



The French Institute of International Relations

Annual Report 2004

Knowledge for action in a complex world

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Message from the President

In 2004, vast transformations continued in the political, economic, and social arenas, notably the great strides made on European Union enlargement and the uneasiness caused by the opening of negotiations with Turkey.

The outlook for European construction and the Union's relations with the entire Eurasian continent appears as one of the keys to the world's future. Ifri thus launched two main initiatives in the past year: the first one is the creation of an office in Brussels — Eur-Ifri — that should gradually bolster our European-level research and debate capacity and foster emergence of shared visions in Europe. The second one is the establishment of a research unit focused on Russia/CIS and intended to further understanding of the upheavals underway in that part of the world and foster more constructive dialogue between the continent's two main components.

Globalization makes better governance an urgent need in every area. Ifri has devoted in-depth reflection to various aspects of that issue, notably concerning world trade. I would also like to draw your attention to a major study on growth potential in France and Europe.

Rémy Leveau passed away early this year. I wish to pay tribute here to a personality as eminent as he was endearing and to his substantial contribution to our Middle East unit. The reflection he was pursuing on the integration of Muslim populations resulting from immigration to Europe, to which he justifiably attached great importance, has also greatly inspired our work and thereby introduced a new research focus.

I would like to thank Ifri staff, who have participated in the internal changes needed to consolidate a unique institution in France, and Ifri partners whose unfailing support has stimulated and encouraged us.

Thierry de Montbrial

Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques



The French Institute of International Relations The foremost independent French think tank

"Vigilant scrutineer of the geopolitical universe, Ifri has over a generation risen to the rank of one of the world's foremost global institutes".

Jacques Chirac, November 1999.



The French institute of international relations (Ifri) is France's main independent center for research and debate devoted to analysis of international issues.

Founded in 1979 by Thierry de Montbrial, Ifri is the first French think tank based on the Anglo-Saxon model. Its mission is to spur debate among actors and analysts of the international scene and pursue in-depth thinking on contemporary world challenges free of constraint. Its activity has two main focuses:

- develop applied research in public policy with an international scope
- foster dialogue and constructive interaction between researchers, practitioners and opinion leaders.

Like its international counterparts, Ifri has a multi-faceted identity. By producing analyses, stimulating public debate and generating ideas, the institute is a key player in a network of major international think tanks. Through its analyses and research work, it furthers public debate in France and in Europe and guides decision-making.

For over 25 years, Ifri has been striving to contribute to a better mutual understanding among nations. Its team shares a set of values that defines the institute's identity:

- liberty and accountability
- tolerance, non-partisanship, open-mindedness
- intellectual rigor and independence.

Ifri's independence, enshrined in its charter, notably rests on a diversification of its sources of financing that is unique in France.

Research and debate constitute the two pillars of Ifri's activities, each enhancing and stimulating the other.

Knowledge for action in a complex world

Research: knowledge for action in a complex world

A multidisciplinary research center, Ifri has assembled a team of about thirty researchers and draws on a broad range of outside specialists in France and abroad. Its researchers are involved in the major international networks and interact constantly with their counterparts abroad.

The institute's work is organized around seven research areas that can adjust as the international situation changes.

Regional approaches: Ifri runs programs on Europe and the European construction, Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States, Asia, the United States, North Africa, Middle East and Mediterranean.

Cross-disciplinary approaches: Ifri runs programs on politico-strategic trends, including transatlantic relations, the global economy (analysis of the globalization process and consequences for national economies, the outlook for international trade and farming policies, and so on) and global issues (international governance, resource management – particularly energy, environment, migration).

Enriching the public debate

Debate fostered at Ifri is intended to offer the widest possible range of interpretations. The institute provides an informal and non-partisan forum for discussion with public and private actors, analysts and experts from France and abroad. Ifri organizes meetings in various forms:

- talks and discussions involving actors from the international scene and French and foreign experts
- international conferences
- research seminars
- closed-door meetings with leading personalities
- informal meetings between international decision-makers and corporate members' executives.

Since 1979, Ifri has organized: 950 talks, 75 international conferences, 325 meetings with leading French or foreign personalities. The institute has been host to many state and government leaders.

Publications / dissemination of the work: providing keys for deciphering current events

Ifri publishes the quarterly review *Politique étrangère* – the oldest French review of international relations and, yearly since 1981, the *RAMSES* report, the standard reference on major world trends with average print runs of about 10,000 copies. Ifri publishes its research work in several collections:

The "Notes de l'Ifri", the "Travaux et Recherches de l'Ifri", the "Cahiers d'Asie" and "Les Nouvelles de Chine" published by the Centre asie ifri, the CFE's "Policy Papers", the "Notes du Cerfa" and "Visions franco-allemandes" published by the Research center on Franco-German relations (Cerfa) and via www.ifri.org

A new goal, new objectives

Since its creation, Ifri has focused on a twofold imperative: foster public awareness of international issues and strengthen the presence of France in international political, economic and strategic circles.

Today, Ifri is working to develop the European dimension of its activities and expects to become:

- A European laboratory of ideas and analyses to stimulate international public debate
- A European actor engaged in dialogue and debate with its counterparts from other continents.

In an increasingly globalized world where the "market of ideas" has opened up and where there has been an explosion of information, Ifri has contributed to the flow of qualified information. The increasingly international scope of its projects and analyses has made it a place for development of policy options to advance research of solutions to the major global issues and a reference for economic, political and social decision-makers worldwide.

Research and debate 2004 highlights



Europe on the move

"With the external Soviet empire's disintegration in 1989, it became clear that what was still known as the European Community would be caught up in a veritable tidal wave of change. In under 20 years – a blink of an eye from a historical perspective – it has expanded from 12 to 27 members [...]. To establish political unity, two conditions will have to be met over the long haul: existence of a common culture and an organization that ensure the Union's overall coherence both internally and externally. Only time will permit emergence of a common culture. Transposing what Massimo d'Azeglio said about Italy and Italians at the time of the Risorgimento: 'We have made Europe, now we must make Europeans.'"

Thierry de Montbrial in *RAMSES 2005*.

"From the outset, the construction of Europe has radically modified the sovereignty of member nations, which have substantially entrusted their future to supranational legal bodies (the European Communities) to which they have transferred authority. Opting for the European construction is an all-embracing choice: any country choosing to participate thereby buys into building a new future where it will belong, doubtless irreversibly, to an entity that will surpass, supervise, and reshape it from top to bottom."

Philippe Moreau Defarges in *Constitution européenne, voter en connaissance de cause*.

From George W. Bush I to George W. Bush II: continuity and change

"Among the major events these past years, none has been as important for Americans as the September 11 attacks. [...] America felt violated and reacted to that crime with all the force of a society rejecting as ineffective and thus unacceptable all that made such an outrage possible [...]. For most Americans,

the approaches considered valid before September 11 had demonstrated their shortcomings and it was time to draw the necessary conclusions and establish new foundations for all international relations, not only on security, but also more generally for what is customarily called "world governance". [...] Most American observers, even among the most moderate, now consider that the world has changed enough to warrant a fundamental overhaul of the international system's rules."

Guillaume Parmentier in *Les États-Unis aujourd'hui. Choc et changement*.

European Union / Russia: the misunderstanding

"Progressing, losing ground, or in a dead end? In the aftermath of the twin NATO and EU enlargements, the partnership between the European Union and Russia is more than ever at the crossroads. A natural but unstable partnership, it is suffering today from an accumulation of disappointments in recent years as well as from practical difficulties [...]. More than an ordinary cooperative arrangement but less than actual integration, the partnership expresses a shared desire to establish a 'strength-to-strength' dialogue but has struggled to dissipate a misunderstanding on the values and interests that are supposed to be fueling it. That tension between values and interests is attributable to the profound differences in nature and purpose between the two parties. Convinced of its righteousness and values, the Union has considered Russia as a mission area – not without some condescension. Encumbered by the implications of its superpower status and focused on its immediate interests, Russia has not hesitated to reduce the Union to its economic dimension – not without a hint of scorn."

Thomas Gomart in *Politique étrangère* n°2/2004.

China's implacable rise

"Is it an unprecedented historic development or a return to the imperial past? Under the Tang and Song dynasties (7th and 8th centuries), China's demography and economy already carried considerable weight compared to other centers of world civilization. In a compartmentalized world, however, [...] China's size did not project power beyond its borders. [...] Is it possible that a historical parenthesis opened at the end of the Qianlong era (1796), China's last great period of influence, is ending today with the current return of Chinese influence benefiting moreover from the globalization process that tends to amplify each protagonist's gains and losses?"

François Godement in *Asie - Chine, Indonésie, Japon, Malaisie, Pakistan, Viêt-nam...*

"China's rise in East Asia has not been limited to the central role played by its economy [...] in the region's growth dynamic, it is also reflected in the progressive assertion of regional ambitions. Although various economic diplomacy measures in recent years seem to reflect Beijing's desire to ease its neighbors' fears (notably within ASEAN) [...], China's leaders are probably also seeking to both defend the country's interests in the region and impose it alongside if not instead (or ahead) Japan as the regional economic leader."

Françoise Nicolas in *Politique étrangère*, n°2/2004.

Islam and politics

"The relationship between Islam and politics must now be reconsidered notably in the light of the failed Islamic revolution in Iran and emergence of Islamic parties playing by the rules of parliamentary pluralism in Turkey,



Lebanon, and Morocco, for example. The problem of Islamic parties exercising political power and following democratic game rules thus lies at the heart of the debate. That should nonetheless not prevent coming back to the question of the sometimes ambiguous nature of the doctrinal relations between those formations and political institutions.”

“As the stakes of Turkey’s admission to Europe come into focus, [...] the debate actually concerns the limits of the European identity with the Islam question the main issue. The related issue of Islam and immigration will gain intensity at a stroke. [...] Few see the stakes in terms of globalization and construction around the European Union of a area of regional security that would incorporate in various forms in Europe a significant part of its Muslim cultural environment.”

Rémy Leveau (to be published).

Challenges of the second nuclear age

“The idea is to consolidate the traditional non-proliferation regimes and to act preventively to neutralize terrorist organizations and lawless, unreliable nations tempted to promote their nihilist intentions. The United States and the European Union have converging positions in that regard [...]. However, we can question the pertinence of an approach that [...] would disregard the contribution of arms control and disarmament to establishment of a new collective security system. The conflicts that have arisen between the nuclear Haves and Haves-Nots [...] do not augur well for the consolidation of a regime whose discriminatory aspects have deeply troubled a growing number of nations.”

Jean Klein in *RAMSES 2005*.

“The biological weapons issue reflects many of the current areas of conflict. Such weapons could draw tomorrow on relatively simple technologies with great development and dissemination potential. They could become usable by very limited groups of people. International means of control (agreements, treaties, verification) appear very out of sync with a reality subject to rapid change. And the destructive impact of such weapons would be devastating for public morale and thus for the stability of society.”

Dominique David in *Politique étrangère*, n°1/2005.

WTO: regulation at standstill

“The Cancun failure [showed that] public opinion is hostile to a project not in phase with its concerns: delocalizations, economic insecurity, ‘financial layoffs’. Regulation has not provided a response for globalization’s losers, even if trade has not always been responsible for their difficulties.[...] The agreement [Geneva 2004] allowed resumption of the negotiation cycle initiated in Doha, without [however] the European proposal to add to the ‘spontaneous ordering’ resulting from economic globalization an order determined by rules and multilateral governance via the WTO and a broad-based negotiation cycle: ‘regulation’ counterbalancing liberalization[...]. By omitting the compensation, the European vision of regulation condemned itself to failure. [...] Europe must go further and faster via creation of a European mechanism to support the incomes and retraining of workers when international trade displaces their jobs. The European program would rest on three founding principles: creation of a direct financial link to individual citizens, proportionality of aid to national solidarity

programs [...], and subsidiarity [...].”

Jean-Marie-Paugam and Denis Tersen

in *Politique étrangère*, n°3/2004.

France: growth stalled

“The living standards of the French have risen less rapidly than those of the Americans for nearly a quarter of a century. Citizens are more focused on the persistently high unemployment and the emergence of new inequalities. The recent track record of the French economy is of course influenced by Europe’s mediocre economic performance and by macroeconomic policies, but can be traced back to the fact that our productive model has not evolved sufficiently since the 1980s. [...] France can only embark on a new growth path if the organization of the economy becomes more conducive to the spread of technological progress in industry and services and to the development of the most innovative sectors. [...] Economic policies must take due account of the complementarity that exists between companies’ increased needs for flexibility and wage-earners’ demands for income security. [...] Moreover, international comparisons show that certain European countries have managed to boost the process of creative destruction, without renouncing a high level of social protection. These countries have in fact started to renew the objectives and means of their system of social protection. Their experience suggests that France could simultaneously modify its growth path and do a better job of combating inequalities.”

Frédérique Sachwald and Luis Miotti,

with the collaboration of Françoise Nicolas, in *Growth in France: 1950-2030. The Innovation Challenge*.

In 2004 Ifri was notably host to . . .



- A** MAHDI ABDUL-HADI, Chairman and Founder, Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA), Jerusalem; SAMIM AKGÖNÜL, Research Fellow, French National Center for Scientific Research, CNRS, Strasbourg; GRANT ALDONAS, Under-Secretary for International Trade, US Department of Commerce; ILHAM ALIEV, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan; THOMAS ANDERSSON, President, International Organisation for Knowledge Economy and Enterprise Development (IKED), Malmö (Sweden); PASCALE ANDRÉANI, European Affairs adviser to the French Prime Minister; GILLES ANDRÉANI, Director, Policy Planning Staff, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- B** ABDULLAH AHMAD BADAWI, Malaysia's Prime Minister; Ambassador PETER BALAS, Hungary's Permanent Representative to the WTO; PEKIN BARAN, Vice Chairman of the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (Tusiad), Turkey; DOUG BEREUTER, US Representative (Nebraska); CHRISTOPH BERTRAM, Director of the Research Institute of the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin; CHRISTIAN BLANC, MP (France); Senator ANTHONY BLINKEN, Member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington; Ambassador AVIS BOHLEN, Woodrow Wilson International Center, former US Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Arms Control, Washington; EMMA BONINO, former European Commissioner; JEAN-LOUIS BOURLANGES, MEP; DOMINIQUE BORDE, Senior Partner Paul, Hastings, Janofsky & Walker, Paris; IVAN BORTNIK, President, Foundation for Assistance to Small Innovative Enterprises, Moscow; CARLOS BRAGA, Senior Adviser, Department of International Trade, World Bank; MARC PERRIN DE BRICHAMBAUT, Director for Strategic Affairs, French Defense Ministry.
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- D** URI DADUSH, Director of Trade and Director of the Group of Economic Prospects, World Bank; THÉRÈSE DELPECH, Director for Strategic Studies, French Atomic Energy Agency (CEA), Paris; KEMAL DERVIS, former Vice President of the World Bank, former Turkey's Minister of Economy, MP; IRINA DEZHINA, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for the Economy in Transition, Moscow; ROGER DIWAN, Managing Director of PFC Energy's Market and Countries Group, Washington; EDWARD P. DJEREJIAN, Director, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Houston; TATIANA DMITRIEVA, former Minister of Health, Moscow.
- E** RECEP TAYYIP ERDOGAN, Prime Minister of Turkey; GARETH EVANS, former Australia's Foreign Affairs Minister, President, International Crisis Group.
- F** GEORG FAHRENSCHON, MP (Germany), Vice President of the Junge Union; YURI FEDOROV, Director of the Research Centre on War and Peace, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO); JOSEF FEITER, Secretary General of the Committee of Professional Agricultural Organizations in the EU (COPA), Brussels; Senator JEAN FRANÇOIS-PONCET, former French Foreign Affairs Minister, Paris; RÜDIGER FRANK, Professor, Institute for East Asian Studies, University of Vienna, Austria.
- G** HERVÉ GAYMARD, French Minister for Agriculture, Food, Fisheries and Rural Affairs; BRONISLAW GEREMEK, Poland's former Foreign Affairs Minister; CARLOS GHOSN, Chief Executive Officer, Nissan Motor Co., Ltd.; PHIL GOFF, New Zealand's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Justice; CHARLES GRANT, Director of the Centre for European Reform, London; OWEN GREENE, Professor, Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford (U.K.); ALFRED GROSSER, Professor Emeritus, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, Chairman of CIRAC; Sir JEREMY GREENSTOCK, U.K.'s Special Representative for Iraq; ÉLISABETH GUIGOU, MP, former French Minister.
- H** US Senator CHUCK HAGEL (Nebraska); CLAUDIE HAIGNERÉ, French Delegate Minister for European Affairs; TOM HART, Professor, Stockholm School of Economics; CAROLINA HERNANDEZ, President, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS), Manila; PHILIPPE HERZOG, MEP, Vice President of the Commission of Economic and Monetary Affairs; STANLEY HOFFMANN, Paul and Catherine Buttenwieser University Professor at Harvard; CHRIS HUGHES, Director, Asia Research Center, London School of Economics; JAE-HYUN HYUN, President, Dong Yang Group, Seoul.
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* This list is not exhaustive. It notably does not include many experts that make major contributions to Ifri's work.

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(as at April 30, 2005)

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• Marie-Claire Bani-Amer, Assistant

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Dominique David, Editor-in-chief

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Marielle Roubach • Delphine Renard, Editorial Assistants

Researchers' biographies are available on the Ifri website (www.ifri.org).

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• Françoise Henry, Assistant • Dayra Gastine, Receptionist

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Library and Resource Center

Olivier Javay • Daniel Marier • Dina Marx

• Azra Isakovich • Alain Riclet

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Nathalie Hartmann, Head of facilities

Selim Bouabsa, Mustapha Zitouni

Information system

Daniel Safon, Information System Supervisor

• Daniel Marier, Webmaster

2004 annual report

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Research

Europe

Research and debate focused on three themes: the European Constitution, enlargement of the Union and the 2007-2013 budget that will determine the enlarged Union's financial means. Ifri contributed objective analysis and information to the debate on each of those themes.

Researchers: *Philippe Moreau Defarges*; *Maxime Lefebvre* (institutions, enlargement, financing the Union, foreign and defense policy); *Christophe Bertossi* (European's citizenship, institutions, identities, borders).



Bronislaw Geremek,
Thierry de Montbrial,
Angela Schwall-Düren.

- **The European Constitution.** Conceived as a major step to make it easier for the EU to meet the challenges of enlargement, the constitutional treaty adopted June 18, 2004 by the European Council was the subject of a public debate with *Olivier Duhamel* and *Jean-Louis Bourlanges*, Members of the European Parliament ("Toward a European Constitution?", January 22). *P. Moreau Defarges* analyzed what was at stake in *Comprendre la Constitution européenne* and *La Constitution européenne en question* and *M. Lefebvre* expressed his views in two "Policy Papers": *L'Europe aura-t-elle sa Constitution?*, "Policy Paper" No. 7, Ifri, January 2004 and *La Constitution européenne: Bilan d'un accouchement* (2002-2004), "Policy Paper" No. 8, Paris, Ifri, September 2004 (available at www.ifri.org).
- **Enlargement.** Ifri celebrated the EU's historic enlargement to 25 by contributing actively to the "Polish season in France" (*Nova Polska*, May-December 2004) at the initiative of *M. Lefebvre*. In that context, a roundtable discussion on "The Future of the Weimar Triangle" with *Bronislaw Geremek*, former Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, and *Angela Schwall-Düren*, Vice President of the SPD parliamentary group, was held on May 17. On November 10, a one-day Franco-Polish conference "Franco-Polish perceptions of Europe" opened by the Delegate Minister for European Affairs, *Claudie Haigneré*, and the Polish Secretary of State, *Jaroslav Pietras*, Head of the Committee for European Integration, provided an opportunity for in-depth discussion of the enlarged Europe and its relations with its neighbors and the transatlantic ally.

On the eve of the publication of the October European Commission report on Turkey's accession request, Ifri devoted several debates to the Turkish candidacy. *Michel Rocard*, *Emma Bonino* and *Albert Rohan*, members of the Independent Commission on Turkey headed by *Martti Ahtisaari*, former Finnish President, presented the report prepared by that commission *Turkey in Europe: More Than a Promise?* (October 1).

- **The European Union budget.** In partnership with CEES, the Strasbourg Center for European Studies, a task-force coordinated by *M. Lefebvre* assessed the stakes of the 2007-2013 budget negotiation. The work concluded with a roundtable led by *Ralph Dassa* (CEES) on September 9 and publication of *What Budget for the EU in 2013? Instruments and Policies for an Enlarged Union*. That book opens new avenues for common policies and political strengthening of the European construction, develops various European budget scenarios through 2013 and formulates recommendations and suggestions intended to spur debate and clarify public choices. Finally, following up his previous work on the European identity and citizenship issue prompted by the settlement of immigrant populations in EU countries (Europe's capacity to foster common citizenship integrating new cultural and religious identities), *C. Bertossi* led a study on "Les militaires issus de l'immigration" with *Rémy Leveau* and *Catherine Wihtol de Wenden*.

Eur-Ifri: Ifri sets up in Brussels

Ifri opened a European branch, Eur-Ifri, in Brussels this year. Eur-Ifri's mission is to enrich the debate on Europe via a multidisciplinary approach, strengthen cooperation and exchanges of views on European issues by involving political and economic decision-makers, researchers, and experts across Europe, contribute to the development of new ideas and enhance

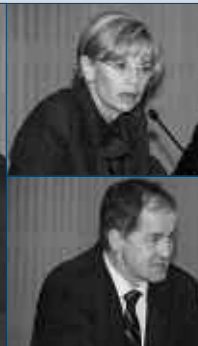
the European Commission decision-making. Eur-Ifri conducts three types of activities: policy-oriented studies, meetings, and conferences.

Eur-Ifri's Head is Pierre Defraigne. The team includes Christophe Bertossi, Research Fellow, and Marie-Hélène Fandel and Sophie Lenoble, Research Assistants.

Research Center on Franco-German Relations - Cerfa

Established in 1954, Cerfa is one of the oldest Franco-German institutions. Ifri has been playing host to Cerfa since the Institute's creation. Cerfa's mission is to contribute to better mutual understanding of the two countries' respective political and economic approaches. Cerfa is jointly administered by Ifri for France and by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP) for Germany. It is funded on an equal basis by both the French and the German Ministries of Foreign Affairs. Cerfa is a primary center for research and debate in France on Franco-German relations.

Researchers: *Hans Stark*, Secretary General (Germany's domestic and foreign policy, Franco-German relations, European integration); *Claire Demesmay* (contemporary German political culture and societal debates, Franco-German relations, identity and citizenship in Europe); *Janine Ziegler*, Research Assistant.



50 years of Franco-German relations
50 years of Cerfa: achievements and future prospects
Among the participants, from left to right and top to bottom:
Jean-Louis Bourlanges, Hans Stark, Sylvie Goulard, Mario Monti, Alfred Crosser, Wolfgang Schäuble, Elisabeth Guigou and Jo Leinen.

Cerfa has identified three research priorities.

- **Contemporary Germany.** Emphasis is given to social, economic, and political aspects (development of political formations and coalitions, the practice of citizenship, the East/West dynamic, economic reforms...) as well as to Germany's European policy and its relations with extra-Community countries. Research work is published in regular policy-papers (the "Notes du Cerfa" collection) and books. *Qui dirige l'Allemagne?*, edited by C. Demesmay and H. Stark (January 2005), will be followed by a second volume, *Qui sont les Allemands?*

- **Franco-German relations.** This program aims to further the dialogue on issues of mutual interest and major bilateral challenges, identifying areas where the two countries converge and diverge. With Franco-German relations being at the core of the European integration process, the program gives particular attention to the joint contribution made by the two countries to the European construction. Studies are regularly published in a collection of papers launched in 2004, "Visions franco-allemandes" (available at www.ifri.org).

Two seminars bringing together European experts were organized: The first one "The Franco-German couple – legitimate, effective?" (April 2), centered on the perception of the Franco-German tandem

in Europe after the Iraqi crisis and failure of the Brussels summit, as well as on the chances of developing a "multi-speed" Europe and its likely impact on the EU institutional balance and the European security and defense policy; the second one, "Financing the EU" (February 9) dealt with the European budget issue in the new context of an enlarged Europe and with the near-term financial outlook.

- **European integration.** Building on that work, Cerfa has contributed to the reflection and the public debate on the European Union's political, legal, and institutional development as well as on its foreign policy.

In particular, it co-organized a one-day Franco-Russo-German seminar "Common interests – divergent expectations? Relations between the European Union and Russia after enlargement" (June 20) with DGAP (Berlin) and MGIMO (Moscow state institute of international relations), in cooperation with the Policy Planning staff of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its German and Russian counterparts. Adaptation of the Franco-German relationship to the new European context is analyzed in the *France, Germany, Europe* collection published jointly by Cerfa and DGAP's France and Franco-German relations program.

Public discussion meetings

April 20

"European Reforms: A German Point of View".
Georg Fahrenschon, MP (Germany), Member of the Finances Committee.

May 13

"Financing the European Union After Enlargement"
Michaele Schreyer, Head of the Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit at the Council of the European Union.

June 22

"Future Prospects for Eastern Germany in the Enlarged Europe"
Sven Vollrath, Chief of staff of the President of the German Parliament, *Wolfgang Thierse*, Deputy-Chairman of the Berlin's SPD.

July 8

"Towards a Common Foreign Policy in Europe: Myth or Reality?"
Christoph Heusgen, Head of the Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit at the Council of the European Union.

September 7

"Germany's Demographic Challenge and Intergenerational Solidarity"
Philipp Missfelder, Chairman of the Junge Union, CDU's youth's organization.

October 5

"The German Economy – Performances and Reforms"
Eckhard Wurzel, Head of the Germany/Austria Unit, OECD Economics Department.

October 21

“The Role of Germany and France in the European Integration Process”

Jean-Louis Bourlanges, Member of the European Parliament, and *Karl Lamers*, former CDU’s Foreign Affairs Spokesman at the German Parliament, co-author of the “Schäuble-Lamers” memorandum (1994).

November 8

“France-Germany-Poland: a Leadership for Europe?”

Gesine Schwan, German presidential candidate 2004, President of the German-Polish University at Viadrina (Frankfurt-an-der-Oder) and Coordinator for the German-Polish relations, and *Daniel Vernet*, Head of international relations at *Le Monde*.

December 9

“France, Germany and Turkey’s Application for EU Membership”

Sylvie Goulard, a former Advisor to the President of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, Professor at the Institut d’Etudes Politiques (IEP) of Paris, and *Thomas Klau*, *Financial Times Deutschland’s* Correspondent in Brussels.

Cerfa celebrated its 50th anniversary!

Cerfa celebrated that event with a major conference “50 years of Franco-German relations, 50 years of Cerfa: achievements and future prospects” (January 24, 2005). Devoted to all issues of concern to Franco-German relations in the current year – European integration, international security, transatlantic relations, industrial bilateral cooperation, and reconciliation 60 years

after D-Day – that conference prompted open and substantive discussion among French and German political officials, business leaders, researchers, and journalists. It was supported by the French and German Ministries of Foreign Affairs, the Robert Schuman Foundation, and Robert Bosch Stiftung.

**The Franco-Austrian Center for European Economic Convergence (CFA)
European integration and Europe’s new neighbors**

The CFA is a Franco-Austrian intergovernmental organization created in 1978 to foster development of economic relations between West and East European countries. Its head office is in Vienna. Thierry de Montbrial has been President since 1985. Ambassador Peter Jankowitsch (Vienna) is Secretary General. Besides the founder Members – Austria, France, Hungary, and Poland – the CFA now includes the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, and Romania. Ifri has contributed to the development and organization of a program of meetings and conferences held alternately in each member country in cooperation with the Vienna head office.

In charge of the CFA program: *Dominique Letourneur*, Ifri’s Delegate, and *Éliane Mossé*, Ifri Advisor to the CFA.

Since the early 1990s, the CFA has been focusing on the integration of European Union candidate countries. The enlargements of 2004 led to a refocusing of the events on the “new neighbors”. That refocusing will be extended in 2005.

2004 Meetings

International conferences. These conferences provided the occasion for fruitful discussions between representatives of the governments and administrations of host countries as well as experts of all member countries.

Prague, May 5-6

“Which Economic Policy for an Enlarged Europe?”. The discussions focused mainly on the reassessment of Europe’s macroeconomic policy tools (stability pact, ECB strategy...) in an enlarged Europe.

Bratislava, June 28-29

“The Security of Citizens in an Enlarged Europe: Prevention and Fight against Organized Crime and Terrorism”. With border controls looser in the new member countries than among the Fifteen, enlargement raises major challenges – notably increased risks of infiltration by terrorist networks. The conference examined means to meet those challenges.

Vilnius, October 14-15

“Enlarged Europe and Its Neighborhood”. Emphasis was given to economic, political and strategic relations between the European Union and notably Russia, Ukraine or Serbia represented by many experts.



Workshop

Paris, December 3

Franco-Austrian Bilateral Conference: “Europe’s New Institutions”

Experts, parliamentarians, magistrates, representatives of the French and Austrian Ministries of Foreign Affairs assessed the new operating rules of European institutions and the changes resulting from the constitutional treaty.

Breakfast meetings

Paris, March 12

“Romania, Next Member of the EU”

with *Olivia Gherman*, Ambassador of Romania to Paris, *Catherine Durandin*, Professor at the French Institute for Oriental Languages (INALCO), and *Gabor Hunya*, Economist, Vienna.

Paris, April 19

“Austria’s Regional Policies in Central Europe”

with Ambassador *Herbert Krauss*, Director for Western and Northern Europe and for Regional Cooperation, Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Paris, November 5

“Minorities in the Enlarged Europe”

roundtable with *Nils Miznieks*, Minister for Social Integration, Republic of Latvia, *Michel Bolloré-Pellé*, President of “Eurominority”, *Claire Demesmay*, Fellow, Research Center on Franco-German Relations (Cerfa) at Ifri, and *Hubert Frasnelli*, former Member of the Parliament of South Tyrol.

Dissemination: Most presentations made during the various CFA events are available on the CFA site: www.oefz.at

The French Center on the United States - CFE

The French Center on the United States (CFE) was created in September 1999, simultaneously with the creation of the Center for the U.S. and France (that later became the Center for the U.S. and Europe) at the Brookings Institution in Washington. Its objective is to contribute to better understanding of the American system and thereby to a better mutual understanding between France and the United States. The CFE is supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). It conducts research on political, economic and social developments in the United States and on Franco-American and transatlantic relations. It regularly organizes meetings between public and private sector decision-makers and publishes policy papers and books. Its programs are defined on a multi-year basis in liaison with the companies and partners that support them. They deal with issues of common interest to leadership circles in France and the United States.

Director: *Guillaume Parmentier*. **Researchers:** *Laurence Nardon* (space Issues) ; *Maité Jauréguy* (American scientific policy), Visiting Fellow from the CSIS; *Pierre Noël* (energy issues, climate change) ; *François Vergniolle de Chantal* (American domestic policy) ; *Nicolas de Boisgrollier*, Associate Researcher, Brookings Institution (politico-administrative issues).



Annual CFE Conference with, from left to right, G. Parmentier, Thomas E. Mann and Charles E. Cook.

CFE's research work is organized in four programs: domestic policy and decision-making; foreign and security policy; energy and climate change; and space, aeronautics, and defense.

Domestic policy and decision-making.

In charge of the program: *G. Parmentier*; *F. Vergniolle de Chantal*.

The program focuses in particular on the decision process in Congress and changes in American federal government organization. In 2004, it also dealt with the stakes of the presidential campaign; the American legal culture; immigration management

by federal and state authorities; development of affirmative action. A meeting on the institutional reforms resulting from the war against terrorism (homeland security) initiated a new program devoted to that issue starting in 2005.

Discussion meetings

March 25

"Judicial Culture in the US and France" with *Antoine Garapon*, Director of the Institut des Hautes Études sur la Justice (IHEJ), and *Ioannis Papadopoulos*, Research Associate at IHEJ.

April 8

"Immigration Policies in Europe and the United States: Political Issues" with *Peter Skerry*, Boston College, Brookings Institution, and *Patrick Weil*, French Center for Scientific Research (CNRS).

May 18

"Affirmative Action Policies in the US: Are they Relevant for France?" with *Alfred Blumrosen*, University Rutgers, and *Michèle Tribalat*, French Institute for Demographic Studies (INED).

September 30

"The Institutional Consequences of the War on Terror" with *Jeffrey Stein*, Congressional Quarterly, and *Jean-Pierre Pochon*, Police General Inspector/French Institute for Advanced Securities Studies (IGPN-IHES).

Foreign and security policy

In charge of the program: *G. Parmentier*.

The emphasis was put on the transatlantic dialogue.

January 12

"French Diplomacy: US perceptions" with *Charles G. Cogan*, Historian, Senior Research Associate at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

February 19

"French-American and Transatlantic Relations Post-Saddam" with US Representative *Doug Bereuter*.

May 13

"The State of Global Trade". A Special Address by US Trade Representative *Robert B. Zoellick*

May 27

"Campaign 2004: What Matters, What will Matter?" with *Norman Ornstein*, Resident Scholar, The American Enterprise Institute, *Vincent Michelot*, University Lyon II, Senator *Anthony Blinken*, Member of the Foreign Relations Committee.

June 7

"France and the U. S. in a Transformed World" with *Jean-David Lévitte*, Ambassador of France to Washington.

October 22

"French-Economic Relations: Difficult Times Ahead?" with *Thomas Hale Boggs Jr.*, Partner and Chairman of the Executive Committee of Patton Boggs, LLP, Washington.

Energy and climate change

Researchers: *P. Noël*, in charge of the program; Associate Researcher: *David Reiner*, Judge Institute of Management, Cambridge University. The program is devoted to the study of American energy and environmental policy in the international and transatlantic context. In

2004, it focused on three themes: the international energy policy of the United States; American climate change policy; American energy and environmental policies (institutional dimension; public decision-making).

Experts seminars

May 24

“Federalism and U.S. Climate Change Policy: Business and Policy Implications of U.S. States’ Climate Actions”

Co-organized with AJW Group (Washington, D.C.), this seminar was devoted to assessing the influence of US sub-federal (states-level) climate-change policy initiatives on the policy of multinationals on the one hand and on cooperation between the federal government and its European counterparts in that regard on the other hand.

May 25

“The Future of Nuclear Energy in the United States”

Organized with support from the Atomic Energy Commission, this experts seminar focused on the American decision-making process in the nuclear energy area.

December 16-17

“Technology Policy for Climate Change Mitigation: A Transatlantic Perspective”

American federal policy on climate change mainly involves fostering R&D on energy technologies, as a substitution for the quantified reduction objectives set in the Kyoto Protocol and adopted by the Europeans.

Co-organized with Resources for the Future (RFF, Washington, D.C.) and LEPII-EPE (Grenoble University), that meeting’s objective was to re-establish a common transatlantic language in the area of international climate policy.

April 26

“Is Oil Driving U.S. Plans in the Middle East?”

Meeting co-organized with Chatham House in London.

This program resulted in five “Policy Papers” published in electronic format (see “Publications”)

Space

Researchers: *L. Nardon*, in charge of the program; *M. Jauréguy-Naudin*. In 2004, the program maintained its focus on development of American space policy. Cooperation with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS, Washington) made it possible to extend

research work to issues linked to future exploration of the universe and its industrial impacts. New questions were addressed in connection with aeronautics and security, notably nuclear proliferation.

Discussion meetings

March 12

“Shoulder-Fired Missiles and Civil Aviation: A New Terrorist Threat”, with *Christopher Bolkcom*, Congressional Research Services, and *Yossi Feinreich*, IAI Europe (Israel Aircraft Industries).

Experts seminars and workshops

March 2

“The Future of US Non-Proliferation Policy”

This joint meeting organized by CFE and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace covered the essential issues linked to nuclear proliferation – compliance with regulations and standards, use of nuclear weapons, armaments and equipment control, management of the nuclear fuel cycle, intelligence, and so on.

October 12

“The Human Space Exploration Initiative – A European Outlook (1)”

Co-organized by CFE, CSIS (Washington) and the International Space University (ISU, Strasbourg), this conference was a part of the vast research program (Human Space Exploration Initiative, HSEI) on the future of manned flight and space exploration undertaken by CSIS. Similar reflection groups have been organized in China, Japan and Russia. This meeting purpose was to present the European approach.

December 2-3

“The Human Space Exploration Initiative – A European Outlook (2)”

Held at the International Space University as a follow-up to the previous meeting, this meeting was devoted to the legal framework of space activities, with notably *Kevin Madders*, Interdisciplinary Center for Space Studies, and researchers from the Institute for Space and Telecommunications law (IDEST University Paris

Sud-XI), the European Space Agency (ESA) and Arianespace. It also dealt with the private sector’s involvement in space exploration and the financing of future projects.

December 14

“Third CFE Workshop on GPS and Galileo”

Organized with the support of Arianespace, EADS, Boeing and Lockheed Martin, this seminar focused on recent progress made in satellite navigation. The United States/Europe agreement on interoperability of the two navigation systems was presented by *Damon Wells* from the State Department, and *Eero Ailio* from the European Commission. Representatives of many companies explored the opportunities for transatlantic industrial cooperation.



CFE Fifth Annual Conference: “The United States after the 2004 Elections”, December 9-10

Annual CFE conference was devoted to an assessment of post-9/11 America as regards the domestic situation (the division in society revealed by the presidential election, repercussions of September 11 on civil liberties) and the economy (upcoming challenges). Attention was also paid to the foreign policy outlook, with emphasis given to the Middle East and the “Greater Middle East” initiative, and European integration as perceived across the Atlantic. This conference brought together representatives of political circles and researchers from France and the United States, notably on the American side, Marc E. Leland, President of the German Marshall Fund and Senator Chuck Hagel (Nebraska).

Russia/Commonwealth of Independent States

Launched in July 2004, the program's objective is to offer analyses of the Russia/CIS region and its domestic and foreign relations, combining political, economic, and security factors.

Researchers: *Thomas Gomart*, Head of program; *Tatiana Jean*, Research Assistant

The Russia/CIS program has initiated four research projects: civilian-military relations in Russia, Russia's innovation systems, interaction of Russia's energy and foreign policies, and questions linked to the geopolitical proximity of the European Union and CIS member countries.

In 2004, the department launched its first studies and organized a series of **meetings**.

February 12

"From the Duma Election to the Presidential one: Understanding the Russian Political Situation".

Breakfast discussion with *Lilia Shevtsova*, Senior Research Fellow, Moscow Carnegie Center.

October 14

"Reference Mark on Innovation in Russia".

Organized in partnership with the French Technological Research Association (ANRT) and economic studies department, this half-day seminar spotlighted recent developments in the Russian innovation system (organization and financing). The participation of representatives of French or foreign companies present in Russia and of Russian experts led to fruitful discussions

and paved the way to partnership opportunities.

November 22-23

"French-Russian Dialog on Security Issues: Tenth Workshop Ifri/MGIMO".

In the context of the "global war against terrorism" and just a few months after the Beslan tragedy, this tenth annual meeting of Ifri and MGIMO (Moscow State Institute of International Relations), organized with the security studies sector, took on a special dimension marked by the participation of two close Advisors to President Putin, *Sergey V. Yastrzhembsky*, Advisor on relations with the European Union, and *Anatoly Safonov*, Special Representative for the war against terrorism. After an international overview by *AnatolyTorkunov*, Rector of

MGIMO, and *T. de Montbrial*, the seminar dealt with three themes: the global war on terror concept (GWOT), health security and the consequences of AIDS for the military, and the EU/Russia partnership in the run-up to The Hague summit.



Projects.

The projects undertaken in 2004 will be continued with particular attention afforded to EU/Russia relations. The program includes publication of several studies and the launch of an electronic collection – "Russia.CIS.Visions" – of policy oriented papers.

Asia

Created in September 2001 within Ifri, the Centre asie ifri devotes most of its work to East Asia. Thanks to the networks developed by its researchers, the center is at the heart of a large international expertise network. Via the dialogues engaged with Asian, European, and American counterparts, the center has contributed to in-depth comparative assessment of Northeast and Southeast Asia and of the multilateral and bilateral challenges.

Director: *François Godement* Historian of contemporary East Asia and China. **Projects and coordination:** *Florence Biot*. **Researchers:** *Françoise Nicolas*, Assistant Professor, Marne-la-Vallée University (emerging economies); **Associate Researchers:** *Sophie Boisseau du Rocher* (South-East Asia and Asian regionalization) *Benoît de Tréglodé* (January-September 2004) ; **Research Assistants:** *Michal Meidan* and *Guibourg Delamotte*.



September 16-17 –
3rd APSF-Ifri meeting,
Paris: "Asian Elections
2004: Regional Security
Implications".

Founding member of the Council for Asia-Europe Cooperation (CAEC) created in 1996, the Centre asie ifri has led task forces initiated by CAEC. Findings and recommendations are presented at ASEM (Asia-Europe Meeting) summits.

Multilateral challenges and dialogues

• Euro-Asian cooperation and energy security

In 2003-2004, the task force led by *F. Godement* and *F. Nicolas* with *Taizo Yakushiji* (Japan Center for International Exchange, JCIE) for the CAEC, tackled energy security questions, common sources of concern and a priority focus for cooperation between East Asia and

Europe. That work, published in the "Cahiers d'Asie" collection (in cooperation with JCIE), was the subject of presentations in Berlin and Brussels as well as of a debate organized by Ifri, "Energy security at issue – What can Europe and Asia do?", July 7.

Moreover, a meeting on “Multilateralism and the new security challenges” was held on June 9 for a press delegation from ASEM countries in preparation for that forum’s fifth official summit in October

2004 in Hanoi. ASEM experts from Vietnam were also welcomed for an exchange of views on enlarging the forum.

• **Security and cooperation in Asia-Pacific**

F. Godement has co-chaired the European Committee (CSCAP Europe) of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) since its foundation, with Professors Owen Greene (Center for International Cooperation and Security, Bradford University, United Kingdom), Tom Hart (Stockholm School of Asian Studies), and Frank Umbach (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, DGAP, Berlin). For the past five years, the *Centre asie ifri* has been acting as the general secretariat for CSCAP Europe, under the responsibility of F. Biot in 2004.

In the security area, the *Centre asie ifri* research work has focused mainly on the Korean issue, relations between China and Taiwan, the war against terrorism in East Asia, and modes of cooperation on security matters in Asia-Pacific. The Centre’s ties to CSCAP Europe with its pool of 90 European experts and to the Asia-Pacific Security Forum (APSF), have allowed it to maintain a continuing dialogue with its counterparts on those subjects.

In 2004, the *Centre asie ifri* served as a channel for European involvement in restructuring CSCAP working groups, which focus on issues as diverse as proliferation and WMD or Asia-Pacific drug trafficking. The participation of the Centre’s experts in some of those task forces and the seat held by F. Godement on the CSCAP Steering Committee have allowed to make French and European positions and proposals on security known to Asian partners.

As co-organizer of the Asia-Pacific Security Forum, held alternately

since 2000 at the Taiwan’s Institute for National Policy Research (INPR), the Philippines’ Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS), the Hawaii-based CSIS Pacific Forum, and Ifri, the *Centre asie ifri* hosted the forum’s third annual meeting on September 16-17, 2004 in Paris: “2004 Asian Elections: Regional Security Implications”. Focused mainly on the elections held in Asia in 2004 – in South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia – and their implications for regional security, the discussions were led by F. Godement, Chih-cheng Lo, INPR Executive Director, Ralph Cossa, President of the Pacific Forum, and Carolina G. Hernandez, ISDS President. Dr. Hung-mao Tien, INPR President, opened the forum. The exchange of views extended to the US Asia-Pacific policy, EU relations with the Korean peninsula and China, regional security implications of China’s rise, development of democracy in Asia, and the Asia-Pacific transition in quest of a new status quo.

Regional Issues

• **East Asia regional integration**

The 1997-1998 financial crisis underscored the importance of interaction – positive or negative – amongst countries of the region and the necessary development of mechanisms based on a more institutional approach. Meanwhile, China’s rise has profoundly modified the organization of intra-Asia production networks and financial and trade flows. The first phase of a program devoted to the regional recomposition process underway, with particular attention given to China-related issues, was launched in 2004. Led by S. Boisseau du Rocher and F. Nicolas, the research has concentrated on South Korea’s regional policy in response to China’s rise. It has been relying on partnerships established with Korean researchers from several institutes (KIEP, KIDA, Yonsei University) and on fieldwork. The program, which has Korea Foundation backing, will end with a conference to be held in 2005 and a publication.

• **Northeast Asia**

China

Since September 2001, the *Centre asie ifri* has intensified its research work on China, developing regular contacts with the scientific community and Chinese research institutes and setting up its own **Strategic China-watch unit** that focuses mainly on analyzing political changes and China’s regional and international integration. One goal is to throw light on development of Chinese strategic thinking (including the party/army/government relationship and Popular Liberation Army modernization) and to further the analysis of Sino-American relations. It draws on international expertise. Chinese current events are regularly commented within a **dedicated study group** bringing together researchers and experts as well as an electronic publication, “Les Nouvelles de Chine”.

“Les Nouvelles de Chine”

Directed by M. Meidan and F. Godement, “Les Nouvelles de Chine”, a monthly review of Chinese analyses and viewpoints, draws mainly on the Mandarin-language press and offers unique perspective on issues currently debated in China: it is the only European bulletin devoted to Chinese policy trends and current Chinese debates (including in Hong-Kong and Taiwan).

“Les Nouvelles de Chine’s” team includes regular contributors: P. BATO, A. CEN, M. DUCHÂTEL, M. FOURNIER, H. KILIAN, TH. VOÏTA, J. ZYLBERMAN; M. AUROY, F. BIOT, C. CAVOIZY, CH. CHAIGNE, V. DEMEURE-VALLÉE, L. DUTREY, B. FREUGÉ, C. FROISSART, O. GRIESE, G. GUIHEUX, E. JASTRABSKY, A. MERLE, P. MIÈGE, J.-L. ROCCA, I. SARSEMBAEV, E. TRAN. With the cooperation of F. NICOLAS, the CEFC and the Experimental Human and Social Sciences office in Beijing.



Roundtables and discussion meetings

June 18

“The People’s Liberation Army (PLA): Doctrinal Developments, Modernization and Relationship with Political Power”

The study group’s annual meeting provided the oppor-

tunity for a close look at the PLA and, more generally, Chinese military and strategic thinking with a prospective analysis by *Jonathan Pollack*, US Naval War College, Newport.

Korean peninsula

The peninsula’s strategic situation underwent drastic change with North Korea allegedly joining the ranks of declared nuclear powers. Based on Chinese mediation and pre-figuring a Northeast Asia regional dialogue, the six-party-talks in Beijing have stalled. The *Centre asie ifri*’s analyses and meetings provide valuable insights to understand the complexity of North Korean policy and the international positioning around the North Korean nuclear and ballistic missile program.

Conferences and discussion meetings

May 3

“Conference Centre asie ifri-Seoul Forum for International Affairs”

The *Centre asie ifri*-Seoul Forum for International Affairs dialogue provides Korean and French experts with an opportunity for regular in-depth discussions. Following introductory remarks by *Lee Hong-koo*, former Prime Minister, and *T. de Montbrial*, on changes of the international context since September 11,

2001, the discussions, led by *F. Godement* and *Kyung-Won Kim*, Chair of the Seoul Forum, focused on the Korean peninsula and proliferation issues, recent political developments in Korea and Europe, and the French and Korean viewpoints on current economic trends.

Japan

The Japan research program is intended to shed light on the current opening and reform process. It puts particular emphasis on Japanese-American relations, regional commitments, and questioning about Japan’s defense policy.

Political continuity, relative improvement in the economic situation, and initiation of major social reforms, particularly on pensions, marked 2004 along with major developments on defense. In foreign policy matters, Japan has been more assertive in its relations with the United Nations, reiterating its demands for a permanent seat on the security council, and with North Korea (return of abducted members of Japanese families). It has made many gestures towards ASEAN countries.

The dialogue with the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA), initiated in 1991 and held alternately in Tokyo and Paris, has become a regular communication channel between France and Japan on political and strategic matters. Meetings have resulted in several publications. Exceptionally, two sessions of that dialogue took place in 2004. The *Centre asie ifri* has integrated Japan’s growing activism on the international scene into its activities.

Studies and conferences

January 27-28

“International Community after the Iraqi War” 12th dialogue Ifri-JIIA, Tokyo, Japan

Introduced and chaired by *Yukio Satoh*, JIIA Director, and *Alain Dejammet*, Ambassador of France, the meeting, held within the context of the post-Iraq war situation, focused on the U.S.-Japan and Euro-American alliances, regional alliances (China, North Korea), and international terrorism, notably proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

September 29

“Crisis from the Middle-East to Asia” 13th dialogue Ifri-JIIA, Ifri, Paris

The main theme of the discussions was the ‘arc of instability’ extending from the Middle East to Asia. China’s new regional policy, strategic balance in Southeast Asia and the Middle East after the Iraq war were the subject of an in-depth review. Japanese and French participants also compared their respective visions of the US foreign policy. *Makio Miyagawa*, JIIA Director, and *F. Godement* chaired the dialogue.

Roundtable

March 22

“At Last, Japan is Flying Again”

Roundtable discussion with *Naoki Tanaka*, President of The 21st Century Public Policy Institute in Tokyo, and *Robert Boyer*, Economist and Director of the CEPREMAP, Research Director at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), on Japan’s economic upturn and its sustainability.

“La lettre du Japon”

Prompted by the lack of French-language information on the current debates within Japanese society, “La lettre du Japon” is an electronic publication written and edited by *G. Delamotte* launched in September 2004. Bi-monthly, the letter provides political and historical analysis of current events, enhanced by translations of articles published in Japanese reviews.



• Southeast Asia

The program focuses on the future of the ASEAN regionalization model, sociopolitical transitions, especially in Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand, as well as on relations between ASEAN and its near neighbors, and particularly the free trade agreements with China and Japan.

Discussion meetings

March 3

“Economic and Political Issues of the Forthcoming Elections in Indonesia”

with *Jusuf Wanandi*, Member of the Board of Directors, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta.

May 11

“Political Issues in South-East Asia After the Elections”

with *S. Boisseau du Rocher*, Research Associate, *Centre asie Ifri*.

• Other Asian regions

Discussion meetings and roundtables

March 1

“The Indian Economic Awakening and Political Issues on the Eve of the Elections”

with *Jean-Joseph Boillot*, Financial Advisor for India and South-Asia, New Delhi, and *Jean-Luc Racine*, Director of studies at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), Center for the Study of India and South Asia (CEIAS) at the School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences (EHESS).
Chairperson: *F. Nicolas*.

March 11

“Asia revisited”

Lunch-discussion by invitation from *Benoît Potier*, Chairman of the Board, Air Liquide, with *F. Godement* and *F. Nicolas*. Chairperson: *T. de Montbrial*.

May 7

Roundtable discussion with the Azad Jammu Kashmir (AJ&K) parliamentary delegation and its representative, *Sardar Muhammad Yaqoob Khan*, Minister of Health.

Centre asie ifri Study groups

In 2004, two study groups met regularly to foster informal discussions on current themes specific to the Chinese world and the region's major economic and political issues. Researchers, government officials and the private sector participated regularly. Discussions draw on expert's presentations.

Study group on Chinese current affairs

This monthly study group convenes regularly as part of the strategic China-watch unit under *F. Godement's* leadership.

February 6

“Hu Jintao's Personality and the Reform Process”

Presentation by *F. Godement*.

March 5

“China's Strategic Perception of Japan and North-East Asia”

Presentation by *Sébastien Colin*.

April 9

“The Balance of power in the Taiwan Strait After the Taiwanese Presidential Elections”

Presentation by *Hubert Kilian*.

May 14

“The Regional Strategy of China in South-East Asia”

Presentation by *S. Boisseau du Rocher* and *F. Nicolas*.

October 15

“Political succession in the PRC”

Presentation by *Jean-Pierre Cabestan*.

Study group on Asian economies

F. Nicolas is in charge of this study group which was initiated in June 2004.

November 5

“The Slowdown in China's Growth”

Presentation by *Richard Herd*, Economist in charge of the China/Asia desk, Non-members countries directorate, Economic department, OECD.

December 17

“Islamic Banking”

Presentation by *Jean-François Di Meglio*, Director for Asia, Pacific and the Middle East, BNP Paribas.

North Africa-Mediterranean-Middle East



◀ *Rémy Leveau*, Scientific Advisor; *Denis Bauchard*, Advisor, in charge of the unit. **Researchers:** *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* (North Africa, immigration, Islam in Europe); **Research Associates:** *Mohammed El Oifi* (public opinion and media in the Arab world), *Dorothee Schmid* (Mediterranean).

Recomposition of the Middle East in the wake of the American intervention in Iraq provides the central theme for the work with three main focuses.

Political openings in the Arab world, actors and strategies

The American project to “democratize” the Arab and Muslim world has spurred uncertainty and anxiety in that part of the world. The aim of the program led by *R. Leveau* and *K. Mohsen-Finan* is to analyze the content of reforms proposed by Washington and see

how they are perceived in the Arab world. It is also considering a possible European contribution to implementing necessary changes. This program has produced seminars, a study, and conferences.

Discussion meetings

January 30

“Public Opinions in the Arab World”

Considering the gulf between the motivations of government leaders and the aspirations of populations, one can hardly reduce analysis of Arab political life to mere observation of official political orientations. This seminar was intended to assess the so-called public opinion, its centers of gravity, and its impact. Participating Arab academics and journalists agreed that the media provides an interesting basis for assessing this new factor which, due to its increasing independence from established power, cannot be ignored in analyzing political dynamics at work in the Arab world.

The media's role was dealt with in particular in the study “Arab language TV news networks”, led by *M. El Oifi* with the support of the Delegation for Strategic Affairs, Ministry of Defense.

Islam – Islamism and Europe

Ifri has been following up the research work undertaken several years ago on the construction in France and Europe of a multicultural society and identities resulting from the settlement of immigrant populations, whose claims have made it a necessity to take their specificity into account. In 2004, the focus was on French and European Islam after September 11, 2001.

The program, led by *K. Mohsen-Finan*, intends to assess efforts made both in France and in Europe. It has produced a seminar of

Euro-Mediterranean partnership

Ifri is involved in the Euro-Mediterranean process as a member of EuroMeSCo, a non-governmental network created in 1996 with the European Commission's support, which includes the independent international relations institutes from the 27 countries that signed the Barcelona declaration.

In that context, a conference was organized under the leadership of *D. Schmid*: “Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: Interaction of the Three Components” (January 19). The objective was to reflect on a method to foster “virtuous” interactions between the three complementary components — political and security; economic and financial; social, cultural, and human — of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership and thereby contribute, in the spirit of Barcelona, to the Mediterranean

Public Discussion Meetings

May 13

“Algeria: Opening or Status quo”

with *Naoufel Brahimi El Mili*, teacher, Institut d'Etudes Politiques (IEP) of Paris; *Said Djafer*, political scientist, Algiers; *Ihsane El Kadi*, journalist, Algiers; *Akram Ellyas*, journalist, La Tribune, Paris.

September 22

“Iran, Iraq, the United States: Towards a New Regional Axis in the Middle East?”

with *Hamit Bozarslan*, Director of studies, School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences (EHES); *Dominique David*, Head of the security Department, Ifri; *Hosham Dawod*, anthropologist, Center of

Décembre 6

“Middle East: What Role for France and Germany?”

Europe's posture, and particularly France and Germany's stand on the Iraq war, was warmly appreciated in the region where some would be in favor of European involvement in assisting Arab countries in negotiating the necessary political transitions. The seminar, organized in partnership with the Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung (Bonn), brought together French and German specialists of the Arab world and US policy. Following an assessment of the US Middle East policy, participants explored ways for Westerners to help and tried identifying political forces or emerging factors (media) to be reckoned with.

experts, “Islam's currents of thought and ever-changing situation in France” (June 1), organized with the backing of the Interior Ministry's policy planning center. After a review of steps taken by various European countries to promote institutional recognition of Islam, the participants assessed the various currents of Islamic thought in today's France.

K. Mohsen-Finan and *R. Leveau* also undertook a study entitled “Integration of populations of Muslim culture in France and Europe”.

region's development and stabilization. The participants included representatives of the member institutes north and south of the Mediterranean, and high-ranking officials, including representatives of the European Commission.

D. Schmid and *J.-M. Paugam* moreover carried out a study of “free trade in the Mediterranean”.

October 13

“Failure and Success of Islamic Terrorism Since September 11”

with *Gilles Kepel*, Director of research, French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS)/Centre for International Studies and Research (CERI), professor at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques (IEP) of Paris.

Conferences

June 30

“The American Democracy in the Arab and Muslim World”

with *Edward P. Djerejian*, Director, *James A. Baker III* Institute for Public Policy (Houston).

October 27

“From the Oslo Failure to the ‘Global War on Terror’”

with *Rashid Khalidi*, Edward Said professor of Arab Studies, Director of the Middle East Institute, Columbia University, New York.

(see also: Conferences in the cycle “Observation and theory of international relations”).

December 15

“After Arafat”

with *Leila Shahid*, Palestinian Representative in France; *Laetitia Bucaille*, Assistant professor of Political Science at the University of Bordeaux II; *Alain Dieckhoff*, Director of research, French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS)/Centre for International Studies and Research (CERI).

December 1

Discussion with *Sheik Al-Assi*, Head of the Syrian branch of the Chammar tribe.

Security

The security studies department focuses on four avenues of research: proliferation of destabilizing weapons, prospects for armed conflicts and their consequences for France, human security issues, major defense systems developments.

Researchers: *Dominique David*, in charge of the department; *Étienne de Durand* (military innovation and US strategy, peace keeping and stabilization processes); *Aline Lebœuf* (human security, African issues). **Research Associates:** *Jean Klein*, (proliferation, arms control); *Jolyon Howorth*, Professor at Yale University (European security, ESDP).

Arms proliferation

Developments of the past decade and then the Iraq affair, the North Korean nuclear crisis, and the suspicions surrounding the Iranian nuclear program have made proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) a major concern for the international community. To inform and advance the public debate on this issue, the security research department, in cooperation with the French

Atomic Energy Commission (Commissariat à l'Énergie Atomique, CEA), organized a series of expert seminars, led by *D. David*, devoted to WMD proliferation, disarmament, and non-proliferation policies. The seminars address technical, regional, and strategic aspects. Contributions to the seminars are published in the "Proliferation Papers" electronic collection.

Series of seminars in cooperation with the CEA

March 19

"China and the Anti-Missiles Issues"

with *Brad Roberts*, Research fellow at the Institute for Defense Analyses Alexandria, Virginia, United States.

June 25

"Non-Proliferation Issues after 2003"

with *Ariel Levite*, first Deputy Director General of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission.

October 18

"The Evolution of Nuclear Forces in Russia"

with *Yuri Fedorov*, Professor of political science, Director of the Research Center on War and Peace at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO), Consultant at the Moscow Carnegie Center.

Publication

China and Ballistic Missile Defense: 1955 to 2002 and Beyond, Brad Roberts, "Proliferation Paper" No. 10, Ifri, Winter 2004 (available on Ifri website).

Workshop in cooperation with the CEA

April 26

"Internationalization of the Nuclear Fuel Cycle in Non-Nuclear-Weapon-States"

The goal of this one-day meeting was to explore the possible consequences of access to fissile material by governments or non-governmental groups, a major challenge to efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation. The fuel cycle approach, the American proposal on that matter, and the possible scenarios were assessed.

September 20

"Lessons Learned from Soviet, Iraqi and South African Bio-Programs, as well as Bio-Terrorist attacks"

Lessons learned from the former Soviet and Iraqi programs along with the expected technological breakthroughs have underscored the urgency of paying renewed attention to the issue of biological weapons. This one-day session assessed research undertaken in the Soviet Union and Russia, South Africa, and Iraq, and the lessons to be learned with respect to international control.

Politique étrangère (No. 1-2005) published contributions to that meeting as a dossier.

The changing world of armed conflicts

The objective of this program is to develop a typology of contemporary armed conflicts and methods for monitoring them. The approach was both academic and operational to permit adjusting and focusing corresponding strategies. The program was undertaken at the request of the Ministry of Defense. In this context, *A. Lebœuf* carried out two studies under the responsibility of *D. David*:

"**Typology of armed conflicts**": This study (done with the cooperation of *Corentin Brustlein*) consisted in elaborating a typology of actors, causes, and forms of contemporary conflicts with a twofold purpose: primarily to develop a general framework for analysis that could adapt as conflicts evolve and also to develop a tool for guiding military decision-makers faced with unprecedented types of armed conflicts and conflict-development dynamics.

"**Identification of armed conflicts that could involve France**": Completing the above mentioned report, this prospective study identified seven distinct conflict situations with which France may have to contend in the future. It integrated in an innovative way elements of current, past, and future conflicts and highlighted the value of new research methods that differ from traditional approaches to conflict and strategic analysis.

Human security challenges

"**HIV/AIDS: A Security Issue**", November 25

This seminar, organized by *A. Lebœuf*, aimed at assessing how the AIDS pandemics affects security issues, and in particular, its consequences for the stability of societies and for military structures, its effects on the types of conflicts, its repercussions on peacekeeping missions. It brought together for the first time in France officials from the civil and military administrations concerned and UNAIDS, and NGOs representatives. It was organized in cooperation with the French General Secretariat for National Defense (SGDN), and the Ministry for Health and Welfare, in cooperation with UNAIDS and the EU Institute for Security Studies, in liaison with the World Health Organization, and the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense.

Evolution of force structures and military strategies

"**Impact on Defense Organizations of the Concept of Coalition of the Willing**": This report, carried out by *J. Howorth*, addressed the present and future implications of the concept of coalition of the willing as it has emerged in US strategic thinking in recent years, for NATO, as well as European institutions and the European defense project. The report puts the emphasis on implications for politico-strategic concepts, operational options, and institutions (armies and defense industries).

“American redeployments”. The US military’s global posture has experienced a major overhaul in the past three years with redeployments on a scale unheard of since the Vietnam War or even the creation of NATO. Carried out by *E. de Durand* for the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs’ Policy Planning Staff, the report’s aim was to determine the parameters of those redeployments and analyze their implications. A report devoted to the development of air doctrine in the U.S., the U.K. and France has been launched in November 2004.

10th Franco-Russian Seminar

At the initiative of D. David, since 1994 Ifri has engaged in a regular dialogue with Russian experts and decision-makers on security issues. In particular in partnership with the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Ifri organizes an annual seminar held alternately in Paris and Moscow. In 2004, the 10th Franco-Russian seminar, co-organized with the Russia-CIS sector, was held at Ifri on November 22-23 (see Russia-CIS).

Economy



Frédérique Sachwald,
Philippe Larédo and
Thomas Andersson

World economy

Following up the research work undertaken in recent years, research focused on four major themes:

- multinational and world networks: impact on industrialized and emerging countries (in particular: new EU members and China);
- attractiveness of innovation systems in the context of increasing internationalization of R&D;
- long-term French growth; the growth gap between the United States and major European countries;
- NGO-business relations and “Global Compact”.

A new research program on the French productive system’s outlook was launched.

Researchers: *Frédérique Sachwald*, Head of the economic studies (international economy and multinationals, industrial economy, innovation economy); *Luis Miotti*, Senior Research Associate (international macroeconomics, emerging economies, international capital movements, Latin America, innovation economy); *Eddy Fougier* (role of civil society in international relations, public-private partnerships, reactions to globalization); *Vincent Vasques* (international capital movements and financial crises, international trade).

• Multinationals and world production networks

World trade has been developing notably via organization of production networks by multinational companies. Analyses currently being developed in this area have focused on both the differences in the strategies of Japanese, US, and European multinationals in China and East European countries in the past ten years and the impact of EU enlargement on production locations in Europe.

The research work resulted in two presentations at Tokyo Club⁽¹⁾ meetings: the first at the Brookings Institution in Washington (February 8-9) on *The Integration of China and East European Countries in Global Networks. Are European Multinationals Different?*; the second in Tokyo (November 8-9) on *The Impact of EU Enlargement on Corporate Strategies and the Location of Production in Europe*. The corresponding publications are available on Ifri website (“Ifri Studies”, No. 2 and No. 4). *Politique étrangère* (No. 2/2004) devoted a dossier to “China’s integration into the world economy” under the direction of *F. Nicolas* and *F. Sachwald*. A one-day seminar, organized in partnership with the French Development Agency (Agence Française de Développement, AFD), focused on “Foreign Direct Investment in Developing Countries:

the role of multinationals” (June 10). The participants – academics, European and US researchers – explored the reason why many multinationals relocate some operations abroad and the impact of foreign direct investment on host countries. It was followed by a publication under the direction of *S. Perrin* and *F. Sachwald*: “Foreign Direct Investment in Developing Countries: Leveraging the Role of Multinationals”.

• R&D internationalization and national innovation systems

With the internationalization of industrial R&D and the growing importance of innovation-driven competition, performances of national innovation systems have acquired overriding importance. The focus was on three case studies: France, Korean and Russian research systems.

- **Internationalization of R&D, the attractiveness of France and renovation of the French research system:** this theme was explored by a working group directed by *F. Sachwald* for the FutuRIS project of the French Association for Technology Research (ANRT), which has conducted an analysis of France’s attractiveness for companies’ R&D centers.

(1) Ifri is a founding member of the Tokyo Club Foundation for Global Studies created in 1987 at the initiative of the Japanese investment bank Nomura Securities to foster debate on the world economy and how to improve it. Institutions associated with that foundation include five from G8 countries (Brookings Institution, USA; Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung; IFO, Germany; Chatham House, United Kingdom; Nomura Research Institute, Japan, and Ifri) and ten research institutes from Asian countries (China, Korea, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Taiwan). The purpose is to promote the work of those institutions on themes identified jointly every year. That work results in publications including the “Tokyo Club Papers” and “Joint Policy Statements” or public policy recommendations.

How can the French research system be renovated? A conference organized in partnership with the Institut de l'Entreprise “**Reforming the French Innovation System. Insights from Foreign Experiences**” (October 4) looked for an answer. It relied on analyses from top French managers and officials – *Bertrand Collomb*, President of Lafarge, *Christian Blanc*, MP, *Pierre Tambourin*, Director of the G enopole, Ivry, *Thierry Weil*, Director of FutuRIS – and drew on experiences of US experts – *Stefanie Lenway* and *Thomas Murtha*, Carlson School of Management, Minnesota – and German and Swedish specialists (*Frieder Meyer-Krahmer*, Director of the Fraunhofer Institute for Systems and Innovation Research, ISI; and *Thomas Andersson*, President of IKED). Their reflections led to proposals for reorienting the French innovation policy. That work resulted in several presentations and a publication – *Research and Innovation in France: What priorities in the context of globalization?* – coordinated by *P. Lar edo* and *F. Sachwald*, a joint Institut de l'Entreprise/lfri paper (publication in 2005).

- **Foreign innovation systems and cooperation with French partners:** Two seminars, organized in partnership with ANRT, reviewed the development of research and innovation in Korea and Russia drawing on the experience of French companies and assessing the possibilities for technology-based partnerships with local companies: “**The Attractiveness of South Korea for R&D Activities**” (March 4), with the participation of many Korean experts, and “**Reference Mark on Innovation in Russia**” (October 14 – see Russia/CIS).

• **Growth potential in France and Europe**

This research program highlighted the weakness of France’s international position in high technology sectors – whether in terms of international trade or innovation performances. The work contributed to the ongoing debate on the engines of growth in France and Europe, and the necessary structural policies to implement. It resulted in publication of a book: *Growth in France: 1950-2030 - The Innovation Challenge* (by *F. Sachwald*, and *L. Miotti* with *F. Nicolas*), organization of seminars and participation in the debate on offshoring.

Seminars

March 19

“**Increasing French Growth Potential**”

Breakfast discussion with *Anton Brender*, Chief Economist at Dexia Asset Management, *Jean-Philippe Cotis*, OECD Chief Economist, and *Michel Didier*, CEO, Rexecode.

October 12

“**Can the Obstacles to French Growth be Removed?**”

Lunch discussion centered on the book *Growth in France: 1950-2030 - The Innovation Challenge* with corporate executives and *Michel Camdessus*, Honorary governor of the Banque de France and former IMF Managing Director.

• **NGO-Business relations**

This program was carried out jointly by Ifri and the Institut de l'Entreprise within a working group co-directed by *Eddy Fougier* and *Jean-Damien P o*, Research Director for the Institut de l'Entreprise. The objective was to assess the current relationship between business and NGOs and see how it is evolving. This initiative builds on the reflection pursued for several years on the stakes of globalization for multinational companies and the growing influence

of civil society on corporations’ strategies. The working group met three times between June and November 2004 and brought together major corporations executives (Carrefour, Casino, Lafarge, Lafuma, Schneider Electric), NGO representatives (Amnesty International, CARE International, FIDH, Max Havelaar France, Transparency-International France, WWF), consultants and experts from the academic world. It has produced a summary report.

Trade policies and governance of globalization.

Researchers: *Jean-Marie Paugam*, Senior Researcher in charge of the program (trade and international trade negotiations, WTO, transatlantic economic and trade relations, trade and sustainable development, trade and public development aid); *Anne-Sophie Novel*, Research Assistant.

The program has three focuses.

• **World Trade Organization. The Doha Development Round: the stakes for France and France’s position in international trade negotiations**

Ifri has actively contributed to the public debate in France and the EU on all facets of multilateral trade negotiations (economic and normative implications, political economy of negotiations, international balance of power, North-South dialogue, international architecture and institutional stakes).

Two projects have been devoted to the French negotiating positions within the EU decision-making system:

- preparation of report on the future of the multilateral trading system and the implications for French companies by a MEDEF (French Business Confederation) task force chaired by *T. de Montbrial: Une organisation mondiale du commerce, pour quoi faire? Les entreprises fran aises et l’avenir du syst eme commercial international*”. Rapporteur: *J.-M. Paugam*, December;

- a case study focused on the French decision-making process on trade negotiations, part of a joint WTO/University of Adelaide program.

T. de Montbrial chaired an experts seminar with *Dr. Supachai Panitchpakdi* as guest-speaker, March 3. As a member of the Consultative Board to the WTO Director-General’s chaired by *Peter Sutherland*, *T. de Montbrial* also contributed to the report *The Future of WTO – Addressing Institutional Challenges in the New Millennium* (publication January 2005).

• **EU regional and bilateral trade agreements**

As part of a program focused on EU regional trade policy and how it comes into play in multilateral negotiations, two studies were carried out in 2004: “*Transatlantic economic and trade relations*”; “*The Euro-Mediterranean economic partnership*” (prepared for JETRO).

• International governance and sustainable development

In 2004, Ifri participated in the European research network (SUSTRA) devoted to the gradual building-up of a sustainable trade project taking into account environmental issues. In June, a

European Conference

June 3-4

“European Governance and European Public Opinion on Trade and Sustainable Development”

This conference brought together researchers, academics, high-level government officials, European Commission representatives, and companies' executives, professional associations, polling agencies, and NGOs. The first day was devoted to identifying the components of European public opinion and assessing their interaction with EU trade policy. The second day focused on two case studies: the relationship between trade and the social

dimension of globalization, the interplay between trade and development-aid policies.

That meeting resulted in a “Policy Brief”, *European Governance and European Public Opinion on Trade and Sustainable Development*.

European conference dedicated to civil society's growing impact on the policy-making process addressed the issue of European governance in the trade negotiations underway.

Roundtables

January 26

“Beyond the Bickering on Trade Issues: What Kind of Dialogue after Cancun?”

with *Grant Aldonas*, Under-Secretary for International Trade Administration, US Department of Commerce.

November 16

“Presentation of the ‘Global Economic Prospects 2005’ report”

with *Carlos Braga*, Senior Advisor, Department of World Trade, World Bank, and *Uri Dadush*, Director of Trade and Director of the Group of Economic Prospects, World Bank, *Sébastien Jean*, Senior Economist, CEPIL, *F. Nicolas* and *J.-M. Paugam*, Senior Fellows, Ifri.

2005 Projects.

Ifri will continue research programs initiated in 2004 while giving priority to keeping a close watch on the Doha Development Agenda and the forthcoming WTO ministerial conference in Hong-Kong in December 2005. Doing so will encompass

publishing and organizing discussion meetings to assess major actors' negotiating positions. A seminar on the stakes involved in North-South relations in the Doha negotiations is also envisioned, in liaison with the Agriculture program.

The future of agricultural policies.

Researchers: *Pierre Rainelli*, in charge of the program; *Guy Legras*, Scientific Advisor; *Anne-Claire Thomas*, Research Assistant

The context in which agricultural policies are being applied is new. Today, developing countries play an increasingly important role in multilateral trade negotiations and public debate and they express themselves vigorously. Moreover, European Union enlargement and new consumer's concerns have been increasing the pressure to reform the Common Agricultural Policy.

Launched in 2003, this program's objective is to clarify the terms of debate and shed light on the possible ways agricultural policies

could develop beyond the trade agreements under discussion. Its scope is international and it involves researchers and decision-makers from every country implied in agricultural issues (the European Union, developing countries, and members of the Cairns Group) as well of companies representatives.

It has resulted in several conferences and roundtables chaired by *Guy Legras*, former agriculture Director-General on the European Commission, as well as by an international conference.

Conferences and roundtables

February 5

“The Development Box”

with *Alan Matthews*, Trinity College, Dublin, *Antoine Bouët*, University of Pau.

March 1

“Modelling and its Use for Trade Negotiations on Agriculture”

with *Jean-Christophe Bureau*, Paris-Grignon National Agronomy Institute (INA PG), *Yves Surry*, French National Institute for Agricultural Research (INRA).

May 24

“Competitiveness of EU Agriculture in a Liberalized World”

with Professor *Folkhard Isermeyer*, Institute of Farm Economics, Federal Agriculture Research Center (FAL), Germany, *J.-P. Buteau*, French National Institute for Agricultural Research (INRA), Nancy.

June 9

“China's Entry into the WTO: Impacts on Agricultural Production”

with *Claude Aubert*, Director of Research, French National Institute for Agricultural Research (INRA).

International conference

October 7

“Third Annual Meeting on Agriculture and Globalization: Liberalization and the Future of Agricultural Policies ”

Opened by *Hervé Gaymard*, French Minister of Agriculture, this international conference aimed at furthering the general debate on the future of Agricultural policies and foster emergence of proposals acceptable to all parties. It brought together international researchers, representatives of the European Commission and international institutions (WTO, World Bank), as well as government representatives, notably from developing countries (Indian Minister of Foreign Trade, Mozambican Minister of the Economy and Trade).

Energy and international relations.

Researcher: *Pierre Noël*, in charge of the program.

In 2004, Ifri launched a program on “Energy and international relations”. In a rapidly changing geopolitical and economic environment, the program is intended to study the main interactions between transformation of the international system and energy dynamics. In cooperation with the various Ifri research units concerned, the program will gradually develop research on energy related issues linked not only to the Middle East, Russia, China, and India but also to the United States

and Europe, oil companies strategy or the climate constraint and the new energy policy, for example.

An initial study was launched in October 2004 on “*Oil geopolitics and long-term climate policy*” in partnership with LEPH-EPE (Université de Grenoble) and HEC Geneva. The Ministry of Ecology and Sustainable Development (GICC program) and the BP group have provided financial support.

Publications

Ifri publishes the quarterly review *Politique étrangère*, as well as the annual *RAMSES* report. The institute disseminates its work in various collections: "Travaux et Recherches de l'Ifri", "Cahiers et Conférences de l'Ifri", "Les Notes de l'Ifri", "Les Cahiers d'Asie" and offers many online publications: "Les Notes du Cerfa", "Etudes de l'Ifri", "Policy" and "Working Papers".



Politique étrangère: the Ifri quarterly review

A space for debate, *Politique étrangère's* purpose is to provide keys for interpreting current events. It draws on the best international analysts.

Editor-in-Chief: *Dominique David.*

Editorial secretary: *Delphine Renard.*

In 2004, dossiers were devoted to topical issues such as:

No. 1/2004, Spring: "Iraq's Armaments: One Year Later"

No. 2/2004, Summer: "China in the World Economy"

No. 3/2004, Autumn: "The Bush Presidency: Parenthesis or Structural Change?"

No. 4/2004, Winter: "The New Middle East Challenges"



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Publications 2004

Europe

Books

What Kind of European Budget for 2013? Means and Policies of an Enlarged Union

MAXIME LEFEBVRE (ed.) with:

NICOLAS-JEAN BRÉHON, PATRICE CARDOT, STEFAN COLLIGNON, JACQUES LE CACHEUX, MAGDALENA WERPACHOWSKA and HUGO ZSOLT DE SOUZA, "Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri".

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La Constitution européenne en question

PHILIPPE MOREAU DEFARGES, Paris, Éditions d'Organisation.

Comprendre la Constitution européenne

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"Policy Papers"

L'Europe aura-t-elle sa Constitution?

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La Laïcité en question?

JEAN BAUBÉROT, No. 12, December.

"Notes du Cerfa"

Les Réformes sociales en Allemagne: l'Agenda 2010 du gouvernement Schröder

BRIGITTE LESTRADE, No. 9, February.

La France, l'Allemagne et la Constitution européenne: un bilan mitigé, un leadership contesté

JOACHIM SCHILD, No. 10, March.

Le Débat sur le fédéralisme en Allemagne: avantages et limites du fédéralisme exécutif

PETER SCHNEIDER, No. 11, April.

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DIETER BINGEN, No. 12, May.

La Transformation de la Bundeswehr

FRANZ-JOSEPH MEIERS, No. 13, June.

Vers un retour de la croissance?

Les alés de la conjoncture allemande

ALFRED BOSS, ANNETTE KUHN, CARSTEN-PATRICK MEIER, FRANCK OSKAMP, BIRGIT SANDER and JOACHIM SCHEIDE, No. 14, July.

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HANS STARK, No. 15, September.

Allemagne 2020: l'avenir démographique de la nation

STEFFEN KRÖHNERT, NIENKE VAN OLST, REINER KLINGHOLZ, No. 16, October.

L'Economie est-allemande: transition inachevée et réorientation de politique économique

RÉMI LALLEMENT, No. 17, November.

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Derrière le discours de l'amitié franco-allemande, quelle réalité?

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Korea and the Dual Chinese Challenge

FRANÇOISE NICOLAS, Korean Institute for International Economy Policy.

Ifri and its partners

At the crossroads of research and debate, Ifri offers an independent platform to foster constructive dialogue between public and private decision-makers, academics, researchers and civil society. Active participation of its partners and members – individuals, embassies and foreign delegations, corporations, NGOs – in debates on major international issues, and their own experience stimulate research and enhance Ifri's expertise. Conferences and discussion meetings open to all members provide numerous occasions for such dialogue with Ifri researchers and French and foreign personalities. The library – endowed with 32,000 books, 196 periodicals, and 10 CD-ROM databases – offers valuable resources for all members.

The program reserved for corporate senior executives, while taking their concerns into account, aims at providing guidance for their overseas strategies. It embraces a large array of meetings with various formats – breakfasts, working lunches with Ifri researchers, dinner-debates with prominent French or foreign personalities.

Over the years, Ifri has developed close ties with some corporate members, associating them to a greater extent in Ifri research work (seminars on Asian economies, the outlook for trade and agricultural policies, R&D and innovation policy...). Ifri's approach does not only addresses French and European companies but also, more generally, all those striving to develop international activities and better understand the environment in which they operate.

Since 1986, *Dominique Letourneur* has put her stamp on relations with companies. The bonds of confidence that she has developed with them now constitute a rich legacy for *Corinne Degoutte*, named Vice President for Development on July 1, 2004. Since her appointment, *Corinne Degoutte* has continued her work with advice from *Aymar de Lastours* and *Jean-Louis Andreu*, corporate advisors, while enhancing Ifri's relationships with all its partners, notably via new communication channels. *Dominique Letourneur* has remained close to Ifri as advisor.



1979 – 2004: Ifri celebrated its 25th anniversary

Ifri celebrated its 25th anniversary on October 20, 2004. On that occasion, as the public debate focused on the “Turkey issue” following the European Union Commission generally favorable opinion on opening accession negotiations with Turkey, Bertrand Collomb, Chairman of the Board, and Thierry de Montbrial, President of Ifri, hosted a momentous dinner-debate with Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan as guest-speaker at the Paris Musée d’Orsay. This event was attended by 250 personalities and was in particular supported by corporate members such as: ANVAR - ARCELOR - AXA - BDPME - CITIGROUP - COLAS - EADS - EDF - EIFFAGE - GENERALI - GIDE LOYRETTE NOUEL - Fondation HIPPOCRENE - Laboratoires SERVIER - LAFARGE - L'OREAL - MAZARS - PROFILO Holding - RENAULT - RTE - TOTAL.

25 years: The staunch support of Ifri's partners made that wonderful quarter-century adventure possible. The institute now has over 650 members whose backing has contributed to the building of an organization unique in France and influential in the global debate.

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- AMERICAN EXPRESS
- ARCELOR
- AREVA
- ARIANESPACE
- AXA
- BANQUE DE FRANCE
- BANQUE FÉDÉRALE DES BANQUES POPULAIRES
- BANQUE PATRIMOINE ET IMMOBILIER
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- BEARINGPOINT
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- DEXIA ASSET MANAGEMENT
- EADS
- EIFPAGE
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- INVIVO
- JEANTET & ASSOCIÉS
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- L'ORÉAL
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- MEDEF
- MONITOR COMPANY
- MORGAN STANLEY
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- NATEXIS BANQUES POPULAIRES
- NOKIA
- PERNOD RICARD
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- RENAULT
- RHODIA
- ROLAND BERGER ET PARTNERS
- ROTHSCHILD & CIE BANQUE
- RTE
- SAGEM
- SANOFI-AVENTIS
- SOCIÉTÉ DU LOUVRE
- SOCIÉTÉ GÉNÉRALE
- SODEXHO ALLIANCE
- SOFIL'LIONE
- SOFINNOVA PARTNERS
- SOFRESA
- STARSEM
- SUEZ
- THALES
- TOTAL
- UNIGRAINS
- UNION DES INDUSTRIES MÉTALLURGIQUES ET MINIÈRES
- UNION DES INDUSTRIE TEXTILES
- UNISTRAT COFACE
- VALLOUREC
- VIEL & CIE
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Member embassies and organizations as at December 31, 2004

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- AUSTRALIA, EMBASSY OF
- AUSTRIA, EMBASSY OF
- BELGIUM, EMBASSY OF
- BRAZIL, EMBASSY OF
- BULGARIA, EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF
- CANADA, EMBASSY OF
- CANADIAN PERMANENT DELEGATION TO THE OECD
- CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (RABAT)
- CHINA, EMBASSY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF
- CYPRUS, EMBASSY OF
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- DENMARK, EMBASSY OF
- EGYPT, EMBASSY OF
- EU INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES
- ESTONIA, EMBASSY OF
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- INDIA, EMBASSY OF
- IRAN, EMBASSY OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF
- IRELAND, EMBASSY OF
- ITALIA, EMBASSY OF
- JAPAN, EMBASSY OF
- JAPAN PERMANENT DELEGATION TO THE OECD
- JAPAN EXTERNAL TRADE ORGANIZATION (JETRO)
- KOREA, EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF
- LATVIA, EMBASSY OF
- LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES, MISSION OF THE
- LITHUANIA, EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF
- LUXEMBOURG, EMBASSY OF
- MALTA, EMBASSY OF
- MEXICO, EMBASSY OF
- MINISTRY OF ECONOMY, FINANCES AND INDUSTRY/Translation center
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- NORWEGIAN EMBASSY, THE ROYAL
- NEW ZEALAND, EMBASSY OF
- NETHERLANDS EMBASSY, THE ROYAL
- POLAND, EMBASSY OF
- POLISH PERMANENT DELEGATION TO THE OECD
- PORTUGAL, EMBASSY OF
- ROMANIA, EMBASSY OF
- RUSSIAN FEDERATION, EMBASSY OF THE
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- SLOVAK REPUBLIC, EMBASSY OF THE
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- TAIPEI REPRESENTATIVE OFFICE
- TUNISIA, EMBASSY OF
- TURKEY, EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF
- UNITED STATES, EMBASSY OF THE
- UZBEKISTAN, EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF
- VIETNAM, EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF

Public discussion meetings



Emma Bonino,
Dominique Moisi,
Michel Rocard,
Michele Schreyer,
Edward P. Doregian,
Carlos Ghosn and
Thierry de Montbrial.

January

January 20

“The Political Situation in Palestine : a View from the Field”

with *Mahdi Abdul Hadi*, Chairman and Founder of PASSIA (The Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs), Jerusalem.

“What Role for Economic Policies in Modern Democracies?”

round table with *Philippe Auberger*, Member of the French Parliament, Chairman of the Supervisory Board of the Caisse des Dépôts Group (France), and *Anton Brender*, Chief Economist, Dexia Asset Management.

January 22

“Towards a European Constitution?”

with *Olivier Duhamel*, Member of the European Parliament, Professor at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris, and *Jean-Louis Bourlanges*, Member of the European Parliament.

January 23

“Azerbaijan: Towards a New Regional Role?”

with *Ilham Aliiev*,
President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

February

February 9

“Where is Georgia Heading for?”

with *Damien Helly*, Director of the Caucasus Project, International Crisis Group.

February 18

“The Aftermath of the Cold War in Africa. Autopsy of an Assisted Suicide”

with *Stephen Smith*, a specialist of Africa,
Le Monde.

February 24

“After the Iranian Elections. Wich Future for Reforms?”

round table with *Thierry Coville*, Economist, Centre d'Observation Economique, Paris Chamber of Trade and Industry (CCIP), and *Farhad Khosrokhavar*, Director of studies at the School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences (EHESS).

February 26

“What Future for Europe?”

with *Jean-Claude Juncker*,
Prime Minister of Luxembourg.

March

March 1st

“The Indian Economic Awakening and Political issues of the Forthcoming Elections”

with *Joseph Boillot*, Financial Adviser, India and South Asia, New Delhi, and *Jean-Luc Racine*, Senior Fellow, French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), Centre for the Study of India and South Asia (CEIAS) at the School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences (EHESS).

March 10

“Turkey's Application for Membership of the European Union: Strengths and Weaknesses”

round table with *Kemal Dervis*, former Vice President of the World Bank, former Minister of Economy of Turkey, MP, Vice President of the Republican People's Party (CHP), and *Pekin Baran*, Vice President of the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (Tusiad).

“A Nationalist Come Back in the Balkans?”

Jacques Rupnik, Senior Fellow, Center for International Studies and Research (CERI).

March 11

“Reflections on the EU Stability and Growth Pact”

with *Jacques de Larosière*, Honorary Governor of the Banque de France, Advisor, BNP Paribas, former Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund.

March 24

“Is the Clash of Civilization avoidable?”

with *Jean Daniel*, Director,
Le Nouvel Observateur.

April

April 1st

“Terrorism After March 11, 2004”

with *Alain Chouet*, a former high-level expert at the French Ministry of Defense, *Christian Jacquier*, Head of the Financial Crime Unit, *Europol*, The Hague, *Aboubakr Jamaï*, Managing Editor of *Le Journal Hebdomadaire*, Casablanca, Morocco, and *Richard Labévière*, Editor-in-Chief, *Radio France Internationale*.

April 7

“Towards a New Nigeria?”

round table with *Ngoyi Okonjo-Iwealal*, Minister of Finances of Nigeria.

“Migrations, Borders and Labor Market”

with *François Héran*, Director, National Institute for Demographic Studies (INED), *Catherine Wihtol de Wenden*, Senior Fellow, Centre for International Studies and Research (CERI), *Vasoodeven Vuddamalay*, Fellow, University of Evry, and *Christophe Bertossi*, Ifri.

April 14

“Global Issues for Europe: The European Union After Enlargement”

with *Anders Fogh Rasmussen*,
Prime Minister of Denmark.

April 15

“Croatia's European Integration and Its Impact on Neighbor Countries”

Miomir Zuzul, Foreign Minister of Croatia.

April 19

“Europe: A Partner or A Competitor for the US?”

with French Senator *Pierre Biarnes*.

April 29

“The Situation in Iraq: a View from Baghdad”

with *Sir Jeremy Greenstock*, Special Representative of the UK in Iraq.

“Secularism at Stake”

with *Jean Baubérot*, Director of Studies at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (EPHE), *Franck Frégosi*, Research Fellow, French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), University Robert Schuman, Strasbourg, and *Christophe Bertossi*, Ifri.

May

May 17

“What Future for the Weimar Triangle?”

with *Bronislaw Geremek*, Historian and Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland, *Pierre Lequiller*, Member of the French Parliament, President of the Delegation for European Union at the French Parliament, and *Angela Schwall-Düren*, Vice President of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) Group in the German Parliament.

May 18

“The Future of Arms Control?”

with *Avis Bohlen*, Public Policy Scholar, The Woodrow Wilson International Center, Washington, former Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of Arms Control, US Department of State.

May 27

“Political Perspectives in Iraq and in the Middle East and impact on the Oil Markets. A View from Washington”

with *Roger Diwan*, Managing Director, PFC Energy's Markets and Countries Group, Washington.

June

June 3

“Is the Transatlantic Partnership still Essential?”

with *Chris Patten*, European Commissioner for External Relations and Neighborhood Policy.

June 24

“The Crisis of the American Democracy”

with *Stanley Hoffmann*, Paul and Catherine Buttenwieser University Professor, Harvard University, USA.

June 28

“Iraq and the Middle East faced with the June 30, 2004 Deadline”

with *Paul-Marie de La Gorce*, Writer and Columnist.

June 30

“The American Democracy in the Arabian and Muslim World”

with *Ambassador Edward P. Djerejian*, Director, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy.

July

July 7

“When is it Right to Fight?”

with *Gareth Evans*, President, International Crisis Group.

September

September 16

“New Zealand, France and International Security: The Pacific Dimension”

with *Phil Goff*, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, and Minister of Justice of New-Zealand.

October

October 1st

“Turkey in Europe: More Than a Promise?”

round table with *Emma Bonino*, former Member of the European Commission, *Michel Rocard*, former French Prime Minister, Member of the European Parliament, and *Albert Rohan*, former Secretary General of the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. All are members of the Independent Commission for Turkey.

October 11

“After the Tragedy of Beslan: What Future for the North Caucasus?”

with *Alvaro Gil Robles*, Commissioner for Human Rights, Council of Europe, Strasbourg.

November

November 17

“After the US Election. What is left of the Messianic America?”

with *Alain Frachon*, Editor-in-Chief, *Le Monde 2*, and *Daniel Vernet*, Director of International Relations, *Le Monde*.

November 22

“The Alliance and Common Challenges: Why a Genuine Transatlantic Dialog is a must?”

with *Jaap de Hoop Scheffer*, Secretary General of NATO.

December

December 20

“Ukraine between Russia and Europe”

with *Annie Daubenton*, an expert on Eastern Europe.

Lecture series

“International Relations: Theory and Reality”

Speakers series directed by *Thierry de Montbrial* as part of his teaching program 2003-2004 at the *Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers* (CNAM). Speakers are Ifri research fellows.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

January 8

“Political Transitions in the Arab World”

with *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in charge of the Middle East and North Africa Unit, Ifri.

February 10

“Shifts and Trends of Russian Foreign Policy”

with *Thomas Gomart*, Marie Curie Fellow, Department of War Studies (King's College), London, Associate Fellow, Ifri.

March 9

“The International Energy Policy of the United States”

with *Pierre Noël*, Fellow, French Center on the United States (CFE), Ifri.

April 27

“International Security and Arms Control: Assessment and Perspectives”

with *Jean Klein*, Professor, University of Paris II, Senior Associate, Ifri.

May 11

“Political Issues in South-East Asia After the Elections”

with *Sophie Boisseau du Rocher*, Research Associate, *Centre asie ifri*.

June 8

“Diversity and Common Good: Thinking of New Ways of Citizenship in Europe”

with *Claire Demesmay*, Fellow, Center for Research on Franco-German Relations (Cerfa), Ifri.

December 16

“Public Opinion in International Politics: The Case of Arab Public Opinion”

with *Mohammed El Oifi*, Research Associate, Middle East and North Africa Unit, Ifri.

Corporate Program

Dinners and Lunches Discussion

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*

February 26

with *Jean-Claude Juncker*,
Prime Minister of Luxembourg.

March 3

with *Louis Gallois*, Chairman and CEO of French National Railway Company (SNCF) on “The SNCF European Expansion” (jointly with the Harvard Business School Club of France).

April 6

with *Vladimir Pozner*, Dean of the Pozner School of Television Journalism, President of the Academy of Russian television (Moscow).

April 7

with *Jean-Claude Trichet*, President of the European Central Bank.

June 2

with *António Vitorino*, European Commissioner for Justice, Freedom and Security.

June 30

with *Edward P. Djerejian*, Director of the James Baker III Institute for Public Policy.

July 1st

with *Francis Mer*, former French Minister of Economy, Finances and Industry.

July 7

with *Gareth Evans*, former Foreign Minister of Australia, President of the International Crisis Group.

July 21

with *Abdullah Ahmad Badawi*,
Prime Minister of Malaysia.

September 7

with *Ilham Aliev*,
President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

October 4

with *Aleksander Kwasniewski*,
President of the Republic of Poland.

October 6

with *Dhruv Shawney*, Chairman and CEO,
Triveni Engineering Services (India).

October 20

with *Recep Tayyip Erdogan*,
Prime Minister of Turkey.

December 14

with *Wu Jianmin*, President, The China Foreign Affairs University, Beijing.

March 5

“Reform or Revolution in an Unfamiliar Environment: the Nissan Case in Japan”
Breakfast discussion with *Carlos Ghosn*,
Chairman and CEO, Nissan Motor Co., Ltd.

Working lunches

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*

March 11

“Asia Revisited”
with *François Godement*, Director, and
Françoise Nicolas, Research fellow, *Centre
asie ifri*.

May 27

“In the Wake of Enlargement: What Europe? What Economic Implications?”

with *Éliane Mossé*, former financial advisor for Central European countries, Ifri advisor to the Franco-Austrian Center for European Convergence, and *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Ifri researcher and professor, Institut d'Etudes Politiques (IEP) of Paris (at the invitation of François Cornélias, President of Atofina).

June 22

“The New Middle East Landscape and the ‘Greater Middle East’ Project”

with *Rémy Leveau*, scientific advisor, and *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, Ifri Middle East-North Africa unit.

October 12

“Can France Overcome the Obstacles to Economic Growth?”

with *Frédérique Sachwald*, Head of Ifri economic studies.

November 17

“The United States after the Presidential Elections”

with *Guillaume Parmentier*, Director of the CFE.

December 15

“Certainties and Uncertainties of Russian Growth”

with *Thomas Gomart*, Ifri Russia/CIS program Head, and *William Tompson*, Senior Economist with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Research Associate at Chatham House (London).



Financial appendices

Consolidated balance sheet

Consolidated accounts

Consolidated balance sheet (euros)

Assets	2003		2004		Liabilities	2003	2004
	Net value	Cost	Deprecation provisions	Net value			
Fixed assets					Funds		
Intangible assets	7,965	283,996	276,959	7,037	General Fund	8,470,553	8,470,553
Tangible assets	8,265,263	10,828,001	2,785,655	8,042,346	Reserve	1,086,068	1,015,373
Financial assets	22,466	29,300	10,061	19,239	Restricted fund	46	47
					Deferred grant income	252,063	224,702
					Net income for the year	-70,695	184,910
Fixed assets	8,295,694	11,141,297	3,072,675	8,068,622	Funds	9,738,036	9,895,585
Current assets					Provisions	205,681	205,849
Inventories	2,310	2,515		2,515	Creditors		
Prepayments and accrued income	95,404	73,983		73,983	Bank overdrafts	250	250
Accounts receivable	569,487	438,096		438,096	Accounts payable and other liabilities	438,864	377,951
Others debtors	27,324	34,749		34,749	Taxes and social security	458,393	528,421
Portfolio (fixed interests)	2,051,169	2,819,976		2,819,976			
Bank balances	54,222	189,030		189,030	Acruals and deferred income	254,386	565,915
Current assets	2,799,916	3,558,349		3,558,349	Current liabilities	1,357,574	1,731,386
Total assets	11,095,610	14,699,646	3,072,675	11,626,971	Total liabilities	11,095,610	11,626,971

Consolidated accounts (euros)

Expenditure	2003	2004	Income	2003	2004
Expenditure	64,950	70,718	Public grants	1,625,169	2,035,276
<i>Stationary</i>	27,026	41,647			
<i>Power and water</i>	18,467	18,242	Donations and members subscriptions	1,170,552	1,261,401
<i>Books</i>	6,177	3,735			
<i>Paper for Ifri's journal</i>	13,280	7,094	Research funding	1,341,205	1,713,740
Other expenditure	1,598,282	1,602,113			
<i>Printing</i>	109,758	109,724	Subscriptions to Ifri's Journal	133,934	135,973
<i>Rent and related costs</i>	86,123	110,405			
<i>Maintenance</i>	101,284	107,515	Other income	42,541	177,187
<i>Insurance</i>	20,274	14,641			
<i>Documentation</i>	77,726	66,658			
<i>Honoraria, and professional services</i>	555,388	573,043			
<i>Donations, membership subscription</i>	14,648	15,775			
<i>General travel and meetings</i>	502,742	501,345			
<i>Postage and telephone</i>	130,339	103,007			
<i>Sundry expenses</i>					
Taxes	205,629	225,501			
Staff costs	2,291,085	2,798,784			
Depreciation and provision	314,686	326,392			
Deferred grant income	106,825	175,598			
Operational activities expenditures	4,581,457	5,199,106	Operational activities income	4,313,401	5,323,577
Financial costs	12,410	7,063	Financial income	49,702	49,178
Exceptionnal costs	18,450		Exceptionnal income	178,519	18,324
Net income for the year		184,910	Net expenditure for the year	70,695	
Total expenditure	4,612,317	5,391,079	Total income	4,612,317	5,391,079

Board of directors

As at December 31, 2004

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: Pierre Joxe, former Minister, Member of the Conseil Constitutionnel

Members:

Robert Badinter, former Minister, Senator

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Michel Camdessus, Honorary Governor of the Banque de France, former Managing Director of the IMF

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

Bertrand Dufourcq, Ambassador of France, Chairman of the Fondation de France

Alain Dupont, Chairman and CEO of Colas

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

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Philippe Marini, Senator, General Rapporteur of the Finances Committee

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Yves-Thibault de Silguy, Senior Executive Vice-President of Suez

Jean-François Trogrlic, National Secretary of CFDT

Hubert Védrine, former French Foreign Affairs Minister

André Villeneuve, Chairman of Euronext.LIFFE

Xavier de Villepin, former Senator

Prosper Weil, Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques

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Conception and design: Trocadéro

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Printed in France - June 2005



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