



---

Institut français des relations internationales

---

# 2006 Annual Report

Knowledge for Action

© Photo Credits Ifri

Christophe Peus

•

Design and execution : agence Trocadéro

•

Printed in France — September 2007

# Contents

Message from the President **page 2**

The benchmark French independent think tank **page 4**

2006 The world according to Ifri researchers **page 7**

In 2006, Ifri was notably host to: **page 10**

Ifri and its partners **page 12**

Research **page 17**

Research: an international network **page 35**

Publications **page 36**

Conferences et debates **page 39**

Staff **page 41**

Board of directors and advisory board **page 42**

Financial annex **page 43**



## Message from the President

Ifri's vocation is *the understanding of international affairs*.

We work towards such understanding through a close cooperation with our individual and institutional partners around the world. They all share a strong interest in a “French-based European viewpoint” that allows them to shed light on their own decision-making or simply broaden, as citizens, their own outlook. Our partners include leaders of public and private institutions who play an active role in today's globalized world, organizations from France, Europe and other continents, opinion leaders and media in many countries, French and foreign academics, researchers, professors and students. State approved, Ifri sees its work enriched by its partners as much as they themselves benefit from it. Since its founding in 1979, one of the most original aspects of Ifri is its close interaction with private businesses and major companies. This collaboration increased in 2006 with the creation of major programs running over several years, such as “European governance and the geopolitics of energy.”

Ifri is a non-partisan organization. Its independent status can be assessed in practice thanks to its legal operating framework, the diversity of its financial and academic relationships, and the absence of any legal or practical subordination. Ifri's accounts are transparent and subject to private and public scrutiny. The institute is proud of its fruitful ties with the French administration, which contribute to its credibility and social value through a balanced and mutually enriching partnership. The French state does not intervene in Ifri's governance; it contributes up to 40 % of its resources—a low percentage in a country where research is mainly subsidized by the government.

Ifri is loyal to fundamental values. We believe that promoting democracy and human rights in the world, as well as economic openness, is a way to limit conflicts and to favor their peaceful settlement. We also believe that it is urgent to elaborate new types of international cooperation devised to deal with the important issues that have sprung from globalization, such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the spread of diseases, the climate change, and, more generally the degradation of the environment. Yet we are convinced that the planet's sustainable development issue, as it is generally understood, should not be tackled with an ideological or neo-imperialistic approach. The “Western World” does not have a monopoly on some truth, does not have the moral duty to impose it on the rest of the world.

Understanding international affairs means trying to grasp other people's mind-frames and cooperating with them on a constructive basis, however divergent interests can be.

We view the European construction as a major step in world history. With respect to the United States, to countries born out of the Soviet Union collapse, and to emerging powers, Europe will gain influence thanks to its capacity to build a new type of exemplary political unit rather than just being vocal through moralizing discourse. Issues regarding the European construction process, EU's relationship with its neighbors and the rest of the world are at the forefront of Ifri's development strategy, as epitomized by the opening of a permanent office in Brussels in 2005.

Ifri's concrete activity—research and organization of public debates—produces “traditional” research output such as publications and conferences, which are described in this annual report and on the website [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org). However, new activities are developed, such as programs sponsored by highly involved partners. Developing those traditional and innovative products in close collaboration with our partners will enable Ifri to adapt to a changing world and fully become the benchmark French-based European international relations think tank quoted as a reference. In a world dominated by Anglo-Saxon culture, such outcome is a necessity.

### **Thierry de Montbrial**

Founder and President of Ifri

Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques

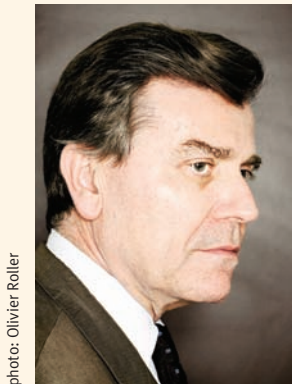


photo: Olivier Roller

A stylized, handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of several loops and a long horizontal stroke.



# Knowledge for Action

## The benchmark French independent think tank

Ifri is the main French independent research and debate institution dedicated to international affairs.

Inspired by the US and British example, Ifri prides itself in being the oldest French “think tank.” Since its creation in 1979 by Thierry de Montbrial, Ifri’s footprint has constantly been expanding. Now fully integrated in the network of major international think tanks, Ifri aims at gathering decision-makers and researchers to develop non-partisan and thorough research and debate on current international issues. Ifri’s goal is to:

- develop applied research in the field of public policy, related to international issues;
- foster interactive and constructive dialogue between researchers, professionals, and opinion leaders.

Ifri is independent from all administrative and financial regulatory authorities. It has no affiliation with any political party. Its independence, stated in the institute’s by-laws, relies on the diversity of the funding sources it has been able to gather.

Ifri’s dual purpose—as a research center and as a debate forum—is the cornerstone of Ifri’s mission. Both activities are mutually enriching and stimulating to the benefit of Ifri’s members and partners.

### Policy-oriented research

As a cross-disciplinary research center, Ifri gathers over thirty French and foreign researchers. Over 50 % of Ifri’s researchers are less than forty years old. This rejuvenated team showing an open-minded and interactive spirit, is forward looking tuned in to contemporary and future issues. Ifri’s experts are involved in major international networks and communicate on a regular basis with their foreign counterparts.

Ifri’s “policy-oriented” research is organized around different regional and cross-disciplinary research areas, which evolve according to international political and economic trends.

### The debate: encouraging diversity

Ifri’s research is enriched by the debates it organizes in a non-partisan and informal context. These debates are vital in developing closer relationships between researchers and decision-makers from the private and public sector.

Since 1979, Ifri has organized over 1 150 conferences, 95 international symposiums and 380 meetings involving French and foreign prominent figures. Ifri hosted many heads of state, including in 2006 President Jalal Talabani, President Mikheil Saakashvili, President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, and President Abdoulaye Wade...

### Publications and research dissemination: providing keys to understand current international affairs

Ifri’s research and debate are covered in the institute’s various collections as well as in top publications such as the quarterly journal *Politique étrangère*, the oldest French journal on international affairs, and the annual report RAMSES. With a circulation of 10 000 copies, RAMSES combines a factual analysis of events, a critical assessment of the past year and perspectives for the following year. 2006 was a landmark for the longevity of these publications, for they celebrated their

respective 70 and 25 years of existence with special editions.

Today the website [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org) is the first media through which Ifri’s debates, work and studies are disseminated (including summaries of the most recent publications, policy papers, seminar, meetings, and symposium reports). Ifri is also very present in the media: in 2006 its researchers published over 125 articles. Aside from numerous articles and interviews, Ifri and its experts have been quoted over 1 400 times in the French and foreign media.

### A European ambition

In a globalized world in which France and Europe try to redefine their international role, and as the European project is going through a crisis, Ifri has greatly enhanced the European dimension of its activities.

With a branch in Brussels (Eur-Ifri, launched in March 2005), Ifri has asserted itself as one of the rare French think tanks at the heart of the European debate with a cross-disciplinary approach associating political and economic decision-makers, researchers and experts on a European scale.

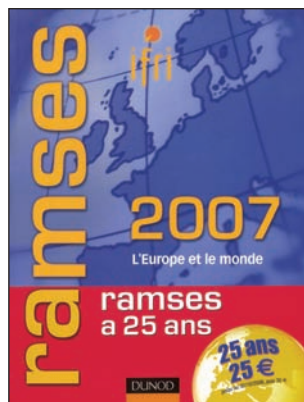
This year’s track record reflects Ifri’s ambitions. Eur-Ifri created a weekly event, “Ifri’s Tuesdays,” recognized in Brussels for the richness of its debates—directly linked to the EU’s agenda. Thanks to its experience and its international staff, Ifri is today a prospective-oriented French and European think tank, benefiting from a unique international network.

Forum for debates, *Politique étrangère*, Ifri's quarterly journal, provides keys of understanding to analyze current events, by giving space to authors with different opinions.

*RAMSES*, the annual (yearly) reference book.

## RAMSES

Rapport annuel mondial sur le système économique et les stratégies



25<sup>th</sup> anniversary

“Europe and the World”

“With this 2007 edition, *RAMSES* celebrates its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Since 1982, this annual encyclopedia of international current events provides the keys to understand a changing world and successfully presents, year after year, new themes of reflection (alter-globalization, counter-terrorism...)” (Mireille Duteil, *Le Point*, September 2006)

“The publication of the 25<sup>th</sup> edition of Ifri's *RAMSES* is an event. First, because this independent research institute [...] is maybe the best French think tank. And then because its founder, Thierry de Montbrial, uses this tool in the dangerous exercise of geopolitics, ‘a judgment of plausibility fed by the observation of data’.” (Jean-Gabriel Fredet, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, October 2006)

A collective work published every year under the direction of Thierry de Montbrial and Philippe Moreau Defarges, *RAMSES*' anniversary edition deals with the European Union, as it faces an institutional crisis. In 13 chapters, *RAMSES* places Europe in a changing world, evaluates its interactions with other countries and examines the challenges it will have to meet.

## Politique étrangère 1936-2006



70<sup>th</sup> anniversary

D'hier à demain :  
penser l'international  
A special issue

... “The quarterly journal published by the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri) looks back on seventy years of history and seventy years of international debate, thanks to the great authors that have contributed to the success of the journal (Raymond Aron, Jacques de Larosière or Louis Massignon). “What is such a journal, if not the changing mirror of the world, its mirror changed by analysis?” questions rightly its editor-in-chief Dominique David, in the introduction of this special issue.” (*Regards croisés*, ARTE, March 2007)

... “For its 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary, *Politique étrangère* gives us the opportunity to read contributions of the 1930's. From the Spanish War to terrorism, from 1936 [...] to 2006, seventy years of crises, of hopes, of challenges are discussed. For this, a dialogue between yesterday and today is organized according to a sophisticated ‘mise-en-scène’ of ideas, as Dominique David, editor-in-chief of Ifri's emblematic journal, writes it.” (*L'Histoire*, February 2007)

Editor-in-chief: Dominique David

Editing: Delphine Renard, Marielle Roubach



Thierry de Montbrial  
Philippe Moreau Defarges



Pierre Hassner, Dominique David, Ethan Kapstein

# 2006:

## The world according to Ifri researchers



**Thierry de Montbrial**, *Il est nécessaire d'espérer pour entreprendre - Penseurs et bâtisseurs*, 2006.

### Europe – the emergence of a common culture

“The biggest challenge [...] we will be facing during the next few decades will be that of Culture. Jean Monnet is alleged to have stated: ‘If we had to start all over again, I would begin with culture’ [...] Culture is not something that can be implemented by decree. [...] There are a thousand and one streams which feed into the river; the temporal aspect is fundamental, the idea of culture bringing us back to the idea of memory. A memory process is therefore involved, as well as the task of reinterpreting the past. [...] A subsidiary issue will be raised: to ensure that the future intermixing of populations, which is the condition for the emergence of a common culture, will preserve the dialectic of unity and diversity without damaging older cultural identities.”



**Hans Stark**, « The Franco-German Relationship 1998-2005 », in Hanns Maull (dir.), *Germany's Uncertain Power*, 2006.

### The Franco-German couple and tomorrow's Europe

« The Franco-German horizon has become too narrow to represent the whole spectrum of interests of a Europe of 25. In the large Union, the French and German positions have become almost identical compared to those in the new Member States. But, above all, a majority of the European countries are reluctant to any form of “directory”, especially when represented by the Franco-German binomial. Bygone are the times when France and Germany spoke “in the name of Europe”. If our two countries do not open up to third countries – big and small – we take the risk of being in a minority, or even marginalised, more

and more often, something that would represent a new kind of German “Sonderweg”. »



**Claire Demesmay**, in *Qui sont les Allemands ?*, 2006.

### The memory of the GDR

“[...] The job of ‘making up for lost time’ does not only concern East Germans, nor does it exclusively pertain to the country’s Nazi past. The dictatorship of the SED is also interpreted differently on both sides of the Elba, these differences contributing to the emergence of tension between ‘Ossis’ and ‘Wessis.’ The latter accuse their Eastern neighbors of lacking a critical attitude towards their socialist past; while the East Germans have a tendency to complain about how West Germans distort the image of GDR and appropriate ‘their collective memory’.”



**Philippe Moreau Defarges**, *Droits d'ingérences. Dans le monde post-2001*, 2006

### Contradictions regarding the right to interfere

“The right to interfere, as it is currently expressed, seems to be full of insuperable contradictions. The contradiction of space and time, the increase of interdependency, the institutionalization of international relations, the transformation of the planet into an area of common concern, lead to the development and generalization of interference. Each state becomes part of a whole, therefore is subordinated to the demands of this ‘whole,’ which has the right and duty to intervene if the ‘part’ does not face up to its responsibilities. At the same time, the tidal wave of democracy [...] makes all forms of interference

intolerable, as well as any action coming from above dictating a certain conduct to states and populations.”



**Jolyon Howorth**, in *RAMSES* 2007.

### ESDP: realities and controversies

“ESDP does not aim [...] at opposing or balancing the American power—let alone NATO. Its principles are much more pragmatic, institutional, multilateral, international, diplomatic, and transformative than strategic, coercive or military. ESDP has been shaped more by historical events than by a strategic reflection. [...] It would have been impossible to imagine in 1998 that in five years the EU [...] would be ready to manage military and police missions on three continents. ESDP [...] has answered by action to skeptics.”



**Christophe Bertossi**, in *RAMSES* 2007.

### Europe in need of migrations

“The security measures concerning immigration [...] are the result of a fundamental mistake: migration flows do not represent a threat to destabilize states but a structural fact of international relations that nation-states must take into account. In short, these policies are implemented more for soothing European public opinion than to truly ‘manage’ migration flows.”



**Aline Lebœuf et Alain Antil**, in Jean-Marc Châtaigner et Hervé Magro (dir.), *États et sociétés fragiles. Entre conflits, reconstruction et développement*, Karthala.

### Fragile states and terrorism, an ambiguous relationship

"There is no structural relationship between terrorism and fragile states, but ties are mostly shaped—although indirectly and sporadically—in the 'gray areas,' in the geographic and mostly symbolic periphery of these fragile nations."



**Laurence Nardon**, « Note de l'Ifri », December 2006.

### The militarization of space

"There is a strong debate about militarization of space in the United States. [...] Although military presence in space has steadily developed since 1960, the deployment of arms in orbit had remained politically inopportune and strategically useless. Supporters of the ex-Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld's ideas consider that the strategic context has changed and therefore that active militarization of space to secure 'space dominance' is required. The Space Command of the US Air Force is currently planning the deployment of anti-satellite weapons (ASATs). It is also considering the launch of weapons cruising in orbit and capable of hitting earth (Space to Earth Weapons, STEW) or contributing to anti-missile defense (BMD). A new and rich debate has started in Washington between officials and think tanks with diverse political leanings. Some think tanks are arguing for and preparing an international agreement to prohibit the militarization of space."



**Valérie Niquet**, *Politique étrangère*, n° 2/2006.

### China in Africa

"The Chinese strategy in Africa is [...] particularly dynamic. It is openly based upon the principle of 'non-interference,' which is against the position of western powers and Japan. Nevertheless, this strategy may be fragile in the long run. The open support of particularly dubious regimes, such as in Sudan or Zimbabwe, has put China directly at odds with the international 'responsible' community,

therefore contradicting the Chinese government's official position, which is to evolve peacefully and be willing to be treated as an integrated major power. China has emerged as a true economic competitor in fields that were traditionally the prerogative of ex-colonial powers. China's commercial offensive has also worried some of its African partners. The end of the multifiber agreement in the textile field in January 2005, and the exponential increase in Chinese exports [...] have greatly destabilized major textile producing countries."



**Françoise Nicolas and Bernadette Andreosso-O'Callaghan**, *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 12, n° 1, 2007.

### China and European Union: common interests

"[...] an area in which Sino-EU collaboration can lead to substantial and growing mutual benefits in the future is the energy sector. This is very much an untapped area and, [...] EU-Sino collaboration can only contribute to stability at the world level. More generally, the accelerating rise of the Chinese economy and the deepening of its relationship with the EU are likely to facilitate the change of forces in the international system and help promote multipolarization of international relations. Both China and the EU attach great importance to the international multilateral system. The two sides [...] appreciate each other's rising role in international affairs. The need for multilateral cooperation between China and the EU has far outweighed the simple need for holding back the USA, although this objective may help maintain the cooperative momentum."



**Étienne de Durand**, *Étude*, L'Observatoire de la stratégie américaine, December 2006.

### Civil-military relations put to the test

"The difficulties encountered in Iraq have not only markedly contributed to deteriorate the relationship between the American people and the military, but also discredited the authority of Donald Rumsfeld, who is now as detested as Robert MacNamara. It has also tarnished the military's reputation for competence. As an indirect consequence, the legitimate will of experts and politicians to reassert civilian strategic pre-eminence as a reaction against the military's

unwarranted influence in the 1990's has been jeopardized.

It is therefore ironic that Donald Rumsfeld succeeded in imposing his point of view [...]. His bureaucratic victory led to the failure of his Transformation project, via Iraq, and to calling into question civilian strategic authority."

### Palestine



**Denis Bauchard**, *Israël 2007: bilan et perspectives*, February 2007.

### ...An emergency

"The Palestinian problem is a central issue regarding the Middle East [...]. It is a destabilizing factor for moderate Arab regimes accused of weakness by an increasingly contesting public opinion; it is also a catalyst for Iran's increasing influence in the Middle East. [...] It seems obvious that there is no pure military or repressive solution for the Palestinian issue: only a political or negotiated solution can solve it. [...] Time is running out: [...] the so-called two state solution no longer appears feasible in view of the current situation. The policy of the *fait accompli* leads to a deadlock: the longer one waits, the heavier the political and human toll. [...] The Palestinian Authority is losing control over the Gaza Strip..."



**Dorothee Schmid**, *Politique étrangère*, n° 3/2006.

### Beyond sanctions

"History has shown that sanctions cannot truly be effective unless they are adapted to the desired goal, especially if they are used [...] as one tool among others to implement a coherent and sustainable strategy. In the case of Palestine, the final political goal is not clear. The incapacity of creditors to propose an alternative solution for channeling effective financial aid shows the weakness of their strategic vision. [...] The material consequences of the sanctions against Hamas are currently the most serious. [...] The effort to structure and develop the influence of Palestinian institutions is challenged. Sanctions alone can not replace a policy, and furthermore could make any political reconstruction strategy more difficult in the future."



**Khadija Mohsen-Finan et Malika Zeghal**, in *Revue française de science politique*, February, 2006.

### Islamist opposition and monarchic power in Morocco

"The PJD has progressively attempted to assert itself as the dominant political party on the political scene. However, for its base as well as for any observer, it is difficult to understand the behavior of this party when it endorses and delivers the same message as the Palace [...]. The "makhzenisation" process of the party, whose original members initially defined themselves as a 'counter-society,' does not imply that [...] the party has been domesticated, neutralized or weakened by the authorities in Morocco. On the contrary, it has become a major player in the political game, due to the introduction by Hassan II, subsequently by Mohamed VI, of a policy of openness, and to its capacity to rally people for the elections. [...] The 'pact' which is being drawn up today between the monarchy and legitimist Islamism could probably stabilize this political openness for a while. It has limits however, and conflict or violent confrontations are not to be ruled out."



**Clément Therme**, GIPRI, November 2007.

### Teheran, Washington and Moscow

"Moscow and Teheran have an asymmetrical relationship in which both players only cooperate according to short term interests, whether they are economic, energy or security related. [...] The common interests the two players have in the Caucasus and in Central Asia, in countering the expansion of American influence, indicates a strategic motivation in their relationship. Its future will depend on Russia's capacity to lessen the intensity of the conflict opposing Iran to Western countries, and Iran's political choices in world affairs. It will also depends on how the Iranian nuclear issue is solved. Paradoxically, Iranian-Western tensions make Iran increasingly dependent on Russia and to a certain extent on China."



**Thomas Gomart**, « Russie.Nei.Visions », n°10b, May 2006.

### EU-Russia: frictions

"Within the EU/Russia framework, it is often said that the 'common space' dedicated to external security is the most tricky to handle. [...] Unofficially, the Common Space on External Security seems to be a field of geopolitical rivalry. This is mainly due to an unprecedented overlapping of two peripheries within the former Soviet area and a clear lack of mutual confidence. [...] Besides, Moscow believes EU's enlargement diminishes its influence. Added to this, there is a clear feeling in Moscow that they are retreating, in contrast to the EU which is expanding. Both sides simply do not share the same core objectives for their common neighborhood. The EU above all intends to stabilize its periphery whereas Russia wants to maintain its ability to control developments in the area seen as its vital periphery."



**Tatiana Kastueva-Jean**, « Russie.Nei.Visions », n° 14, September 2006.

### The "greatness and misery" of higher education in Russia

"Due to its Soviet legacy, Russia has gained a reputation for having a well-trained population and efficient educational system. The facts on the ground are obviously more ambiguous, however. The veritable 'boom' of higher education and the good results of some well-known universities hide the more general fall of average performances and the devaluation of diplomas. Efforts to reform the system are meeting both structural constraints and corruption practices within the educational community. This makes a genuine assessment of Russian degrees difficult to achieve. In addition, the 'privatization' of large sections of the education system has rendered the problem of inequality of access even more acute."



**Marc Hecker**, *Politique étrangère* n°2, 2006

### On the vulnerability of the strongest

"The main tactical-operational innovations introduced by the supporters of the revolutionary rural and urban guerrilla warfare — also adopted by the Islamic Jihad fighters — consist of being constantly aware of the adversary's material superiority. This fact prevents the 'weak' from directly opposing the 'strong;' they must opt for an indirect approach, avoiding any direct clash. [...] Guerrilla fighters have the advantage of knowing the field and the ability to blend into the population, which allows them to master two fundamental points: the time and the place where they fight. The strong party is globally superior, but not everywhere at any time. [...] Therefore guerrilla fighters must only attack when they have a relative advantage at a given moment. This principle can also be applied to Jihadists."



**Dominique David**, in *Les relations internationales*, Frédéric Charillon, (dir.)

### The rise of asymmetrical warfare

"For the next decades, dominant powers have a military technical edge and a concentration of means allowing them to control all forms of traditional international warfare for their own advantage. This does not imply that these nations can win the conflicts on a political level [...], but that they have the means to undermine the benefit of military adventures for their competitors: that is the double lesson learned from Iraq. [...] Challengers would therefore have to choose a combat zone forbidding dominant powers to deploy their means. [...] Hence the revival of asymmetrical position, when one of the adversaries refuses to fight under circumstances which would confer an advantage to the opponent."

# In 2006: Ifri was notably host to



**Michèle ALLIOT-MARIE**, Minister of Defense  
**Jean DE PONTON D'AMECOURT**, Director of the Delegation of Strategic Affairs, French Ministry of Defense  
**Jacques BARROT**, Vice-President of the European Commission, European Commissioner for Transport  
**Sergueï BOGDANCHIKOV**, Chief Executive Officer of Rosneft, Moscow  
**Irina BOKOVA**, Bulgarian Ambassador to Paris  
**Catherine COLONNA**, Deputy Minister for European Affairs  
**Hervé de CHARETTE**, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Member of Parliament



**Ilan HALEVI**, former Vice-Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Member of the Committee of Exterior Relations of the Fatah, Ramallah, Palestinian Authority



**William JORDAN**, Director of the Office for Maghreb Affairs, US Department of State  
**Pierre JOXE**, Member of the Constitutional Council, France  
**Ellen JOHNSON-SIRLEAF**, President of Liberia  
**Khurshid KASURI**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan  
**Roland KOCH**, Minister-President of the Hesse Land  
**Laszlo KOVACS**, European Commissioner  
**Andreï KONDAKOFF**, Director of Development and Economic Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation



**Jean FRANÇOIS-PONCET**, former Minister, Vice-President of the Committee for Foreign Affairs, Defense and Army, French Senate  
**Michael FRENDU**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malta

**Alberto R. GONZALES**, Attorney General of the United States  
**Monika GRIEFAHN**, Spokesperson of the SPD parliamentary group for Culture and Medias, Bundestag  
**Abdullah GÜL**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey



**Karl A. LAMERS**, Member of the Parliament, President of the German delegation at NATO's parliamentary assembly  
**Jean LEMIERRE**, President of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)  
**Pierre LEVY**, Director of the French Policy Planning Staff (Centre d'analyse et de prévision), Ministry of Foreign Affairs.  
**Marian LUPU**, President of the Parliament of Moldavia  
**Mikhail MARGELOV**, Chairman of the Committee for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation Council  
**Ambassador Pierre MOREL**, European Union's Special Representative to Central Asia  
**Pierre MOSCOVICI**, former Deputy Minister for European Affairs, National Secretary for International Relations, Socialist Party



**Marwan MUASHER**, Member of the Senate, former Vice-Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Jordan  
**Jorma OLLILA**, Chief Executive Officer of the Nokia Corporation, Non-Executive Chairman of Shell



**Anatoli TORKUNOV**, President of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (Mgimo)

**Donald TSANG**, Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region

**Hubert VÉDRINE**, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, President of the François Mitterrand Institute

**Karsten VOIGT**, German Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs

**Abdoulaye WADE**, President of Senegal

**Paul WOLFOWITZ**, President of the World Bank



**Ambassador Marc OTTE**, European Union's Special Representative to the Middle East Peace Process

**Kamal NATH**, Indian Minister for Commerce and Industry

**Mikhaïl SAAKASHVILI**, President of Georgia

**Yves SAINT-GEOURS**, French Ambassador to Bulgaria

**Ambassador Elias SANBAR**, Palestine Permanent Observer to UNESCO

**Ulrich SCHLIE**, Director of the Planungsstab of the German Federal Ministry of Defense

**Christian SCHMIDT**, member of the Parliament, parliamentary Secretary of State at the Ministry of Defense, Germany



**Serguei STANICHEV**, Prime Minister of the Republic of Bulgaria

**Jalal TALABANI**, President of the Republic of Iraq

The Army General **Bernard THORETTE**, Chief of Staff of the Army

1. *Abdullah Gül, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey*
2. *Thierry de Montbrial and Jalal Talabani, President of Iraq*
3. *Jacques Barrot, vice-President of the European Commission, European Commissioner for Transport*
4. *Xavier de Villepin and Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, President of Liberia*
5. *Alberto R. Gonzales, Attorney General of the United States*
6. *Thierry de Montbrial and Michèle Alliot-Marie, Minister of Defense, France*
7. *Serguei Stanichev, Prime Minister of the Republic of Bulgaria*
8. *Catherine Colonna, Deputy Minister to European Affairs*
9. *Thierry de Montbrial and Paul Wolfowitz, President of the World Bank*
10. *Mikhaïl Saakashvili, President of Georgia*

# Ifri and its partners



25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of RAMSES, Thierry de Montbrial and Bertrand Collomb



Jacques Barrot, Louis Schweitzer (Renault) and Jean-Marie Luton (Arianespace)



Xavier Darcos (OECD) and Paul Wolfowitz



*Anne-Marie Idrac (RATP) and Jacques Barrot*

For the past 27 years, Ifri (French Institute of International Relations) has offered its partners and members—individuals, institutions and firms—a forum for debate. Thanks to its numerous research programs, events, publications and close relationship with major international institutions, Ifri has also provided up to date and comprehensive expertise on international affairs.

Frequent and high quality debates have punctuated the year 2006: the institute organized over 150 meetings, conferences and seminars. Those events gave Ifri's partners the opportunity to debate face to face with both key players on the world political and economic scene, and Ifri experts, giving them access to a vast international network of institutions and decision-makers.



In 2006, Ifri's research programs were outlined in blue print documents clearly stating the research orientation and enhancing the overall visibility of the programs. The number of partnerships between Ifri's research departments, private sector companies and foundations increased: the Transatlantic program, the Energy program, the Russia/NIS Center, the World Economy program, have been launched or developed thanks to targeted funding. Ifri's willingness to build strong institutional relations and synergies with the private sector is epitomized by a systematic marketing effort, led by the Development Department, towards companies already supporting Ifri or potentially having an interest in doing so.

Ifri reinforced its capacity to influence French and European public debates by increasing its presence in the media, diversifying channels of dissemination for its work, and establishing partnerships to increase the audience of its internet website [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org).

A monthly calendar of events and an exhaustive list of Ifri's publications are now available through an interactive online newsletter, *Ifri Actualité*.

We most warmly thank all of our partners and sponsors for their trust. Thanks to their support, Ifri has the capacity to remain at the forefront of international affairs' most important topics.



*Pierre-Luc Séguillon (LCI)*



*Marian Lupu, Chairman of the Parliament of Moldova and Xavier de Villepin*



*Patrick de Cambourg (Mazars)  
Jean-Claude Gruffat (Citigroup)  
Christian Ménard (BESV)*

# Dinners and Luncheons-debate 2006

Chairperson: **Thierry de Montbrial**

- January 25  
With **Jean Lemierre**, President of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)
- February 15  
With **Michel Pébereau**, Chairman of the Board of Directors, BNP Paribas
- April 2  
With **Alberto R. Gonzales**, Attorney General of the United States
- April 25  
With **Marwan Muasher**, Member of the Senate, former vice-Prime Minister and Minister of foreign affairs of Jordan
- May 18  
With **Abdoulaye Wade**, President of the Republic of Senegal.  
In partnership with the Strategic Communications Group, Hôtel de Crillon
- May 29  
With **Mikhaïl Saakashvili**, President of Georgia
- June 5  
With **Jorma Ollila**, Chief Executive Officer of the Nokia Corporation, Non-Executive Chairman of Shell
- June 15  
With **Jacques Barrot**, Vice-President of the European Commission, European Commissioner for Transport
- October 3  
With **Roland Koch**, Minister-President of the Hesse Land.  
In partnership with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
- October 12  
With **Serguei Stanchev**, Prime Minister of Bulgaria
- October 18  
With **Paul Wolfowitz**, President of the World Bank
- October 31  
With **Catherine Colonna**, Deputy Minister for European Affairs
- November 10  
With **Donald Tsang**, Chief Executive of the Hong-Kong Special Administrative Region
- December 6  
With **Jean-Luc Demarty**, Director General, Agriculture and Rural Development, European Commission

## Working Luncheons with Ifri's research-fellows

- March 9  
**The Emergence of the Indian Economic Power**  
By invitation from Étienne Pflimlin, President of Crédit Mutuel.  
With **Ramesh Mulye**, Advisor for France to the Confederation of Indian Industry, and **Jean-Luc Racine**, Director of the Franco-Indian Program for Social Sciences Cooperation, Maison des sciences de l'homme (MSH)
- May 9\*  
**May 2005-May 2006: What Strategies for the EU?**  
With **Pierre Defraigne**, Director, Eur-Ifri, Brussels, and **Jolyon Howorth**, Professor, University of Yale, associate research fellow, Ifri  
Chairperson: **Dominique David**
- July 4\*  
**Russia and World Energy Security**  
With **Pierre Noël**, research fellow, Ifri  
Chairperson: **Dominique David**
- September 13\*  
**Economic Mutations and Governance in Algeria**  
With **Khadija Mohsen-Finan**, research fellow, Ifri, and **Abderrahmane Hadjnacer**, Investment Banker, former governor of the Central Bank, Algiers
- October 24\*  
**Muslims in Europe: What Model of Integration?**  
With **Christophe Bertossi**, Ifri
- November 23\*  
**Iraq, Lebanon, Afghanistan: Have Military Interventions Come to a Dead-End?**  
With **Étienne de Durand**, Security Studies Center, Ifri  
Chairperson: **Dominique David**
- December 13\*  
**Israel-Palestine: What Way out of the Crisis?**  
With **Dorothee Schmid**, research fellow, Ifri  
Chairperson: **Dominique David**

\* Organized with the support of Accor



1 - Jorma Ollila  
2 - Roland Koch  
3 - Khurshid Kasuri



# Corporate Partners

as at December 31, 2006

Ifri's  
corporate partners  
number about one hundred.

They are offered various opportunities to  
meet with world decision-makers.

## A

ABN-AMRO FRANCE  
ACCOR  
AGENCE FRANÇAISE DE DEVELOPPEMENT  
AIR FRANCE  
AIR LIQUIDE  
AMERICAN EXPRESS  
ARCELOR FRANCE  
AREVA  
ARIANESPACE  
AXA

## B

BANQUE DE FRANCE  
BANQUE FEDERALE DES BANQUES  
POPULAIRES  
BC PARTNERS  
BEARINGPOINT  
BESV  
BNP PARIBAS  
BOUYGUES  
BURELLE S.A.

## C

CABINET GIDE LOYRETTE NOUËL  
CARREFOUR  
CHARBONNAGES DE FRANCE  
CHENIERE LNG INTERNATIONAL  
CILAS  
CITIGROUP  
COFACE  
COLAS  
COMMISSARIAT A L'ENERGIE ATOMIQUE  
CREDIT FONCIER DE FRANCE  
CREDIT MUTUEL

## D

DEXIA ASSET MANAGEMENT  
DEXIA CREDIT LOCAL

## E

EIFFAGE  
ELECTRICITE DE FRANCE  
ERAMET COMILOG MANGANESE

## F

FEDERATION FRANCAISE DES SOCIETES  
D'ASSURANCE  
FEDERATION NATIONALE DES TRAVAUX  
PUBLICS  
FIEEC  
FRANCE TELECOM

## G

GAZ DE FRANCE  
GIMELEC

## H - I

HSBC FRANCE  
INSTITUT FRANCAIS DU PETROLE

## J

JEANTET ASSOCIES  
JP MORGAN CHASE BANK

## L

L'OREAL  
LA MONDIALE  
LA POSTE  
LABORATOIRES SERVIER  
LAFARGE  
LAZARD FRERES  
LES ECHOS  
LVMH

## M

MAZARS  
MEDEF  
MICROSOFT

## N

NATIXIS  
NOKIA

## P

PERNOD RICARD  
PEUGEOT SA  
PRICEWATERHOUSECOOPERS

## R

RATP  
RENAULT  
ROTHSCHILD & CIE BANQUE  
RTE

## S

SAFRAN  
SANOFI-AVENTIS  
SOCIETE DU LOUVRE  
SOCIETE GENERALE  
SODEXHO ALLIANCE  
SOFINNOVA PARTNERS  
SUEZ

## T

THALES  
TOTAL

## U V W

UIMM  
UNIGRAINS  
UNISTRAT COFACE  
VALLOUREC  
VIEL & CIE  
WENDEL INVESTISSEMENT

### Projects sponsors

ARIANESPACE, EADS, ELECTRABEL, ÉLECTRICITÉ  
DE FRANCE, FÉDÉRATION NATIONALE DES TRAVAUX  
PUBLICS, FONDATION DAIMLERCHRYSLER,  
FONDATION DE FRANCE, FRANCE TÉLÉCOM, GAZ  
DE FRANCE, JAPANESE TOBACCO, JETRO, STRATEGIC  
COMMUNICATION GROUP, UIMM, VALLOUREC

### Events sponsors

CITIGROUP, LAFARGE, LENÔTRE

# Member embassies and institutions

as at December 31, 2006

Algeria, Embassy of  
Andorra, Embassy of  
Argentina, Embassy of  
Australia, Embassy of  
Austria, Embassy of  
Azerbaijan, Embassy of  
Bahrein, Embassy of  
Belgium, Embassy of  
Brazil, Embassy of  
Bulgaria, Embassy of  
Canada, Embassy of  
Canadian Permanent Delegation to the OECD  
Center for International Studies – CEI  
China, Embassy of the Popular Republic of  
Croatia, Embassy of the Republic of  
Cyprus, Embassy of the Republic of  
Czech Republic, Embassy of the  
Denmark, Embassy of  
Egypt, Embassy of  
Estonia, Embassy of  
Eumetsat  
EU Institute for Security Studies  
Federal Republic of Germany, Embassy of the  
Finland, Embassy of  
Greece, Embassy of  
High Council of Notaries  
India, Embassy of  
Iran, Embassy of the Islamic Republic of  
Ireland, Embassy of  
Israel, Embassy of  
Italy, Embassy of  
Japan, Embassy of  
Japan External Trade Organization/JETRO  
Japan Permanent Delegation to the OECD  
Korea, Embassy of the Republic of  
Kuwait, Embassy of  
Latvia, Embassy of  
League of Arab States, Paris Office  
Lithuania, Embassy of  
Luxemburg, Embassy of  
Malta, Embassy of  
Memorial of Caen

Mexico, Embassy of  
Monaco, Embassy of  
Norway, Embassy of  
New-Zealand, Embassy of  
Netherlands, Embassy of  
Poland, Embassy of  
Poland Permanent Delegation to OECD  
Portugal, Embassy of  
Quebec, General Delegation of  
Romania, Embassy of  
Russian Federation, Embassy of the  
Saudi Arabia, Embassy of  
Serbia, Embassy of  
Singapour, Embassy of  
Slovakia, Embassy of  
South Africa, Embassy of  
Spain, Embassy of  
Sweden, Embassy of  
Sweden Permanent Delegation to OECD  
Switzerland, Embassy of  
Taipei Representative Office  
Translation Center of the French Ministry of  
Economy, Finance and Industry  
Tunisia, Embassy of  
Turkey, Embassy of  
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern  
Ireland, Embassy of the  
United States of America, Embassy of the  
Ukraine, Embassy of  
Uzbekistan, Embassy of  
Vietnam, Embassy of the Socialist Republic of  
Yalta European Strategy (YES)

# 2006 Annual Report

## **Regional Programs**

### **Europe**

- Research Center on Franco-German Relations, Cerfa
- Franco-Austrian Center for Convergence in Europe, CFA
- Eur-Ifri

**French Center on the United States, CFE**

**Russia/NIS Center**

**Asia Center Ifri**

**Middle East/North Africa Center**

## **Transversal Programs**

**Security Studies Center**

**World Economy Program**

**Energy Program**

**Transatlantic Program**

**Migration, Identity, and Citizenship Program**

## Europe

## Research Center on Franco-German Relations (Cerfa)

The dual mission of Cerfa is to contribute to improving the understanding of the political and socioeconomic policies in France and Germany, and to analyze Franco-German relations in a constantly evolving European Union. Cerfa proposes expertise on contemporary Germany, analyzes Franco-German relations in terms of politics, economics and foreign policy, and makes suggestions to strengthen these ties. Cerfa regularly publishes studies (articles, policy papers and books) and organizes seminars, conferences and debates.

### Staff

*Hans Stark*, Secretary-General (German domestic and foreign policy, Franco-German relations, European integration)

*Claire Demesmay*, research fellow (contemporary German political culture and public debates, Franco-German relations, identity and citizenship in Europe)

*Janine Ziegler*, research assistant

*Emmanuelle Saunier*, research assistant



*Annual conference. Angelica Schwall-Düren, Claire Demesmay and Sylvie Goulard*

**Traditionally, research at Cerfa is conducted according to three main categories of topics:**

- contemporary German political and social changes: the first part focuses on domestic policy (analysis of political parties and coalitions, socioeconomic reforms, social changes and internal controversies, immigration and integration issues); the second part is devoted to German foreign policy within the European Union (EU) and towards non-member countries such as the United States and Russia;
- Franco-German relations: Cerfa focuses on bilateral relations and matters of common interest in the political, economic and cultural fields, as well as on the contribution of both countries to the European construction process, and their respective perception of the main European issues at stake;
- two research programs study European integration: the first program deals with European political, legal and institutional development and includes the concept of identity and European citizenship; the second program is dedicated to EU's enlargement, the European architecture of security as well as EU's relations with its neighbors.

**In 2006, research at Cerfa focused on three major topics:**

### The main issues of Merkel's government

Cerfa assessed the main issues which the German government tackled.

Cerfa's annual conference, "Towards the emergence of a public European area? Mutual Franco-German views on the first 100 days of Merkel's government" (January 30), led to an initial assessment of the federal government's policy, completed by two conference-debates devoted to the Great Coalition's key issues: the German economy (May 17) and the immigration and integration policy (7 July).

Furthermore, Cerfa has dedicated a number of its "Notes du Cerfa" to German domestic policy (collected in *Radioscopies de l'Allemagne* 2007). The themes discussed are socioeconomic (the German economy, the reform of the health system, family policy) and societal issues (the situation of German Turks in German society).

### Foreign and security policies in the European Union

Following the latest enlargement process, the European Union has faced new challenges in terms of regional security. Two strategic Franco-German Forums (27-28 March and 9-10 October) have focused on the structure of European security (Common Foreign and Security Policy and European Security and Defense Policy) as well as on ESDP consequences for the EU-Russia partnership and transatlantic relations. (See also seminar of 11-12 December in the Transatlantic Program)

Finally, several "Notes du Cerfa" have dealt with the German Foreign and European policy as well as EU's Foreign and Security Policy.

### Franco-German relations

Franco-German issues have been prominent in Cerfa's work.



*Strategic Franco-German Forum*

Most of the events organized by Cerfa have promoted mutual understanding on themes of common interest, whether they pertain to the coalition's choices, transatlantic relations or political integration. Several works from the on-line series "Visions franco-allemandes" have also analyzed diverse topics, including financial capitalism, citizenship, and secularism from a Franco-German perspective.

Furthermore, many publications have treated Franco-German bilateral relations. Aside from the works pertaining to intergovernmental cooperation between France and Germany, Cerfa has emphasized mutual understanding between both countries. With this objective in mind Cerfa has analyzed how German civilization is taught in the context of German studies in France and assessed the elaboration of a Franco-German history textbook.

### Prospects for an enhanced Franco-German dialogue: *Dialogue d'avenir*

In 2007 Ifri and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP) inaugurated the first phase of *Dialogue d'avenir*, a Franco-German network of students and highly qualified young professionals. Funded by the Robert Bosch Stiftung, the project's objective is to raise awareness of young generations regarding Franco-German issues and to encourage future French and German decision-makers to debate political, societal and economic current issues in both countries.

In charge of the program for Ifri: *Anne-Lise Barrière*.

On-line publication available on  
[www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org)

- “Notes du Cerfa” (see “Publications”)
- “Visions franco-allemandes”

“Le Capitalisme financier en France et en Allemagne: critiques, réalités et conséquences”

*Patricia Commun*, N° 7, May.

“La Civilisation allemande dans les études germaniques en France: ingénierie et atouts”

*Stephan Martens*, N° 8, July.



“Les Débats sur la citoyenneté en Allemagne et en France”

*Yves Bizeul*, N° 9, October.

“L'Égalité de tous versus l'individualité de chacun. Le principe de la séparation de l'Église et de l'État et la polémique du voile à l'école publique en France et en Allemagne”

*Janine Ziegler*, N° 10, November.

“Le Manuel franco-allemand d'histoire: l'aboutissement d'un long travail de coopération entre historiens français et allemands”

*Corine Defrance and Ulrich Pfeil*, N° 11, December.

#### Other publications

“Odyssée 2014: l'UE et ses futurs élargissements,” *Claire Demesmay* and *Emmanuelle Saunier*, in RAMSES 2007.

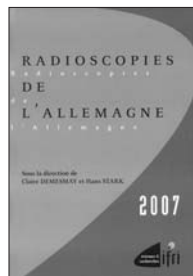
“L'Allemagne à l'heure de la grande coalition,” *Hans Stark*, in RAMSES 2007.

#### Works

*Radioscopies de l'Allemagne 2006*, *Claire Demesmay* and *Hans Stark* (eds.), “Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri” series. This work includes all of the texts published during the year by Cerfa in the series “Notes du Cerfa” (see Publications) and “Visions franco-allemandes.”

*Qui sont les Allemands?*, *Claire Demesmay* and *Hans Stark* (eds.), Lille, Presses universitaires du Septentrion.

As a follow-up for *Qui dirige l'Allemagne?*, this work focuses on Germans' self-perception and their relationship with foreign countries. A “recently” created nation, which became a “post-national” state and then a normal nation-state, Germany cannot refer to a clear historical continuity. How do German citizens perceive themselves today? The question of self-perception has been mostly looked at from the angle of Germany's perception of its past, its concept of nation and how it compares itself with other countries.



#### Annual conference

January 30 - “Towards the creation of a new public European Area? Mutual Franco-German views on the 100 first days of Merkel's government.”

Cerfa initiates its activities each year with a major public conference on current German affairs and Franco-German relations. In 2006, this conference — organized in cooperation with the German Embassy in Paris — dealt with the formation of the new government and its consequences for France. Key French and German political and academic figures, experts and journalists, exchanged views on the following subjects: the coalition's domestic and foreign policy, the German economy at a crossroads between consolidation programs and short-term measures, coverage on Germany in the French media, the creation of a public Franco-German area, and the respective roles of France and Germany in the European Union.

#### Seminars: Strategic Franco-German Forums

The forums are organized twice a year in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and the Strategic Affairs Delegation (DAS, Ministry of Defense) and are devoted to security issues that both countries have to face. These meetings involve French and German members of Parliament, experts and government officials.

March 27-28 - 2<sup>nd</sup> strategic Franco-German forum: What type of partnership for France, Germany and Russia?

Held at the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung academy in Berlin, this forum enabled participants to discuss the partnership between France, Germany and Russia, with a focus on security issues regarding EU and the Community of Independent States (CIS), EU dependence on energy resources, etc.

October 9-10 - 3<sup>rd</sup> strategic Franco-German Forum: European and Transatlantic security policy on the eve of the NATO's summit in Riga

The seminar was opened by *Michèle Alliot-Marie*, French Defense Minister, and was focused on the Iranian nuclear military crisis and the future of regional security, on weapons of mass destruction and non-proliferation issues, on NATO's evolution (enlargement, new missions and strategic purpose), and on the ESDP-NATO relationship.

(Cf. also the Transatlantic Program in which Cerfa actively participates.)

#### Conferences, breakfast-debates

March 1<sup>st</sup> - Does a Franco-German cultural policy exist?

*Monika Griefahn*, spokeswoman for the SPD parliamentary group for culture and media in the Bundestag, *Ingo Kolboom*, Professor at the University of Dresden and member of the High Council for Franco-German Cultural Affairs (HCCFA), and Ambassador *François Scheer*, advisor to AREVA's CEO.

Chairperson: *Hans Stark*

May 4 - GDR's past and the Stasi archives today  
*Marianne Birthler*, federal government representative for the Stasi archives. Organized by the German Historical Institute.

Chairperson: *Claire Demesmay*

May 17 - Is German economy back on track?

*Anton Brender*, Chief Economist, Dexia Asset Management, and University of Paris IX-Dauphine, *Fabrice Pesin*, fiscal studies department, Ministry of Economy, Finance and Industry, *Christophe Strassel*, financial attaché, French Permanent representation to the EU, and *Eckhard Wurzel*, head of the Germany/Austria bureau, Department of Economic Affairs, OECD.

Chairperson: *Frédérique Sachwald*

July 7 - Islam and integration in France and Germany

*Lale Agkün*, member of the Bundestag, and *Alima Boumediene-Thiery*, senator

Chairperson: *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*

## Europe

# The Franco-Austrian Center for Convergence in Europe (CFA)

The Franco-Austrian Center for Convergence in Europe (CFA), headquartered in Vienna, was created in 1976 by Chancellor Kreisky and Jacques Chirac in order to foster Franco-Austrian economic cooperation with some popular democracies (Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland).

The Center's mission shifted since the fall of the Berlin wall and has focused on providing information to the EU candidate states in order to facilitate their integration. EU's 2004 enlargement has led to redirecting the CFA's policy and developing special relations between this larger Europe and its "new neighbors." Furthermore, Franco-Austrian bilateral meetings are dedicated to cooperation programs that both countries manage in various fields (education, research, social models, etc.)

### Staff

*Peter Jankowitsch* (Vienna) is CFA's Secretary-General.

*Thierry de Montbrial*: Chairperson.

At Ifri, *Éliane Mossé* organizes the Center's activities with the assistance of *Martine Breux*.

In a bilateral and international framework, CFA's mission is to facilitate the exchange of experience between representatives of various fields—political, economic, and financial—from both the private and public sectors in old and new EU member states, as well as from neighboring states. CFA organizes meetings to discuss issues of common concern: monetary and budgetary policy, immigration flows, minorities, fighting organized crime, security, new technology, the evolution of European institutions, etc. These events take place in Paris, Vienna, in the new member states, and in neighboring states.

In 2006, CFA focused on the situation of the most recent EU members, economic, political and institutional evolution of the Balkans region, on the European policies regarding the increase of energy prices and environmental risks, immigration flows and minorities, etc...

Kosovo, which is waiting for a status change (more autonomy or full independence?), was covered during two events: a conference in Paris which discussed different scenarios exploring the country's geopolitical evolution, and an international colloquium in Ljubljana devoted to the economic and social situation.

The political and economic evolution of Bulgaria and its geo-strategic position, on the verge of joining the EU, was explored during a panel in Paris. Public opinion in Europe concerning globalization was discussed during special meetings. The Franco-Austrian dimension of CFA was emphasized in a colloquium on technological and scientific cooperation between France and Austria.

### Orientation for 2007

- the economic and political evolution of Bosnia-Herzegovina from reconstruction to normalization;
- policies regarding immigration flow management and the integration of minorities; their definition has become of prime concern in the context of an enlarged Europe in which populations movements are increasing;
- EU member states' energy policy in a European context and Franco-Austrian cooperation programs in the renewable energy field, and environmental protection;
- the economic, social and political situation in Romania in the aftermath of its joining the EU, strategic issues (the Black Sea, etc.)

### Panels and conferences

#### March 13 - Kosovo: inventory and possible scenarios for the future, Paris

Conference with *Jacques Rupnik*, Research Director at the Center for International Studies and Research (CERI), former member of the international commission on Kosovo.

Chairperson: *Dominique Moisi*

#### March 24 - Public opinion facing globalization, Paris

Panel with *Bruno Jeanbart*, associate Director, department of opinion, CSA, and *Helmut Kramer*, political science Professor, University of Vienna

Chairperson: *Éliane Mossé*

#### September 22 - The economic and political situation in Bulgaria, Paris

Panel with *Irina Bokova*, Bulgarian ambassador to France, and *Yves Saint-Geours*, French ambassador to Bulgaria

Chairperson: *Éliane Mossé*

### International Conferences

#### June 19-20 - Economic and social development in Kosovo: a challenge for stabilizing the region, Ljubljana

The conference, opened by *Peter Jankowitsch*, brought together numerous experts, government officials, academics, from France, Austria, Serbia, Kosovo, as well as from all the neighboring countries. International institutions were represented by *Erhard Busek*, Coordinator, European South-Eastern Stability Pact, *Andreas Wittkowsky*, interim United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), and *Werner Whendt*, OSCE mission in Kosovo. *Arnaud Danjean*, Advisor to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs on the Balkans, participated in this meeting.

#### October 16-17 - Franco-Austrian technological and scientific cooperation in a European context, Vienna

Organized with the support of the French Embassy in Vienna and the French and Austrian Ministries for Education and Research, this conference brought together experts from the administration, from public and private research laboratories, and universities and numerous representatives from French and Austrian industry. This conference focused on comparisons between French and Austrian experiences in the field of competitive research poles, public/private partnerships and research, and fostered communication between leaders of French and Austrian firms in the automobile industry, and in the biotechnology and plastics technology fields.

# Europe

## Eur-Ifri

Established in March 2005, Eur-Ifri's contributes to enrich the European political debate:

- by disseminating in Brussels Ifri's work and research on key European topics;
- by bringing together views and analyzes of leading European players.

Eur-Ifri targets government representatives and political leaders of EU member states, European Union officials based in Brussels, decision-makers in the private sector, trade-union representatives, academics and experts.

Eur-Ifri organizes seminars and conferences, publishes its own research as well as Ifri's. The main lines of its development are: the publication of Ifri research; an in-depth contribution to the European debate in France; the development of Ifri's research activity in Brussels.

### Staff

*Pierre Defraigne*, Director

*Chloé Debay-Cornish*, Assistant

*Claire Quériat*, Assistant

### A weekly series of meetings: "Eur-Ifri's Tuesdays"

These lunch-debates, held in French and English, allow Ifri to become an active player in the European debate.

**January 10 - What can Europe learn from Japan?**, with *Denis Tersen*, Regional Foreign Trade Director, Île-de-France region, former diplomat at the French Embassy in Tokyo.

**January 31 - Reach: a test-case for the EU institutions on deal-making in the future?**, with *Jos Delbeke*, Director, DG for Environment, European Commission.

**February 7 - The Democratic Election of the Hamas: a Threat or an Opportunity?**, with *Leila Shahid*, delegate from Palestine to the EU.

**February 16 - What contribution does Romania make to the EU?**, with *Prince Radu von Hohenzollern*, special representative of the Romanian government.

**February 21 - The Democratic Election of the Hamas: a Threat or an Opportunity?**, with *Elie Barnavi*, former Israeli Ambassador to France, Chairman, History department, University of Tel Aviv.

**March 7 - Can the EU, as a civilian power, build a strategic relationship with China, a global power?**, with *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri, and *Chengyuan Guan*, Popular Republic of China Ambassador to the EU. Chaired by *Eneko Landaburu*, Director-General, External Relations, European Commission.

**March 14 - EU Competition Policy: between regulation and litigation?**, with *Philip Lowe*, Director-General, Competition, European Commission.

**April 25 - Have European projects come to a standstill?**, with *Louis Michel*, European Commissioner, Development and Humanitarian Aid.

**May 2 - The International role of the EU from an American viewpoint**, with *Leslie Lebl*, researcher, United States Atlantic Council. Chaired by *Gunnar Wiegand*, DG External Relations, European Commission.

**May 9 - A repetition of history? Is Europe still Venus and the United States still Mars? The Iran Case**, with *Dominique Moisi*, special advisor to Ifri. Chaired by *Hervé Jouanjean*, Deputy Director-General, DG External Relations, European Commission.

**May 16 - Avian Flu: Are the EU and member states ready?** With *Robert Madelin*, Director-General, DG Health and Consumer Protection, European Commission.

**May 23 - Can the EU really win the race to the high value-added areas with China and India? And what should we do if it can't?**, with *Caroline Lucas*, European MP.

**June 6 - One year after the referendums, should the constitutional treaty be defended?**, with *Pierre Jonckheer*, European MP, Vice-President of the Green Group/Free European Alliance.

**June 20 - The European crisis: considering future prospects**, with *Étienne Davignon*, Minister of State, former vice-President of the European Commission.

**June 27 - Security and defense progress in Europe**, with *Christine Roger*, Ambassador, representative of France to the Committee for Politics and Security.

**July 11 - Globalization and emerging countries**, with *Christine Lagarde*, French Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade.

**July 18 - Concluding the Doha Trade Round**, with *Peter Mandelson*, European Commissioner, Trade.

**July 25 - What lessons should the EU learn from the worsening Middle Eastern crisis?**, with *Dorothee Schmid*, Ifri.

**September 12 - Immigration: What EU response?**, with *Jonathan Faull*, Director-General, Justice, Freedom and Security, European Commission. Chaired by Ambassador *Lilianne Bloem*.

**September 19 - The proposal of the European Union on roaming fees: genesis and current discussions**, with *Fabio Colasanti*, Director-General, DG Information Society and Media, European Commission.

**September 25 - The peaceful rise of China and its global impact**, with *Ms Qiu Yuanping*, vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China, and a panel of experts featuring *Michael Emerson* (CEPS), *Antonio Missiroli* (EPC) and *André Sapir* (Bruegel).

**October 3 - Is EU's unity threatened by the current deadlock?** Special debate introduced by *Jean-Victor Louis*, honorary Professor, Université Libre de Bruxelles, and *Nicolas Théry*, Advisor, DG Environment, European Commission.

**October 17 - Why the Doha round should be saved!** With *Pascal Lamy*, Director-General, World Trade Organization (WTO).

**November 7 - Public Debt in the Euro zone: a catastrophic scenario for France**, with *Philippe Riès*, Director, Agence France Presse, bureau, Brussels.

**November 14 - The new EU trade policy**, with *Simon Fraser*, head of cabinet of *Peter Mandelson*, European Commissioner for Trade.

**December 5 - Progression towards the future constitutional treaty**, with *Jean-Claude Piris*, Director-General, legal department of the EU Council.

**December 13 - What borders within the EU for which European project?** In association with the Robert Schuman Foundation, introduced by *Sylvie Goulard*, research associate, CERI (Paris), Professor at the Collège d'Europe in Bruges. Moderator: *Pascale Joannin*, Director-General, Fondation Robert Schuman.

**December 19 - What more can be accomplished with 25 states, and what are the major difficulties faced?**, with *Pierre Sellal*, French ambassador, permanent representative to the EU.

### Conferences and colloquiums

**March 9 - The European social model: which turn should take the European Union and what should the EU be responsible for?**, in association with Notre Europe.

**September 15 - RAMSES 2007: Europe in the World**, in association with the Royal Institute for International Relations, on the occasion of the publication of Ifri's annual report.

**October 20 - The taxation of European firms in an impasse: should it be competitive or standardized?**, in association with the Foundation for political innovation and the Fondation Jean-Jaurès.

### Workshop

**October 5-6 - Geopolitics of Global Environmental Governance**, workshop organized in the framework of the Garnet Jerp 5.3.1

### Publication

"L'Union européenne dans la gouvernance globale", Pierre Defraigne, in RAMSES 2007, Paris, Ifri/Dunod, 2006.

# The French Center on the United States (CFE)

The French Center on the United States, created on September 1<sup>st</sup> 1999, is dedicated to improving mutual understanding of public policy between France and the United States, therefore enabling decision-makers to better comprehend how the other country's system operates.

The CFE is independent for its work and findings, while being in tune with political and economic spheres of influence.

The CFE analyzes political, economic and social changes in the United States as well as their impact on the conduct of American foreign policy in the world and on transatlantic and Franco-American relations.

Headed by *Guillaume Parmentier*, the CFE leads work groups, organizes debates and publishes policy papers. The CFE's activity is structured around four main lines:

- foreign and security policy;
- domestic policy;
- energy and climate change;
- space policy.



## Foreign and security policy in the United States

The CFE's mission is to provide tools to leaders and observers to improve understanding of the complexity of the decision-making processes in the United States. The Center publishes a guide of members and staffers of the United States Congress who influence international matters, and sheds light on the specificities of the American parliamentary process. This guide is regularly updated.

## Domestic policy and the “Homeland Security” program

The Center is currently implementing a program encouraging Franco-American cooperation in the field of “Homeland Security.”

## Energy and Climate change program

The program seeks to develop expertise on energy and climate change policies, with a particular emphasis on the energy security policy in the United States. The program's research will be the subject of an upcoming publication by *Pierre Noël* and a study conducted by *David M. Reiner*.

Head of Program: *Pierre Noël*, *David Reiner*, Judge Institute of Management, Cambridge University.

## Space Program

Thanks to France's leading role, Europe has become one of the main powers in terms of space programs in the world. Europe combines leading industrial accomplishments (Ariane, telecommunication satellites, and Galileo in the near future) and the exploration of the Universe (Aurora project). It also explores possible applications of space programs for security.

The analysis of decision-making processes as well as comparing Europe with other leaders in space programs (United States, Russia, Asia, etc.), is an instrumental tool for this main line of European policy.

Created in 2001, the Space program's goal is to follow and analyze the space policy in France, Europe and in other major powers, to publish the findings of experts on space exploration, exploitation and militarization, and to facilitate dialogue between players of both the public and private sectors.

The Program is headed since its creation by *Laurence Nardon*, senior lecturer at the Institut d'études politiques (IEP) of Paris.

Research guidelines of the Program are the following:

## The monitoring of the main applications in space: launchers, navigation, observation, telecommunications

This aspect of the program is of particular interest to industrial partners. At the end of 2006, the program's research particularly emphasized Galileo's future civilian and military applications. The findings will be published in a special “Note de l'Ifri,” and a conference will be held in Brussels in 2007.

## The militarization of space

Launched in 2006, this project assesses the current trends in the United States and China to militarize space. Its aim is to provide information to the French and European space community and to foster the creation of a common European position relative to the issue.

## The big space powers: Europe, the United States, Russia and Asia

In the past, the space program focused on American issues; however it currently has extended its research to include space programs developed in the rest of the world. The program conducted studies on Russia and China in 2006.

## The exploration of the universe

The program pursues research on American projects to return to the Moon as well as on the opportunities for transatlantic cooperation. (Seminars and Publications).

## Publications

**Galileo, la navigation par satellite européenne. Questions juridiques et politiques au temps de la Concession**, *Aurélien Desingly* (ed.), “Travaux et recherche de l'Ifri,” October.

“Notes de l'Ifri” (available on [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org))

**La Lune, patrimoine commun de l'humanité? Comment exploiter les ressources lunaires dans le respect du droit international**, *Sabine Akbar*, December.

**L'Arsenalisation de l'espace: les projets américains**, *Laurence Nardon*, December

## Working paper

**The restructuring of the Russian space industry**, featuring *Laurence Nardon* and *Tatiana Kastueva-Jean*, December (study conducted in the context of a joint research project coordinated by the Centre d'Analyse et de Prévision [CAP] of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

## Seminars

### Foreign and domestic policy

March 23 - Franco-American cooperation against terrorism, with *Dana Priest*, journalist, The Washington Post.

June 28 - America and the world, with *Stanley Hoffmann*, Professor, Harvard University.

### Energy Program

March 30 - Oil and gas prices rising. The impact on the production of electricity, transportation systems and CO<sub>2</sub> emission

The third transatlantic seminar on energy and climate change was organized with *Resources for the Future* (Washington). This seminar investigated the potential medium and long-term influence of high oil and natural gas prices on energy systems and on CO<sub>2</sub> emission. Furthermore the deciding factors in the changes caused by the increase in energy prices—including those that are positive for the environment and those that are not—are addressed. Finally, the seminar drew some general conclusions applicable for public policy both in emerging and developed countries.

### Space Program

January 17 - The global Earth observation system and its European and American components

This conference brought together approximately forty European and American decision-makers to review the political issues linked to Earth observation programs: GMES (Global Monitoring for Environment and Security, European system), IEOS (Integrated Earth Observing System, American system) and GEOSS (Global Earth Observation System of Systems, worldwide system).

October 12 - Return to the moon: how NASA is preparing its next mission

Breakfast-debate featuring *Vincent Sabathier*, Senior Fellow, Director of Space Initiatives, *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (CSIS), Washington.

November 15 - The space militarization projects in the United States

Closed-door seminar with French and European experts.

February 12 2007 - Between China and the United States, the current dynamics of military space

Conference led by *Jim Lewis*, Senior Fellow, Director of the “*Technology and Public Policy*” program, CSIS.

*Guillaume Parmentier* left Ifri at the beginning of January 2007.

Since January 2007, CFE activities have been split up into three programs:

- the European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy program, launched in September 2006;
- the Space program, which is now autonomous under the leadership of Laurence Nardon;
- the Transatlantic program, launched at the end of 2005.

# The Russia/NIS Center

Launched in July 2004, the Russia/NIS Program aims at providing policy-oriented expertise on Russia and the Newly Independent States, and contributing to the European debate concerning the region.

The Center produces on-line policy papers—*Russie.Nei.Visions*—that are published in French, English, and Russian.

## Staff

*Thomas Gomart*, Head of the program

*Tatiana Kastueva-Jean*, Research Assistant

*Adrian Dellecker*, Research Assistant

*Catherine Meniane*, Assistant

The research program focuses on four main issues:

## Elites and Decision-Making Process

This research project aims at improving the understanding of the formation of business, political, and military elites in the countries of the region. Identifying the influence of different groups and the various modes of access to power helps to shed light on decision-making processes. Of particular interest are the ties between military and political elites.

## “Strategic Partnership” between the EU and Russia

Despite its key importance for the future of the European continent as well as for trade relations between EU and Russia, the EU-Russia Partnership is currently witnessing a crisis of confidence. The program is devoted to promoting dialogue to foster greater mutual understanding between the two parties. A joint task force will make concrete recommendations.

## Interaction between Russia’s Energy and Foreign Policy

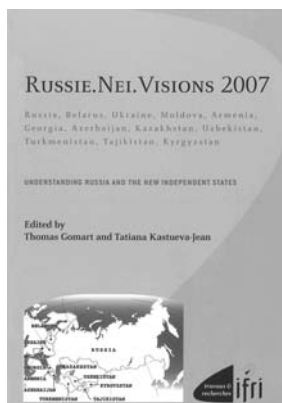
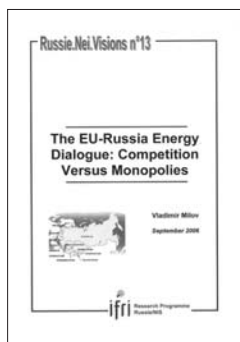
Russia’s control over oil revenues plays a crucial role in the country’s political and economic organization as well as in shaping its foreign policy. The Russia/NIS program deals with the reorganization of the Russian energy landscape and its implications for Russia’s neighbors. It also focuses on the various uses of energy supplies. Researches are notably based on the regular convening of an *Eurasian Energy Task Force*, in partnership with the Energy Program.

## Technological innovation and Scientific Research

Anticipating Russia’s economic future requires focusing on the course of its technological innovation. This research program attempts to identify the poles of scientific and technological excellence within Russia that will allow the country to compete internationally.

Besides, the Russia/NIS Center is in charge of the research dedicated to American and European approaches of Russia, for the **Transatlantic Program** (see Transatlantic Program).

The Russia/NIS Center organizes every year with the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO-University) a seminar, alternately in Paris and in Moscow. The Center holds numerous meetings with actors (*Mikhail Saakashvili*, President of Georgia, May 29 and 31) and analysts of the Eurasian zone (lunch-discussion with *Thomas Gomart* and *Bobo Lo* (Chatham House), on the Russia/EU and China/Russia relations, April 18).



*Russie.Nei.Visions 2007*  
*Understanding Russia and the New Independent States,*  
*Thomas Gomart and Tatiana Kastueva-Jean (eds.)*

## Studies (Thomas Gomart)

**“Quelle pourrait être une politique des marches de l’UE à l’horizon 2015 (mer Noire: Ukraine, Russie...)?,”** for the Delegation of Strategic Affairs, Ministry of Defense, with *Gilles Lepesant*.

**“Londres, Paris, Berlin et Moscou: dernier carré des relations UE/Russie?,”** for the French Policy Planning Staff (Centre d’analyse et de prévision), Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

**“L’influence américaine dans la nouvelle Europe,”** report in the framework of the Observatory of American Strategy, Ministry of Defense, with the participation of *Krzysztof Soloch*.

## Publications

**Russie.Nei.Visions** (*Policy Papers* electronic collection) (also available in French and Russian on [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org))

**Russia and Turkey in the Caucasus: Moving Together to Preserve the Status Quo?**

*Fiona Hill and Omer Taspinar*, N° 8, January

**Ukraine’s Scissors: between Internal Weakness and External Dependence**

*James Sheer*, No 9, March

**Special Issue: EU/Russian Relations**, N° 10, May:

- **Russia, NATO and the EU: A European Security Triangle or Shades of a “New Entente?”**

*Andrew Monaghan*, N° 10(a).

- **The EU and Russia: The Needed Balance between Geopolitics and Regionalism,**

*Thomas Gomart*, N° 10(b).

- **Representing Private Interests to Increase Trust in Russia-EU relations,** *Timofei Bordatchev*, N° 10(c).

- **Multiplying Sources as the Best Strategy for EU-Russia Energy Relations,** *Michael Thumann*, N° 10(d).

**Abkhazia and South Ossetia: Collision of Georgian and Russian Interests**

*Tracey German*, N° 11, June.

**The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation as “Geopolitical Bluff?” A view from Astana**

*Murat Laumullin*, N° 12, July.

**The EU-Russia Energy Dialogue: Competition Versus Monopolies**

*Vladimir Milov*, N° 13, September.

**The “Greatness and Misery” of Higher Education in Russia**

*Tatiana Kastueva-Jean*, N° 14, September.

Policy Papers are published in:

**Russie.Nei.Visions 2007**

**Understanding Russia and the New Independent States,** *Thomas Gomart and Tatiana Kastueva-Jean* (eds.), “Travaux et recherches de l’Ifri,” 2007

## Seminars

**October 15-16 – XII<sup>th</sup> Franco-Russian Seminar on security issues: Ifri-MGIMO**

This seminar provided an occasion to put international current events into perspective. Debates have insisted on proliferation (*Vladimir Dvorkin*, Moscow Carnegie Center, and *Anatoli Tokunov*, MGIMO) and energy security (*Andrei Kondakov*, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, *Serguei Bogdanchikov*, Rosneft, and Ambassador *Pierre Morel*). *Thomas Gomart* has presented a paper: “Qu’est-ce que la sécurité énergétique?”

**December 15 – Closed Seminar: “The restoration of Russian Power: Toward an Energy-Based Deterrence?”**

This meeting is the first of a cycle organized in the *Eurasian Energy Task Force* framework.

Four papers were presented by *Frank Umbach*, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP), Berlin, *William Tompson*, OECD, Paris, *Martha Brill Olcott*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, and *Vladimir Milov*, Institute of Energy Policy, Moscow. They were discussed by *Jacques Lesourne*, *Philippe Lorec*, *Pierre Morel*, and *Thomas Gomart*.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*.



*Seminar Ifri/MGIMO, 15-16 october*

# The Asia Center Ifri

The vocation of the Asia Center is to provide better understanding of the main political, strategic and economic issues at stake in East Asia and the Indian subcontinent.

The center is part of an important network of international academics and experts, and collaborates with Asian, European and American counterparts on a regular basis. In association with its partners from both the public and private sector, the center organizes seminars and workshops; research findings are primarily published in Ifri’s collections.

A newsletter has been launched in 2006.

Since November 2005, *Valérie Niquet* is the Director of the center.

## Staff

*Valérie Niquet*, Director

*Françoise Nicolas*, senior economist (emerging economies), and assistant Professor, University of Marne-la-Vallée

*Yang Baoyun*, associate researcher, associate Director of the Center for Asian-Pacific Studies, University of Beida, Beijing

*Céline Pajon*, coordinator of the study group “Strategic culture and defense policy of the major Asian powers”

*Martine Breux*, Assistant



*Chine - Japon : l'affrontement, Valérie Niquet, Perrin*

## The Center's research concentrated on four main areas:

### The rise of China as a major power

The rise of China as a major power and its integration in the global system constitutes the core of the work of the Asia Center. For the past 25 years, China has successfully implemented a firm policy of rapid growth, based on a strategy of economic reform and integration into the international community. This strategy has led to rapid and continuous economic growth and to the globalization of Chinese interests. It has also raised questions among certain partners, notably concerning energy issues: China has been pursuing an offensive development strategy in countries far from its traditional spheres of influence, mainly in the Middle East and Africa.

Through its work and meetings, the Asia Center plays a major role in debating key issues regarding China's importance and future place in the world.

### The relationship between Asian powers and their role in structuring international relations

The other characteristic of Asia as a whole is the persistence of a complex strategic situation, in which traditional conflicts combined with the multiplication of new risks threaten the stability and long-term prospects for development in the whole region. Conflicts in the Asia-Pacific region (China, Japan, the Taiwan issue, relations with the United States, the role of India), as well as the impact of these conflicts on the Asian strategy of the European Union, are studied.

## Publications

**Chine-Japon: l'affrontement**, Valérie Niquet, Paris, Perrin, "bibliothèque Asie," 2006

**"L'Europe et l'Asie,"** Valérie Niquet, RAMSES 2007, Paris, Ifri/Dunod, 2006

### Economic relations between the EU and East Asia

With the 2006 standstill of the multilateral trade negotiations within the World Trade Organization (WTO), the temptation for favoring regional instead of global agreements increased. The EU has adopted such strategy with many of its partners, Asia among others. In this context, a research project was conducted by the Asia Center in partnership with the University of Limerick on the qualitative analysis of a potential free trade agreement between the EU and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

The project led by *Françoise Nicolas* and *Bernadette Andreosso-O'Callaghan* (University of Limerick) was rounded up during the first semester. Both researchers participated in three meetings of the ASEAN-EU Vision Group on Economic Partnership. These meetings were prior to the official launching of negotiations planned to take place at the beginning of 2007. The project's findings were circulated in the *Vision Group's* report.

## Publications

### "A Qualitative Analysis of a Potential Free Trade Agreement between the EU and ASEAN"

by *Andreosso-O'Callaghan, L. Low, F. Nicolas, A. Petschiri, T. Thomsen* and *U. Uprasen*), Commissioned Report for the European Commission, DG Trade, Brussels, May 2006.

*Françoise Nicolas* also participated in the GARNET seminar (Network of Excellence on Global Governance, Regionalisation and Regulation: "The role of the EU") in Bruges, on June 30-July 1, in order to present part of the report's conclusions.

During the second semester, another research project was set up with the support of the Korea Foundation. It focuses on the implications of a free-trade agreement between the EU and South Korea. This project, which is scheduled to come to a conclusion in 2007, has brought together European and Korean researchers.

### Economic restructuring in South-East Asia, ten years after the financial crisis

During the last decade, South-East Asian economies have undergone significant changes. After the reforms implemented in the immediate aftermath of the 1997-1998 financial crisis, they were faced with the challenge of China's rise as a world power. An essential area of research dealt with the study of these trends as well as the analysis of the evolution of the regional reorganization process.

## Bilateral dialogues

### Franco-Japanese dialogue

The dialogue established with the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) bring together every year, alternately in Paris and Tokyo, Japanese and French experts to discuss international relations key issues. The 14<sup>th</sup> exchange took place in Tokyo on October 26.

### Franco-Chinese dialogue

The Asia Center maintains relations with the main Chinese research centers (Social Sciences Academy of China, Forum of Reformers, Academy of Military Science, Shanghai Institute for International Studies [SIIS], China Foreign Affairs University [CFAU], China Institute of Contemporary International Relations [CICIR], etc). The last meeting with CICIR took place at Ifri on May 17 to discuss extremist Islamism and the fight against terrorism.

### Franco-Korean dialogue

Regular meetings are held with the Korea Foundation, organized in turn in Seoul and Paris.

## Study groups

In order to foster understanding of political, economic and strategic changes, a study group on Asian economies meets regularly. Bringing together experts and professionals, it encourages an informal exchange of viewpoints around

a specific topic.

## Projects

Current programs are to be carried on, with a particular emphasis on the emergence of Asian major powers and on their influence on the global management of energy and natural resources.

The center's work aims at covering the whole region by launching a research program devoted to India, a newly influential economic player and an emerging major political power.

The re-emergence of Japan as a political player in both Asia and the world will also be taken into account.

---

## Publications

### The Asia Center Newsletter

The newsletter is published on a regular basis and provides an analysis on political, strategic and economic developments concerning Asia, from the Indian Ocean to the Far East.

The newsletter is available on Ifri's website and by subscription.

## Study group on Asian economies

Chairmanship: *Valérie Niquet* and *Françoise Nicolas*.

**March 21 - The Giants of the Indian economy**  
With *Diana Hochraich*, project leader, Direction de la prévision et de l'analyse économique, Ministry of Economy, Finance and Industry.

**April 26 - Management of the ageing process in Japan**  
With *Évelyne Dourille-Feer*, Economist, CEPIL.

**June 13 - China's economic strategies in Africa**  
Featuring *Nicolas Pinaud*, Economist, OECD, and *Valérie Niquet*.

**September 28 - Regional trade agreements in East Asia: political and economic perspectives**  
With *Françoise Nicolas* and *Valérie Niquet*.

## The Asia Center Ifri meetings

Chairperson: *Valérie Niquet*

**May 19 - Sino-Japanese relations and cooperation in East Asia**  
With *Yang Baoyun*, researcher, Faculty of International Relations, University of Beijing.

**October 23 - The Chinese development model in the context of globalization**  
With *Yan Shuhan*, Professor, Director of the Sociopolitics Department, Central School of the Chinese Communist Party, and *Zhao Jianjun*, Professor, Philosophy Department, Central School of the Chinese Communist Party.

**November 24 - Kashmir: development and perspectives**

Featuring a delegation from Jammu-and-Kashmir, including members of the government, representatives from the private sector and from international organizations, key Indian figures, and researchers.

## Seminars

**April 10 - Trade and growth perspectives in Asia**  
Organized by the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the Agence Française de Développement (AFD) and the Asia Center on the occasion of the publication of the last report of the ADB, "*Asian Development Outlook 2006*." With contributions by *Frank Harrigan*, Assistant Chief Economist, ADB, *Pierre Jacquet*, Chief Economist and Executive Director of Strategy, AFD. Chaired by *Valérie Niquet*, Asia Center.

**October 26-27 - 14<sup>th</sup> dialogue JIIA-Ifri**, organized with JIIA in Tokyo.

**November 9 - East Asia in the aftermath of the North Korean nuclear tests**, organized in collaboration with the Institut universitaire des hautes études internationales (HEI) in Geneva.

(See also "Publications")

# The Middle East/North Africa Center

The work of the Middle East/North Africa Center focuses on countries around the Mediterranean sea, on the dynamics of change and modernization in these countries and on the strategy of foreign actors in the region (the United States, the European Union and Russia). Ifri has developed special expertise on North Africa (its internal dynamics, economic issues and foreign relations). The institute monitors the question of Islam in the Western World. Regional powers such as Turkey and Iran are also under scrutiny.

Ifri's participation in EuroMeSCo's work—a network of 48 institutes of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership countries—as well as its collaboration within a elite network coordinated by the European Commission, enables the Center's researchers to have fruitful exchanges with its partners.

## Staff

*Denis Bauchard*, former diplomat, Advisor for North Africa and Middle East

*Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, Researcher (North Africa, immigration, Islam in Europe)

*Judith Cahen*, Assistant Researcher (Syria, French policy towards Arab countries)

*Dorothee Schmid*, Researcher (The Mediterranean, Turkey, the Palestinian issue)

*Raed Bader*, Post-doctoral researcher (media in the arab world)

*Clément Therme*, Assistant researcher, doctoral student (Iran)

*Jeanne Frey*, Assistant

In 2006, the Center's work focused on several topics:

## The crises in the Middle East

The Center's research was influenced by a particularly important series of events in 2006. The elections in Egypt, Palestine, Israel, and their consequences, the tension between Syria and its neighbors, the Iraqi dilemma and the "the 33 days war" in Lebanon were discussed in conferences and debates with *Samir Aïta*, *Joseph Bahout*, *Alain Gresh*, *Jean-François Legrain* and *Farouk Mardam-Bey* among others. Ifri has also tackled the issues raised by the possible advent of "Islamist democracies" in the Arab World with *Hervé de Charrette* and *Bassma Kodmani* and questioned the emergence of the "Shiite arc" with *Mohamed Reza Djalili* and *Yann Richard*.

A seminar led by *Denis Bauchard* ("Israel 2006: the new challenges") particularly focused on domestic and foreign challenges facing Israel. The Israel-Palestinian issue was studied by *Dorothee Schmid* from the angle of financial assistance to the Palestinian territories.

## The European Union and the United States policies towards the Mediterranean region

In the context of the EU's elite network of research centers in social sciences on the Mediterranean region "Ramsès2," a conference was organized on December 15 by *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* to discuss the part played in the region by the European Union and Mediterranean countries: the analysis focused on the divergent European and American views regarding the new Middle East. Despite their strategic monopoly in the region since the beginning of the 1990's, the United States is now viewed as only one among many players. The EU is regarded as having shown good will but lacks credibility in the region.

*Dorothee Schmid* dealt with the strategies of external players in *RAMSES 2007* ("L'Europe au Moyen-Orient: une présence en mal de politique") and in two studies conducted in the context of EuroMeSCo. *Fares Braizat* (Center for Strategic Studies, Amman) collaborated on the first one (a comparison between EU and the United States policies in Jordan and the Palestinian Territories). The second study was written in cooperation with the Leonard Davis Institute of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, with *Stephen Calleya* (Malta Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies) and *Shai Moses* (Hebrew University of Jerusalem); (see "Publications"). See also: *The European Union and the United States Facing the Middle Eastern Crisis* (available on-line on [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org)).

*Denis Bauchard* chaired a workshop on the regional democratization process during the annual EuroMeSCo conference in October 2006.

## Media in the Arab World and the Mediterranean countries

As a follow-up to Ifri's work on the growing internationally influential media in the Arab World and in the framework of the project "Media and collective identity in the Mediterranean region" of the "Ramsès2" network, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* organized a seminar on November 30 and December 1<sup>st</sup> in Casablanca in partnership with the King Abdul Aziz Foundation. The objective was to assess the role of the media in Mediterranean societies and to explore their impact on the politics and behaviour of their audience. The media were seen alternatively as having a role in the transformation of the international system and as a political opposition force.

A post-doctoral student from the University of Bir Zeit, *Raed Bader* has collaborated on this program. His main task has been to coordinate the different researchers who are participating in this project.

## North Africa: relations between Algeria and Morocco

*Khadija Mohsen-Finan* conducted a study for the Strategic Affairs Delegation (DAS) of the Ministry of Defense on the relations between the key North African states. The reasons for Algeria and Morocco disagreements are better known today (land ownership, concept of nation, perception of history, etc.). Based on a field study, the report attempts to define the existing problems in order to find possible solutions to the disputes.

"Algérie: les grandes options du président Boutefflika," *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *RAMSES 2007*.

## Islam in Europe

During the fall 2005 riots, Islam in France has been under excessive, often ill-intentioned, coverage in the media. It was important to return to a more rational scientific and open approach to this question, which—even though it has a specifically French dimension due to the importance of the Muslim community in France—is also European in its magnitude. This was the objective of the seminar organized by *Denis Bauchard* on March 10, in partnership with the Conflict Prevention Partnership, drawing on a study led by *Patrick Haenni*, International Crisis Group (ICG), "La France face à ses Musulmans: émeutes, jihadisme, et dépolitisation."

## The regional powers

Ifri has developed specific efforts towards covering Iran and Turkey. A research program on Iran, ran by *Denis Bauchard* and led with *Clément Therme*—who conducted two field studies in 2006—will be launched in 2007. The program will focus on three main subjects: foreign affairs, problems of regional security and energy issues. *Dorothee Schmid* will work more specifically on Turkey.

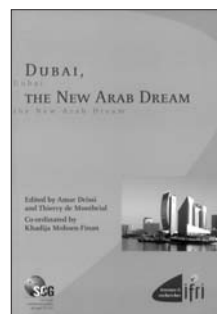
## Publications

### On line publications

- "Actualités Moyen-Orient/Maghreb"
  - "Perspectives Moyen-Orient/Maghreb:"
- La fin d'une époque. L'Égypte après les doubles élections de l'automne 2005,**  
*Sophie Pommier*, May.

**L'entente stratégique russo-iranienne,**  
*Clément Therme*, May.

**La spirale de la crise dans le Liban libéré (2004-2006),** *Agnès Favier*, June.



### Book

**Dubai, The New Arab Dream,** *Amar Drissi and Thierry de Montbrial* (eds.), *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* (coord.), "Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri"

Forthcoming publications:

**Démocratie: références musulmanes et occidentales,** by *Denis Bauchard* and *Abdellah Hammoudi* (eds.), *Judith Cahen* (coord.)

## Seminars

### March 10 - Islam in Europe

Panel with *Xavier Bougarel*, Researcher, CNRS, *Denis Bauchard*, Ifri, *Fraser Cameron*, Senior Advisor, European Policy Center, *Alain Déléroz*, vice-President Europe, ICG, *Patrick Haenni*, ICG, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, Ifri, and *Dominique Moïsi*, Ifri.

### June 26 - Israel 2006: new challenges

Organized in partnership with the Centre d'Analyse et Prévision (CAP) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, featuring numerous regional figures, including *Freddy Eytan*, Ambassador, Director for European Affairs, Center for Public Affairs and the State, Jerusalem, *Ilan Greilsammer*, Center for European Studies, University of Bar-Ilan, Israel, *Ilan Halevi*, former deputy vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs and member of the Commission of External Relations of the Fatah, Ramallah, *Hassan Barari*, Center for Strategic Studies, University of Jordan, Amman, *Marwan Bishara*, American University of Paris, as well as *Edward Abington*, Washington and *Marc Otte*, Ambassador, Special Representative of the EU for the peace process in the Middle East.

### November 30-December 1 - Media and collective identity, Casablanca

The choice of Casablanca, where many new newspapers have recently appeared on the market and where the press has become relatively free, was significant.

### December 15 - The Mediterranean and the New Middle East, what strategic projects?

With the participation of *Joseph Bahout*, Institut d'études politiques (IEP), Paris, *Dominique David*, Ifri, *Thierry Fabre*, MMSH, *François Gouyette*, Euromed Ambassador, *Giovanni Levi*, University of Venice, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, Ifri, *Kalypso Nicolaidis*, Oxford University, *Pierre Thénard*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Mohammed Tozy*, University of Casablanca.

## Conferences and debates

### February 8 - Caught between international pressure and regional tension: Syria in the hot seat

With *Samir Aita*, Economist, General Director of *Mafhoum* and of *Le Monde Diplomatique* Arab Editions, *Joseph Bahout*, Assistant Researcher, IEP, Paris, and *Farouk Mardam-Bey*, Director of the "Sindbad" collection published by Actes Sud and consultant to the Institut du Monde Arabe (IMA).

Chair: *Judith Cahen*.

### February 28 - US priorities in the Maghreb

Breakfast-debate with *William Jordan*, Director of the Office for Maghreb Affairs, Department of State

Chair: *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*

### April 5 - Mutual influence between Islam and Europe

With *Niliüfer Göle*, Director of studies, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS)

Chair: *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*

### July 25 - What lessons should the EU draw from the worsening Middle East conflict?

With *Dorothee Schmid*, Ifri

### November 16 - Iran and the "Shiite arc:" fact and fiction

With *Mohamed Reza Djilili*, Institut Universitaire des Hautes Études Internationales (IUHEI), and Institut Universitaire d'Études du Développement (IUED), and *Yann Richard*, Professor, University of Paris III – Sorbonne nouvelle

Chair : *Denis Bauchard*

# The Security Studies Center

The Security Studies Center analyzes traditional issues related to defense, but also investigates the evolution of the field of security, and anticipates future changes in the nature of conflicts. It leads pluriannual cross-disciplinary programs that involve a regular collaboration with Ifri's other research units.

## Staff

*Étienne de Durand*, Head of the Center: strategic and military issues, French and US defense policies, crisis simulation

*Philippe Coquet*, Research fellow: strategic and military issues, French defense policy

*Marc Hecker*, Research fellow: terrorism, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, crisis simulation

*Aline Leboeuf*, Research fellow: stabilization, reconstruction, human security, Africa, prospective conflict analysis

*Thomas Rid*, Post-doc, TAPIR program: US and German Foreign Policy, Media-Military Relations, Information Operations

*Jolyon Howorth*, Scholar in residence: ESDP and European security policy; transatlantic relations

*Kerry Longhurst*, Scholar in residence: Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), European Neighbourhood Policy, Poland

*Jean Klein*, Scholar in residence: disarmament and proliferation

*Alain Antil*, Associate Research Fellow: Africa, post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction

*Krzysztof Soloch*, Associate Research Fellow: European security policy, Central and Eastern Europe

*Françoise Thomas*, Assistant

## Areas of focus

**The Evolution of Conflicts** - non-conventional warfare, including terrorism, insurgency, asymmetric wars; long-term prospective analysis of possible conflicts; human security.

**Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction** - in collaboration with the French Atomic Energy Commission CEA.

**Analysis of the Strategies and Defense Policies of Major Powers** - transatlantic relations and European security; regional strategies, in collaboration with Ifri's research units focused on area studies.

**The Evolution of Military Affairs** - "military transformation," foreign interventions, and stabilization operations.

## The evolution of armed conflicts in the world

This program is focused on one hand on terrorism, insurrection, and asymmetrical strategies, and on the other on the long-term trends and evolutions of conflicts.

*Interagency coordination in Homeland Security: the management of a complex crisis in an urban environment*

This program, supported by the Centre d'études et de prospective (CEP) of the Ministry of Interior, conducted a tabletop exercise dealing with crisis management of a terrorist attack in France, based on specific hypotheses put forward by Ifri.

It highlighted the coordination problems between the different public agencies and ministries involved. The exercise was followed by a debriefing seminar.

## Early-Warning Detection of Crises

Conducted in partnership with the Secrétariat Général de la Défense Nationale (SGDN), this seminar brought together international experts of detection and early warning of crises.

The objective was to study how situations deteriorate and potentially turn into violent conflicts, and to analyze methods so as to simplify the decision-making process and to implement effective prevention policies. The findings were based on the comparison between existing systems and the diverse experiences of the participants.

## Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)

This program, supported by the Atomic Energy Commission (Commissariat à l'énergie atomique, CEA), includes a series of seminars with experts in the field, as well as a special day-long debate on a question pertaining to current affairs. In 2006, the focus was on the evolution of the North Korean and Iranian crises, Chinese strategy and the relation between proliferation and deterrence.

Contributions are published on-line in a special collection, the "Proliferation Papers" (with more than 2000 readers in France and abroad), and in *Politique étrangère*.

## "Proliferation Papers"

**Assertive pragmatism: China's economic rise and its impact on Chinese foreign policy**, Minxin Pei, N° 15.

**Five scenarios for the Iranian crisis**, George Perkovich, N° 16.

## Strategies Security Policies of Key Countries

This program includes transatlantic relations, European security and regional strategic studies conducted with the relevant Ifri departments.

## Strategic dialogues

The Center organizes regular dialogues on security issues with several foreign counterparts.

## Transatlantic Dialogue: the Quad Meeting

Each year a four-party conference brings together researchers from Chatham House, the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), the Rand Corporation and Ifri, alternately in London, Berlin, Washington and Paris. Organized on October 5 and 6 in Washington by the RAND Corporation, the 2006 Quad meeting, "Lessons from the past; prospects for the future," focused on evaluating the recent past in the field of nation-building and lessons to be learned for the future. The French delegation included General *Vincent Desportes*, Centre de Doctrine d'Emploi des Forces (CDEF), *Étienne de Durand*, Ifri, and *Jasmine Zerinini*, SGDN.

## Franco-Russian Dialogue

Organized in partnership with the Moscow State Institute for International Relations (MGIMO), the bilateral Franco-Russian seminar on security issues has been held annually for the past 12 years, alternately in Paris and Moscow. In 2006, the seminar took place in Paris (see Russia/NIS Program).

## Franco-Polish Dialogue

In the context of the regular annual Franco-Polish meeting organized with the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), a bilateral seminar devoted to the "Problems of Security" took place in Paris on December 12. This meeting scrutinized French and Polish strategic cultures, their security agendas, Franco-Polish cooperation in the context of a European security and Defense policy (ESDP), and bilateral cooperation in the military field.

## Franco-Baltic Dialogue

A Franco-Baltic seminar organized by the Vilnius Institute of International Relations and Political Science on "Problems of Security," with the support of the policy planning staff of the French MoD (Délégation aux Affaires Stratégiques, DAS), took place in Vilnius on December 18. The French delegation included *Dominique David* and *Krzysztof Soloch* from Ifri; *François Campagnola*, *Antoine Creux* (col.), *Christophe-Alexandre Paillard*, and *Robert Ranquet* from DAS; *Denis Badré* and *Anne-Laure Saint Dizier* from the French Senate.

## The Evolution of Military Forces

This area covers themes ranging from “military transformation” to foreign intervention, stabilization operations, and nation-building. The aim is to assess politico-strategic choices in the context of a changing security environment.

### *US National Security Strategy and Defense Policy*

On behalf of DAS’ “Observatory of American Strategy,” the Center follows current defense issues in the US. Four research areas were selected this year: *the 2006 Quadrennial Defense Review*, the weaponization of space, civil-military relations in the United States and American strategy in the CIS region.

### *Defense Research Unit*

Set within the framework of Ifri with the support of the French Army, and officially launched in February 2007, the LRD (Defense Research Unit) seeks to confront military and civilian approaches on strategic and defense-related issues. Therefore, the LRD brings together civilian as well as military experts, mainly from Ifri and the Army, but also works with associate researchers. Developing independent and original research projects, the LRD will propose policy recommendations likely to draw the interest of all the diverse actors involved in security, in France and abroad.

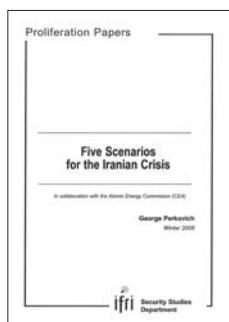
## Transatlantic Post-doc Fellowship for International Relations and Security (TAPIR)

Ifri participates in the prestigious TAPIR program (Transatlantic Post-Doc Fellowship for International Relations and Security). This program allows Ifri to host postdoctoral fellows for a period of eight months and integrate them in its research programs, mostly on security issues. The program is run in conjunction with several of the most eminent *think tanks* in the world in the field of international affairs: the German Institute for International and Security Affairs/Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), the RAND Corporation, Chatham House, SAIS Center for Transatlantic Relations, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the European Union Institute for International Security Studies (EUISS), the Institute for Strategic and International Studies (IEI), the Center for International Relations (CIR), and the Center for Security Studies (CSS).

## Publications

Focused on the “Elaboration of Air Doctrines in the United States, the United Kingdom, and France,” the study conducted in 2005 by *Étienne de Durand* and *Bastien Irondelle* (associate research fellow at Ifri at the time) for the Centre d'Études en Sciences Sociales de la Défense (C2SD) of the Ministry of Defense, was published by the C2SD with the title **Stratégie aérienne comparée**.

“L'Europe et la Sécurité mondiale,” *Jolyon Howorth*, in RAMSES 2007.



## Seminars and debates

### “Proliferation” Program

(in cooperation with the CEA)

#### March 7 - Iran: Between the IAEA and the Security Council

With *Georges Perkovich*, Vice-President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, and *Pierre Goldschmidt*, Deputy Director General and Head of the Department of Safeguards at the International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna.

#### May 18 - Which Developments for the Nuclear Issue in North Korea?

With *Narushige Michishita*, specialist on questions of proliferation and North Korea, Advisor to the cabinet of Japan's Prime Minister, researcher with the National Institute for Defense (NIDS) and Assistant Director of the Defense Policy Bureau (Japan Defense Agency [JDA]).

#### November 14 - The Strategic and Military Consequences of China's Economic Rise

With *Minxin Pei*, associate researcher and Director of the China program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington.

#### December 19 - Workshop on “Proliferation and Deterrence”

This day-long seminar was devoted to the following subjects: lessons from the cold war with *David Yost*, NATO Defense College, and *Paul Schulte*, Advanced Research and Assessment Group, UK Defense Academy; to the parameters of nuclear energy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, including *Yuri Federov*, Chatham House and Director of the Center for War and Peace Studies, MGIMO, and *Camille Grand*, sub-Director of the chemical and biological disarmament and control of traditional weapons department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The third session focused on dissuasion with *Sir Michael Quinlan*, International Institute for Strategic Studies, and *Shai Feldman*, Director, Crown Center for Middle East Studies, Brandeis University.

## Conferences

**May 10 - On Future Wars: Conflicts and Insecurity in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century** With *Thérèse Delpech*, Associate Researcher, CERI, and *Louis Gautier*, former Advisor to Lionel Jospin for defense issues.

**June 12 - On the Ground and Beyond? The Use of Force in Today's Crises** With the Army General *Bernard Thorette*, Chief of Staff of the Army.

## Seminars

**March 13 - How to Explain Extreme Forms of Violence?** Seminar led by *Jacques Sémelin*, Researcher, CERI, and *Bernard Rougier*, Senior Lecturer, University of Clermont-Ferrand.

**May 15 - Early-Warning Systems for Crises** Seminar organized with the support of SGDN

**June 7 - Interagency Coordination in Homeland Security: the management of a complex crisis in an urban environment**

The seminar run with the support of the CEP of the Ministry of the Interior concentrated on role-playing to simulate a crisis, followed by a debriefing.

**November 23 - Iraq, Lebanon, Afghanistan: are the current military interventions in an impasse?** *Étienne de Durand*.

---

# World Economy

---

In 2006, The World Economy Program put a special emphasis on the study of the effects of globalization on the production systems of certain countries.

---

## Staff

*Frédérique Sachwald*, head of economic studies\*

*Luis Miotti*, associate researcher

*Vincent Vasques*, research assistant

*Catherine Ménière*, assistant

Since 2000, globalization has been epitomized by two paramount trends: the increasing role of emerging countries in the world economy and steady competition through innovation. In this environment, companies must review their production and innovation network on a global scale. The World Economy Program has focused on the development of globalization and its consequences. The analysis of interactions between corporate networks, international trade growth and national production systems emphasized **three major research areas**: global innovation networks and the emergence of China as a technological and scientific power, outsourcing and its consequences on national production systems, and Europe and France's competitive position in the world economy.

## Global innovation networks

Since the 1990's, research and development activities have become more international and more mobile. R&D has become part of globalization, not as quickly as other corporate functions, but with similar patterns and dynamics. Long considered difficult to decentralize, it has become a service activity which tends, like production, to be fragmented and organized into networks. Progress in information and communication technologies, as well as the evolution of firms and markets, has stimulated the fragmentation of R&D and the externalization of certain of its activities. In the past few years, the phenomenon has accelerated and amplified, notably through the integration of R&D activities in emerging countries within the global innovation networks built by multinational corporations.

Various studies indicate a growth in the number of R&D centers established in emerging countries. According to a survey conducted by the United Nations Conference on Commerce and Development (CNUCED) in 2005, China should, by 2009, become the first country for R&D centers developed by multinational corporations, ahead of the US and India. France ranks 7<sup>th</sup> behind Russia. Do the new R&D centers established in emerging countries correspond to a “bubble” of foreign investment in countries such as China, or does they represent a sustainable redistribution of these activities? The location of a greater number of R&D centers in emerging countries seems to be at the expense of Western Europe. Can the dwindling attractiveness of certain European countries in terms of R&D be confirmed by a more thorough analysis? Are the public policies currently implemented capable of attracting more R&D centers?

Five conferences on global innovation networks strived to answer those questions. They focused on innovation networks recent developments in four sectors (telecoms, software, automotive and pharmaceutical industry), and on the role of intellectual property in innovation networks.

Ifri's contribution to the annual conference of the Tokyo Club, which was held in Tokyo in December, included an evaluation of China's position in science and technology: “Is China becoming

a High-Tech Superpower? The Contrasted picture of China's Scientific and Technological Capabilities” by *Frédérique Sachwald* (see [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org) and [www.tcf.or.jp](http://www.tcf.or.jp)).

This study is partly based on a field trip in China, during which interviews were conducted in the R&D centers of different foreign companies locally established.

## Outsourcing and national production systems

Knowledge of the outsourcing phenomenon has improved. However, outsourcings remain difficult to identify and to isolate from the global internationalization mechanisms of multinational corporations. Whether in Asia or in new member states, access to market and cost reduction represent drivers for attracting foreign investments. The different ways corporations can internationalize, their interdependences and how they relate to the development of activities in their home country must be thoroughly studied. Similarly, questions often raised have to be looked at further in order to draw conclusions on the economic policy of certain countries. This is the case for fiscal policy in both the home and destination countries.

The economic context favours firms and countries capable of mobility. France, on the one hand, should seek to anticipate the functional and sectional movements at stake, and on the other hand, better prepare its active population to mobility, in terms of training and compensation schemes. The key is to foster the mobility of firms and their staff with means adapted to the context. Several events and publications are dedicated to the international production networks and their impact on employment in Europe. This topic has been addressed in particular in:

- “**Mutations industrielles mondiales: quelle place pour l'Europe?**,” *Luis Miotti and Frédérique Sachwald*, in RAMSES 2007

- **Commerce mondial: le retour de la ‘vieille économie?’**, *Luis Miotti and Frédérique Sachwald*, “Les Études de l'Ifri”

## Europe and France in world competition

Europe's strength is to be able to sell products to the rest of the world using well-known technologies at a higher price than its competitors. Will this competence, partially due to the service factor (design, brands, after-sale services, and better management), be sustainable and sufficient to ensure the prosperity of the Continent? Reasons to worry lie in the fact that Europe does not seem to be able to invent breakthrough technologies. These technologies are at the core of American prosperity.

Several events and publications have addressed these issues: the economic state of Germany (“Is the German economy back on track?”), comparative performances of European countries and the US in world trade (“The evolution of World trade: performances and counter-performances of the United States and European countries.”), the way Europe reacts to the new world order (“Europe in world competition through innovation.

---

\*Frédérique Sachwald pursued other career opportunities in January 2007.

Are new challenges calling for new protection?," conference organized in January 2007). On a related subject, a study on "the competitiveness of French maritime ports: the issues involved in the logistic chain" was conducted during the last quarter of 2006.

## Conferences and Seminars

### "Innovation in France and in the world" Program

Conference cycle "Global innovation networks," organized with the National Association for Technical Research (ANRT)

**March 16 - Global innovation networks in the pharmaceutical industry**

**June 29 - Global innovation networks in the software industry**

**September 19 - Global innovation networks in the telecommunications field**

**November 28 - Intellectual property in innovation networks**

### "Globalization and national economies" Program

**March 6 - World trade recent trends: performances and counter-performances of the United States and European countries**

Presentations by *Jacques Mistral*, financial Advisor for the French Embassy in Washington, and *Frédérique Sachwald*, followed by a debate moderated by *Jean-Marc Vittori*, editorial writer, Les Échos.

**May 17 - Is the German economy back on track?**  
In collaboration with Cerfa. Chair, *Anton Brender*, Chief Economist, Dexia Asset Management, and Associate Professor, Paris IX-Dauphine University.

## Other publications

Publications from the program "Trade policy and globalization governance," which ended in 2005

**"Special and differential treatment of developing countries"** *Jean-Marie Paugam, Serge Perrin* and *Anne-Sophie Novel*, Policy Brief Paper, Ifri-AFD

**"Reviving the special and differential treatment of developing countries in international trade"**  
*Jean-Marie Paugam* and *Anne-Sophie Novel* (eds.), "Travaux et Recherches de l'Ifri." This book, in English, collates speakers' presentations at the conference "The future of Special and Differential treatment," organized with the French Agency for Development (AFD) on October 28, 2005 in Paris.

# The Energy Program

European Governance and the geopolitics of energy

A new Energy Program was launched in September 2006. The key feature of the Program is to integrate European governance and the geopolitics of energy. The program's objective is to foster a coherent and sustainable European energy policy.

## Staff

*Jacques Lesourne*, President of the Scientific Committee

*Jan Horst Keppler*, Program Director, Professor of Economics, CGEMP, Université Paris-Dauphine

*Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, Project Coordinator

*Nadia Fraioli*, Assistant



One of the key challenges of the liberalization of the energy market in Europe is to implement new regulatory strategies at both the European and national levels. At the same time, new environmental concerns call for broader policy objectives influence public policy such as the security involved in supplying energy and economic competitiveness. How do these dynamics affect each other and interact? How do they impact on efficiency, security and affordability of energy? The Program is organized around **5 key areas of focus** for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, grouped under two broad policy headings:

- Regulation of energy market, European governance and investments;
- Energy, geopolitics and security of supplies.

#### Areas of focus:

##### Energy supply security and geopolitics

Europe has few energy reserves and they are mostly located in politically unstable regions. The security factor involved in supplying energy and the diversification of the reserves are therefore strategic issues for European countries. Reaching an agreement represents a major challenge for Europe in order to become a respected international player in the energy market.

##### CO<sub>2</sub> and greenhouse gas emission

The program will provide insights on global climate and emission concerns. On the regulatory side, the program will explore the consequences of the European Trading System (ETS) for carbon permits and how it affects investment decisions.

##### The growing scarcity of oil and gas resources

Facing the increase in world demand for hydrocarbon-based energy services (electricity and transportation in particular), the pressure on oil and gas reserves calls for heavy investments necessary for discovering and exploiting new reserves in a difficult geophysical environment and geopolitical context. The program studies the impact of this new factor on investments, and the cost and security of energy supplies.

##### Energy and sociology

Promoting a common energy policy requires the global and lasting support of public opinion. This part of the program focuses on trying to understand the motivations and reactions, in particular the negative ones, to certain changes in the energy sector.

##### Technological development

The development of new forms of renewable energy sources (wind power, solar, biomass, energy from the sea), including bio-fuels is a major objective of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The Program will cover new technologies based on conventional sources (coal, gas, oil, nuclear fission and fusion) and will look at the impact of new technologies of production, transportation, storage and consumption of energy for the future.

#### Program activities

Based on in-depth research, the program aims at providing reflections and recommendations to experts and policy-makers.

Program activities include:

- a monthly regular seminar, the *Ifri Energy Breakfast Roundtable*, which takes place in Brussels. The seminar's aim is to submit European energy policies (national and EU) to experts for evaluation, and to tackle different energy geopolitical aspects. This seminar brings together European and international participants: researchers, experts from the industry field, representatives from civil society and the administration. The seminar represents an opportunity to encourage dialogue between European states;
- the publication of policy papers based on leading research and sent to decision-makers, analysts and specialised circles;
- the annual publication, by a task force composed of eminent figures from the energy sector, of concrete proposals on energy and environment subjects to prepare the G8 meetings;
- the organization of an annual conference to share the main program conclusions.

The publication of a white paper will conclude the third year of the Program.

#### Organization of the Program

The quality and pertinence of the work are guaranteed by the structure and the managerial staff of the program:

- a steering committee, including representatives from the Program's partners, the President of Ifri, the President of the scientific committee and the Program's Director, represents an opportunity for the partners to express their opinion on the research's general orientation;
- an independent scientific committee is in charge of evaluating the quality of the research and of defining the main themes of the Program. It is formed by three high-ranking academics. The committee's President (*Jacques Lesourme*) is personally in charge of supervising the project;
- a Director is responsible for the program's intellectual output and overall management (*Jan Horst Keppler*);
- a project manager assists the Program Director in planning and coordinating program studies and contributes to research studies (*Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*).

The program benefits from the contributions of an important network of researchers and experts in Europe and the world. Ifri has traditionally closely collaborated with many research centers which contribute to its work

# The Transatlantic Program

A three-year Transatlantic Program was created at the end of 2005. The goal of the project is to evaluate the respective European and American approaches that are crucial to the development of a transatlantic dialogue. An international seminar and a publication based on the Program's research will be held.

## Staff

Scientific Coordinator:

*Dominique Moïsi*, special Advisor, Ifri

Steering Committee:

*Thierry de Montbrial*, *Dominique Moïsi*, *Robin Niblett*, CSIS, *Jolyon Howorth*, Yale University, *Ethan Kapstein*, INSEAD, *Robert Otten*, DaimlerChrysler, *Pierre-Antoine Badoz*, France Télécom.

## Areas of focus:

### European and American approaches to Russia

The discrepancy between the two approaches to Russia from both sides of the Atlantic has been increasing during the past few years. In Europe there has been an intense debate about the current dynamics of the Russian government and the future of the special Russia/EU Partnership (particularly regarding energy issues). The Program, run in conjunction with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, studies France's, Germany's and the United States' approaches towards Russia.

Project Manager: *Thomas Gomart*, Head of the Russia/NIS Center.

### The implications of EU enlargement for transatlantic relations

The goal of this project is to evaluate the consequences on EU governance of the enlargement process, past and future. An emphasis will be put on the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), as well as the management of the EU's relations with its neighbors. The project looks first at institutional problems linked to the EU's integration capacity, then at its policy towards its neighbors and finally, at the EU's policy in the Middle East and the Mediterranean region. Converging and diverging Euro-American viewpoints are scrutinized concerning each topic, as well as the existence of potential collaboration.

This program is run in conjunction with the Institut für Europäische Politik (IEP) in Berlin.

Project manager: *Hans Stark*, Secretary-General of Cerfa.

### Adaptation to the current phase of globalization: a transatlantic perspective

The aim of this project is to explore the various ways European countries and the United States are adjusting to economic globalization. Establishing any form of transatlantic cooperation in the area of economic governance requires identifying the different strategies that are developed.

Project Manager: *Frédérique Sachwald*, Head of Economic Studies\*.

This Program was launched thanks to the support of DaimlerChrysler, Coca-Cola and France Télécom, as well as CSIS' financial partners.

Beyond this particular program, the transatlantic dimension is also tackled as a cross-disciplinary topic in the work of most of Ifri's research departments.

## Seminars

### November 6 - Is Russia a Neo-Imperial or Post-Imperial Actor?

This seminar, organized by the Russia/NIS Center in conjunction with the CSIS, was devoted to Vladimir Putin's foreign policy from the perspective of German, French and U.S. relations with Russia. The debate was based on documents written by experts from these countries (*Thomas Gomart*, *Alexander Rahr*, *Dmitri Trenin* and *Celest Wallander*). The work was discussed by leading figures including Ambassador *Bertrand Dufourcq*, *Angela Stent*, *Hubert Védrine* and *Karsten D. Voigt*. The seminar was introduced by *Thierry de Montbrial* and *Robin Niblett*, CSIS. The work is published in *Politique étrangère*, N° 1/2007 and *The Washington Quarterly*, spring 2007.

### December 11 - The EU enlargement and the future of transatlantic relations

Organized by the Cerfa in conjunction with the IEP of Berlin, this seminar brought together over thirty experts and French, German and American prominent government officials. The seminar consisted of a debate on the perspectives of European integration, on the one hand, and the transatlantic partnership on the other hand, in the context of the latest EU's enlargement. The participants included: *Esther Brimmer*, Johns Hopkins University, *Andras Inotai*, Institut for World Economics (IWE) of the Academy of Science of Hungary (Budapest), *Mathias Jopp*, IEP (Berlin), *Stephen Larrabee*, RAND Corporation, *Simon Serfaty*, CSIS, and *Wolfgang Wessels*, University of Cologne. The work is published in *Politique étrangère*, N° 2/2007.

\* Until December 2006. Subsequently, the project will be led by Jacques Mistral.

# The Migration, Identity, Citizenship Program

The Migration, Identity, Citizenship Program focuses on migratory flows as well as migration policies and politics in Europe. The program also tackles the challenges that ethno-cultural and religious diversity represents for European countries, in particular the issue of discrimination and Islam. The program emphasizes the European context but also develops a comparative and cross-disciplinary approach, particularly with attention to the Northern American countries. The program's research partners include the American University of Paris, the University of New York and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

## Staff

*Christophe Bertossi*, scientific Director

*Martine Breux*, assistant.

The Program is organized around **three axes**:

### What migration policies for the European Union?

The European Union (EU) has become during the last decade the first destination for international migration, even in front of the United States. It is therefore necessary to adapt the entry and reception policies of immigrants, although the member states are still in the difficult process of aligning their policies, in particular regarding the regularization of undocumented migrants. These policies must find a sound balance between ensuring the borders' security and the necessity to open the EU to new labour migration; the considered methods include "selective immigration," the struggle against illegal immigration, etc. These questions have been analyzed by *Christophe Bertossi* in a study conducted jointly with the Strategic Affairs of the Ministry of Defense, on clandestine migration from the sub-Saharan region to the EU, bringing out the contradictions between existing policies and the need for a common Euro-African approach towards migration.

### How to adapt borders to the globalization of international human migration?

Since the end of the Cold War, international migration has almost doubled and new human migratory patterns have appeared, upsetting the peripheral regions of the enlarged European Union. North African countries now represent a huge pool of emigrants to Europe and have become a transit zone—and even a final destination for African and Asian immigrants. Citizens from Sub-Saharan Africa have recently joined international migration flows. Furthermore the last enlargement process of the EU, with the entry of Eastern European countries, has had an impact. These geopolitical transformations at EU's borders are linked to the changes in migration flows towards Europe and must be analyzed: the relation between migration and European policy towards its neighbors is the focus of an on-going study and will be the subject of an upcoming publication.

### What kind of citizenship for a Europe embracing diversity?

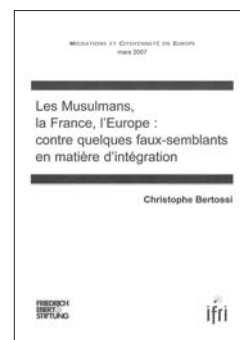
Old immigration waves have settled on a long-term basis and Islam has become the second most widespread religion in Europe. A new key question has appeared in the debates concerning the future of citizenship in Europe: social, ethnic, cultural and religious discrimination. The relation between public service users who have an immigrant background and state institutions (army, police, hospitals, etc.) has yet to be studied since knowledge is lacking concerning this issue. These matters were the subjects of two conferences and two books to be published at the beginning of 2007: *Les couleurs du drapeau*. *L'armée française face aux discriminations*, Paris, Robert Laffont, and *European Anti-Discrimination and the Politics of Citizenship*, London/New York, Palgrave.

## Publications

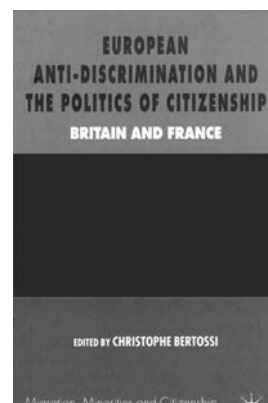
**"L'Europe en mal de migrations?"** *Christophe Bertossi*, in RAMSES 2007

### **"Migrations et citoyenneté en Europe,"**

This policy-brief is the first of a series of on-line publications in French, English and German "Migrations et citoyenneté en Europe," launched in partnership with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. Available on [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org)



*Les Musulmans, la France, l'Europe: contre quelques faux-semblants en matière d'intégration*, Christophe Bertossi N° 1.



*European Anti-Discrimination and the Politics of Citizenship: Britain and France*, Christophe Bertossi (ed.), London/New York, Palgrave MacMillan.

With contributions from: *Valérie Amiraux, Étienne Balibar, James Beckford, Christophe Bertossi, Stephen Castles, Estelle Ferrarese, Andrew Geddes, Virginie Guiraudon, Danièle Joly, John Rex, Anja Rudiger, Carl-Ulrik Schierup and Khursheed Wadia.*

## Conferences

The Program's work has also been the focus of many foreign conferences (Japan, United States, Great Britain, Finland, Spain, etc.).

**23 January - Discrimination: putting the French model to the test?** With *Jean-Michel Belorgey*, Council of State, *Christophe Bertossi* and *Dominique Moisi*, Ifri.

**24 October - Muslims in Europe: which integration models to choose?** With *Christophe Bertossi*.

# Research: an international network

## In 2006, Ifri was notably host to:

**Samir Aïta**, Economist, General Manager of *Mafhoum.com*  
and of the Arab edition of *Le Monde diplomatique*

**Hassan Barari**, Center of Strategic Studies, University of Jordan,  
Amman

**Martha Brill Olcott**, Senior Associate Russian and Eurasian Program,  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington

**Esther Brimmer**, Deputy Director, Johns Hopkins University

**Thérèse Delpech**, Associate Research Fellow, Center for International  
Studies and Research (CERI)

**Mohammad-Reza Djalili**, Professor, IUHEI, Geneva

**Genéral Vladimir Dvorkin**, Carnegie Center, Moscow



**Yuri Fedorov**, Chatham House, Director, Center for War and Peace  
Studies, Moscow State Institute of International Relations  
(MGIMO-University)

**Shai Feldman**, Director, Crown Center for Middle East Studies,  
Brandeis University (United States)

**Nilüfer Göle**, Director of studies, École des Hautes Études en Sciences  
Sociales (EHESS)

**Nicole Gnesotto**, Director, Institute for Security Studies – European  
Union (ISS-UE)

**Stanley Hoffmann**, Professor, Harvard University, United States

**Bernard Hourcade**, Research Director, Centre national de la recherche  
scientifique (CNRS)

**Ilan Greilsammer**, Director, Center for European Studies, Bar-Ilan  
University, Israël

**Efraim Inbar**, Director, The Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies  
(BESA), Bar-Ilan University, Israël

**Andras Inotai**, General Director, Institute for World Economics,  
Academy of science, Hungary

**Bassma Kodmani**, Director, Arab Reform Initiative (ARI)

**Stephen Larrabee**, Senior Analyst, RAND Corporation

**Giovanni Levi**, University of Venice

**Farouk Mardam-Bey**, Editor of the series “Sindbad,” Actes Sud,  
Advisor to the Arab World Institute (IMA).

**Narushige Michishita**, Advisor to the cabinet of Japan's Prime  
Minister, Researcher with the National Institute for Defense Studies  
(NIDS) and Assistant Director of the Defense Policy Bureau  
(Japan Defense Agency [JDA]).

**George Perkovich**, Vice-President, Carnegie Endowment  
for International Peace (Washington)

**Michael Quinlan**, International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

**Mathias Jopp**, Director, Institut für Europäische Politik (IEP)

**Robin Niblett**, Executive Vice President and Director, Europe Program,  
Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

**Vladimir Orlov**, Director, PIR Center (Moscow), Deputy Director,  
Geneva Center for Security Policy (GCSP)

**Minxin Pei**, Associate Research Fellow, Director, China Studies,  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace



**Alexander Rahr**, Director, Körber Center Russia (CIS), Deutsche  
Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP)

**Yann Richard**, Professor, Paris III-Sorbonne Nouvelle University

**Simon Serfaty**, Senior Advisor, CSIS

**Stefano Silvestri**, President, Istituto Affari Internazionali (Rome)

**Olivier Roy**, Research Director, Centre national de la recherche  
scientifique (CNRS)

**Jacques Rupnik**, Research Director, Fondation nationale des sciences  
politiques (FNSP/CERI)



**Angela Stent**, Director, Center for Eurasian and East European  
Studies, Georgetown School of Foreign Service

**Mohammed Tozy**, University of Casablanca

**Dmitri Trenin**, Deputy Director, Carnegie Center, Moscow

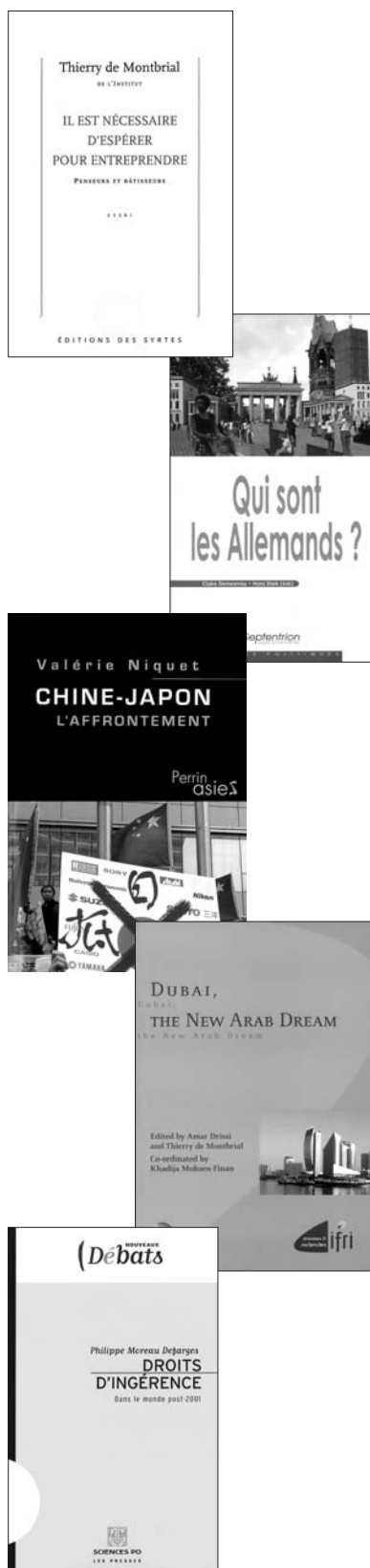
**Frank Umbach**, DGAP

**Celeste Wallander**, Program Director, Russia and Eurasia Program,  
CSIS

**Wolfgang Wessels**, Professor, Department of Political Sciences,  
University of Cologne

**David Yost**, NATO Defense College and Paul Schulte, Advanced  
Research and Assessment Group, UK Defense Academy

# Publications



## Books

**Géographie politique**, *Thierry de Montbrial*, Paris, PUF, "Que sais-je?," 2006.

**Il est nécessaire d'espérer pour entreprendre – Penseurs et bâtisseurs**, *Thierry de Montbrial*, Paris, Les Syrtes, 2006.

**Relations internationales, Questions mondiales**, *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, volume 2, Paris, Le Seuil (7<sup>th</sup> edition), 2006.

**Droits d'ingérence dans le monde post-2001**, *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Paris, Presses de Sciences-Po, 2006.

**Où va l'Europe?**, *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Paris, Eyrolles, 2006.

**Qui sont les Allemands?**, *Claire Demesmay* and *Hans Stark* (eds.), Lille, Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2006.

**Radioscopies de l'Allemagne 2006**, *Claire Demesmay* and *Hans Stark* (eds.), Paris, Ifri, "Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri," 2006.

**Russie.Nei.Visions 2006. Understanding Russia and the New Independent States**, *Thomas Gomart* and *Tatiana Kastueva-Jean* (eds.), Paris, Ifri, "Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri," 2006.

**Chine-Japon: l'affrontement**, *Valérie Niquet*, Paris, Perrin, 2006.

**Korea in the New Asia: East Asian Integration and the China Factor**, *Françoise Nicolas*, London/New York, Routledge (to be published).

**A Qualitative Analysis of a Potential Free Trade Agreement between the EU and ASEAN**, *Françoise Nicolas* and *Bernadette Andreosso-O'Callaghan*, Commissioned Report for the European Commission, DG Trade, Brussels, May 2006.

**Dubai: The New Arab Dream**, *Thierry de Montbrial* and *Amar Drissi* (eds.), *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* (coord.), Paris, Ifri, "Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri," 2006.

**Stratégie aérienne comparée: France, États-Unis, Royaume-Uni**, *Étienne de Durand*, *Bastien Irondelle*, Paris, Ministère de la Défense, "Les Documents du C2SD," 2006.

**European Anti-Discrimination and the Politics of Citizenship: France and Britain**, *Christophe Bertossi* (ed.), London/New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

**Galileo, la navigation par satellite européenne. Questions juridiques et politiques au temps de la Concession**, *Aurélien Desingly* (ed.), Paris, Ifri, "Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri," 2006.

**Reviving the Special and Differential Treatment of Developing Countries in International Trade**, *Jean-Marie Paugam* and *Anne-Sophie Novel* (eds.), Paris, Ifri, "Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri," 2006.

**Commerce mondial: le retour de la "vieille économie?"**, *Luis Miotti* and *Frédérique Sachwald*, Paris, Ifri, "Les Études de l'Ifri," 2006.

## Policy papers, electronic publications, articles

### Europe

#### Publications of the Cerfa

#### Visions franco-allemandes

(electronic publications available on [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org))

**Le capitalisme financier en France et en Allemagne: critiques, réalités et conséquences**, *Patricia Commun*, N° 7, May 2006.

**La civilisation allemande dans les études germaniques en France: ingénierie et atouts**, *Stephan Martens*, N° 8, July 2006.

**Les débats sur la citoyenneté en France et en Allemagne**, *Yves Bizeul*, N° 9, October 2006.

**L'égalité de tous versus l'individualité de chacun. Le principe de la séparation de l'église et de l'État et la polémique du voile à l'école publique en France et en Allemagne**, *Janine Ziegler*, N° 10, November 2006.

**Le manuel franco-allemand d'histoire: l'aboutissement d'un long travail de coopération entre historiens français et allemands**, *Corine Defrance* and *Ulrich Pfeil*, N° 11, December 2006.

#### Notes du Cerfa

(electronic publications available on [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org))

**La notion juridique de l'Union européenne: une vision allemande**, *Helmut Wagner*, N° 30(a), February 2006.

**Surmonter la crise constitutionnelle**, *Janis A. Emmanouilidis*, N° 30(b), February 2006.

**Intégration ou exclusion? La situation des migrants d'origine turque en Allemagne**, *Faruk Sen*, N° 31(a), March 2006.

**Si loin, si proche: les Allemands et la question turque**, *Claire Demesmay* and *Simone Weske*, N° 31(b), March 2006.

**La réforme du système de santé en Allemagne**  
*Bernd-Peter Lange*, N° 32, April 2006.

**L'extrême gauche allemande – Une gauche si extrême?**, *Dieter Segert*, N° 33, May 2006.

**L'Allemagne et les expulsés: quel centre pour quelle mémoire?**, *Daniela Heimerl*, N° 34, June 2006.

**L'économie allemande: bilan 2005, perspectives 2006**, *Camille Logeay*, N° 35, August 2006.

**Mondial 2006: un été en noir-rouge-or**  
*Albrecht Sonntag*, N° 36, September 2006.

**Démographie et nouvelle politique familiale en Allemagne**, *Robert Hettlage*, N° 37, October 2006.

**La politique étrangère et de sécurité de l'Allemagne de la grande coalition – Un premier bilan**, *Karl-Heinz Kamp* and *Carlo Marsala*, N° 38, November 2006.

**Fondements et objectifs de la présidence allemande du Conseil de l'Union européenne**  
*Martin Koopmann*, N° 39, December 2006.

## Articles

**“La mémoire de la RDA: nostalgie d'une époque révolue ou besoin de reconnaissance?”**, *Claire Demesmay*, in *Claire Demesmay* and *Hans Stark* (eds.), *Qui sont les Allemands?*, Lille, Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2006.

**“Conceptions, ambitions et contradictions de la politique européenne de l'Allemagne”**  
*Hans Stark*, in *Claire Demesmay* and *Hans Stark* (eds.), *Qui sont les Allemands?*, Lille, Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2006.

**“Odyssée 2014: l'UE et ses futurs élargissements”**, *Claire Demesmay* and *Emmanuelle Saunier*, RAMSES 2007, Paris, Dunod, 2006.

**“The Franco-German Relationship, 1998-2005”**  
*Hans Stark*, in *Hanns Maull* (ed.), *Germany's Uncertain Power*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

**“La nouvelle place de l'Allemagne sur la scène internationale”**, *Hans Stark*, *Questions internationales*, N° 19, May/June 2006.

**“Être ou ne pas être: (auto-)perceptions européennes à travers le prisme de la guerre en Irak”**, *Claire Demesmay*, *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 28, N° 4, September 2006.

**“France and ESDP”**, *Hans Stark*, in *Klaus Brummer* (ed.), *The Big 3 and ESDP*. France, Germany and the United Kingdom. *European Foreign and Security Policy*, N° 5, Gütersloh, Bertelsmann Stiftung, November 2006.

**“L'Europe, pour quoi faire?”**  
*Philippe Moreau Defarges*, RAMSES 2007, Paris, Dunod, 2006.

**“L'Europe, continent de la mémoire”**  
*Dominique Moïsi*, RAMSES 2007, Paris, Dunod, 2006.

**“L'Europe dans la gouvernance économique mondiale”**, *Pierre Defraigne*, RAMSES 2007, Paris, Dunod, 2006.

**“Europe/Afrique: la fin d'un modèle?”**  
*Alain Antil*, RAMSES 2007, Paris, Dunod, 2006.

## Russia/NIS

### Russie.Nei.Visions

(electronic series of policy papers, also available in French and in Russian on [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org))

**Russia and Turkey in the Caucasus: Moving Together to Preserve the Status Quo?**

*Fiona Hill* and *Omer Taspinar*, N° 8, January 2006

**Ukraine's Scissors: between Internal Weakness and External Dependence**  
*James Sheer*, No 9, March 2006

### EU – Russian Relations, Special Issue

- **Russia, NATO and the EU: A European Security Triangle or Shades of a “New Entente?”**  
*Andrew Monaghan*, N° 10(a), May 2006;
- **The EU and Russia: The Needed Balance between Geopolitics and Regionalism**  
*Thomas Gomart*, N° 10(b), May 2006
- **Representing Private Interests to Increase Trust in Russia-EU relations”**  
*Timofei Bordatchev*, N° 10(c), May 2006;
- **Multiplying Sources as the Best Strategy for EU-Russia Energy Relations”**  
*Michael Thumann*, N° 10(d), May 2006.

**Abkhazia and South Ossetia: Collision of Georgian and Russian Interests**  
*Tracey German*, N° 11, June 2006.

**The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation as “Geopolitical Bluff, A view from Astana”**  
*Murat Laumullin*, N° 12, July 2006.

**The EU-Russia Energy Dialogue: Competition Versus Monopolies**, *Vladimir Milov*, N° 13, September 2006.

**The “Greatness and Misery” of Higher Education in Russia**, *Tatiana Kastueva-Jean*, N° 14, September 2006.

## Articles

**“Politique étrangère russe: l'étrange inconstance”**, *Thomas Gomart*, *Politique étrangère*, N° 1/2006.

**“Russian Foreign Policy: Strange Inconsistency”**, *Thomas Gomart*, *Conflict Studies Research Center*, N° 06/12, March 2006.

**“Quelle influence russe dans l'espace post-soviétique?”**, *Thomas Gomart*, *Courrier des pays de l'Est*, May/June 2006.

## Asia

### La lettre du Centre Asie

(bimonthly electronic publication available on [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org))

## Articles

**“Les grands enjeux stratégiques en Asie”**  
*Valérie Niquet*, *Revue Défense nationale*, N° 1, 2006.

**“China Amphibious Capabilities”**  
*Bernard Cole* and *Valérie Niquet*, in *Steve Tsang* (ed.), *If China Attacks Taiwan*, London, Routledge, 2006.

**“L'Europe et l'Asie”**, *Valérie Niquet*, RAMSES 2007, Paris, Dunod, 2006.

**“La stratégie africaine de la Chine”**  
*Valérie Niquet*, *Politique étrangère*, N° 2/2006.

**“Korea's Regional Economic Strategy in Response to the Rise of China”**  
*Françoise Nicolas*, in *Françoise Nicolas* (ed.), *Korea in the New Asia: East Asian Integration and the China Factor*, London/New York, Routledge (to be published).

**“Complementarity and Rivalry in EU-China Economic Relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”**  
*Françoise Nicolas* and *Bernadette Andreosso-O'Callaghan*, *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 12, N° 1, 2007.

**“Chine: bienfaits et revers de la mondialisation”**, *Françoise Nicolas*, *Questions internationales*, N° 22, November/December 2006.

**“Intégration économique en Asie de l'Est: les progrès limités de l'approche institutionnelle”**, *Françoise Nicolas*, in *Sophie Boisseau du Rocher* (ed.), *Asie orientale 2006-2007*, Paris, La Documentation française, 2006.

**“The Sustainability of EU-China Economic Relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century – Between Complementarity and Rivalry”**  
*Françoise Nicolas*, *Bernadette Andreosso-O'Callaghan* and *Xiao Jun*, in *Pierre Defraigne* (ed.), *The EU, China and the Quest for a Multilateral World*, Paris, Ifri/China Institute of International Studies (CIIS), 2006.

## Middle East/North Africa

### Policy papers

(electronic publications available on [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org))

### Actualité Maghreb/Moyen-Orient

### Perspectives Moyen-Orient/Maghreb

**“La spirale de la crise dans le Liban libéré (2004-2006)”**, *Agnès Favier*, June 2006.

**“La fin d'une époque. L'Égypte après les doubles élections de l'automne 2005”**  
*Sophie Pommier*, May 2006.

**“L'entente stratégique russo-iranienne”**  
*Clément Therme*, May 2006.

## **“Israël 2007: Bilan et perspectives”**

*Denis Bauchard*, February 2007.

### **Articles**

**“Inextricable, le conflit du Sahara occidental rebondit”**, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, *Le Monde diplomatique*, January 2006.

**“Les islamistes dans la compétition politique: le cas du Parti de la justice et du développement au Maroc”**

*Khadija Mohsen-Finan and Malika Zeghal*, *Revue française de science politique*, N°. 1, February 2006.

**“Espoirs démocratiques déçus au Maghreb”**

*Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, *Atlas du Monde diplomatique*, February 2006.

**“L'évolution du statut de la femme dans les pays du Maghreb”**, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, *Mediterraneo e migrazioni oggi* (Venice), September 2006.

**“Le débat public confessionnalisé”**

*Khadija Mohsen-Finan and Christophe Bertossi*, *Confluences Méditerranée*, N°. 57, Spring 2006.

**“Sahara occidental: sortie de crise difficile”**

*Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, *Med.2006 Anuario del Mediterráneo* (Barcelona), June 2006.

**“Palestine: la problématique de l'aide”**

*Dorothee Schmid*, *Politique étrangère*, N°. 3/2006.

**“L'Europe au Moyen-Orient: une présence en mal de politique”**, *Dorothee Schmid*, *RAMSES* 2007, Paris, Dunod, 2006.

**“Européens et Américains face aux crises du Moyen-Orient”**, Seminar report

by *Dorothee Schmid and Clément Therme*, June 2006 (available on [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org)).

**“Les déterminants du poids des partis religieux en Israël”**, *Marc Hecker*, *Confluences Méditerranée*, N°. 57, Spring 2006.

**“Les relations franco-israéliennes: une inconstante amitié”**, *Marc Hecker*, *L'essentiel des relations internationales*, June 2006.

## **Security**

### **Proliferation papers**

(electronic publications available on [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org))

**Assertive Pragmatism: China's Economic Rise and Its Impact on Chinese Foreign Policy** *Minxin Pei*, N°. 15, Autumn 2006.

**Five Scenarios for the Iranian Crisis** *George Perkovich*, N°. 16, Winter 2006.

### **Articles**

**“Terrorism in France: Its Main Features and Its Evolution Since the 1970s”**

*Guillaume Parmentier*, in *Yonah Alexander* (ed.), *Counterterrorism Strategies: Successes and Failures of Six Nations*, Washington, Potomac Books, 2006.

**“Sécurité et développement: acteurs et consensus”**, *Aline Lebaeuf*, *Afrique*

*contemporaine*, N°. 218, 2006.

**“États fragiles et terrorisme, un lien ambigu”**

*Aline Lebaeuf and Alain Antil*, in *Jean-Marc Châtaigner and Hervé Magro* (eds.), *États et sociétés fragiles. Entre conflits, reconstruction et développement*, Paris, Karthala, 2007.

**“De Marighella à Ben Laden. Passerelles stratégiques entre guérilleros et djihadistes”**

*Marc Hecker*, *Politique étrangère*, N°. 2/2006.

**“Les enjeux de sécurité”**, *Dominique David*,

in *Frédéric Charillon* (ed.), *Les Relations internationales*, Paris, La Documentation française, 2006.

**“L'Europe et la sécurité mondiale”**

*Jolyon Howorth*, *RAMSES* 2007, Paris, Dunod, 2006.

## **Economy**

### **Books**

**L'agriculture: enjeu du cycle du développement?**, Collective work, published following the 4<sup>th</sup> Agriculture Meeting, Paris, Ifri, 2006 (not for sale).

**The EU, China and the Quest for a Multilateral World**, *Pierre Defraigne* (ed.), Paris, Ifri/China

Institute of International Studies (CIIS), 2006.

### **Articles**

**“Mutations industrielles mondiales: quelle place pour l'Europe?”**, *Luis Miotti*

and *Frédérique Sachwald*, *RAMSES* 2007, Paris, Dunod, 2006.

## **Space Program**

### **Notes de l'Ifri**

(electronic publications available on [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org))

**La Lune, patrimoine commun de l'humanité?**

**Comment exploiter les ressources lunaires dans le respect du droit international** *Sabine Akbar*, December 2006.

**L'arsenalisation de l'espace: les projets américains**, *Laurence Nardon*, December 2006.

**Les réorganisations de l'industrie spatiale russe**, *Laurence Nardon and Tatiana Kastueva-Jean*, April 2007.

## **Energy**

**“La doctrine Bush et la sécurité pétrolière”**

*Pierre Noël*, *Politique étrangère*, N°. 2/2006.

## **Immigration, Identity, Citizenship**

**Ethnicité et citoyenneté. La sociologie des sociétés multiculturelles** *John Rex*, Paris,

*L'Harmattan*, 2006. Foreword: *Michel Wieviorka*. Translation (from English, UK) and presentation by *Christophe Bertossi*

## **Policy papers**

### **Migrations et citoyenneté en Europe**

(electronic publications in French, in English, and in German, available on [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org), in partnership with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung)

**L'islam, la France, l'Europe: contre quelques faux-semblants en matière d'intégration**

*Christophe Bertossi*, Paris, Ifri/Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, N°. 1, March 2007.

### **Articles**

**“L'Europe en mal de migrations?”**

*Christophe Bertossi*, *RAMSES* 2007, Paris, Dunod, 2006.

**“Le débat public confessionnalisé”**

*Christophe Bertossi and Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, *Confluences Méditerranée*, N°. 57, Spring 2006.

**“How Does the French Republic Deal with Ethno-cultural and Religious Diversity?”**

*Christophe Bertossi*, *AUP Visiting Scholar Working Paper Series*, N°. 38, November 2006.

**“Le modèle d'intégration britannique”**

*Christophe Bertossi*, *Les Cahiers de Profession banlieue, Saint-Denis, Profession banlieue*, 2006.

## **International Policy**

### **Articles**

**“Perspectives”**, *Thierry de Montbrial*, *RAMSES* 2007, Paris, Dunod, 2006.

**“Le système international: approches et dynamiques”**, *Thierry de Montbrial*, *Politique étrangère*, N°. 4/2006.

# Conferences and debates

---

## January

### January 10 - Mitterrand and Palestine

With *Hubert Védrine*, former French Minister for Foreign Affairs, President of the “François Mitterrand Institute,” and *Jean-Pierre Filiu*, PhD in History, author of the book *Mitterrand et la Palestine. L'ami d'Israël qui sauva par trois fois Yasser Arafat* (Paris, Fayard, 2005).

Chairperson: *Denis Bauchard*

### January 23 - Discriminations: Challenging the French Model?

With *Jean-Michel Belorgey*, President of the Report and Studies Section, Council of State, *Pierre Joxe*, member of the Constitutional Council, and *Catherine Wihtol de Wenden*, Senior Research Fellow, Center for International Studies and Research (CERI) and *Christophe Bertossi*, Ifri.

Chairperson: *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*

---

## February

### February 8 - Between International Pressures and Regional Tensions: Syria on the Hot Seat

With *Samir Aïta*, Economist, General Manager of Mafhoum.com and of the Arab edition of *Le Monde diplomatique*, *Joseph Bahout*, Professor and Research Fellow at the IEP, Paris, *Richard Labévière*, Chief Editor, International Affairs Department, Radio France Internationale (RFI), and *Farouk Mardam-Bey*, Editor of the series “Sindbad,” *Actes Sud*, Advisor to the Arab World Institute (IMA).

Chairperson: *Judith Cahen*

### February 14 - An Israeli Viewpoint on Today's Iran

With *Efraim Inbar*, Director of the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies (BESA), Bar-Ilan University, Tel Aviv.

Chairperson: *Dominique Moïsi*

### February 23 - Elections in Palestine: What is at Stake?

With *Jean-François Legrain*, Fellow, National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS GREMMO), Lyon, and *Alain Gresh*, journalist, *Le Monde diplomatique*.

Chairperson: *Judith Cahen*

### February 23 - The Role of Shanghai's Ranking in China's Higher Education and Innovation Policy

With *Nian Cai Liu*, Professor, *Jiao Tong* University, Shanghai, author of the Academic Ranking of World Universities.

In partnership with the National Association of Technical Research (ANRT).

Chairperson: *Frédérique Sachwald*

### February 28 - The American Priorities in North

**Africa** With *William Jordan*, Director of the Office for Maghreb Affairs, US. Department of State, Washington.

Chairperson: *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*.

### February 28 - The British Presidency of the EU: Fiddling While Europe burns

With *Sir Stephen Wall*, Chairman of Public Affairs, EMEA, Hill & Knowlton, former Head of the European Secretariat in the Cabinet Office, former Chief Advisor on Europe to Tony Blair, and *Pierre Defraigne*, Director of Eur-Ifri, Brussels.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*

---

## March

### March 1<sup>st</sup> - Is There a Common Franco-German Cultural Policy?

With *Monika Griefahn*, spokesperson of the SPD parliamentary group for Culture and Medias, Bundestag, *Ingo Kolboom*, Professor, Dresden University, member of the Franco-German Cultural High Council (HCCFA), and Ambassador *François Scheer*, Advisor to the President of Areva's executive board.

Chairperson: *Hans Stark*

### March 2 - The Challenges of Democracy in the Arab World

With *Bassma Kodmani*, Associate Fellow, Collège de France, Director, Arab Reform Initiative.

Chairperson: *Denis Bauchard*

### March 6 - Recent Trends in International Trade: the Position of the United States and of the European Countries

With *Jacques Mistral*, Secretary, financial consultant, French Embassy to Washington, *Frédérique Sachwald*, Head of economic studies, Ifri, and *Jean-Marc Vittori*, editorialist, *Les Échos*.

### March 9 - Post-Conflict and Reconstruction Challenges Facing Liberia

With *Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf*, President of Liberia.

Chairperson: *Xavier de Villepin*

### March 13 - Kosovo: State of Affairs and Scenarios for the Future

With *Jacques Rupnik*, Senior Research Fellow, CERI, former member of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo.

Chairperson: *Dominique Moïsi*

### March 20 - The Specificities of the French Left Wing in Europe

With *Pierre Moscovici*, former Deputy Minister for European Affairs, National Secretary for International Relations, Parti Socialiste.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*

### March 22 - After the Italian Elections: Consequences for Europe

With *Stefano Silvestri*, President of the Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*

### March 29 - Which Future for Latin America?

With *Carlos Quenan*, Director of the Master “Relations Europe-Amérique latine,” Institute for Advanced Studies on Latin America (IHEAL), Paris III University, Economist, IXIS-CIB, and *Javier Santiso*, Deputy Director, Development Chief Economist, Center for Development, Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

Chairperson: *Philippe Moreau Defarges*

---

## April

### April 3 - Middle East After the Elections in Palestine and Israel

With *Dominique Moïsi*, Special Advisor, Ifri.

Chairperson: *Denis Bauchard*

### April 5 - Interpenetrations: Islam and Europe

With *Nilüfer Göle*, Director of Studies, École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS), on the occasion of the publication of *Interpénétrations. L'Islam et l'Europe* (Paris, Galaade Éditions, 2005).

Chairperson: *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*

### April 10 - Growth and Trade Prospects in Asia

With *Frank Harrigan*, Assistant Chief Economist, ADB, and *Pierre Jacquet*, Chief Economist, Executive Director for Strategy, AFD.

Conference organized by the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the French Development Agency (AFD) and the Asia Center on the occasion of the publication of the latest report of the ADB “Asian Development Outlook 2006.”

Chairperson: *Valérie Niquet*

### April 18 - The “New Terrorists” in Europe

With *Olivier Roy*, Research Director, CNRS, on *Farhad Khosrokhavar's*, Director of Studies, EHESS, latest book, *Quand Al-Qaida parle. Témoignages derrière les barreaux* (Paris, Grasset, 2006).

Chairperson: *Denis Bauchard*

**April 27 - Reform Time for the Middle East?**  
With *Marwan Muasher*, Senator, former Vice Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Jordan.

Chairperson: *Denis Bauchard*

---

## May

**May 4 - The Past of the GDR and the Stasi Archives Today** With *Marianne Birthler*, Federal Commissioner for the Stasi files.

In partnership with the German Historical Institute of Paris (IHA).

Chairperson: *Claire Demesmay*

**May 10 - Future War: Conflicts and Insecurity in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century** With *Thérèse Delpech*, Associate Fellow, CERI, and *Louis Gautier*, Main Advisor at the Court of Accounts, former Advisor of Lionel Jospin for Defense Affairs.

Chairperson: *Dominique David*

**May 17 - Is German Economy on the Rise Again?** In partnership with the Cerfa. With *Frédérique Sachwald*, Head of Economic Studies, Ifri, and *Anton Brender*, Chief Economist, Dexia Asset Management, Associate Professor, Paris IX University.

**May 23 - How to Deal with the Hamas?**  
With Ambassador *Elias Sanbar*, Palestine Permanent Observer to UNESCO.

Chairperson: *Dominique Moïsi*

**May 31 - Georgia: the New European Border?**  
With *Mikheil Saakashvili*, President of Georgia.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*

**May 31 - India: the New Economic Paradigm**  
With *Kamal Nath*, Indian Minister for Commerce and Industry.

Chairperson: *Dominique Moïsi*

---

## June

**June 8 - Toward "Islamist Democracies" in the Arab World?** With *Bassma Kodmani*, Associate Senior Fellow, Collège de France, Director of the Arab Reform Initiative, and *Hervé de Charette*, former Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, member of the Parliament.

Chairperson: *Denis Bauchard*

**June 12 - On the Ground and Overseas? The Use of Force in Contemporary Crises**  
With the Army General *Bernard Thorette*, Chief of Staff of the Army.

Chairperson: *Dominique David*

**June 20 - Giving Back Confidence to Europeans**  
With *Jean François-Poncet*, former Minister, Vice President of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Senate, *Nicole Gnesotto*, Director of the Institute for Security Studies – European Union (ISS-EU), *Dominique Moïsi*, Special Advisor, Ifri, and *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Co-Director of RAMSES, Ifri.

Chairperson: *Philippe Moreau Defarges*

**June 28 - The United States and the World**  
With *Stanley Hoffmann*, Professor, Harvard University

Chairperson: *Dominique Moïsi*

---

## July

**July 6 - Pakistan: Anchor for Regional Peace and Stability** With *Khurshid Kasuri*, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*

**July 7 - Islam and Integration in France and Germany** With *Lale Agkün*, member of the Bundestag, and *Alima Boumediene-Thiery*, Senator.

In partnership with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

Chairperson: *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*

---

## September

**September 14 - The Rise of Superpowers: Friction and Co-operation in Japan's Relationships with Emerging Asian Superpowers** With *Yukio Okamoto*, former Advisor for Foreign Policy of Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi.

Chairperson: *Valérie Niquet*

**September 14 - A New Era in the Relationship between Turkey and the European Union**  
With *Abdullah Gül*, Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*

**September 18 - After the War: A New Middle East?** With *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri, *Denis Bauchard*, Advisor, North Africa/Middle East, Ifri, *Étienne de Durand*, Head of the Security Studies, Ifri, *Dominique Moïsi*, Special Advisor, Ifri, and *Dorothee Schmid*, Research Fellow, Ifri.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*

**September 22 - Bulgaria on the Eve of Joining the European Union** With *Irina Bokova*, Ambassador of Bulgaria to Paris, and *Yves Saint-Geours*, Ambassador of France to Bulgaria.

Chairperson: *Éliane Mossé*

---

## October

**October 12 - The Latest Enlargements: Successes and Difficulties**  
With *Laszlo Kovacs*, European Commissioner.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*

**October 18 - Africa: The Road to Opportunity**  
With *Paul Wolfowitz*, President of the World Bank.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*

**October 19 - Is Development Assistance Effective?** In partnership with The Economist. With *Andrew Mwenda*, political editor, The Monitor (Uganda), *Françoise Nicolas*, Fellow, Ifri, *Antoine Peigney*, Director of International Relations and Operations, Croix-Rouge française, *Alex Singleton*, President of the Globalization Institute

Debate chaired by *Simon Cox*, economics correspondent, The Economist

**October 25 - Moldavia on the Borders of Europe** With *Marian Lupu*, President of Moldavia's Parliament.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*

**October 26 - The Tragedy of Darfur**  
With *Rony Brauman*, Research Director, Doctors Without Borders Foundation.

Chairperson: *Dominique Moïsi*

---

## November

**November 2 - Tomorrow's Iraq**  
With *Jalal Talabani*, President of the Iraq Republic.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*

**November 14 - Should We Be Worried About the Future of European Union?**  
With *Michael Frendo*, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Malta.

Chairperson: *Philippe Moreau Defarges*

**November 16 - Iran and the Shia Axis: Between Myth and Reality**  
With *Mohammad-Reza Djalili*, Professor, Graduate Institute of International Studies (IUHEI), Geneva, and *Yann Richard*, Professor, Paris III-Sorbonne nouvelle University.

Chairperson: *Denis Bauchard*

---

## December

**December 5 - Poland in the European Union**  
With *Pawel Zalewski*, Head of the Commission of Foreign Affairs at the Sejm (lower House of the Polish Parliament), member of the party Law and Justice (PiS).

Chairperson: *Philippe Moreau Defarges*

# Staff

(as at June 20, 2006)

## Thierry de Montbrial

Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, President

Thérèse Vigne, Assistant

## Dominique David

Executive Vice-President

Nadia Fraïoli, assistant

## Dominique Moïsi

Special Advisor

## Marie-Claude de Saint-Hilaire

Special Assistant to the President

## Research

### Europe

#### Research Center on Franco-German Relations (Cerfa)

Hans Stark

Claire Demesmay

Anne-Lise Barrière, Claire Rothfuss, Research Assistants

#### Franco-Austrian Center (CFA)

Éliane Mossé, Advisor

Martine Breux, Assistant

#### Eur-Ifri (Brussels)

Pierre Defraigne

Claire Quériat, Assistant

### Asia Center

Valérie Niquet

Françoise Nicolas

Martine Breux, Assistant

### Russia/NIS Center

Thomas Gomart

Tatiana Kastueva-Jean, Adrian Dellecker, Research assistants

Catherine Méniane, Assistant

### Middle East/North Africa Center

Denis Bauchard, Advisor

Khadija Mohsen-Finan

Dorothee Schmid

Raed Bader

Clément Therme, Research Assistant

Jeanne Frey, Assistant

### Security Studies Center

Étienne de Durand

Jean Klein

Aline Leboeuf

Jolyon Howorth, Marc Hecker

Kerry Longhurst, Krzysztof Soloch

Françoise Thomas, Assistant

### Defense Research Unit

Étienne de Durand

Philippe Coquet

Aline Leboeuf

Françoise Thomas, Assistant

### World Economy Program

Jacques Mistral

Ethan Kapstein

Luis Miotti

### International trade program

Olivier Louis

### European governance and the geopolitics of energy program

Jacques Lesourne

Jan Keppler

Maité Jauréguy-Naudin

Nadia Fraïoli, Assistant

### Transatlantic Program

Dominique Moïsi, Scientific Coordination

Thomas Gomart, Hans Stark, Jacques Mistral

### Space Program

Laurence Nardon

Nadia Fraïoli, Assistant

### Migrations, Identities, Citzenships Program

Christophe Bertossi

Martine Breux, Assistant

### RAMSES

Thierry de Montbrial and Philippe Moreau

Defarges, co-directors

Marie-Claire Bani-Amer, Assistant

### Politique étrangère

Dominique David, Editor-in-chief

### Publications

Delphine Renard,

Marielle Roubach, Editorial Assistant

*Researchers' biographies are available on Ifri's website ([www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org)).*

## Development

### Development Office

Brynhild Dumas, Vice-President

for Development

Dominique Desgranges, Prospect Researcher,

Cécile Campagne, Membership Relations (corporations) Assistant

Marie-France Feigenbaum, Membership Relations Assistant (individuals and embassies)

## Communication

Natacha Cance, Communication officer

Edouard Laniesse, Webmaster

## Administrative Staff

Florent Baran, Vice-President for Finance and Administration

Corinne Bureau, Assistant Vice-President for Finance and Administration

Alexandre Houdayer, Advisor to the Vice-President for Finance and Administration

Bernadette Chartrin, Accountant

Françoise Henry, Assistant

Dayra Gastine, Barbara M'Chrii, Receptionists

Alex Maleau, Service Engineer

## Library and Resource Center

Olivier Javay

Daniel Marier

Azra Isakovich

## General Services

Nathalie Hartmann, Head of Facilities

Selim Bouabsa, Mhenna Larbes

## Information System

Daniel Safon, Information System Supervisor

# Board of directors

(as at June 20, 2007)

## Chairman

**Bertrand Collomb**, Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, Honorary Chairman of Lafarge

## Deputy Chairman and Secretary

**René Galy-Dejean**, Mayor of the 15<sup>th</sup> district in Paris

## Deputy Chairman and Treasurer

**Pierre Joxe**, Former Minister, Member of the Conseil Constitutionnel

## Members

**Robert Badinter**, Former Minister, Member of Parliament

**François Bujon de l'Estang**, Ambassadeur de France, Chairman of Citigroup France

**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, Director of the Journal *Commentaire*

**Alain Dejammet**, Ambassadeur de France

**Bertrand Dufourcq**, Ambassadeur de France, Honorary Chairman, Fondation de France

**Alain Dupont**, Chairman and CEO of Colas

**Denis Gautier-Sauvagnac**, CEO, UIMM

**Jean-Pierre Hansen**, Senior Executive Vice-President Operations, Suez

**Anne-Marie Idrac**, former Minister, Chairman, SNCF

**Alain Lamassoure**, former Minister, member of the European Parliament

**André Lévy-Lang**, Associate Professor Emeritus, Paris IX-Dauphine University

**Philippe Marini**, Member of Parliament

**Christine Ockrent**, Journalist, Writer

**Jean Peyrelevade**, vice-Chairman, Leonardo France

**Jean Rannou**, Former Air Force Chief of Staff

**Louis Schweitzer**, Chairman, Renault

**Hubert Védrine**, Former French Foreign Affairs Minister, Associate Manager, Hubert Védrine Conseil

**Simone Veil**, Former State Minister, former President of the European Parliament

**André Villeneuve**, Chairman of Euronext.LIFFE

**Xavier de Villepin**, Honorary Member of Parliament

# Members of the advisory board

(as at June 20, 2007)

## Chairman

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

## Members

**Jean d'Amécourt**, Director of Strategic Affairs, French Ministry of Defense

**François Bujon de l'Estang**, Chairman, Citigroup France

**Jean-Claude Casanova**, Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, Director of the Journal *Commentaire*

**Bertrand Collomb**, Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, Honorary Chairman, Lafarge

**Marta Dassu**, Director, Aspen Institute Italia

**Thérèse Delpech**, Director of Strategic Studies, Atomic Energy Commission (CEA)

**Nicolas Gnesotto**, former Director, European Union-Institute for Security Studies (EU-ISS)

**Pierre Jacquet**, Executive Director (Strategy), Chief Economist, French Development Agency (Agence Française de Développement - AFD)

**Prof. Dr Karl Kaiser**, Ralph I. Strauss Visiting Professor, Harvard University

**Bassma Kodmani**, Executive Director, Arab Reform Initiative

**Pierre Levy**, Director, Policy Planning Staff (Centre d'analyse et de prévision), French Ministry of Foreign Affairs

**Dominique Moïsi**, Special Advisor, Ifri

**Jean-Christophe Romer**, Director, Center for the Study of Defense History (Centre d'études d'histoire de la défense)

**Olivier Roy**, Research Director, CNRS (French National Center for Scientific Research)

# Financial annex

## Balance sheet (euros)

ASSETS	2005	2006			LIABILITIES	2005	2006
	Net value	cost	Depreciation Provisions	Net value			
FIXED ASSETS					FUNDS		
Intangible assets	9 814	227 063	217 167	9 896	General Fund	8 470 553	8 470 553
Tangible assets	7 966 094	11 020 504	3 275 328	7 745 176	Reserve	1 203 251	991 451
Financial assets	44 747	51 088	10 061	41 027	Restricted fund	47	47
					Net income for the year	-211 800	3 179
					FUNDS	9 462 051	9 465 230
FIXED ASSETS	8 020 655	11 298 655	3 502 556	7 796 099	PROVISIONS	296 830	280 125
CURRENT ASSETS					DEFERRED GRANT INCOME	41 702	115 258
Inventories	2 514	2 515		2 515	CREDITORS		
Others debtors/Prepayments	63 630	72 827		72 827	Bank overdrafts	250	250
Account receivable	600 663	643 278		643 278	Account payable and other liabilities	236 624	269 776
Others debtors	722				Taxes and social security	516 917	571 454
Portfolio (fixed interests)	1 883 626	2 231 820		2 231 820	ACCRUALS AND DEFERRED INCOME	151 522	154 618
Bank balances	81 670	42 418		42 418			
Accrued income	52 416	67 754		67 754			
CURRENT ASSETS	2 685 241	3 060 612		3 060 612	LIABILITIES	10 705 896	10 856 711
TOTAL ASSETS	10 705 896	14 359 267	3 502 556	10 856 711			

## Account (euros)

EXPENDITURE	2005	2006
Expenditure	83 376	97 502
<i>Office supplies</i>	38 202	46 697
<i>Power and water</i>	16 364	20 640
<i>Books</i>	28 810	30 165
Other expenditures	1 732 344	1 434 371
<i>cePrinting</i>	41 896	42 610
<i>Rental for machinery</i>	141 807	149 970
<i>Maintenance</i>	118 755	105 433
<i>Insurance</i>	16 864	19 429
<i>Documentation</i>	69 796	57 517
<i>Honoraria and professional services</i>	752 269	647 850
<i>Donations, membership subscription</i>	12 468	7 662
<i>Genral travel and meetings</i>	474 545	322 144
<i>Postage and telephone</i>	103 944	81 756
Taxes	245 211	267 501
Staff costs	2 757 983	2 814 341
Deferred grant income	1 700	115 255
Depreciation and provisions	307 802	276 067
Operational activities expenditure	5 128 416	5 005 037
Financial costs	12 371	2 838
Exceptional costs	164 000	23 286
Net income for the year		3 179
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	5 304 787	5 034 340

INCOME	2005	2006
Public grants	1 893 497	1 957 510
Private funding	2 877 111	2 937 456
<i>Donations and members subscriptions</i>	980 794	1 000 957
<i>Research funding &amp; contracts</i>	1 840 787	1 865 663
<i>Other income</i>	55 530	70 836
Provision reversal (retirement)		16 705
Deferred grant income reversal	184 699	41 700
Operational activities expenditure	4 955 307	4 953 371
Financial income	56 599	60 467
Exceptional income	81 081	20 502
Net expenditure for the year	211 800	
TOTAL INCOME	5 304 787	5 034 340





27 rue de la Procession - 75740 Paris Cedex 15  
Tel.: 33 (0) 1 40 61 60 00 - Fax: 33 (0) 1 40 61 60 60  
[www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org)