejean
Member of Parliament and Mayor of the 15th district in Paris

Deputy Chairman and Treasurer
Michel François-Poncet
Vice-Chairman of BNP Paribas

Members
• Robert Badinter
  Former Minister, Senator
• François Bujon de l’Estang
  Ambassador of France, Chairman of Citigroup France
• Michel Camdessus
  Honorary Governor of the Banque de France, former Managing Director of the IMF
• Bertrand Dufourcq
  Ambassador of France
• Alain Dupont
  Chairman and CEO of Colas
• Pierre Joxe
  Former Minister, Member of the Conseil Constitutionnel
• Philippe Jurgensen
  President and CEO of Anvar
• Jacques de Larosière
  Honorary Governor of the Banque de France, Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques
• Marcelle Long
  Honorary vice-President of the Conseil d’État
• Philippe Marini
  Senator
• Jean Peyrelevade
  Former Chairman and CEO of Crédit Lyonnais
• Jean Rannou
  Former Air Force Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor of the Court of Accounts
• Louis Schweitzer
  Chairman and CEO of Renault
• Yves-Thibault de Silguy
  Senior Executive vice-President in charge of international affairs of Suez
• Jean-François Troglic
  National Secretary of CFDT
• Hubert Védrine
  Former Minister
• André Villeneuve
  Chairman of Euronext.LIFFE
• Xavier de Villepin, Senator
• Prosper Weil
  Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques
## Consolidated accounts (euros)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXPENDITURE</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>INCOME</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure</td>
<td>90 090</td>
<td>64 950</td>
<td>Public grants</td>
<td>2 122 026</td>
<td>1 625 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stationary</td>
<td>51 594</td>
<td>27 026</td>
<td>Donations and members subscriptions</td>
<td>1 218 482</td>
<td>1 170 552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power and water</td>
<td>18 075</td>
<td>18 467</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>6 706</td>
<td>6 177</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper for Ifri's journal</td>
<td>13 715</td>
<td>13 280</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other expenditures</td>
<td>1 749 163</td>
<td>1 598 282</td>
<td>Research funding</td>
<td>1 382 196</td>
<td>1 341 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing</td>
<td>140 946</td>
<td>109 758</td>
<td>Subscriptions to Ifri's Journal</td>
<td>123 267</td>
<td>133 934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rentals for machinery</td>
<td>94 877</td>
<td>86 123</td>
<td>Other income</td>
<td>52 332</td>
<td>42 541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance</td>
<td>89 549</td>
<td>104 284</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>13 407</td>
<td>20 274</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentation</td>
<td>105 406</td>
<td>77 726</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honoraria and professional services</td>
<td>607 168</td>
<td>555 388</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donations, membership subscription</td>
<td>13 618</td>
<td>14 648</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General travel and meetings</td>
<td>534 214</td>
<td>502 742</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postage and telephone</td>
<td>148 725</td>
<td>130 339</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundry expenses</td>
<td>1 253</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>214 615</td>
<td>205 629</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff costs</td>
<td>2 613 857</td>
<td>2 291 085</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depreciation and provisions</td>
<td>369 036</td>
<td>314 686</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deferred grant income</td>
<td>106 825</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operational activities expenditures</td>
<td>5 036 761</td>
<td>4 581 457</td>
<td>Operational activities income</td>
<td>4 898 303</td>
<td>4 315 401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial costs</td>
<td>19 555</td>
<td>12 410</td>
<td>Financial income</td>
<td>64 829</td>
<td>49 702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exceptionnal costs</td>
<td>1 196</td>
<td>18 450</td>
<td>Exceptionnal income</td>
<td>119 150</td>
<td>178 519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net income for the year</td>
<td>24 770</td>
<td>18 450</td>
<td>Net expenditure for the year</td>
<td>70 695</td>
<td>70 695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL EXPENDITURE</td>
<td>5 082 282</td>
<td>4 612 317</td>
<td>TOTAL INCOME</td>
<td>5 082 282</td>
<td>4 612 317</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Consolidated balance sheet (euros)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Net value</td>
<td>Cost</td>
<td>Depreciation provisions</td>
<td>net value</td>
<td>Funds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fixed assets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intangible assets</td>
<td>46 110</td>
<td>281 478</td>
<td>273 513</td>
<td>7 965</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangible assets</td>
<td>8 495 342</td>
<td>10 783 780</td>
<td>2 518 517</td>
<td>8 265 263</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial assets</td>
<td>25 280</td>
<td>32 527</td>
<td>10 061</td>
<td>22 466</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current assets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIXED ASSETS</td>
<td>8 566 732</td>
<td>11 097 785</td>
<td>2 802 091</td>
<td>8 295 694</td>
<td>FUNDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current assets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inventories</td>
<td>2 727</td>
<td>2 310</td>
<td>2 310</td>
<td></td>
<td>Creditors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepayments and</td>
<td>50 743</td>
<td>29 575</td>
<td>29 575</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bank overdrafts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accrued income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Accounts payable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounts receivable</td>
<td>406 211</td>
<td>569 487</td>
<td>569 487</td>
<td></td>
<td>and other liabilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others debtors</td>
<td>34 630</td>
<td>27 324</td>
<td>27 324</td>
<td></td>
<td>Taxes and social security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portfolio (fixed interests)</td>
<td>1 903 824</td>
<td>2 051 169</td>
<td>2 051 169</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accruals and deferred income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank balances</td>
<td>168 424</td>
<td>54 222</td>
<td>54 222</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepaid costs</td>
<td>77 779</td>
<td>65 829</td>
<td>65 829</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CURRENT ASSETS</td>
<td>2 644 338</td>
<td>2 799 916</td>
<td>2 799 916</td>
<td></td>
<td>CURRENT LIABILITIES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL ASSETS</td>
<td>11 211 070</td>
<td>13 897 701</td>
<td>2 802 091</td>
<td>11 095 610</td>
<td>TOTAL LIABILITIES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ifri sponsors three associations:

- **ADIFLOR (Association for the International Promotion of French Language Books, Works and Reviews):** Founded in 1985 by Xavier Deniau, ADIFLOR distributes French language books in around one hundred countries that lack the material and financial infrastructure to ensure the adequate distribution of French language publications. Ifri has provided ADIFLOR with around one ton of books a year since 1995.

- **ENFANCE ET PARTAGE:** Founded in 1979, this association works to protect the rights of children. It deals with around 1000 cases a year of children subjected to physical and sexual abuse (legal aid, psychological aid, social assistance, and prevention).

- **HANDISPORT – LES BOUCHONS DE L’ESPOIR:** Founded in 1999, this association collects plastic bottle stoppers for recycling. The proceeds raised are used to buy specially adapted wheelchairs for disabled people wishing to take up a sport.