

Knowledge for action

Annual Report 2007

The French Institute of International Relations



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Message from the President

The guiding principles of international politics at the beginning of the 21st century are becoming clearer: the world has become to be multipolar and heterogeneous. Multipolar with the weakening of the United States, the rise of China and India, and the return of Russia; heterogeneous in that the dream of “the end of history” has vanished. The international system has become more understandable, yet uncertainties remain. This can be observed in economic terms, but also in political ones: thus many scenarios can be imagined for China’s future, its stunning development going hand in hand with a rigidity that reveals the leadership’s anxiety.



The work of Ifri is rooted in this new reality. As a first step, we wished to entrench our European dimension. As our partners are well aware, guided by the conviction that any international issue should be addressed at the European level, Ifri opened a new office in Brussels in 2005. First named Eur-Ifri, it was renamed Ifri Brussels in 2008, as a means of emphasizing the unity of our center. Be they based in Paris or in Brussels, the Ifri researchers, always conscious of the European dimension of their work, strive to disseminate their findings in both capitals. Among its counterparts within the Union, Ifri is the only one to have an office in both.

In 2007, Ifri concentrated itself on the expansion of its research capabilities, thanks in particular to our ever-strengthening relationship with the corporate world (company members). We are taking innovative steps in new directions, as we are today more dedicated than ever to tackling global issues. This evolution began with the development of our “European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy” and the “Migrations, Identities and Citizenship” programs. Both examine issues at the European level, with the goal of contributing to the development of concrete public policies in these critical areas. Likewise, our institute created a Space program, an area where Europe is a major international player. Several projects were developed in 2007, which will be important in the coming years. I am referring here to the creation of our “Health and Environment” and “Sport and International Relations” programs. As always, a significant part of Ifri’s work is dedicated to conflict analysis, in particular with the Defense Research Unit.

On a regional level, our focus is on the new poles of international relations, such as China and Russia. India is also a major part of our studies, as is on another level Sub-Saharan Africa. We also keep a close focus on the broad evolutions in the Middle East and are seeking to strengthen

our expertise in this vital region. We always seek to approach regional issues from a constructive perspective. We believe that our role is to promote better mutual understanding between the various actors in the international system and to identify key political and economic policies that are beneficial for all.

A common characteristic of all our activities is therefore to contribute, in a practical and operational manner, to the strengthening of global governance. We are convinced that in this area the role of the state remains crucial. By definition, states are in charge of the public interest. The illusion that the world is on the verge of becoming a single unit has disappeared. Yet, out of all the different types of institutions, states have the most difficulty in adapting to a rapidly changing environment, be it on a domestic or a foreign affairs level. This often leads to the impression, shared throughout the world, that there is no governance at the global level. All aspects of the interstate system are concerned here. Reforms are necessary; ones that assume new types of relationships between governments, corporations and civil society. Conscious of this issue's vital importance for humanity's future, Ifri took the initiative of starting a new type of international conference, the *World Policy Conference*, entirely dedicated to the issue of global governance. This ambitious project should in return influence the entirety of our programs in the coming years.

In a report published in 2007 by the Foreign Policy Research Institute based in Philadelphia, Ifri was named amongst the top ten most important international think tanks outside of the United States. It was the only French center to be ranked in this category. This honor has shown us that our efforts do indeed contribute to the search to find solutions to today's greatest challenges, but we are aware of the fact that there still remains much work to be done.

I would like to thank the entire Ifri team whose hard work has thus been recognized: our researchers, but also our support staff whose contribution is crucial. I would again like to express my deep gratitude to all of our public and private partners. Without them, Ifri would be unable to continue, not only on the capacity level but also on the intellectual one, since a true partnership rests on multidimensional exchanges.

Thierry de Montbrial

Founder and President of Ifri

Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques



France's Leading Independent Think Tank

The French Institute for International Relations is France's leading research and debate institution dedicated to the analysis of international questions.

Inspired by the Anglo-Saxon model, Ifri has become a point of reference over the years in international relations worldwide. Created in 1979 by Thierry de Montbrial, it aims to bring together international decision-makers and researchers and to develop non-partisan and thorough research on current international issues. Ifri's goals are to:

- deliver policy-oriented research in the field of international public policy;
- foster interactive and constructive dialogue between researchers, professionals, and opinion leaders.

Ifri is non-partisan and independent from all administrative and financial regulatory authorities. Its diverse funding sources allow it to maintain its independence, as is stated in its by-laws.

Mutually enriching research and debate form Ifri's *raison d'être*.



Policy-Oriented Research

As a multidisciplinary research center, Ifri has around forty French and international researchers, over half of whom are less than forty years old. Ifri's team is forward thinking and believes in an approach through dialogue and open-mindedness. The Institute's experts are part of an international network and regularly interact with their foreign counterparts.

Ifri's policy-oriented work is organized around different regional and interdisciplinary research areas, which evolve according to the international situation.

Debates and Dialogue: Encouraging Diversity

Ifri's research is enriched by the debates it organizes in an informal and non-partisan environment. These debates are vital in developing closer relationships between researchers and decision-makers from the public and private sectors.

Since 1979, Ifri has organized more than 1,180 conferences, 105 international symposiums and 410 meetings between prominent French and international figures. Ifri has also hosted numerous heads of state, notably including Presidents Jalal Talabani, Mikheil Saakashvili, Abdoulaye Wade, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and Pervez Musharraf in January 2008.

Publications and Research: Keys to Understanding Current International Affairs

Ifri's research and debates are covered in the institute's various collections as well as in top publications such as the quarterly journal *Politique étrangère*, France's oldest international relations journal, and the annual report *RAMSES*. With a circulation of over 10,000 copies, *RAMSES* combines analysis of events, critical evaluations of the past year and prospects for the coming one.



The Ifri website, www.ifri.org, is today the main means through which Ifri's debates, research and studies are disseminated. This rich collection of work includes summaries of recent publications, policy papers, and reports on the various seminars, conferences and meetings held at Ifri.

In 2007, Ifri:

- Had over one hundred corporate members, 70 embassy and institutional members, and 440 individual members
- Held 64 conferences in Paris and 39 in Brussels
- 8 international symposiums
- 26 seminars and workshops
- Welcomed 30 prominent French and international figures
- Published 6 books in the Ifri collections
- Produced 77 electronic publications organized within 10 collections

Ifri Brussels, a European Purpose

A European Purpose and a Presence at the Heart of Europe

The creation of an Ifri Brussels office is another step in the institute's development plan. For Ifri, a French-based, European institute, the European dimension is essential. This aspect is implicit in most of its activities, while it is at the heart of a number of research programs, such as the "European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy" program, the "Space Policy" program, or the "Migrations, Identities, and Citizenship" program. Ifri has had a presence in Brussels since March 2005. The Ifri Brussels office, an interface between Ifri Paris and the center of Europe, aims to enrich European debate through a multidisciplinary approach covering all aspects of international relations. Its work

is carried out in French and in English. Ifri seeks to establish a "continental European" view in Brussels, to challenge the Anglo-Saxon vision that is already well represented at the European level.

The Ifri Brussels Program

Ifri Brussels created a weekly meeting called "Ifri Tuesdays," recognized in the city for its in-depth debates on topical Community issues. Every year Ifri organizes high-level international conferences in Brussels on major European issues. In 2007, conferences were held on: the *European Union's external energy policy*, *Issues for the French presidency of the EU*, and *European spatial dynamics during the French presidency*. Ifri's experts also hold numerous seminars in Brussels within their given research program. This is

the case with the series of seminars on energy issues, "Ifri Energy Breakfasts."

Digital Publications

A collection of electronic policy papers, "Europe.Visions," will publish texts by recognized experts on European issues.



Annual Conference of the program "European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy",
January 31, 2008, Egmont Palace, Brussels

Photo : Serge Manteaux

Ifri Research

2007 Programs

Ifri's research programs are multidisciplinary and policy-oriented.

Regional Programs

EUROPE

- **France-Germany**
 - Mutual perceptions
 - The French-German motor for Europe

Center for the Study of Franco-German Relations (Cerfa)

Heads of the program: HANS STARK, CLAIRE DEMESMAY

- **Enlargements and Neighborhood Policy**

French-Austrian Center for European Convergence (CFA)

Ifri coordinator: ÉLIANE MOSSÉ

- **What French Presidency for What Europe?**

Head of the program: OLIVIER LOUIS

RUSSIA / NIS

- Power systems and the decision-making process
- The strategic partnership between Russia and the European Union
- Russian energy policy and foreign policy interactions
- Technological innovation and scientific research

Russia/NIS Center

Director: THOMAS GOMART

MIDDLE EAST / NORTH AFRICA / MEDITERRANEAN

- **"North Africa" Program**
 - Current economic issues
 - Governance and internal dynamics
 - North Africa in international politics
 - Security in North Africa

Head of the program: KHADIJA MOHSEN-FINAN

- **"Contemporary Turkey" Program**

- Contemporary Turkey Observatory
- Dialogue with the European Union and France
- Corporate Dialogue

Head of the program: DOROTHÉE SCHMID

- **"Iran" Program**

- Political system of the Islamic Republic
- Relations between Iran and the world's major powers
- Oil – Euro-Iranian relations and gas

Heads of the program: DENIS BAUCHARD, CLÉMENT THERME

Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean Center

ASIA

- **"China" Program**

- Implementing reforms
- China's emergence as a major power in the international system

Head of the program: VALÉRIE NIQUET

- **"India and South Asia" Program**

- The workings of the "Indian system"
- India's emergence as a power in the international system
- Rapprochement between India and the European Union

Head of the program: OLIVIER LOUIS

- **Bilateral Dialogues: France-South Korea / France-China/France-Japan**

Heads of the program: VALÉRIE NIQUET, FRANÇOISE NICOLAS

- **Brainstorming Circle on Asian Economies**

Heads of the program: VALÉRIE NIQUET, FRANÇOISE NICOLAS

Asia Center

Director: VALÉRIE NIQUET

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Political and social transformations

- The future of the "State" (the evolution of power)
- New ideologies and forms of religion: impact on politics?
- Evolution of the role of national armies in the political-administrative landscape

Head of the program: ALAIN ANTIL

Cross-cutting Programs

THE CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES

- Evolution of conflicts
- Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction
- Strategies and major security policies
- Evolution of military forces

- **Defense Research Unit**

Military action: methods used when confronted by evolutions in the international situation

Director: ÉTIENNE DE DURAND

TRANSATLANTIC PROGRAM

Europe/United States views:

- on relations with Russia
- on the European Union, enlargements and neighborhood policy
- on the evolution of economies and regulation

Heads of the program: THOMAS GOMART, HANS STARK, JACQUES MISTRAL

“SPACE POLICY” PROGRAM

- Evolutions of the main space applications
- Militarization of space
- Exploration
- Space powers: Europe, the United States, Russia, Asia

Head of the program: LAURENCE NARDON

Ifri Brussels

Ifri, A EUROPEAN PURPOSE.

- To increase the French contribution to European debate notably through Ifri's research.
- To make the debates and actors involved in European construction in Brussels better understood in Paris.
- To deepen and develop Ifri Brussels' research and to contribute to and enhance the European debate by expanding it to all dimensions of international relations.

- **“Ifri Energy Breakfasts:”** seminars on today's major energy issues organized with the “European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy” program, with the participation of internationally renowned experts.
- **Lunch-debates “Ifri Tuesdays in Brussels:”** regular exchanges between political and economic decision-makers, representatives of NGOs, researchers and experts at the EU level.
- **Symposiums/Workshops**
- **Research programs currently in development**

Head: SUSANNE NIES

“EUROPEAN GOVERNANCE AND THE GEOPOLITICS OF ENERGY” PROGRAM

- Functioning and management of European energy markets
- Outlooks for future scenarios
- Geopolitics of energy and the European Union's external energy policy
- Energy policies of EU member states

President of the Scientific Committee: JACQUES LESOURNE
Head of the program: MAÏTÉ JAURÉGUY-NAUDIN

“MIGRATIONS, IDENTITIES AND CITIZENSHIP” PROGRAM

- European Union immigration policy
- Adapting borders to the globalization of international migration
- Citizenship in a multi-cultural Europe

Head of the program: CHRISTOPHE BERTOSSI

New Programs

“INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS” PROGRAM

International Finance and Globalization

- Macroeconomic aspects and the geopolitical and political context
- Transformation of the Finance industry – Implications (specifically in Europe)

Chairman: ANDRÉ LÉVY-LANG

Head of the program: JACQUES MISTRAL

Emerging Economies and Globalization

Head of the program: JACQUES MISTRAL

“SPORT AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS” PROGRAM

(in partnership with the Institut Alain Danet)

Sport's Role in International Relations

- New issues
- Geopolitical impact

Coordinator: VALÉRIE AMANT

“HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENT: FROM SECURITY AND SAFETY ISSUES TO NEW GOVERNANCE OPTIONS” PROGRAM

Objective: to identify health and environmental issues that can be considered as threats to global security and stability, thus as “security issues,” and to study possible actions.

Coordinator: ALINE LEBŒUF

RAMSES

Rapport annuel mondial sur le système économique et les stratégies



A collective work published each year under the direction of *Thierry de Montbrial* and *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, in 2007 *RAMSES* underwent substantial changes. It has been condensed and is now much more concise. The introductory chapter “Perspectives”, by *Thierry de Montbrial*, still offers an all encompassing view of international developments during the year. In 2007, it emphasized the emergence of a multipolar world. *RAMSES* is divided into seven parts dedicated to global questions and to the six major world regions: Europe; Russia and its neighborhood; the Middle East; Asia Pacific; Africa; Americas. The goal of this book remains the same: to provide clues to understand tomorrow’s world better.

“It’s a real pleasure to read the new version of RAMSES, “the annual encyclopedia of international affairs,” published by the French Institute for International Relations (Ifri). Through sixty or so short articles, readers are reminded of the prominent events of the past year [...]. As ever the authors map out future evolutions with the single goal of “shedding light on international issues, without attempting to push an agenda.” (Jean-Christophe Ploquin, La Croix, October 22, 2007.)

“China, Russia and India’s rise and their entrance into international finance can be seen as a shield against a sudden decline in the international economy. This is the “first big test” of globalization. This view put forth by Thierry de Montbrial in his introduction to RAMSES 2008 [...] could serve as the central theme of Ifri’s main publication, which, this year, has a new look. This is a welcome change that has been achieved through an increase in articles and shortened analyses of today’s major global, European, Russian, Middle Eastern, Asian, African and American issues. [...] This 26th edition of RAMSES asks the right, tough questions, even if it sometimes fails to give definitive answers. And it respects the motto of “shedding light on international issues, without pushing an agenda.” (Françoise Crouigneau, Les Échos, October 4, 2007.)

“The RAMSES 2008 publication of the French Institute for International Relations provides the essential means for understanding global geopolitics. 26th edition –already!– but still as useful as ever.” (Marc Epstein, L’Express, October 11, 2007.)

Politique étrangère



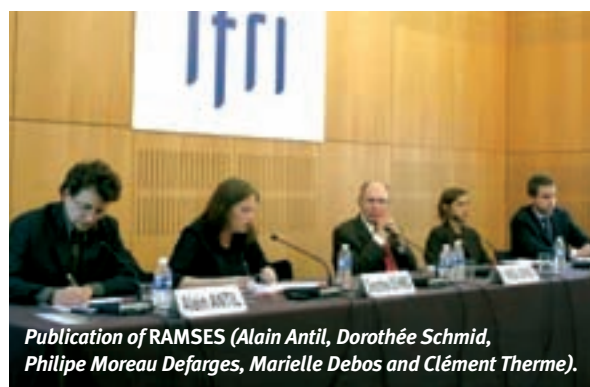
In 2007, the four editions of the journal *Politique étrangère* focused on the year’s major international issues. Some of the subjects addressed include: internal changes in the Middle East (N° 1/2007); space as a new battlefield; transatlantic dialogue over enlargements (N° 2/2007); a strategic evaluation of Tony Blair’s legacy; the notion of European identity; Islam and secularism (N° 3/2007); France’s defense policy (coinciding with the drawing up of the new White Paper); Germany and the Grand Coalition; Kosovo (N° 4/2007). A special edition was published on Russia.

Editor-in-Chief: *Dominique David*

Editors: *Delphine Renard, Marielle Roubach*



Thierry de Montbrial and Jacques Mistral welcoming J.P. Jouyet at Ifri on the publication of RAMSES 2008.



Publication of RAMSES (Alain Antil, Dorothée Schmid, Philippe Moreau Defarges, Marielle Debos and Clément Therme).

RAMSES, Ifri’s annual reference book, offers a forward-looking analysis of global developments.

A forum for debate, *Politique étrangère*, Ifri’s quarterly journal, strives to guide readers’ understanding of international events by publishing authors from diverse backgrounds and various schools of thought.

Electronic Publications

Ifri's electronic online publications, available at www.ifri.org, are constantly expanding. These publications are divided into three collections: the *Actuelles de l'Ifri* (offering information and analysis in direct response to current affairs), the *Notes de l'Ifri* (policy-oriented texts dealing with issues from all of Ifri's centers and programs), and the *Études de l'Ifri*, which contribute to academic research on international relations.

Actuelles de l'Ifri

Brief reports covering current events.

Energy Program Editorials

Monthly articles on current events written by the "European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy" program team.

Publication director: *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*

American Electoral Chronicles

Monthly articles on issues and dynamics relating to the upcoming American presidential elections, written by *Anne Toulouse*, Radio France International's (RFI) special correspondent to the United States.

Lettre du Centre Asie

Analyses of political, strategic and economic developments in Asia. The "Lettre" is written by the team of researchers associated with the center. It is also open to other French and international researchers/experts.

Publication director: *Valérie Niquet*

Editor: *Céline Pajon*

Africa in Questions

This publication is most often comprised of interviews.

Publication director: *Alain Antil*

Editor: *Sylvain Touati*

Notes de l'Ifri

Policy-oriented analyses undertaken or overseen by Ifri researchers. The "Notes," published regularly in either French or English, are broken down into thematic collections destined for a specialist audience.

Collections

- NOTES DU CERFA

Collection of the Center for Franco-German Relations, written by French and German authors. Addresses domestic policy issues (economy, social questions) or foreign issues that are of a common interest to France and Germany, as well as looking at European issues.

Publication directors: *Hans Stark, Claire Demesmay*

- PERSPECTIVES MOYEN-ORIENT/MAGHREB

Collection of the North Africa/Middle East/Mediterranean department that analyzes regional evolutions and puts them into perspective.

Publication director: *Denis Bauchard*

- RUSSIE.NEI.VISIONS

Publication of the Russia/NIS Center in French, English and Russian. Researchers from the Russia/NIS Center and the world's best experts analyze Russia's positions and strategies in terms of foreign, energy, and domestic policy as well as the politics of the New Independent States.

Publication directors: *Thomas Gomart,*

Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean

Editors: *Adrian Dellecker, Dominic Fean, Didier Chaudet*

- ASIE.VISIONS

Asia Center's collection dedicated to Asian economic, strategic and political issues. Written by French and international experts and published in French and English.

Publication director: *Valérie Niquet*

Editor: *Céline Pajon*

- FOCUS STRATÉGIQUE

Collection of the Center for Security Studies. Publishes policy papers that shed light on specific themes (terrorism, transformation of defense systems, complex stabilization operations).

Publication directors: *Étienne de Durand, Marc Hecker*

- PROLIFERATION PAPERS

Collection of the Center for Security Studies published in collaboration with the French Nuclear Energy Commission (CEA). These deal with issues of disarmament and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, non-proliferation policies and major strategic balances. Available in English.

Publication director: *Étienne de Durand*

- MIGRATIONS ET CITOYENNETÉ EN EUROPE

Collection published jointly with the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation (FES), available in French and German.

Publication director: *Christophe Bertossi*

Others

- SPACE POLICY PROGRAM

Analysis of evolutions in Space. In French or English.

Publication director: *Laurence Nardon*

- SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA PROGRAM

Analysis and reflection on current evolutions in all political and social domains in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Publication director: *Alain Antil*

Editor: *Sylvain Touati*

Études de l'Ifri

These are the fruit of the work and research undertaken at Ifri. They are open to all areas studied at the Institute and they contribute to academic research in international relations. They are either published in French or English and are overseen by Ifri researchers.

In 2007, Ifri notably hosted:



José Manuel Barroso

José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission

Robert D. Blackwill, Ambassador of the United States

Hans Blix, Chairman of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission

Nino Burzhanadze, Chairman of the Parliament of Georgia

Chen Zuo'er, Vice-Minister in charge of the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council of China

Vladimir Chizhov, Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the European Union

Bozidar Djelic, Vice-Prime Minister of Serbia responsible for European Integration



Nino Burzhanadze



Dominique David and Hans Blix



Philippe Ducroquet, Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa, Philippe Jurgensen, Thierry de Montbrial and Jean Mouton

Susan Eisenhower, President of the Eisenhower Group, inc. Chairman Emeritus, the Eisenhower Institute

Louis Gallois, Chief Executive Officer, EADS

Angel Gurría, Secretary-General of the OECD

Alfred Gusenbauer, Federal Chancellor of Austria

Jim Hoagland, columnist, *The Washington Post*

Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, Secretary-General of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference

Sergueï Yastrzhembskiy, Special Advisor to the President of the Russian Federation

Jean-Pierre Jouyet, Minister of State responsible for European Affairs

Neelie Kroes, European Commissioner for Competition

Bernardino Leon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Spain

Jean-David Lévitte, Diplomatic Advisor and Sherpa to President Nicolas Sarkozy



Jean-Claude Gruffat and Bozidar Djelic



Thierry de Montbrial and Chen Zu'er

Elmar Mammadyarov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan
Peter Mandelson, European Commissioner for External Trade
Claude Mandil, Executive Director, International Energy Agency
Stjepan Mesic, President of the Republic of Croatia
Najib Tun Abdul Razak, Vice-Prime Minister,
Minister of Defense of the Malaysian Federation
Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa, Minister of Economy
and Finances of Italia
Jean-Pierre Raffarin, former Prime Minister, French Senator
Philippe de Schoutheete, Ambassador, former Permanent
Representative of Belgium to the European Union
Edmund Stoiber, Minister-President of Bavaria, Chairman
of the Christian Social Union (CSU)
David O'Sullivan, Director General, Directorate General Trade,
European Commission
Hitoshi Tanaka, former Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of
Japan and Special Advisor to Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi
Jacques Toubon, Member of the European Parliament,
European People's Party and European Democrats (EPP-DE)



*Thierry de Montbrial,
Jim Hoagland and Philippe Ducroquet*



*Alfred Gusenbauer
and Dominique Moisi*

Graham Watson, Member of the European Parliament, Chairman
of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe
Wu Jianmin, former Ambassador of China to France, Chairman
of the China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU), Executive Vice-
President of the China National Association for International
Studies



Angel Gurría



Neelie Kroes

Dinners and luncheons-debate 2007

Dinners and luncheons-debate

Chair : **Thierry de Montbrial**

January 16

Bernardino Leon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Spain

January 22

Neelie Kroes, European Commissioner for Competition

February 12

Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa, Minister of Economy and Finances of Italia

April 2

Hans Blix, Chairman of the Weapons Mass Destruction Commission

April 19

Chen Zuo'er, Vice-Minister in charge of the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs office of the State Council

April 23

Angel Gurría, Secretary General of the OECD

June 14

Jim Hoagland, columnist, *The Washington Post*

August 30

Peter Mandelson, European Commissioner for External Trade

October 8

Wu Jianmin, former Ambassador of China to France, Chairman of the China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU), Executive Vice-President of the China National Association for International Studies

October 15

Bozidar Djelic, Vice-Prime Minister of Serbia responsible for European integration

October 29

Jean-David Lévitte, Diplomatic Advisor and sherpa to President Nicolas Sarkozy

November 15

Alfred Gusenbauer, Federal Chancellor of Austria

Working Luncheons with Ifri's research-fellows *

Chair : **Dominique David**

February 23

The Central Europe Countries: Economic Success, Political Disorders? – **Éliane Mossé** and **Olivier Louis**.

March 28

The February 2007 Agreement on the North Korean Denuclearisation and its Consequences on Regional Balances' – **Valérie Niquet**.

April 25

Can Regionalisation and the Development of Infrastructures be a Tool for Development? The case of West Africa. – **Alain Antil**.

May 23

Iran: Between Regional Ambitions and Economic Challenges – **Denis Bauchard**.

September 26

Europe : The Space Conquest – **Laurence Nardon**.

October 24

Turkey : After the Crisis – **Dorothee Schmid**.

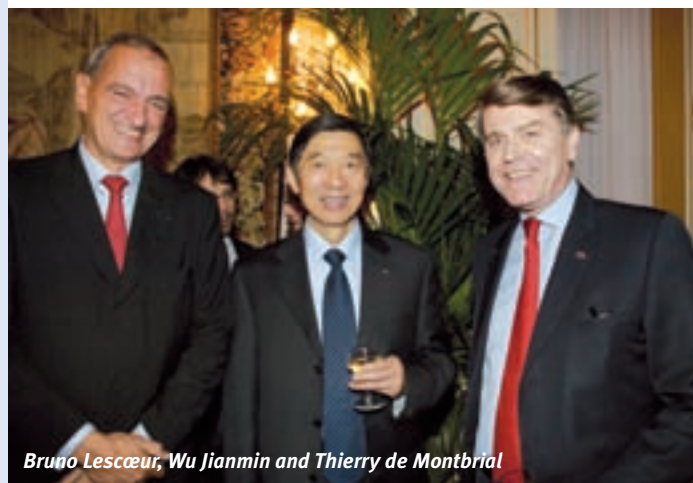
November 16

Climate of Uncertainty in North-Africa – **Khadija Mohsen-Finan**.

December 12

The XVIIe Congress of the Chinese Communist Party : Wich Consequences for the Functioning of the Chinese System? – **Valérie Niquet**.

* Organized with the support of Accor.



Bruno Lescœur, Wu Jianmin and Thierry de Montbrial

Ifri and the press: a permanent dialog

Ifri offers its partners and the press a meeting and debating forum, an independent institution where the confrontation of ideas enriches the analysis of contemporary world politics. The institute maintains a permanent dialog with journalists, invites them to the numerous events it organizes in Paris and Brussels, and provides interviews and expert reports on international current events, as well as analyses published on line on the institute's web site. Works by Ifri's research fellows are frequently cited in the French and foreign press.

Interaction with the press stimulates our reflection on international issues. In 2007, several distinguished French and foreign columnists participated in debates and roundtables organized by the institute. **More than 300 journalists** attended our conferences with high-level international figures and leading international experts in the same year.

Ifri is very visible in the national and international press. Some **215 articles and interviews** have been published. The institute and its experts have been cited and referenced **more than 1,500 times** in French and foreign media, and have participated in some **350 television programs**. The published articles are available on the "Ifri in the media" section of Ifri's web site – www.ifri.org.

Ifri has developed numerous **partnerships with French and foreign media**, notably with *La Tribune* for the "Geopolitics" column, *Le Monde Économie* for the promotion of *RAMSES*, *Les Échos*, which regularly cites and publishes our authors, *Le Figaro* with frequent publications of our research fellows, and *The Economist* with which Ifri co-organized

a debate on transatlantic relations in 2007.

For the last three years, Ifri has been in partnership with *Euractiv.com* in Brussels and *Euractiv.fr* in Paris, the main media portal dedicated exclusively to European affairs, present in ten countries of the European Union. This partnership focuses upon European and energy issues.

For three years, Ifri has been developing a partnership with *LCP Assemblée nationale*. In 2007, Ifri worked on a regular basis with *France 24*, *I-Télé*, *LCI* and *BFM TV*. Exchanges are frequent with *AFP*, the *Reuters* and *Associated Press* agencies, with radio stations such as *RFI*, *France Culture*, *France Info*, *France Inter*, *Europe 1*, and *BFM*. Ifri's experts are often interviewed on *France 2*, *France 3* and *France 5*, as well as *Bloomberg TV*, *BBC*, *Al-Jazeera*, and *Euronews*. Our research fellows also participate in the programs of *Public Sénat*. Ifri has regular contacts with the Belgian press – *Le Soir*, *L'Écho*, *RTBF*, etc. Russian, Arab, British, American, Asian and Central-European media have also solicited the opinion of our research fellows.

Each year, Thierry de Montbrial and Philippe Moreau Defarges have an informal discussion with French and international press at the "Centre d'accueil de la presse étrangère" (CAPE) on the occasion of the publication of *RAMSES*.



Thierry de Montbrial and Philippe Moreau Defarges at the CAPE



Hans Blix – meeting the presse

Ifri and its partners

Brynhild Dumas and Arthur de Montalembert



For the past 28 years, Ifri has provided a forum for debate for its partners and members –individuals, institutions and firms. Thanks to its numerous research programs, events, publications and close relationships with major international institutions, Ifri has provided up-to-date and comprehensive expertise on international affairs.

Many high quality conferences and meetings –one of Ifri’s areas of excellence– that contribute to the development of international dialogue were held in 2007, enhanced by the addition of new research areas. These meetings provided our partners with an arena for direct exchanges with important global decision-makers as well as with Ifri researchers and international experts.

Partnerships between the Institute’s research programs and corporations and foundations were expanded in 2007: the “Sub-Saharan Africa” program, the “China” program, the “Space Policy” program, the Defense Research Unit, and the “North Africa” program were all made possible thanks to the generous support of corporate partners.

The development team worked to foster relations with the companies that support Ifri and prospective partners in order to strengthen relations and interaction between the institute and its partners. Today, this approach is providing a greater synergy between the expectations of economic partners and Ifri’s research activities.

Ifri’s capacity to influence French and European public debate was strengthened this year by its increasing presence in the media, and its diversified channels for disseminating work. It did this notably through targeting the electronic distribution of its publications to a specific group of experts and economic and political policy-makers around the world.

We wish to thank all of our partners and members once again: because of their support we are able to remain one of Europe’s and the world’s leading think tanks. Thanks to them, Ifri is a major factor in France’s increasing influence in European and international debate.



Louis Gallois and Thierry de Montbrial



Jacques Desponts and Jean-Marc de Bournonville

CORPORATE PARTNERS

(As at December 31, 2007)

Corporate partners are invited to all events.

They are also offered various opportunities to meet with word decision-makers

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AGENCE FRANÇAISE DE DÉVELOPPEMENT
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AIR FRANCE
AIR LIQUIDE
AMERICAN EXPRESS
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CRÉDIT MUTUEL

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JP MORGAN CHASE BANK

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LAZARD FRÈRES
LES ÉCHOS
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RENAULT
ROTHSCHILD & CIE BANQUE
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SANOFI-AVENTIS
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SODEXHO ALLIANCE
SOFINNOVA PARTNERS
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GAZ DE FRANCE
INSTITUT ALAIN-DANET
LAFARGE
ROBERT BOSCH STIFTUNG
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VALLOUREC

Member embassies and institutions

as at December 31, 2007

Embassy of the Republic of South Africa
Embassy of Algeria
Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany
Embassy of Andorra
Embassy of Saudi Arabia
Embassy of Argentina
Embassy of Australia
Embassy of Austria
Embassy of Azerbaijan
Embassy of Bahreïn
Embassy of Belgium
Embassy of Brazil
Embassy of Bulgaria
Embassy of Canada
Embassy of the Popular Republic of China
Embassy of the Republic of Cyprus
Embassy of the Republic of Croatia
Embassy of the Czech Republic
Embassy of Denmark
Quebec, General Delegation
Embassy of Egypt
Embassy of Estonia
Embassy of Finland
Embassy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Embassy of Greece
Embassy of Hungary
Embassy of India
Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran
Embassy of Irlande
Embassy of Israel
Embassy of Italia
Ambassade of Japan
Permanent Delegation of Japan to the OECD
Embassy of the Republic of Korea
Embassy of Kuwait
League of Arab States, Paris Office
Embassy of Lituania
Embassy of Luxemburg
Embassy of Maltaysia

Embassy of Mexico
Embassy of Montenegro
Embassy of Norway
Embassy of New-Zealand
Embassy of the Netherlands
Embassy of Poland
Permanent Delegation of Poland to OECD
Embassy of Portugal
Embassy of Romania
Embassy of the Russian Federation
Embassy of Serbia
Embassy of Singapore
Embassy of Slovakia
Embassy of Slovenia
Embassy of Spain
Embassy of Sweden
Embassy of Switzerland
Taipei Representative Office
Embassy of Turkey
Embassy of the United States of America
Embassy of Uzbekistan
Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam

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- Centre d'études internationales - CEI
 - Translation Center of the French Ministry of Economy, Finances and Industry
 - Japan External Trade Organization/JETRO
 - Conseil supérieur du notariat
 - Eumetsat
 - EU - Institute for Security Studies
 - Memorial of Caen
 - Ministère de l'Air (CDAO Air Base 117)
 - Ministère de la Défense - CHEAR
 - PRS Consulting (Portugal)
 - THERACLION
 - Yalta European Strategy (YES)

Research

Regional Programs

Europe

- Center for Franco-German Relations (Cerfa)
 - The Franco-Austrian Center for European Convergence (CFA)
 - The French Presidency of the European Union
 - Ifri Brussels
-

The Russia/NIS Center

The Ifri Asia Center

The Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean Center

Africa Program

Cross-Cutting Programs

The Center for Security Studies

Transatlantic Relations Program

Space Policy Program

The European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy Program

Migrations, Identities and Citizenship Program

New Programs

Economic Studies

Sport and International Relations

Health and Environment

Europe

Center for Franco-German Relations (Cerfa)

Mission

Created in 1954 by an intergovernmental agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and France, Cerfa is today one of the oldest bilateral organizations between these two states.

Its main goals are to:

- contribute to a better understanding of the two countries' respective approaches to politics, society, and economics;
- analyze the Franco-German relationship within an evolving European Union.

With this in mind, Cerfa:

- provides expertise on contemporary Germany;
- drafts practical proposals and recommendations in order to deepen and coordinate relations between these two countries;
- analyzes today's pressing European issues from a Franco-German perspective.

Team



Hans Stark, Secretary General and professor at the Université Paris III-Sorbonne

Areas of expertise: history of Franco-German relations and

European integration; CFSP/ESDP; French and German foreign and security policy.



Claire Demesmay, Research Fellow

Areas of expertise: French and German political culture, civil society; political integration, the nation-state; democracy, citizenship, identity

Anne-Lise Barrière, Research Fellow, in charge of the "Franco-German Network for Young Elites."

Expertise: history and contemporary issues in European integration

The three main themes of Cerfa's work

Political and Societal Changes in Contemporary Germany

- Domestic politics: political alliances and coalition; socio-economic reforms; societal changes and domestic debate; East-West dynamics; immigration and integration.
- Foreign Policy: foreign and security policy; Germany's European policy within the European Union, and also with non members countries including the United States and Russia.

Franco-German Relations

- Cooperation on issues of common concerns in political, economic, and cultural fields; comparative approaches.
- Contribution to European integration; French and German views on major European issues.

European Integration

- Political Europe: the EU's political and legal evolution, particularly concerning the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP); institutional reform; European identity and citizenship.
- EU enlargement and European security: common views on the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) and the EU's relations with its neighbors.

Cerfa's research in 2007

In 2007, Cerfa's research focused on the main challenges and objectives of both the German Presidency of the G8 and the Council of the EU ("La double présidence allemande du Conseil européen et du G8 en 2007. Un essai à transformer," "Note du Cerfa," N° 47).

The German Presidency of the Council of the European Union

Martin Koopmann had already analyzed Germany's objectives in a "Note du Cerfa" in December 2006. These objectives were the focus of Cerfa's annual conference (January 29, 2007). This provided an opportunity for in-depth debates on enlargement and the Neighborhood Policy, the EU institutional crisis, and outlook for the European Security and Defense Policy.

Several "Notes du Cerfa" were also dedicated to German priorities: such as Germany's energy policy (*Kristina Notz*, N° 42), German-Russian relations in a European context (*Heinz Timmermann*, N° 40), or the Lisbon Treaty and how to save it (*Andreas Mauer*, N° 46).

French and German Foreign Policies

In the wake of the French presidential election in May 2007, Cerfa assessed the main foreign policy trends on both sides of the Rhine. A seminar was held on this issue on October 14 and 15 in cooperation with the Konrad-Adenauer Foundation.

With the new assertiveness in German foreign policy and Germany's recent interest in Africa in mind—emphasized by Angela Merkel during the G8 Summit—two Strategic Forums on Franco-German relations, organized in partnership with the Konrad-Adenauer Foundation, were devoted to change in Africa ("Africa, The Forgotten Continent?" in Berlin in March) and in Asia ("Security in Asia: Issues for Europe," in Paris in November). These two seminars brought about constructive dialogue and exchanges.

Lastly, French, German, and Turkish researchers and policy-makers discussed their doubts, fears and hopes for Turkish accession to the EU during a seminar organized with the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation and the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD) on March 26. Diverse viewpoints and perceptions of Turkish society and its evolution were discussed and debated during this event.

Domestic Political Change

Given the impact of socio-economic reforms on the labor market and on German politics, several "Notes du Cerfa" focused on these issues: "La grande coalition et le marché du travail en Allemagne" (*Hermann Scherl* and *Susanne Noll*, N° 50), "Le parti social-démocrate allemand entre crise et nouveau départ" (*Christoph Egle*, N° 49). Innovation and reform policies were also examined along with the Minister-President of Bavaria during a conference-debate on September 5.

The Franco-German Network of Young Elites

In 2007, Ifri and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für auswärtige Politik (DGAP) held the first meeting of the "Franco-German Network of Young Elites", composed of students and young postgraduates in social sciences, economics and humanities, along with young professionals who faced Franco-German issues in their work. Financially supported by the Rober-Bosch Foundation, the project's goal is to develop younger generations'



Ambassador Claude Martin welcomes participants in the "Franco-German Network of Young Elites" at the French embassy in Berlin.

interest in Franco-German issues and to encourage future German and French leaders to work together to solve political, social, and economic problems. Given the great success of this program, the project was repeated in 2008.

2008 Project: France, Germany and Crises in Europe

In a new research program titled “France, Germany and European Crises,” Cerfa and the Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung (ZEI) work together to analyze the various crises that have plagued the EU since the 2004 enlargement. The goal of the program is a Franco-German effort to overcome deadlock on EU decision-making by analyzing the institutional tools available to the EU today and exploring new and innovative ones.

This project, financed by the the Agence Nationale de la Recherche (ANR) and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), will last three year (2008-2010). In addition to an in-depth study on the Treaty of Lisbon and the changes that it brings about, the project focusses on assessing French and German approaches (including through field work) for getting out of crises. French and German researchers work together in bi-national teams, in organizing conferences as well as in drafting and editing publications.

Publications

• “Notes du Cerfa” Series

Published monthly since 2003, this collection is devoted to political, economic, and social change in contemporary Germany (foreign policy, domestic policy, economic policy, and societal issues). These are policy-oriented and concise papers. Electronically sent to over 1,600 subscribers, as with the “Visions Franco-Allemandes,” they are all available on the Cerfa website and may be downloaded.

In 2007, ten Notes were published.

Les relations germano-russes dans le contexte européen, *Heinz Timmermann*, N° 40, janvier.

La politique allemande de sécurité et de défense : équilibrer durablement les attentes extérieures et les contraintes intérieures, *Franz-Josef Meiers*, N° 41, février.

La politique énergétique allemande : entre impératifs nationaux et exigences communautaires, *Kristina Notz*, N° 42, mars.

Benoît XVI : un pape allemand face aux défis du monde moderne, *Jean Klein*, N° 43, mai.

La nouvelle politique africaine de l'Allemagne : un investissement politique et économique pour l'avenir de l'Europe, *Julien Thorel*, N° 44, juin.

La politique européenne de voisinage : l'impact de la présidence allemande sur l'élaboration d'une politique stratégique, *Andreas Marchetti*, N° 45, juillet.

Le sauvetage du traité constitutionnel : retour sur un dossier prioritaire de la présidence allemande, *Andreas Maurer*, N° 46, septembre.

La double présidence allemande du Conseil européen et du G8 en 2007. Un essai à transformer, *Stefan Martens*, N° 47, octobre.

Politique industrielle ou politique de la compétitivité ? Discours et approches en Allemagne, *Henrik Uterwedde*, N° 48, novembre.

Le Parti social-démocrate allemand entre crise et nouveau départ, *Christoph Egle*, N° 49, décembre.

La grande coalition et le marché du travail en Allemagne, *Hermann Scherl et Susanne Noll*, N° 50, décembre.

• “Visions franco-allemandes” Series

Inaugurated in 2004, the “Visions Franco-Allemandes” collection analyzes French and German perspectives on societal change and a range of key contemporary issues and challenges. Sent to more than 1,600 subscribers electronically, all documents are available on the Cerfa website and may be downloaded

In 2007 we published:

Les syndicats français et allemands : difficiles adaptations aux mutations de la société, *Brigitte Lestrade*, N° 12, avril.

• Book

Radioscopies de l'Allemagne 2008, *Claire Demesmay et Hans Stark* (dir.), “Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri”.

Published by the Documentation française, this work includes all “Notes du Cerfa” and “Visions franco-allemandes” published by Cerfa in 2007.

• “France, Allemagne, Europe. Perspectives” Series

Jointly with the Franco-German Relations program at the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) Cerfa regularly publishes a report entitled “France, Allemagne, Europe. Perspectives.” Written by two authors, these papers identify possible Franco-German strategies that are likely to contribute to better European policy. Published by both institutes and under the direction of *Martin Koopmann* and *Hans Stark*, these reports are published in both languages.

In 2007 Cerfa and the DGAP published:

Stratégie de Lisbonne. Réflexions franco-allemandes, *Isabelle Bourgeois et Markus Gabel*, “Notes de l'Ifri”, N° 59, collection “La France, l'Allemagne, l'Europe. Perspectives” series.

Associated publications

“La présidence allemande de l'UE et du G8 : quel bilan?”, *Hans Stark*, in *RAMSES 2008*.

“La politique étrangère de l'Allemagne entre vocation globale et contraintes européennes”, *Hans Stark*, in *Politique étrangère*, N° 4/2007, Winter.

Outside Publications

“Chancen und Herausforderungen einer europäischen Zivilgesellschaft”, *Claire Demesmay*, in *J. Nida-Rümelin et W. Weidenfeld* (dir.), *Europäische Identität: Voraussetzungen und Strategien*, Baden-Baden, Nomos, 2007.

“Les valeurs de la République : patrie et universalisme,” *Claire Demesmay*, in *Cahiers français*, N° 336, Jan-Feb 2007.

“Stepping into the Geopolitical Game: The EU in its Eastern Neighbourhood,” *Kerry Longhurst*, in *Natolin Analyses*, Natolin European Centre, Varsovie, May 2007.

“Nicolas Sarkozy vu d'Allemagne : un partenaire aux facettes multiples,” *Hans Stark*, in *France forum*, N° 26, June 2007.

“La présidence allemande de l'UE : de la “racine carrée” à la quadrature du cercle,” *Hans Stark*, in *Regards sur l'économie allemande*, N° 82, July 2007.

“National Debates on Turkey's Accession. A Franco-German Perspective,” *Claire Demesmay* (with *Simone Weske*), in *EU-Turkey-Monitor*, vol. 3, N° 3, November-December 2007.



Seminars and Panel Discussions

January 29 – Cerfa's 3rd Annual Conference: Germany's EU Presidency in 2007 – Challenges, Strategies, Initiatives, Paris

With the participation of: *Daniel Cohn-Bendit*, member of the European Parliament, Green Party, Co-president, the Greens/European Free Alliance in the European Parliament, Brussels; *Dominique David*; *Sylvie Goulard*, President, Mouvement Européen-France, Paris; *Josef Janning*, Member of the Board of the Bertelsmann Foundation, deputy director, Centrum für angewandte Politikforschung (CAP) Munich; *Pierre Lévy*, Director, Policy Planning Staff, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris; *Franz-Josef Meiers*, University of Münster; *Angelica Schwall-Düren*, Deputy, SPD.



Annual conference – Cerfa – January 29: Josef Janning, Pierre Lévy, Dominique David, Franz-Josef Meiers

March 26 – Turkey and Europe: Public Debate in France, Germany, and Turkey, Paris

Seminar organized with the support of the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation and the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD).



Conference "Turkey and Europe" – March 26: Sabine von Oppeln, Frédéric Dabi, Yves Bertocini, Claire Demesmay, Soli Ozel

March 27- 4th Strategic Forum on German-French Relations: Africa, the Forgotten Continent? Berlin
Forum organized in conjunction with the Konrad-Adenauer Foundation. Topics addressed: Classification and the study of crises and conflicts on the African continent – Global and regional interests in Africa – Crisis and resolution management of African conflicts.

November 20 – 5th Strategic Forum on German-French Relations – Security and Europe's stakes in Asia? Paris

Forum organized in conjunction with the Konrad-Adenauer Foundation. Topics addressed: China, the foreign policy of a new superpower? – Perspectives for regional security in Northeast Asia: the cases of North Korea and Japan – Regional stability in Central Asia: future outlook and issues for the EU.

October 14 and 15 – Germany and France: a Motor or Constraint in Europe? Paris

Seminar organized with the Konrad-Adenauer Foundation. Topics addressed: Assessment of Franco-German relations – Germany's new foreign policy under Angela Merkel – France's new foreign policy under Nicolas Sarkozy – Where are Europe's borders? The emerging debate on European enlargement – France and Germany: two military powers in question – Germany, France, and globalization. Between the opening up of markets and the protection of national champions.

Public Conferences and Breakfast-Debates

September 5 – Innovation and Reform: Keys for Germany and Europe's Future

Conference-debate with *Edmund Stoiber*, Minister-President of Bavaria and President of the Christian Democratic Union (CSU).

October 3 – EADS and French-German Relations
Breakfast-debate with *Louis Gallois*, Chief Executive Officer, EADS

November 23 – The French Presidency of the EU: Which Presidency for Which Europe?

Breakfast-debate with *Alain Lamassoure*, member of the European Parliament.

Europe

The Franco-Austrian Center for European Convergence (CFA)

The Franco-Austrian Center for European Convergence was created in 1978 by Chancellor Kreisky and Jacques Chirac in order to foster Franco-Austrian economic cooperation with a number of then communist states (Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland). An intergovernmental organization with headquarters in Vienna, today its mission is to promote cooperation between Austria and France, and to contribute to the successful integration of Central and Eastern Europe's young democracies into the European Union (EU). Since 2004, the Center has been developing links with the new EU neighbors, particularly the Western Balkans, who see their future as part of the EU.

Team

Peter Jankowitsch (Vienne), Secretary General

Thierry de Montbrial, Chairman



Éliane Mossé,
coordinates Ifri activities
within the program

Martine Breux, Assistant

CFA's work is designed to foster reflection on Europe. It organizes meetings between political, economic, and social decision-makers from current and future EU member states with the aim of encouraging dialogue and debate on contemporary European issues.

As in previous years, CFA focussed on assessing the situation in the EU's new member states, and on the state of affairs in the Balkans, particularly in Kosovo. 2007 was also a year to deepen Franco-Austrian relations and to evaluate both countries' European policies. Along with Ifri, CFA organized numerous seminars, conferences and debates. Reports and summaries of activities were made available on the Ifri website.

Outlook for 2008

The CFA will continue to give special attention to Southeastern Europe whilst also assessing the most recent enlargements. In addition, it will concentrate on a joint Franco-Austrian outlook and approach regarding the European Security and Defense Policy.

Seminars and Debates

February 23 – Central European Countries: Economic Success, Political Disorder

Lunch with *Éliane Mossé* and *Olivier Louis*, that brought together mostly corporate executives. The new Central European member states are experiencing significant economic prosperity (strong growth, decreasing unemployment, generally controlled inflation, etc.) representing promising new markets for French companies in terms of exports and direct investments. Yet this current prosperity contrast with often-unstable political situations within these countries. *Éliane Mossé* and *Olivier Louis* questioned the consequences of these evolutions on Europe's future ability to function.

September 18 – Romania after EU Accession

Breakfast-debate with *Teodor Baconski*, Romanian Ambassador to France, *Édith Lhomel*, Senior Fellow at the Institut d'études européennes (Paris VIII) in charge of Central and Eastern Europe at *Courrier des pays de l'Est*, and *Odette Tomescu-Hatto*, lecturer, Institut d'études politiques (IEP), Paris.

Chair person: *Éliane Mossé*.

Conferences

February 19 – France from an Austrian Point of View, Austria from a French Point of View: Through the Representation of the Media

With: *Thierry de Montbrial*, *Franz Ceska*, former Austrian Ambassador to France, *Danny Leder*, Correspondent for the *Kurier* in France, *Maurin Picard*, Correspondent for *Le Figaro* in Austria. On cultural issues, the participants included *Franz Ceska*, *Éliane Mossé*, *Michel Cullin*, Professor, Diplomatik Akademie, Vienna, and *Gerald Stieg*, Professor, Paris III-Sorbonne nouvelle.

This conference emphasized the in-depth mutual understanding of the other's culture, but it also highlighted deep divergences in Austria's analysis of Nazism, divergences that are above all acute between Austrians themselves, leading to a generation gap over the interpretation of the country's position during World War II.

December 12 – Kosovo 2008: A Perilous Year

With: *Jean-Arnauld Derens*, historian and Chief Editor of *Courrier des Balkans*, and *Jacques Rupnik*, Research Director at the Centre d'études et de recherches internationales (CERI) and President of the Club "Grande Europe".

The conference was held after the "Troika" handed in its report on the state of negotiations concerning Kosovo's future status.

Chair person: *Éliane Mossé*.

International Conferences

June 11 and 12 – Economic and Social Development in Bosnia and Herzegovina: A Challenge in the Regional and European Context, Sarajevo

The objective of this conference –which brought together numerous French, Austrian, and Balkan experts, and representatives from international institutions– was to identify the main socio-economic issues plaguing this country, twelve years after the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords. Despite reform efforts to move from a planned economy to a market-based one, positive results are scarce and the country continues to suffer from widespread poverty and high unemployment. Pegging their currency (the convertible mark, KM) to the euro has however ensured financial stability. At the institutional level, dividing the country up into two ethnically separate entities, the Republic of Serbia and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has resulted in the absence of a unified and integrated domestic economy that tends to discourage investors, foreign as well as domestic.

November 26 and 27 – Franco-Austrian Cooperation in the Energy Field and the Energy Policy of the EU, Paris

A sustainable, clean, and economically viable energy supply is at the heart of the EU and member states' policies. France and Austria have diverged at times on their policies in this area, France having opted for nuclear energy whilst Austria passed a referendum in 1978 outlawing its use. There are however some commonalities in their policies, in particular actions regarding renewable energy. Franco-Austrian cooperation in the industrial sector (rapprochement of Poweo and Verbund, the establishment of Gaz de France in Austria, etc.) were analyzed, and national energy policies were considered alongside the objectives of the EU's energy policies, especially those that were laid out in the "packages," or the set of proposals, published in January and September 2007.

Bi-lateral Seminar

October 4 and 5 – Migration and Integration in France and Austria within a European Context: New Stakes, New Challenges, Vienne

This seminar dealt with the issue of immigration "models" and policies, a major issue in both France and Austria today. It also analyzed problems that stem from integrating immigrant groups in the two countries. The different components of integration policies –through school, work, housing, state institutions (police, legal system, military, etc.)– were analyzed by French and Austrian experts and by representatives of international organizations in order to evaluate their results. Choices made at the European level (selective or controlled immigration, melting pot vs. multiculturalism, etc.) were also discussed.

Europe

The French Presidency of the European Union

“Which French Presidency for Which Europe?”

To contribute to the preparation of the presidency of the European Union by France from July 1st to December 31st, 2008, Ifri launched a public debate on the major issues on the French agenda.

Team



Olivier Louis, Head of program (European issues, India)

Céline Bochet, Assistant

The program directed by *Olivier Louis*, comprised seminars held on a monthly bases beginning on October 4, 2007, that brought together a representative from the French government, a French expert – usually an Ifri researcher – and an expert from abroad.

A detailed report of presentations and debates is posted on the Ifri website.

A final conference on the French presidency's objectives concluded the series of seminars.

Publications

“Europe. Retour de l’ambiguïté”, *Olivier Louis*, in *RAMSES 2008*.

“Pologne. Le gouvernement des frères Kaczynski : une parenthèse dans l’histoire ?”, *Olivier Louis et Krzysztof Soloch*, in *RAMSES 2008*.

“OMC : un nouvel équilibre Nord-Sud ?”, *Olivier Louis*, in *Politique étrangère*, N° 3/2007, Fall.

Eleven seminar-debate took place under the direction of *Olivier Louis*, three of which were held in 2007.

October 4 – A Simplified but too Complicated a Treaty

With Ambassador *Pierre Ménat*, director of European Cooperation at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Dominique David*, *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, and *Daniela Schwarzer*, researcher at Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin, Visiting Fellow at Ifri.

Since the German presidency succeeded in reaching a consensus on the “simplified treaty”, the intergovernmental conference began its work as planned on July 23, 2007, and the treaty project that resulted was to be ratified throughout 2008.

November 8 – Where Should Europe’s Borders Be Drawn?

With *Michel Foucher*, Professor at the École normale supérieure and member of the Council of Foreign Affairs, *Maxime Lefebvre*, advisor at the Permanent Representation of France to the EU, and *Dorothee Schmid*.

The French presidency is determined to advance the Union for the Mediterranean project. What priorities should be set between the EU's various neighbors: neighbors to the East (Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova), the Balkan states who are bent on EU membership and the Mediterranean countries, including Turkey?

December 6 – What Economic Governance for the Euro Zone?

With *Wolfgang Munchau*, associate editor of the *Financial Times* and director of *Eurointelligence.com*, *Claire Waysand*, expert on European economic and financial issues, *Jacques Mistral*.

What is the optimal balance within the euro zone between fighting off inflation and ensuring economic growth? This issue (a major one during the French presidential elections) includes questions over the respective roles of the European Central Bank and euro zone institutions in managing economic policy.



Breakfast debate October 4th : *Pierre Ménat*, *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, *Olivier Louis*, *Daniela Schwarzer*

Europe

Ifri Brussels

Ifri, a European Purpose and Presence

The European dimension of Ifri's activities has always been a hallmark of the institute, a French based European Institute with an international outreach. A European focus is implicit in most of its activities – Ifri keeps a close and constant watch on EU-Russia, EU-China relations, as well as on Euro-Mediterranean issues, EU relations with Turkey, European security and defense policy and Neighborhood policy. Many research programs also revolve around European and EU themes, this is the case with the “European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy” program, “Migration, Identities, and Citizenship” Program, the programs of the Center for Franco-German Relations the Franco-Austrian Center for European Convergence, as well as the series of preparatory seminars for the French Presidency of the European Union in 2008.

The Ifri Brussels office, situated at the center of the European district, creates a bridge between the activities of Ifri Paris and the heart of Europe. It aims to make French issues and debates better understood in Brussels and in turn to present Brussels and Europe's issues to Paris. Ifri Brussels aims to enrich debate in a multidisciplinary manner, covering all aspects of international relations.

Team



Pierre Defraigne, Director (until March 31st, 2007)



Susanne Nies, Researcher, head of Ifri Brussels (since April 2007)

Cécile Kérébel, Researcher

Adélaïde Boodts, Assistant

Ifri Tuesdays in Brussels

January 16 – Tax policy for a Competitive EU: Common Base and Coordination

With *Michel Aujean*, Director, Directorate general (DG) Taxation and Customs Union, European Commission.

January 23 – Health Policy in the EU: Coordination or Competition?

With *Jean Hermesse*, Secretary General of the Alliance des mutualités chrétiennes, *Nick Fahy*, Deputy Head at the Health Strategy Unit at the DG Health and Consumer Affairs, *Géraldine Fages*, Legal Officer at the DG Internal Market and Services, European Commission.

February 6 – China-Japan: Convergences and Divergences

With *Valérie Niquet*, Director of the Ifri Asia Centre and Senior Research Fellow.

February 13 – Europe, Climate Change and a New Industrial Policy

With *Peter Carl*, Director-General, DG Environment, European Commission.

February 20 – What is the Pluriannual Financial Perspective Today?

With *Luis Romero-Requena*, Director-General, DG Budget, European Commission.

March 6 – Can the European Parliament Fill the Political Vacuum?

With *Pierre Jonckheer*, Member of the European Parliament, Vice-President of the Group of Greens/European Free Alliance.

March 13 – An Idea to Emerge from the European Crisis?

With *Philippe Herzog*, President of Confrontations Europe.

March 27 – Reconstructing the West: A Good Idea?

With *Michael Rühle*, Head of Policy Planning and Speech Writing in NATO's Political Affairs Division.

April 3 – Reviving the Social Dimension of the European Political Project

With *Philippe Mills*, Deputy General Director of the Centre d'analyse stratégique, Paris.

April 12 – Is Europe Supporting or Harming Democracy?

With *Vivien Schmidt*, Professor of International Relations, Jean Monnet Chair of European Integration at Boston University and Franqui Interuniversity Chair (Belgium).

June 19 – Three Changes Brought by Enlargement

Three viewpoints with *Stewart Fleming*, journalist at *European Voice*, *Shada Islam*, journalist at *Deutsche Presse-Agentur* and with other Asian and Middle-East newspapers, and *Jean Quatremer*, journalist at *Libération*.

June 26 – A European Economic and Social Model for the 21st Century

With *Joaquín Almunia*, Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Affairs, European Commission.

July 3 – Once the Treaty Has Been Reviewed, What Does the EU Do?

With *Daniel Cohn-Bendit*, Member of the European Parliament, Co-President of the Greens/Free European Alliance Group.

July 10 – Europe's Social Reality

With *Roger Liddle*, Principal Advisor in the Bureau of European Policy Advisers, European Commission.

July 24 – Lights and Shadows of the Simplified Treaty

With *Jean-Victor Louis*, Honorary Professor at the Université Libre de Bruxelles.

September 18 – Can Globalized Capital Markets be Regulated?

Debate introduced by *Nicolas Véron*, Research Fellow at Bruegel.

September 25 – Main Challenges for the Trade Alliance

Debate introduced by *David O'Sullivan*, General Director of the DG Trade, European Commission.

October 2 – What International and European Changes in 2008? RAMSES 2008 Presentation

With *Dominique David*.

October 9 – Environment: A New Engine for the EU?

With *Nicolas Théry*, Advisor to the DG Environment, European Commission.

October 16 – In 2009, Will the European Parliament Lose More Votes again?

Debate introduced by *Graham Watson*, Chairman of the Group of Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe, European Parliament.

October 23 – Berlin-Paris Controversy and Elusive Euro-Governance

With *Daniela Schwarzer*, Senior Fellow, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP).

October 30 – Crisis in Belgium or Belgium in Crisis?

With *Vincent de Coorebyter*, General Director for the Center for Socio-Political Research and Information (CRISP).

November 6 – A Single –and Social– Market

With *Jacques Toubon*, Member of the European Parliament (EPP-ED Group).

November 13 – What Energy for Europe?

Debate introduced by *Matthias Ruete*, General Director at the DG Energy and Transports, European Commission.

November 20 – Corporate Social Responsibility, a Trick or a Breakthrough?

With *Nicole Notat*, Founder and President of Vigeo.

November 27 – A Political Reading of the Modifying Treaty

With Ambassador *Philippe de Schoutheete*, former Belgian Permanent Representative to the EU.

December 4 – Poland in Europe: Change and Continuity after the October Elections

Debate introduced by *Piotr Maciej Kaczynski*, Research Fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS).

December 11 – Back From “EU-China Summit”

Debate introduced by *Franz Jessen*, Head of Unit at the DG External Relations, European Commission.

Round Tables

organized with the “European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy” program

January 30 – Assessment of CO2 Regulation

With *Yves Smeers*, Tractebel Professor of Economics at the Université catholique de Louvain (UCL).

February 27 – Assessment of Nuclear Energy in Europe

With *Alessandro Clerici*, Senior Advisor to ABB Italia and Chair of the WEC (World Energy Council) working group on nuclear energy, *Ute Blohm-Hieber*, Head of Nuclear Energy Unit, *Waste Management*, European Commission, and *Claude Fischer*, Director of Entretiens européens and Secretary General of Confrontations Europe (Brussels).

March 20 – The Challenges Ahead for European Energy Policy

With *Claude Mandil*, Executive Director of the International Energy Agency.

May 10 – Asia Energy Issues :

Strategic Implications for the region.

With *Valérie Niquet* and Prof. *Andrews Speed*, director, Centre for Energy, Petroleum and Mineral Law and Policy, University of Dundee.

May 16 – How do European Electricity Markets Really Work?

With *Jean-Pierre Hansen*, Senior Executive Vice-President (Chief Operating Officer) of Suez, in charge of Suez Energy Europe, and *Eric Dyèvre*, Commissioner, Commission for Energy Regulation.

June 29 – EU-Russia Energy Relations: What Next?

With Ambassador *Vladimir Chizhov*, Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the European Communities, and *André Memier*, General Secretary, Energy Charter Secretariat.

September 18 – Oil and Middle East: Energy Power Games

With *Antoine Ayoub*, Professor Emeritus at Laval University in Quebec, *Denis Bauchard*, Senior Research Fellow at Ifri and former President of the Institut du monde arabe, and *John Mitchell*, Research Fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House.

October 17 – US Energy Policy

With *Paul Joskow*, Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and *Jean-Marie Chevalier*, Director of the Centre de géopolitique de l'énergie et des matières premières (CGEMP), Université Paris-Dauphine.

November 7 – Fossil Fuels in Tomorrow's Energy World: Technology Trends

With *Olivier Appert*, President of the Institut français du pétrole (IFP), *Neil Hirst*, International Energy Agency, Director, Office of Energy Technology and R&D, and *Ioannis Galanis*, DG Transports and Energy, European Commission, Deputy Head of “Coal & Oil, Market Observatory”, European Commission.

December 20 – What are the Key Drivers for Oil Prices?

With *Fédéric Lasserre*, Global Head of Commodities Research, Société générale, and *Joel Couse*, Vice-President Market Analysis, Trading & Shipping Division, Total.

Conference

Organized by the “European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy” program.

May 24 – Energy Security, Environment and Development: Three Issues for the G8

This conference was organized as part of the G8 task force, and looked at key energy issues that would be facing leaders at the G8 Summit on June 7, 8, and 9. It included a public debate between *José Manuel Barroso*, President of the European Commission, *Thierry de Montbrial*, and three experts *Joachim Bitterlich*, Executive Vice-President of International Affairs, *Veolia*, *Olga Boutorina*, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO), and *Jacques Lesoume*.

Chair person: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

Seminars

June 19 – The EU-China Relationship

This seminar was organized along with Ifri Brussels and the European League for Economic Cooperation (ELEC), in partnership with the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC), and took place at the EESC.

September 11 – Should Europe Continue with the Galileo Program?

This was the “Space” program’s annual conference, held for the first time in Brussels. It brought together over a hundred European decision-makers who evaluated the opportunities offered by the Galileo program.

The Russia/NIS Center

Launched in July 2004, the Russia/NIS Program aims at contributing to the European debate concerning Russia and the New Independent States. It has three main objectives: anticipating change in the region, providing expertise, and offering solutions for policy-makers.

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

Team



Thomas Gomart, Director of the Russia/NIS Center



Tatiana Kastueva-Jean, Researcher

Didier Chaudet, Researcher

Adrian Dellecker, Research Assistant

Dominic Fean, Research Assistant

Catherine Méniante, Assistant

Our international team works and publishes in three languages: French, Russian, and English.

Areas of Research

Power Systems in Eurasia

The Center monitors the on-going process of the formation of civil and military elites in the region and the different ways they come to power, in order to better understand power struggles and the decision-making process. A comparative approach (Russia and the Central Asian states) allows the team to investigate how central power systems function. Particular attention is given to the interaction between military and political leadership. In order to keep up-to-date with the sociology of decision makers, trips are regularly made to the region.

The Strategic Partnership Between the EU and Russia

This relationship is today going through an undeniable crisis of confidence. A specific task force was formed within the Russia/NIS Center to formulate operational recommendations to improve relations between the two sides. This task force also studies the issue of Russia’s integration into global governance (World Trade Organization).

Russian Foreign and Energy Policy Relations

This program examines the restructuring of the Russian energy landscape and its implications for neighboring countries along with the use of energy supplies for political ends. There is close cooperation with the “European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy” program.

Technological Innovation and Scientific Research

In this area, we analyze the current restructuring of the technology sector, and seek to identify poles of excellence where Russia could be internationally competitive.

Publications

• Books

Russie.Nei.Visions 2008. Understanding Russia and the New Independent States, *Thomas Gomart* and *Tatiana Kastueva-Jean* (eds.), “Travaux et recherches de l’Ifri”, May.

• Electronic Collection: “*Russie.Nei.Visions*”

Available at the Ifri website in French, Russian, and English.

Russia and the Council of Europe: Ten Years Wasted?, *Jean-Pierre Massias*, N° 15, January.

Russia and the WTO: on the Finishing Stretch, *Julien Vercueil*, N° 16, February.

Gazprom, the Fastest Way to Energy Suicide, *Christophe-Alexandre Paillard*, N° 17, March.

Gazprom as a Predictable Partner. Another Reading of the Russian-Ukrainian and Russian-Belarusian Crises, *Jérôme Guillet*, N° 18, March.

The Opacity of Russian-Ukrainian Energy Relations, *Arnaud Dubien*, N° 19, May.

Russia-EU Beyond 2007. Russian Domestic Debates, *Nadejda Arbatova*, N° 20, June.

Russia and the Deadlock over Kosovo, *Oksana Antonenko*, N° 21, July.

Rosoboronexport, Spearhead of the Russian Arms Industry, *Louis-Marie Clouet*, N° 22, September.

Paris and the EU-Russian Dialogue: a New Impulse with Nicolas Sarkozy?, *Thomas Gomart*, N° 23, October.

Russia and the "Gas-OPEC." Real or Perceived Threat?, *Dominique Finon*, N° 24, November.

High Stakes in the High North: Russian-Norwegian Relations and Their Implication for the EU, *Jakub M. Godzimirski*, N° 25, December.

Associated Publications

"La politique russe de la France: fin de cycle?", *Thomas Gomart*, in *Politique étrangère*, N° 1/2007, Spring.

Other Publications

"L'Europe marginalisée," *Thomas Gomart*, in *Politique internationale*, N° 118, Winter.

"France's Russia Policy: Balancing Interests and Values," *Thomas Gomart*, in *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 30, N° 2, Spring.

"Union européenne/Russie: de la stagnation à la dépression," *Thomas Gomart*, in *Revue du Marché commun et de l'Union européenne*, N° 510, July-August.

"Quelle place pour la Russie en Europe?", *Thomas Gomart*, in *Questions internationales*, N° 27, September-October.



Seminars

June 14 – How Threatened does Georgia Feel?

Conference-debate with *Nino Burzhanadze*, President of the Georgian Parliament.

Chairman: *Xavier de Villepin*.

June 29 – EU-Russia Energy Relations : What Next ?, Bruxelles

In collaboration with the "European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy" program, with *André Memier*, Secretary General, Energy Charter Secretariat, and Ambassador *Vladimir Chizhov*, Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the European Communities.

Participants: *Jan Horst Keppler* et *Thomas Gomart*.

October 20 – Energy Stakes in the Caspian Sea Region

Workshop with *Elmar Mammadyarov*, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Azerbaijan.

Chair person: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

November 30 – The Restoration of Russian Power: Toward an Energy-based Deterrence?

Second round of meetings of the *Eurasian Energy Task Force*, chaired by *Thomas Gomart* and focused on: "What Transit Strategies?"

Seven papers were delivered by *Pavel Baev*, International Peace Research Institute (PRIO, Oslo), *Maureen Crandall*, National Defense University (Washington, D.C.), *Jérôme Guillet*, European Tribune (Paris), *Leonid Grigoriev*, Institute for Energy and Finance (Moscow), *Felix Hett*, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP, Berlin), *Andrew Monaghan*, NATO Defense College (Rome), *John Roberts*, Platts (London).

They were discussed by: *Yolanta Balciunene*, Council of the European Union, *Jacques Lesourme*, *Adrian Dellecker* and *Thomas Gomart*.

December 13-14 – Ifri-MGIMO: 13th Seminar on Security Issues

This year, the 13th French-Russian seminar between Ifri and the Moscow State Institute for International Relations took place in Moscow. It dealt with security issues (these meetings alternate year to year between Moscow and Paris).

Thomas Gomart regularly takes part in international debates that bring together the world's most highly regarded experts (notably the Wilton Park Conferences). He is invited to participate at the annual "Conference of ambassadors" arranged by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Ifri Asia Center

The Ifri Asia Center's objective is to shed light on today's major political, strategic and economic issues in Eastern Asia and in the Indian sub-continent.

The Center is part of an important academic network of international academics and experts, and fosters regular exchanges with its Asian, European, and American counterparts. In association with its public and private partners, the Center puts on seminars and workshops and conducts in-depth analyses.

An online newsletter titled *Lettre d'information du Centre Asie* was launched in January 2006.

Team



Valérie Niquet, Director



Françoise Nicolas, Researcher, senior economist (emerging economies) and lecturer at the Université Paris-Est (Marne-la-Vallée)

Olivier Louis, in charge of the India program

Hélène Le Bail, Researcher

Yang Baoyun, Associate Researcher, Assistant Director of the Center for Asian-Pacific Studies, University of Beida, Beijing

Céline Pajon, Coordinator of the working group "Strategic Culture and Defense Policy in Asia"

Martine Breux, Assistant

There are four main research areas.

China's Emergence as a Major Power

China's emergence and its integration into the international system are a core element of the Asia center's work. For over 25 years, China has successfully been pursuing an innovative development policy, based on economic reforms and an opening up to the world. China's emergence results in a more dynamic foreign policy and new attention given to multilateralism, but also an increasing globalization of its interests. This is notably expressed through its strategies vis-à-vis major powers, developing countries, and in the management of regionalisation in Asia, such as in its responses to energy and environmental challenges. China's new weight also results in increasing economic interdependence. This interdependence makes it essential for us to develop a better appreciation of Beijing's perspective, as well as of the major determining factors of China's power. The Ifri "China" program, started in September and directed by Valérie Niquet, is based around two themes: on one side, it looks at the implementation of reforms; on the other, it studies China as an emerging power in the international system. Its work program is organized around three main goals:

- to meet with and listen to Chinese actors, notably on the occasion of four annual seminars in Paris, which bring together Chinese decision-makers and experts;
- to understand and anticipate change: this is the subject of eight analysis papers;
- to formalize French-Chinese relations through the organization of an annual conference in China in partnership with major Chinese institutes.

The Ifri Asia Center's goal is to contribute to the debate on China in order to clarify decision-making processes in the context of its growing power.

Relations between the major Asiatic powers and their role in structuring international relations

Another characteristic of Asia is the complexity of the strategic context in which traditional conflicts become intertwined with new risks that in turn weigh on the stability and prospects for long-term development in the region. A major area of our research is thus devoted to the study of conflicts in the Asia-Pacific region (China-Japan, the Taiwan issue, relations with the US, India's role), as well as the influence these conflicts have on the European Union's (EU) Asia strategy.

Associated Publications

Energy Challenges in Asia, Valérie Niquet, in "Notes de l'Ifri", October.

"Asie-Pacifique. Régionalisation et lignes de faille", Valérie Niquet, in *RAMSES 2008*.

EU-East Asia Economic Relations

With the suspension of trade negotiations in the framework of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in summer 2006, the attractiveness of bilateral free trade agreements is increasing. The EU has turned more decisively towards this strategy and has begun preliminary discussions with a number of partners, notably in Asia. Following a first study dedicated to the free trade agreement between the EU and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Ifri Asia Center launched, with the support of the Korea Foundation and under the direction of *Françoise Nicolas*, a research project on questions raised by a free trade agreement between the EU and South Korea. This project brings together European and Korean researchers.

For this purpose, *Françoise Nicolas* traveled several times to Korea this year. She also participated in the international conference "Korea and the European Union," organized in Seoul by the European Union Delegation and the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP), on March 27th, giving a speech on "The EU's External Economic Policy and Prospects for an FTA with Korea."

Publications

The results of the research project on the EU-ASEAN free trade agreement were presented at the international conference "The EU and Emerging Markets: Trade and Investment Relations with Latin America, East Asia and Transition Countries," organized by the European Community Studies Association (ECSA), in Vienna (Austria).

East Asia, Ten Years after the Financial Crisis

Over the last decade, the economies of East Asia have undergone profound transformations. Beyond the reforms put in place in the immediate wake 1997-1998 financial crisis, these economies have also been confronted by the challenges posed by China's emergence as an economic power. A major axis of research is devoted to the impact these changes have on development strategies for East Asian economies.

Associated Publications

"Crise financière en Asie de l'Est. Dix ans après," *Françoise Nicolas*, in *RAMSES 2008*.

Bilateral Dialogues

Franco-Japanese Dialogue

The dialogue established with the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) once a year (alternating between Tokyo and Paris) brings together Japanese and French experts to discuss major international relations issues. The 14th common dialogue took place in Tokyo on October 26, 2006.

Regular exchanges of views also take place with the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS) on security issues in Asia. Valérie Niquet's presentation "Can the EU Play a Significant Role in a Context of Strategic Challenges in Asia?" during the "Japan Defense Agency" workshop on January 22 and 23 in Tokyo, was part of this dialogue.

Franco-Chinese Dialogue

The Ifri Asia Center fosters relations with the main Chinese research centers (The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Academy of Military Science, Shanghai Institute for International Studies [SIIS], China Foreign Affairs University [CFAU], China Institute of Contemporary International Relations [CICIR], China Institute of International Studies [CIIS], etc.). Moreover *Thierry de Montbrial* has been professor at the China Foreign Affairs Institute since 2006.

Franco-Korean Dialogue

Regular exchanges are held with the Korea Foundation, notably on the occasion of meetings held alternately in Paris and Seoul. The most recent Franco-Korean dialogue was held in Seoul on January 9, 2008. These debates will later be the subject of a publication.

Study Groups

Since 2004, a "Brainstorming Circle on Asian economies", chaired by *Valérie Niquet* and *Françoise Nicolas*, has brought together representatives from the corporate world, national administrations and researchers to discuss today's major macroeconomic and political economy issues.

On June 26 a meeting on "China's Aid Policy: The Case of Africa," was held, with an introduction by *Jean-Raphaël Chaponnière*, economist at the Agence Française de Développement (AFD).

Since 2006, a working group on "Strategic Culture and Defense Policy in Asia" has brought together researchers and experts specializing in Asian defense. The work produced by this group coordinated by *Céline Pajon* was presented at the 3rd Congrès du Réseau Asie from September 26 to 28 at the Maison de la Chimie, Paris.

Upcoming Projects

Current programs will be carried on with a specific focus on the emergence of Asian powers and their influence on energy and natural resource management at the global level.

Several new programs will be implemented:

- the “China” program,
- a program directed by *Olivier Louis* on contemporary India will be inaugurated. It will focus on deciphering the workings of the Indian “system” and will address economic, social, political and geopolitical developments;
- a close watch will be kept on Japan’s reemergence as a politically important actor at both regional and global levels.

Regular Publications

• The “Lettre du Centre Asie Ifri”

This monthly newsletter offers perspectives on political, strategic and economic evolutions in Asia, from the Indian Ocean to the Far East. It relies on the expertise of permanent or associate members of the Center. Contributions are also welcomed from French and international researchers and experts. They are available online and may be subscribed to.

• “Asie.Visions”

“Asie.Visions” is an electronic collection dedicated to Asian issues. Contributions come from French and international experts and focus on economic, strategic and political themes. The goal of this collection is to enrich the public debate on Asian issues.

Papers published in 2007:

“La recherche spatiale en Chine : saut technologique et capacités militaires,” *Valérie Niquet*, N° 1, June.

“The 17th Congress of the CPC: Between Reform and Constraints,” *Valérie Niquet*, N° 2, December.

Other Publications

• Françoise Nicolas

Korea in the New Asia : East Asian Integration and the China Factor (ed.), New York, Routledge, “Routledge Advances in Korean Studies,” 2007.

“Complementarity and Rivalry in EU-China Economic Relations in the 21st Century,” (with *Bernadette Andreosso O’Callaghan*), in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 12, N° 1.

“L’ASEAN au cœur de l’intégration économique en Asie orientale – Mythes, réalités, perspectives,” in *Accomex*, N° 75, May-June.

“Dix ans après la crise financière : le retour du miracle asiatique?” in *Sophie Boisseau du Rocher* (ed.), *Asie orientale 2007-2008*, Paris, La Documentation française.

“Are the Economies of ASEAN and the EU Complementary?” (with *Bernadette Andreosso-O’Callaghan*), in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, Vol. 24, N° 2, August.

“Le régionalisme commercial, quelle réalité, quels dangers?” in *Annuaire français des relations internationales 2007*, Brussels, Bruylant.

“FMI et Banque mondiale : sœurs jumelles ou frères ennemis ?” in *L’Essentiel des relations internationales*, N° 7, December.

“What Scope for an EU-ASEAN FTA?” (with *Bernadette Andreosso-O’Callaghan*), in *Journal of World Trade*, Vol. 42, N° 1, January 2008.

• Valérie Niquet

“Militärstrategie,” in *Brunhild Staiger, Stefan Friedrich and Hans-Wilm Schütte* (eds.), *Das Grosse China Lexikon*, Darmstadt, Primus Verlag, June.



Seminars and Debates

• Brainstorming Circle on Asian Economies

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

June 26 – China’s Assistance Policy: The Case of Africa

With the participation of *Jean-Raphaël Chaponnière*, Economist, AFD.

• Ifri Asia Center Meetings

Chair: *Valérie Niquet*.

March 14 – Energy Power Games in Asia

With *Tatsuo Masuda*, Visiting Professor at Paris Dauphine, former Vice-President of the Japan National Oil Corporation and former Director of the International Energy Agency (IEA).

May 23 – The Future Role of China as a Global Player

With *Captain Renata Louie*, Military Fellow at the Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, *Leo Michel*, Specialist on Western Europe and NATO, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, and *Phillip C. Saunders*, Director, East Asian Non-Proliferation Program, Monterey Institute of International Studies.

July 2 – Security Challenges in East Asia

With *Bih-jaw Lin*, Professor of Diplomacy and Vice-President, National Chengchi University, Chairman, The Prospect Foundation.

October 9 – Relations Between China and the European Union

Breakfast meeting with *Wu Jianmin*, former Ambassador of China in France, President of the China National Association for International Studies.

October 24 – Security Policy in South East Asia

Breakfast meeting with *Dato’ Sri Mohd. Najib Tun Abdul Razak*, Deputy Prime Minister and Defense Minister of Malaysia.

November 15 – A Rising Role for Japan in Asia and the World, Facing Instability and Emerging Powers

Breakfast meeting with *Hitoshi Tanaka*, former Vice-President of Foreign Relations and Advisor to Prime Minister *Junichiro Koizumi*, notably on relations with North Korea, China, and the US, Researcher at the Japan Center for International Exchange, Tokyo.

• Lunch/Dinner-Debates

April 19

Lunch-debate with *Chen Zu’er*, Vice-Minister, in charge of the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council of China.

October 8

Dinner-debate with *Wu Jianmin*, former Ambassador of China in France, President of the China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU), Executive Vice-President of the China National Association for International Studies.

The Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean Center

This Ifri program deals with countries bordering the Mediterranean sea –with a particular emphasis on North Africa– and focuses on the internal restructuring of these countries and on external actors’ strategies –the United States, European Union, Russia. Islam in the West is also closely analyzed. In addition, Ifri has developed a solid expertise on Iran and Turkey, and has launched two new research programs on these two regional powers.

The center also focuses on the region’s “frozen conflicts.”

Team



Denis Bauchard, former Diplomat, Advisor for Middle-East and North Africa



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



Dorothee Schmid, Researcher (Mediterranean, Turkey)

Clément Therme, Research Assistant (Iran)

Jeanne Frey, Assistant

Frozen Conflicts

Ifri contributed to the Israeli-Palestinian peace process debate over the course of several conferences in 2007. A seminar organized with the EU’s elite network of research centers in social sciences, “Ramsès”, brought together 33 research institutions (including Ifri) and social sciences and humanities university research centers. This conference focused on all “frozen conflicts” in the region: Western Sahara, Cyprus, Israel/Palestine, and Lebanon.

Associated Publications

Israël 2007 : bilan et perspectives, *Denis Bauchard*, “Perspectives Moyen-Orient/Maghreb”, February.

“Un Moyen-Orient en recomposition,” *Denis Bauchard*, in *Politique étrangère*, N° 2/2007, Summer.

“Moyen-Orient: les nouvelles règles du grand jeu,” *Dorothee Schmid*, in *RAMSES 2008*.

“European Views on Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: the Contribution of Member States to the Framing of EU Policies,” *Dorothee Schmid*, in *The Middle East Under Fire? EU-Israel Relations in a Region between War and Conflict Resolution*, *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*, May.

North Africa

The geographic proximity between France and North Africa (Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Libya) is strengthened by the presence of large immigrant communities in France. These links are today threatened by new fears and resentments on both sides (in France, fears over terrorist activities by Islamist groups from North Africa, but also concern over the massive influx of immigrants, groups that are especially vulnerable to unemployment and social and political exclusion; in North Africa, increasing distrust fed by visa and immigration policies, etc.). A program was launched under the direction of *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* with two main goals: it firstly aims at assessing the evolution of these countries and societies. Second, it seeks to reevaluate the regions complex relations with France and to provide constructive recommendations on how to restructure them from new foundations.

This program is devoted to four central themes:

- local dynamics and governance: political transitions, intra-North African relations, etc.;
- economic issues (energy, foreign investment, banking reforms);
- North Africa and international relations (relations with France; role of the United States; North African states in the Union for the Mediterranean project);
- North African Security (alliance between Al-Qaeda and the former Algerian Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat [GSPC], the forging of radical groups into the international Islamic movement.

African issues and seminars focusing on economic issues, as well as the publication of policy papers.

In addition, two collective books, one on “The Media and Collective Identity Construction in the Mediterranean,” and the other on “Women in North Africa,” –to be organized with the “Ramsès?” project, which is directed by *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*– are forthcoming.

Given the resurgence of terrorist activities in North Africa, particularly marked by the alliance between the former Algerian GSPC and Al-Qaeda, the Center has published several articles on this issue; *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* furthermore organized a round table on July 2, which brought together North Africans and Europeans from academic and journalism backgrounds. The speakers discussed new forms of violence from the perspective of their area of expertise: anthropology, philosophy, political science and journalism.

Associated Publications

“Mémoire et réconciliation au Maroc,” *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *Politique étrangère*, N° 2/2007, Summer.

“Islamisme. Le djihadisme s’invite au Maghreb,” *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *RAMSES 2008*.

« Climat d’incertitude au Maghreb », *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *Annuaire de la Méditerranée*, September.

Regional Powers

Iran

Iran is an essential partner for resolving regional crises. However, in spite of skyrocketing oil prices, the Islamic Republic is experiencing real economic hardships. This research program, directed by *Denis Bauchard* and assisted by *Clément Therme*, analyzes the interaction between Iran’s political and economic domestic situation and its foreign policy. It also focuses on the impact that acute economic pressures have on Iran’s position on the international scene. Its work is based around four major themes:

- oil;
- gas issues in Euro-Iranian relations;
- the Islamic Republic’s political system;
- Iran’s relations with the world’s major powers.

An international seminar on Iran’s foreign policy was held on June 29.

The program plans an annual conference on North

Associated Publications

Iran 2007 : entre défis et incertitudes, Denis Bauchard, “Perspectives Moyen-Orient/Maghreb”, May.

L’Iran : une puissance énergétique (ré)émergente, Denis Bauchard with Clément Therme, in “Note de l’Ifri”, September.

“Les ententes multipolaires de l’Iran. Aspects russes et asiatiques de la politique étrangère de Téhéran,” Clément Therme, with Thierry Kellner, in *Politique étrangère*, N° 4/2007, Winter.



Turkey

Engaged in a long and arduous negotiation process to join the European Union, Turkey is today a regional power that finds itself at the crossroads of several international relations fault lines: the Middle East and the Caucasus. Turkey’s rapid economic growth has for several years attracted international investors and the country is working to defend its role as an energy corridor between the East and the West. Its domestic political tensions escalated in 2007, with the on-going confrontation between the traditional Kemalist elites and the rising Anatolian middle class, forming the support base of the AKP Islamist party.

Ifri’s “Contemporary Turkey” program, which will begin in 2008, will study all of these issues and questions, while at the same time giving special attention to the French-Turkish relationship: monitoring official French positions on accession negotiations, establishing research partnerships with Turkish think tanks, dialogue with businesses, etc.

Turkish relationship: monitoring official French positions on accession negotiations, establishing research partnerships with Turkish think tanks, dialogue with businesses, etc.

Associated Publications

“Turquie. La transition post-kémaliste?”, Dorothee Schmid, in *RAMSES 2008*.

Outside publications

La démocratie est-elle soluble dans l’islam ?, Abdallah Hammoudi, Denis Bauchard, Rémy Leveau (eds.), CNRS editions, August.

This work is the result of a partnership with the Institute for the Transregional Study on the Contemporary Middle-East, North Africa and Central Asia at Princeton University.



Seminars, Conferences, and Debates

• Frozen Conflicts

January 18 – Democracy in the Middle East: The Case of Palestine
With Dorothee Schmid.

Chair person: *Dominique David*.

February 14 – Israel 2007: New Challenges
With Denis Bauchard and Dominique Moïsi.

July 9 – Israel-Palestine: Year Zero?

With *Dominique Moïsi*, Denis Bauchard, Dorothee Schmid and Raed Bader, Associated Research Fellow.

Chair person: *Dominique David*.

September 10 – The Restructuring of the Palestinian Political Landscape

With *Abdallah Al-Ifrangi*, Member of the Central Committee, Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fatah), Delegate in the Department of Foreign Relations, and *Hassan Balawi*, Journalist, Official Representative, Department of Foreign Relations, Fatah.

Chair person: *Dorothee Schmid*.

November 12 – Towards a Break-Up of Iraq?

With *Denis Bauchard*, *Myriam Benraad*, Research Fellow in political science and Iraqi specialist at the Institut d’études politiques (IEP), Paris, *Étienne de Durand* and *Fanny Lafourcade*, Researcher in political science and Iraqi specialist, IEP Paris.

December 14 – Mediterranean Conflicts in a Stalemate

Seminar organized in Brussels in the context of the “Ramsès2” program, by *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, with *Thierry Fabre*, Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l’homme (MMSH), Aix-en-Provence, *Kalypso Nicolaidis*, St Antony’s College, Oxford, *Amine Ait-Chaalal*, Centre d’études des crises et conflits internationaux (CECRI), Université catholique de Louvain (UCL), *Étienne Copeaux*, Maison de l’Orient, Lyon, *Karima Benabdallah*, CECRI, UCL, *Cédric Parizo*, Centre de recherche français de Jérusalem (CRF), *Rudolf El-Kareh*, Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB)/Commissariat à l’énergie atomique (CEA)/Université Paris III, and *Raed Bader*, École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS).

• North Africa

July 2 – Resurgence of Terrorist Activities in North Africa

A round table organized with the support of Gaz de France, Total, and the Secretariat-General for National Defence (SGDN) reporting to the Prime Minister, led by *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, with *Abderrahmane Moussaoui*, Researcher, MMSH, Aix-en-Provence, *H'mida Layachi*, Director, *Djair News*, Algiers, *Jean-Pierre Tuquoi*, Journalist, *Le Monde*, *Richard Labèvière*, Journalist, RFI, *Mohammed Darf*, Political Scientist, Université de Mohammedia, *Mohammed El-Ayadi*, Philosopher, Université de Casablanca, *Abdellah Rami*, Associated Research Fellow, Centre marocain de recherche en sciences sociales, Casablanca, *Fernando Reinares*, Researcher, Real Instituto Elcano, Madrid, *Bernard Godard*, Bureau central des cultes, Minister of the Interior, *Antonio Baquero*, Journalist, *El Periodico*, Barcelona, *Samir Amghar*, EHESS, and *Dominique Thomas*, Researcher, EHESS.

October 25 – The New Capitalists of North Africa
With *Michel Peraldi*, Senior Research Fellow, CNRS,
and Director of the Centre Jacques Berque, Rabat.

Chair person: *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*.

November 16 – Climate of Uncertainty in North Africa
With *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*.

Chair person: *Dominique David*.

**November 29 – North Africa Between Stability,
Resistance to Change, and Islamic Threats**
With *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*.

Chair person: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

• **Iran**

**March 12 – The United States, Iran and
the Middle East**

With Ambassador *Robert D. Blackwill*.

Chair person: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

**May 23 – Iran: Between Regional Ambitions and
Economic Challenges**

With *Denis Bauchard*.

Chair person: *Dominique David*.

June 29 – The Foreign Policy of Iran

This closed seminar, organized in partnership with the Policy Planning Staff (CAP) of the French Foreign Ministry under the direction of *Denis Bauchard* and *Clément Therme*, dealt with the foundations of Iranian foreign policy, its goals, in particular towards the West, as well as its strategies. With an opening by *Thierry de Montbrial*, *Pierre Lévy*, Director, CAP, Foreign Ministry, and *Denis Bauchard*, the seminar notably included *Olivier Roy*, CNRS, Consultant, CAP, *Karim Sadjadpour*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, *Kianouch Dorani*, Consultant, *Thierry Coville*, Professor of Economics, NEGOCIA, Paris, *Dominique David*, *Richard Dalton*, former British Ambassador to Iran, *Sabrina Mervin*, Researcher, Institut français du Proche-Orient (IFPO), Beirut, *Mohammad-Reza Djalili*, Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales (IUHEI), Geneva, *Michel Makinsky*, École supérieure de commerce et de management (ESCEM), Poitiers, and Scientific Advisor, Université de Liège, *Jonas Jonsson*, Advisor, Middle East Unit, General Secretariat, Council of the European Union, *Hosham Dawood*, CNRS, *Clément Therme* and *Thierry Kellner*, Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB).

• **Turkey**

October 24 – Turkey, After the Crisis

With *Dorothee Schmid*.

Chair person: *Dominique David*.

**December 7 – New Dynamics in Turkey:
What Impact on EU/Turkey Relations?**

After a turbulent year for Turkey, domestically as well as internationally, this seminar, organized in partnership with the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) by *Dorothee Schmid*, aimed to evaluate the important issues that today weigh on Turkey's accession to the European Union: the new political balance after the crisis in Spring 2007, the state of domestic reforms, its major foreign challenges. French-Turkish relations were at the heart of this debate.

With *Can Paker*, President, TESEV, *Élisabeth Guigou*, Vice-President, Foreign Affairs Committee, Assemblée nationale, *Oguz Demiralp*, Secretary General for European Affairs, Ankara, *Jean-François*

Bayart, CNRS/CERI, President of the Fonds d'analyse des sociétés politiques (FASOPO), *Murat Belge*, Professor, Istanbul Bilgi University, Columnist at the daily *Radikal*, *Jean-Christophe Filori*, Enlargement DG, European Commission, *Ahmet Insel*, Galatasaray University, *Cengiz Candar*, Columnist at the daily *Referans*, *Walter Posch*, Institute for Security Studies of the European Union (ISS-UE), *Charles Urjewicz*, Professeur, Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO), *Susanne Nies*, Researcher, Ifri Brussels, *Mensur Akgün*, Head of the Foreign Policy Program, TESEV, *Joost Lagendijk*, European Deputy, President, EU-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee, *Serap Atan*, Representative of the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD) in Paris, *Daniel Vernet*, Director of Foreign Relations at *Le Monde*, and *Hervé Magro*, Special Advisor to Groupama's International General Manager.

Africa Program

Launched at the end of 2007, this program provides expert assessments on recent and on-going evolutions in Sub-Saharan Africa, and also offers outlooks for the future.

First, the program studies political and social transformations in Sub-Saharan Africa: state consolidation and the emergence of new forms of power; the rapid development of new ideologies; the evolution of the role of national armies.

Second, the program will analyze tomorrow's wars; types of interventions and/or coalitions that are likely to emerge; the future of regional organizations and the African Union; urbanization's consequences on the political landscape. And lastly, the program will evaluate commercial links between Asia and Africa over the next 20 years.

The goal of this program is to provide policy-makers with insight and analysis and to work towards the emergence of better informed and more effective policies vis-à-vis Africa.

Team



Alain Antil, Head of Program, Senior Research Associate at Ifri, Professor at the Institut d'études politiques (IEP), Lille
Areas of expertise: political and social issues in Africa, security/terrorism, Sahel, Mauritania.

Aline Lebœuf, Researcher
Areas of expertise: stabilization and reconstruction in Africa, security sector reform in Sierra Leone

Sylvain Touati, Research Assistant

The program's activities include the publication of articles, studies, and interviews, as well as organizing seminars that bring together political decision-makers and economists, diplomats, government officials, the media and researchers. The program strongly believes in the importance of supporting African research and hopes to give greater visibility to African interests and discourse.

The program was launched on November 27 with its first seminar on the **Tuareg Crises in Mali and Niger**, with the participation of *Ferdaous Bouhlef-Hardy*, Institut d'études politiques, Paris, *Yvan Guichaoua*, Center for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE), Oxford, and *Abdoulaye Tamboura*.

This seminar studied the characteristics of the crises in North Mali and in Niger through their sociological, political and geopolitical implications. A report is available on the Ifri website.

Chair person: *Alain Antil*.

CROSS-CUTTING PROGRAMS

The Center for Security Studies

The Center for Security Studies analyzes contemporary security issues: new relations between military and civil aspects of security; the blurring of domestic and foreign dimensions of security and the expansion of the concept of security to include the idea of human or global security.

The Center also studies traditional issues surrounding defense, it analyzes evolutions in security and anticipates future developments in conflicts. Ongoing programs are designed to be carried out over the long term. They are transversal by nature and are typified by collaboration with other Ifri research programs.

Team



Étienne de Durand, Director (strategic and military questions, French and American defense policies, proliferation, crisis simulation)

Researchers:

Aline Lebaeuf (stabilization, reconstruction, human security, Sub-Saharan Africa)

Marc Hecker (Israeli-Palestinian conflict, crisis simulation)

Philippe Coquet, Army Officer (strategic and military questions, French defense policy)

Laurent Fromaget, Army Officer (strategic and military questions, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction)

Corentin Brustlein (strategic and military issues, proliferation)

Researchers:

Kerry Longhurst (EU Common Foreign and Security Policy, European Neighborhood Policy, International Politics of Central Europe)

Thomas Rid, Transatlantic Post-Doc Fellowship for International Relations and Security (TAPIR) (US and German foreign policy, relations between the military and the media, military innovation and operational training)

Christopher Chivvis, Transatlantic Post-Doc Fellowship for International Relations and Security (TAPIR), (US foreign policy and European diplomacy)

Krzysztof Soloch (European security policy, Central and Eastern Europe)

Françoise Thomas, Assistant

There were four main areas of research and initiatives: the evolution of conflicts; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs); analysis of major security policies; and the evolution of military technology and force structures and intervention.

The Evolution of Conflicts

The center studies non-conventional forms of conflict (terrorism, insurrection, asymmetric conflicts), as well as long-term conflict outlooks and human security related issues.

Terrorism

Again in 2007, the center, with support from the Centre d'études et de prévision (CEP) of the Interior Ministry, took part in a simulated terrorist attack on French soil, based on Ifri's own hypotheses and highlighted coordination problems between the diverse public authorities involved. The simulation was followed by a debriefing seminar.

Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs)

This program receives support from the French Atomic Energy Commission (CEA) and organizes each year a series of seminars bringing together diverse experts, as well as a conference dedicated to an in-depth debate on a currently topical issue. It deals with disarmament and WMD proliferation issues, non-proliferation policies and major strategic balances. In 2007, it focused on the evolution of the North Korea and Iran crises, China's strategy, and the revival of Russia as a nuclear power.

Contributions are published in an electronic collection, "Proliferation Papers," (sent to over 2,000 people in France and abroad), and in *Politique étrangère*.

Proliferation Papers, 2007:

The 13 February Action Plan and the Prospects for the North Korean Nuclear Issue, *Narushige Michishita*, N° 17, April.

China's Space Ambitions, *Joan Johnson-Freese*, N° 18, July.

Deterrence Today : Roles, Challenges and Responses, *Lewis A. Dunn*, N° 19, September.

New Wine in Old Bottles ? The New Salience of Nuclear Weapons, *Yury Fedorov*, N° 20, December.

Analysis of Major Security Policies

This program includes themes such as transatlantic relations and European security, as well as strategic regional studies carried out in cooperation with other Ifri programs.

Strategic Dialogues

The center maintains permanent dialogue with several of its international counterparts on security issues.

Transatlantic Dialogue: the Quad Meeting

An annual four-party seminar brings together researchers from Chatham House, the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), the RAND Corporation, and Ifri, alternating between London, Berlin, Washington, and Paris. In 2007, the seminar was held on October 4 and 5 in London, and was devoted to the evolution of Islamic extremism.

Franco-Russian Dialogue

Organized in partnership with the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO), a bilateral French-Russian seminar on security issues has been held annually for the past 13 years, alternating between Paris and Moscow. In 2007, it was held in Moscow.

The Evolution of Military Technology, Force Structures and Methods of Intervention

This area of research covers issues tied to “military transformation” and to the evolution of military technology as well as external interventions and other stabilization operations, from the actual stabilization up to the reconstruction phase and exit strategies. The objective is to compare the political-strategic choices with evolutions in the security environment.

The United States’ Major Strategic and Military Options

The Center for Security Studies is in charge of managing the Observatory of American Strategy on behalf of the Délégation aux affaires stratégiques (DAS) of the Ministry of Defense. The work of this program has focused mainly on the evolution of stabilization and reconstruction doctrines, the US reserve system, and the identification of the Republican and Democratic defense programs.

Defense Research Unit

A Defense Research Unit (LRD) was launched in 2007 with the support of the French Army. Its goal is to compare civil and military viewpoints on the evolution of military technology and force structures and their intervention methods. Unique in its objectives as well as its functioning, it is composed of a team of civil and military experts (from Ifri and the Army), as well as occasional outside collaborations. Its work is not tied to any institutional or government body, and provides insight and recommendations to policy-makers in the security field.

The Defense Research Unit publishes a collection of papers, the “Focus stratégique,” available on Ifri website.

“Focus Stratégique,” 2007:

Opérations basées sur les effets : rationalité et réalité, *Philippe Coquet*, N° 1, October.

Après l’échec. Les réorientations de Tsalah depuis la deuxième guerre du Liban,

Pierre Razoux, N° 2, October.

L’interarmées aux États-Unis – Rivalités bureaucratiques, enjeux opérationnels et idéologie de la jointness, *Étienne de Durand*, N° 3, November.

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

Ifri participates in the prestigious TAPIR program, which along with some of the world’s premier international relations think tanks—Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Institut d’études de sécurité de l’Union européenne (IES-UE), RAND Corporation, Chatham House, SAIS Center for Transatlantic Relations, Institute for Strategic and International Studies (IEEI), Center for International Relations (CIR), Center for Security Studies (CSS), and German Institute for International and Security Affairs/Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP)—allows it to play host, for eight months, to post-doctoral students whose research focuses on international and security relations, and to integrate them into research programs.

Publications

- Christopher Chivvis

“Visions américaines de l’OTAN,” *Politique étrangère*, N° 3/2007, Fall.

- Étienne de Durand

“Les faces cachées de la puissance aérienne,” *Défense nationale*, May.

“La culture américaine de la victoire,” *Les Carnets du CAP*, N° 6, Summer 2007.

“Identification des équipes et des programmes de défense républicains et démocrates à l’approche de l’élection présidentielle américaine,” paper for the DAS, October.

“Défense : pas d’argent, pas de Suisses !”, *Revue parlementaire*, December.

“Quel format d’armée pour la France?”, *Politique étrangère*, N° 4/2007, Winter.

- Marc Hecker

“Israël. En quête d’un leader,” *RAMSES* 2008.

“Les résonances du conflit israélo-palestinien en France,” published on the website of the Congress of the Association française de science politique, September.

“Al Qaida, mort et transfiguration,” *Études*, November.

- Aline Lebœuf

“Gagner la paix ? Transformer l’appareil bureaucratique américain pour les missions de stabilisation et de reconstruction,” paper for the Policy Planning Staff (CAP) of the French Foreign Ministry, December.

“États fragiles et terrorismes, un lien ambigu” (with *Alain Antil*), in *Jean-Marc Châtaigner and Hervé Magro* (eds.), *États et sociétés fragiles. Entre conflits, reconstruction et développement*, Paris, Karthala.

- Kerry Longhurst

The New Atlanticists. Poland’s Foreign and Security Policy Priorities, *Kerry Longhurst and Marcin Zaborowski*, London, Chatham House/Blackwell Publishing.

“Trouble in the Neighbourhood,” *Internationale Politik*, Winter.

“Poland in the European Union: Empowering or Inhibiting the EU as a Security Policy Actor?” in *Johan Lembke and Sven Biscop* (eds.), *Enlarged and Empowered? EU Enlargement in a Re-Balanced Transatlantic Partnership*, Boulder (CO), Lynne Rienner.

“Time to Dismember the European Neighbourhood Policy?”, *Czech Journal of International Affairs*, December.

- Thomas Rid

War and Media Operations. The US Military and the Press from Vietnam to Iraq, Londres, Routledge.

“The Bundeswehr’s New Media Challenge,” *Military Review*, July-August.

“Der degradierte General. Clausewitz und zivil-militärische Beziehungen in den USA,” *Berliner Debatte Initial*, Vol. 18, N° 3, July.

“War 2.0,” *Policy Review*, February.

- Krzysztof Soloch

“Pologne. Le gouvernement des frères Kaczynski: une parenthèse dans l’histoire?” in *RAMSES* 2008.

“Les projets américains de défense antimissile et leurs implications en Europe centrale,” paper for the CAP, December.

Seminars and Debates

• “Proliferation” program

(In cooperation with the French Atomic Energy Commission, CEA)

March 19 – The Different Nuclear Ages

Closed seminar with *Ariel Levite*, Deputy Director General, Israeli Atomic Energy Commission.

June 1 – China, a New Military Actor?

Closed seminar with Dr. *Joan Johnson-Freese*, Chair of the Department of National Security Studies, Naval War College.

June 22 – The Twin Crises of Iran and North Korea

Closed workshop.

December 3 – The Revival of Russia as a Nuclear Power

With *Andrei Piontkovsky*, Visiting Fellow at the Hudson Institute, Washington DC, and Researcher at the Institute for System Studies, Moscow.

• Defense Research Unit

March 20 – Round Table with the Air War College

May 24 – Technology and Defense: What Contribution for Current Conflicts?

The LRD’s first conference-debate, with the Army General *Bernard Thorette*, former Chief of Staff for the Army, and *Marwan Lahoud*, President-Director of the company MBDA.

June 4 – Counterinsurgency and Stability Operations: U.S., French, British, and German Approaches

Closed LRD workshop.

June 20 – Roundtable Discussion with the Georgia Institute of Technology

December 20 – Management of a Complex Crisis in a Crowded Area

Closed seminar – role-play, Ifri/CEP.

Brown Bag Seminars

• 2007 Cycle – “Towards a Possible Renewal of the French Security and Defense Policy, 2007-2012?”

January 18 – Is a New Defense Policy Required for France? How to Implement it?

With *Louis Gautier*, Delegate for the French socialist party on strategic questions.

March 8 – What Strategic and Tactical Priorities for French Defense Policy in 2007?

With *Pierre Lellouche*, Member of Parliament and Advisor of Paris, General Delegate for Defense for the Union pour un mouvement populaire (UMP).

April 5 – An Assessment of Tony Blair’s Strategic Accomplishments: Should We and Could We Duplicate British Policy?

With *Jolyon Howorth*.

April 26 – Potential and Limits of the ESDP for a New Five Year Mandate

With *Muriel Domenach*, Advisor for Defense Affairs, French Permanent Delegation to NATO.

May 10 – The Transformation of Defense Systems: the Issue of Equipment

With the General *Jean Rannou*, former Chief of Staff for the Air Force.

June 14 – Limited Interests and failed Interventions: the Western Strategic Deadlock.

With *Etienne de Durand*.

• 2007-2008 Cycle – “Adaptation and Crossed Innovations”

September 27 – Confrontation and Strategic Learning in Somalia Since the Beginning of the 1990s

With *Jean-Cristophe Mabire*, Lecturer at the University of Paris XIII and at the Institut catholique de Paris.

October 25 – Development Aid During War

With *Jean-Bernard Véron*, Advisor to the Director of Strategy, Agence française de développement (AFD).

November 22 – Outcome-Based Operations: Relevance and Limits of an Innovative Concept for Foreign Interventions

With *Philippe Coquet*.

December 3 – Reform of the Security Sector in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

With *Thierry Vircoulon*, French expert with the European Commission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

December 13 – Tsahal/Hezbollah: Mutual Training

With *Pierre Razoux*, Research Advisor, NATO Defense College, Roma.

Dinners/Lunches

April 2 – Time for a Revival of Disarmament

With *Hans Blix*, President, Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, Stockholm.

April 25 – Regionalization and the Development of Infrastructures as a Solution for Development? The Case of Western Africa

With *Alain Antil*, Senior Research Associate with the Center for Security Studies, specialist in African issues.

November 23 – Iraq, Lebanon, Afghanistan: Military Interventions at an Impasse?

With *Étienne de Durand*.

Transatlantic Relations Program

A three-year transatlantic program was launched in 2005. This program analyzes European and American views on major transatlantic issues.

We focus on three main research areas, which allow us to collaborate with several other Ifri programs: Russia/NIS Center, Center for Franco-German Relations, “Economic Studies” program. These studies result in seminars and publications.

Team

Scientific Coordinator:

Dominique Moïsi, Special Advisor

Steering Committee:

Thierry de Montbrial, *Dominique Moïsi*, *Robin Niblett* (Chatham House), *Jolyon Howorth*, *Ethan Kapstein* (INSEAD), *Michael Inacker* (DaimlerChrysler), *Pierre-Antoine Badoz* (France Télécom).



2007 was mostly dedicated to launching new projects that will begin in 2008 and will deal with three themes: relations with Russia, relations between the European Union and its neighbors and transatlantic economic issues.

European and American Approaches to Russia

In cooperation with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, this program assesses the differences between US and European approaches to relations with Moscow, at a time marked by diverse uncertainties over Russia's future in terms of economics, diplomacy and domestic politics. A bilateral seminar on "Russia and the West: a New Agenda for Renewal" will focus on nuclear security and Russian-American relations, security and stability in the Russian-European neighborhood and in the "Near Abroad," and finally on economic and energy relations with Moscow. The texts produced for this seminar will be the subject of a joint CSIS-Ifri publication. Head of project: *Thomas Gomart*.

Transatlantic Dialogue on the European Union and its Neighbors

This program seeks to evaluate the various perceptions of the role that the EU plays in managing its neighborhood in order to maintain the continent's stability, and the definition of this role along with that of other institutions, in particular Atlantic institutions. The European Neighborhood Policy is also studied with all of its goals and ambiguities: should we be preparing for enlargement without defined final borders, or instead be organizing the coexistence of independent spaces? The relationship between the Neighborhood Policy and other EU Mediterranean policies –the Barcelona Process or the Union for the Mediterranean– is also analyzed. The corresponding papers on these issues will be the subject of publications in both French and German.

Head of project: *Hans Stark*.

Adapting to Globalization: Production and Innovation Networks and New Regulations

Developed countries are more and more concerned with their ability to maintain and develop their capacities for innovation and with remaining competitive alongside emerging countries. In this context, how should European companies respond and adapt to the "new knowledge economy," and to take advantage of the opportunities offered by globalization? A study on these issues was the subject of a publication on the Ifri website and of a Euro-American seminar. Another study was also launched on the issue "What Is 'Good' Regulation?", and is to take account of the debate on the regulation of the telecommunications industry.

Head of project: *Jacques Mistral*.

Publications

- **Chroniques électorales américaines** (electronic publication)

Le système électoral américain, *Anne Toulouse*, N° 1, November.

La likeability, ou l'importance d'être aimé pour être élu !, *Anne Toulouse*, N° 2, December.

- **Working Paper**

Un partenariat économique transatlantique adapté à l'ère de la globalisation, *Jacques Mistral*, Working Paper N° 16, October (also published in *Les États-Unis et le monde d'aujourd'hui*, La Tour d'Aigues, éditions de l'Aube, 2008).

Seminar

December 14 – The Innovation and Production Networks in the New Phase of Globalization
With *Suzanne Berger*, professor of political science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Director of the MIT International Science and Technology Initiatives, *Fédérique Sachwald*, author of a published report with the Ifri Transatlantic program, Head of the Department on Corporate Research and Development, Ministry of Higher Education and Research.

Since 2000, these networks have become global with the increasing integration of emerging countries. European and American economies adapt to this new phase of globalization according to their own individual characteristics. The United States seems better placed to take advantage of the "knowledge economy" and opportunities offered by globalization. How, in this context, can European companies respond to this challenge?

Chair person: *Jacques Mistral*.

Space Policy Program

Europe is one of the world's major space powers. It undertakes vital industrial projects (Ariane, telecommunication satellites, and soon Galileo) and exploration missions (Aurora Project). Today it is developing possible uses of space for security. The analysis of the decision-making process and a wide-array of issues, as well as the comparison with other space powers (US, Russia, Asia) is an essential part of the European space policy at Ifri.

Created in 2001, the Ifri Space Policy Program aims to monitor and analyze Europe's space policy as well as that of other major powers. It disseminates and publishes studies carried out by French and international experts on exploration, exploitation and the militarization of space, and facilitates dialogue between public and private actors.

Since its creation, the Space Policy Program has been directed by *Laurence Nardon*, Lecturer at the Institut d'Études Politiques (IEP) in Paris. She was assisted in 2007 by *Stéphanie Schulze* (currently working for EADS-Brussels).

Team



Laurence Nardon, Head of program. Lecturer at the Institut d'études politiques (IEP) in Paris

Stéphanie Schulze, Research Assistant

The main research areas of the program are the following.

Studying the Main Space Application Programs: launchers, navigation, observation, telecommunications

This area is of great interest to our industrial partners. In 2007, a study on the future uses –civil and military– of Galileo was undertaken. This work led to a “Note de l’Ifri” and a conference on the future uses of the Galileo system in Brussels in September 2007.

The Militarization of Space

This three-year project began in 2006, and seeks to understand the move towards the “weaponization” of space as observed in the US and China. Its goal is to keep the French and European space community informed and to contribute to the emergence of a common European position on this issue. In 2007, this project produced several publications and held numerous conferences (see below).

The Major Space Powers: Europe, the United States, Russia, and Asia

For many years, this program focused only on American space issues. In 2007, the Ifri “Space” program expanded its field of study by analyzing space programs in the rest of the world. This led to studies on Russian, Chinese and European space governance.

Exploration of the Universe

Through seminars and publications, the program analyzes American projects to return to the Moon and the possibility for transatlantic cooperation.

Publications

• “Notes de l’Ifri”

Galileo et le profit, comment maximiser la rentabilité du futur programme européen de navigation par satellite ?, *Laurence Nardon*, March.

La restructuration de l’industrie spatiale russe, *Laurence Nardon and Tatiana Kastueva-Jean*, April.

L’arsenalisation de l’espace : projets américains, réactions européennes, *Laurence Nardon*, written with the Policy Planning Staff, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, October.

• Working Papers

Space Situational Awareness and International Policy, *Laurence Nardon*, working paper presented during a round table of experts organized by the European Space Policy Institute (ESPI) in Vienna, September 6 (Working Paper N° 14, October).

Transparency Measures in Space ?, *Laurence Nardon*, working paper presented during a conference on “Transparency and Cooperation in Space,” organized in London by the Center for Defense Information (CDI) and the Eisenhower Center for Space and Defense Studies of the United States Air Force Academy, October 25 and 26 (Working Paper N° 17, November).

Other Publications

“Espace: un ciel menaçant”, *Laurence Nardon*, in *RAMSES 2008*.

“Où va le programme spatial français?”, *Laurence Nardon*, in *Politique étrangère*, N°2, Summer. (Special issue dedicated to “Space, a new strategic role,” coordinated by the author.)

Outside Publications

Strengthening Galileo’s Business Case, *Laurence Nardon*, in *Space News*, May 7.

“Menaces sur la sécurité spatiale : les technologies émergentes”, *Laurence Nardon*, in *Building the Architecture for Sustainable Space Security*, UNIDIR, septembre 2006.

“Cold War Space Policy and Observation Satellites”, *Laurence Nardon*, in *Astropolitics*, Vol. 5, N° 1, January-April.

Conferences-Debates

February 12 – From the U.S. to China, the Current Dynamics of Space Weaponization

With *James Lewis*, Senior Fellow and Director of the Technology and Public Policy Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington.

April 4 – Policy Options on Satellite Vulnerability

With *Michael Krepon*, Co-founder of the Henry L. Stimson Center, Washington.

September 11 – Should Europe Continue with the Galileo Program?

This was the “Space” program’s annual conference in 2007, held for the first time in Brussels it brought together over a hundred European decision-makers in an attempt to evaluate the opportunities offered by the Galileo program.

The European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy Program

The “European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy” program aims to facilitate the formation of a coherent and sustainable European energy and environmental policy.

Équipe



Jacques Lesourne, President of the scientific committee



Jan Horst Keppler, Professor of economics, Université Paris-Dauphine, Researcher with the Centre de géopolitique de l’énergie et des matières

premières (CGEMP), Director of the program from November 2006 to October 2007, Research Associate since November 1st, 2007



Maité Jauréguy-Naudin, Program Coordinator and Researcher

Susanne Nies, Researcher, Political Scientist

Cécile Kérébel, Researcher, Political Scientist

Karen Giraco, Assistant

Areas of Research

The development of a single European energy market requires new and coherent strategies at both the European and national levels. At the same time, new environmental concerns call for broader policy objectives. How can these two dynamics be joined to work together? What is their impact, in particular on competitiveness, energy security and the cost of energy? The program is organized around two pillars:

- regulation, governance, and investment,
- energy, foreign policy, and international security,

and four research areas critical in the 21st Century.

The Management and Governance of European Energy Markets

The liberalization of gas and electricity markets, cross-border exchanges of electricity, investment and nuclear energy, and the restructuring of the industrial landscape in the European energy sector are just some of the many subjects that this program studies through seminars and publications. Implications of the European Trading Scheme (ETS) on energy markets and investment decisions are also analyzed.

Outlooks and Future Scenarios

Despite the uncertainty surrounding the evolution of the global energy market, there are certain physical, geographic and demographic indicators that limit possible outcomes. Our program aims to develop a consensus scenario on the global energy mix in 2050 by building on existing data and research. Given Ifri's multidisciplinary nature we are also able to develop geopolitical scenarios in the medium term that provide insight and analysis for major decision-makers in the European energy sector.

The Geopolitics of Energy and the European Union's External Energy Policy

Great focus is given to the EU's external policy and issues surrounding energy security. Several studies were carried out on important regions in the global energy system including Russia, Asia, as well as Africa, one of the most promising geographic zones in terms of oil supply. This project also focuses on the governance of global energy exchanges and on the functioning of energy markets.

EU Member States' Energy Policies

This program studies points of convergence and divergence in European energy policies. The successful implementation of a common energy policy requires sustainable and universal public support. This part of the program seeks to understand the motivations behind public reactions, most importantly the negative ones, to changes and developments in the energy sector.

Publications

• “Édito” of the Energy Program

(electronic publication)

These brief papers are released each month by a member of the program's team on a current event and are available on the Ifri website. Editor: *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*.

• “Notes de l’Ifri”

La sécurité des approvisionnements énergétiques en Europe : principes et mesures, *Jan Horst Keppler*, April.

L'Iran : une puissance énergétique (ré)émergente, *Denis Bauchard* and *Clément Therme*, September.

Energy Challenges in Asia, *Valérie Niquet*, October.

• “Travaux et recherches de l’Ifri”

The Reduction of CO₂ Emissions in the European Union, *Jacques Lesourne* and *Jan Horst Keppler* (eds.), December. Contributions by *Jacques Lesourne*, *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, *Yves Smeers*, *Jean-Paul Bouttes*, *Karsten Neuhoff* and *Jan Horst Keppler*.

This first position paper of the “European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy” program was dedicated to CO₂ emissions control within the EU. Its goal is to initiate debate between experts and to enable all those interested in the subject to better understand the issues and take part in the public debate.

• Articles

“The European Union and its Energy Policy”, *Jan Horst Keppler*, in *Politique étrangère*, N° 3, fall.

“Changement climatique. À la une des médias”, *Jacques Lesourne*, in *RAMSES 2008*.

“Pétrole. La nécessité d’une approche multilatérale”, *Jan Horst Keppler*, in *RAMSES 2008*.

“Enjeux énergétiques en Asie. Des besoins croissants, des implications globales”, *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, in *RAMSES 2008*.

Seminars, Conferences, Round Tables

• Ifri Energy Breakfast Roundtables 2007

(Seminars held at Ifri Brussels)

January 30 – Assessment of CO₂ Regulations

With *Yves Smeers*, Tractebel Professor of Economics at the Université catholique de Louvain (UCL).

February 27 – Assessment of Nuclear Energy in Europe

With *Alessandro Clerici*, Senior Advisor to ABB Italia and Chairman of the WEC (World Energy Council) working group on Nuclear Energy, *Ute Blohm-Hieber*, Head of Nuclear Energy Unit, Waste Management, European Commission, and *Claude Fischer*, Director of Entretiens européens and Secretary General of Confrontations Europe (Brussels).

March 20 – The Challenges Ahead for European Energy Policy

With *Claude Mandil*, Executive Director of the International Energy Agency.

May 10 – Asia Energy Issues: Strategic Implications for the Region

With *Valérie Niquet* and Prof. *Andrews Speed*, director, Centre for Energy, Petroleum and Mineral Law and Policy, University of Dundee.

May 16 – How do European Electricity Markets Really Work?

With *Jean-Pierre Hansen*, Senior Executive Vice-President (Chief Operating Officer) of Suez, in charge of Suez Energy Europe, and *Éric Dyèvre*, Commissionner, Commission de régulation de l'énergie, Paris.

June 29 – EU-Russia Energy Relations: What Next?

With Ambassador *Vladimir Chizhov*, Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the European Communities, and *André Mermier*, General Secretary, Energy Charter Secretariat.

September 18 – Oil and Middle East: Energy Power Games

With *Antoine Ayoub*, Professor Emeritus at Laval University (Quebec), *Denis Bauchard*, Senior Research Fellow at Ifri and former President of the Institut du Monde Arabe, and *John Mitchell*, Research Fellow at Chatham House.

October 17 – US Energy Policy

With *Paul Jaskow*, Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and *Jean-Marie Chevalier*, Director of the CGEMP, Université Paris Dauphine.

November 7 – Fossil Fuels in Tomorrow's Energy World: Technology Trends

With *Olivier Appert*, President of the Institut français du pétrole (IFP), *Neil Hirst*, International Energy Agency, Director, Office of Energy Technology and R&D, and *Ioannis Galanis*, DG Transports and Energy, Deputy Head of Coal & Oil, Market Observatory, European Commission.

December 20 – What are the Key Drivers for Oil Prices?

With *Frédéric Lasserre*, Global Head of Commodities Research, Société générale, and *Joel Couse*, Vice-President of Market Analysis, Trading & Shipping Division, Total.

• Other Seminar

March 14 – Energy Power Games in Asia

With *Tatsuo Masuda*, Visiting Professor at Paris Dauphine, former Vice-President of the Japan National Oil Corporation and former Director at the IEA.

• Conférence

May 24 – Energy Security, Environment and Development: Three Issues for the G8

This conference was organized as part of the G8 Task Force, and looked at key energy issues facing leaders at the G8 Summit on June 7, 8, and 9. It included a public debate between *José Manuel Barroso*, President of the European Commission, *Thierry de Montbrial*, and three experts: *Joachim Bitterlich*, Executive Vice-President of International Affairs, Veolia, *Olga Boutorina*, Moscow State Institute of International Relations, and *Jacques Lesourme*.

Chair person: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

Migration, Identities and Citizenship Program

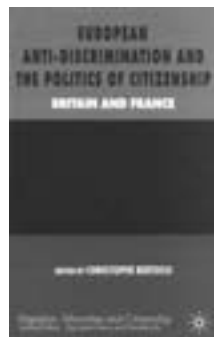
The Ifri “Migration, Identities and Citizenship” program deals with migratory flows and migration policies. It focuses on the European context, with an emphasis on three areas: the importance of Europe as a destination for international migration; European countries’ migration policies, with particular attention given to EU policies; and the permanent settlement of migrants and their variable access to citizenship in their host country.

Team



Christophe Bertossi, Head of the program, Researcher
Areas of expertise: migration, ethnicity, citizenship

Martine Breux, Assistant



In 2007, the program was organized around three areas of research.

The New French Selective Policy of Immigration and Europe: What Rupture for What Results?

The new French policy of “chosen” immigration aims to break with the “zero immigration” policies of the previous decades: how is this rupture part of a convergence at the European level? What results are to be expected from these selective migratory policies? How can competition between European countries be avoided? How can we improve relations with countries of origin and transit?

In 2007, the program launched a series of breakfast-debates on the possible objectives and results of the French policy of “chosen” immigration. Each meeting brings together one of the authors of this policy with French or international experts on immigration. This series will continue in 2008.

Events

December 12 – Is “Chosen Immigration” Policy Possible?

Breakfast meeting with *Patrick Stefanini*, Secretary General of the Inter-ministerial Committee for the Management of Immigration (CICI), *Catherine Wihtol de Wenden*, Research Director, CERI/CNRS, and *Christophe Bertossi*.

Ifri is also active with European expert groups on these issues. Notably on November 19, *Christophe Bertossi* participated in a **working group meeting on “Politiche migratorie e modelli di società,”** at the Centro Studi di Politica Internazionali (CeSPI), in Roma.

Publications

“Is ‘Chosen Immigration’ Policy Possible?”, *Christophe Bertossi*, in *L’Essentiel des relations internationales*, N° 17, November-December.

“L’intégration des communautés immigrées en Europe: un enjeu euro-méditerranéen?”, *Christophe Bertossi*, in *Med.2007 Annuaire de la Méditerranée*, Barcelone, IEMed, Fundació CIDOB.

Discrimination in Public Institutions: What is the Future of Integration within Them?

While debates over integration in European countries highlight problems of discrimination and the “crisis” or “failure” to integrate minority populations, how can public institutions continue to successfully fulfill their traditional role of moulding citizens and forging integration? This issue is pertinent for education, but also for military and health institutions.

In 2007, the “Migrations, Identities and Citizenship” program continued its work on military institutions that began in 2003.

Publications

“L’armée française face à la diversité : les militaires issus de l’immigration”, *Christophe Bertossi* and *Catherine Wihtol de Wenden*, in *CASOAR*, N° 186, March.

Two major works were published on discrimination:

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

Les Couleurs du drapeau : l'armée française face aux discriminations, *Christophe Bertossi* and *Catherine Wihtol de Wenden*, Paris, Robert Laffont.

The End of Integration Models in Europe?

From the migrant and ethnic minority integration crisis, it is becoming clear that traditional models of integration are failing (French republicanism, British race relations, Dutch multiculturalism, etc.). How can this crisis of integration models in Europe be explained and understood? What are its consequences?

Publications

French and British Models of Integration : Public Philosophies, Policies and State Institutions, *Christophe Bertossi*, Oxford, Université d'Oxford, Centre on Migration Policy and Society, *Working Paper* WP 46-07, May (in partnership with the University of Oxford).

Distant Neighbours : How the French Deal With Ethnic and Religious Diversity, *Christophe Bertossi*, Londres, Runnymede Trust, February (in partnership with the Runnymede Trust).

Les musulmans, la France, l'Europe : contre quelques faux-semblants en matière d'intégration, Paris, Ifri/FES, collection numérique "Migrations et citoyenneté en Europe", March (also available in German: "Muslime, Frankreich, Europa: gegen gewisse Trugbilder in Sachen Integration," in partnership with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung).

Work was also launched during a meeting in St. Louis on "Models of Difference and Belonging: Refiguring the Social Study of Europe," (September 10); publications will be released over the next two years (in partnership with the University of Amsterdam, the Washington University in St. Louis and the Social Sciences Research Council [SSRC, New York]).



NEW PROGRAMS

Economic Studies

In what ways does globalization interact with the international system and, possibly, shape it? Under the direction of *Jacques Mistral*, this program focuses on two areas of research: **finance and emerging economies**.

Team



Jacques Mistral, Professor of Economics, Member of the French Council of Economic Analysis reporting to the Prime Minister, and of the "Cercle des économistes"

Françoise Nicolas, Senior Economist (emerging economies) and assistant professor, University of Marne-la-Vallée

Céline Bochet, Assistant

"International Finance" Program

Globalization continues to transform the environment that public and private decision-makers find themselves working in. Interdependencies are strengthened, but this does not constitute the end of international relations: on the contrary, the finance area is becoming central to them. 2007 only raised the stakes even more: the subprime lending crisis, the emergence of sovereign wealth funds, the decline of the dollar and the rise of the euro—to cite only three examples—reinforce the need for a more complete integration of financial questions in the field of international relations. This is imperative so that the growth of finance contributes to a more efficient and secure world. In order to respond to this need for new analysis and ideas, Ifri launched an "International Finance" program. It has three objectives:

- to be a source of expert analysis and knowledge, by transferring Ifri's skills in international relations to the financial domain;
 - to develop an overall, trans-professional view (banks, insurance, asset management, markets);
 - to define policy-oriented positions: the above-mentioned recent evolutions underline the political side of a number of financial issues.
- This program will develop concrete proposals that will be put to the test at the European level, through Ifri Brussels. Ifri will be a partner in the transatlantic financial dialogue and this will allow it to incorporate financial elements into its research on regions such as Asia-Pacific, the Middle East/North Africa, and Russia.

The program will have two components

- macroeconomic questions, with an emphasis on political and geopolitical aspects;
- Transformations in the financial industry, especially in the European context.

Chairman: *André Lévy-Lang*

Director: *Jacques Mistral*

"Emerging Economies and the Future of Globalization" Program

One of the most interesting aspects of globalization is the way in which emerging countries are able to disrupt the established international order: China, India, Russia, and others are among tomorrow's great powers. Whether it's a matter of markets, technology, natural resources or financial means, these countries are pervasive. Given the rapid success of these countries' economies, it is tempting—and thus common—to make hasty judgments that result in a fundamental reconsideration—with major political changes—of economic force relations. But are these theories, based most often on very recent history, adequate guidelines for recommending action?

This program is dedicated to better understanding the interaction between the emergence of new economic powers and the future of globalization. Led by Jacques Mistral, the program relies on the institute's experience in studying international relations from many viewpoints and on its expertise on the regions of the world most affected by globalization. Multidisciplinary in nature, it will combine economic and regional expertise by working with the Ifri Asia Center and the Russia/NIS Center.

The first step consists of developing a pre-program that will begin in summer 2008 and that will concentrate on the three principal emerging states: China, India and Russia.

Director: *Jacques Mistral*

Publication

La fuite en avant dans l'endettement, working paper, October. Published in *Vingtième siècle*, N° 97, January-March 2008.

Sport and International Relations

Launched in October 2007 in partnership with the Institut Alain-Danet, the “Sport and International Relations” Program monitors and studies recent evolutions in sports as an important factor in international relations.

Steering Committee:

Dominique David, Chief Executive Officer, Ifri

Philippe Baudillon, Vice-President, Institut Alain-Danet

Florence Masnada, alpine ski champion

Olivier Lenglet, fencing champion



Program Coordinator:
Valérie Amant

Over a three-year period, this program seeks to understand new issues surrounding international sport, its main trends, its geopolitical impacts, its institutions and their impact, and its power struggles. These numerous elements have today made sport a tool of international bi- and multilateral relations, no longer only an extension of a state's foreign policy.

We are currently witnessing the rise of global sport politics, characterized by three main elements:

- the structural integration of sport and international sport competition into international dynamics and strategies, whether in economic, political, social, educational, cultural, or health fields;
- the increasing role that international professional sport organizations and athletes play in diplomatic dealings, on bi- and multilateral levels;
- the growing number of non-sport actors who use sport as a factor in foreign policy.

In this context, understanding current international sport issues represents a crucial factor in analyzing international relations today.

- Who are the main players in this new political context and what geographic and political influences do they have?
- How do certain states use sport as a diplomatic tool?
- How do these evolutions manifest themselves and what might be the consequences on the international economic, political, and social scene?
- What role will hosting the Olympic Games in 2008 have on China's economic and political role in the world.
- What place do France and Europe hold in this new political landscape?

Health and the Environment

Launched in early 2008, this three-year program aims to study the effects that the labeling of environmental and health concerns as “security issues” has on the development of new governance systems and tools.



Project Manager: *Aline Leboeuf*

This program will receive support from the Taiwan Representative Office in France. A scientific committee is currently being formed.

The program's work is based on empirical and comparative studies of health and/or environmental crises. The results of our research are primarily policy oriented. We aim to analyze specific questions and give policy-makers concrete recommendations for action that will lead to better governance. Our work is also intended for a larger audience, civil and international society, in order to encourage public awareness and debate on these issues.

Publications

Books

“Travaux et recherches de l’Ifri/Les études de l’Ifri”

distributed by La Documentation française.

Radioscopies de l’Allemagne 2007, *Claire Demesmay* and *Hans Stark* (eds.), Travaux et recherches de l’Ifri/Les études de l’Ifri, Paris, Ifri, 2007.

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

Abatement of CO₂ Emissions in the European Union, *Jacques Lesourme* and *Jan Horst Keppler* (eds.), Travaux et recherches de l’Ifri/Les études de l’Ifri, Paris, Ifri, 2007.

Outside publications

La démocratie est-elle soluble dans l’islam ?, publication directed by *Abdellah Hammoudi*, *Denis Bauchard* and *Rémy Leveau*, coordinated by *Judith Cahen*, in partnership with Princeton University, Paris, CNRS Éditions, 2007.

Les couleurs du drapeau : l’armée française face aux discriminations, *Christophe Bertossi* and *Catherine Wihtol de Wenden*, Paris, Robert Laffont, 2007.

European Anti-Discrimination and the Politics of Citizenship : France and Britain, *Christophe Bertossi* (ed.), Basingstoke/New York, Palgrave, 2007.

Distant Neighbours : How the French Deal with Ethnic and Religious Diversity, *Christophe Bertossi*, Londres, Runnymede Trust, “Runnymede Perspectives”, 2007.

The New Atlanticist. Poland’s Foreign and Security Policy Priorities, *Kerry Longhurst* and *Marcin Zaborowski*, Londres, Chatham House/Blackwell Publishing, 2007.

Korea in the New Asia : East Asian Integration and the China Factor, *Françoise Nicolas* (ed.), Routledge Advances in Korean Studies, New York, Routledge, 2007.

War and Media Operations. The US Military and the Press from Vietnam to Iraq, *Thomas Rid*, Londres, Routledge, 2007.

Violence : de la psychologie à la politique, *Thierry de Montbrial* (ed. with *S. Jansen*), Fondation Singer Polignac, Bruylant, Brussels, 2007.

La Mondialisation, *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Paris, PUF, “Que sais-je ?”, 2007, 7th édition.

La Gouvernance, *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Paris, PUF, “Que sais-je ?”, 2007, 3rd édition.

Relations Internationales, *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Paris, Le Seuil, 2 vol. 2007, 7th édition.

Policy papers, electronic publications, articles

Europe

Publications du Cerfa

Collection « Notes du Cerfa »

electronic publications available on www.ifri.org

Les relations germano-russes dans le contexte européen, *Heinz Timmermann*, N° 40, January 2007.

La politique allemande de sécurité et de défense : équilibrer durablement les attentes extérieures et les contraintes intérieures, *Franz-Josef Meiers*, N° 41, February 2007.

La politique énergétique allemande : entre impératifs nationaux et exigences communautaires, *Kristina Notz*, n° 42, March 2007.

Benoît XVI : un pape allemand face aux défis du monde moderne, *Jean Klein*, N° 43, May 2007.

La nouvelle politique africaine de l’Allemagne : un investissement politique et économique pour l’avenir de l’Europe, *Julien Thorel*, N° 44, June 2007.

La politique européenne de voisinage : l’impact de la présidence allemande sur l’élaboration d’une politique stratégique, *Andreas Marchetti*, N° 45, July 2007.

Le sauvetage du traité constitutionnel : retour sur un dossier prioritaire de la présidence allemande, *Andreas Maurer*, N° 46, September 2007.

La double présidence allemande du Conseil européen et du G8 en 2007. Un essai à transformer, *Stefan Martens*, N° 47, October 2007.

Politique industrielle ou politique de la compétitivité ? Discours et approches en Allemagne, *Henrik Uterwedde*, N° 48, November 2007.

Le Parti social-démocrate allemand entre crise et nouveau départ, *Christoph Egle*, N° 49, December 2007.

La grande coalition et le marché du travail en Allemagne, *Hermann Scherl* and *Susanne Noll*, N° 50, December 2007.

Other collections

Les syndicats français et allemands : difficiles adaptations aux mutations de la société, *Brigitte Lestrade*, “Visions franco-allemandes”, N° 12, April 2007 (electronic publication).

Stratégie de Lisbonne. Réflexions franco-allemandes, *Isabelle Bourgeois* et *Markus Gabel*, “La France, l’Allemagne, l’Europe. Perspectives”, N° 59, April 2007 (electronic publication).

Articles

“Europe. Retour de l’ambiguïté”, *Olivier Louis*, in *RAMSES 2008*, Paris, Dunod, 2007.

“Pologne. Le gouvernement des frères Kaczynski : une parenthèse dans l’histoire ?”, *Olivier Louis* and *Krzysztof Solocho*, in *RAMSES 2008*, Paris, Dunod, 2007.

“Chancen und Herausforderungen einer europäischen Zivilgesellschaft”, *Claire Demesmay*, in *Nida-Rümelin* and *W. Weidenfeld* (eds.), **Europäische Identität : Voraussetzungen und Strategien**, Baden-Baden, Nomos, 2007.

“Les valeurs de la République : patrie et universalisme”, *Claire Demesmay*, in *Cahiers français*, N° 336, January - February 2007.

“Stepping into the Geopolitical Game : The EU in its Eastern Neighbourhood”, *Kerry Longhurst*, in *Natolin Analyses*, Natolin European Centre, Varsovie, May 2007.

“Nicolas Sarkozy vu d’Allemagne : un partenaire aux facettes multiples”, *Hans Stark*, in *France forum*, N° 26, June 2007.

“La présidence allemande de l’UE : de la “racine carrée” à la quadrature du cercle”, *Hans Stark*, in *Regards sur l’économie allemande*, N° 82, July 2007.

“National Debates on Turkey’s Accession. A Franco-German Perspective”, *Claire Demesmay* and *Simone Weske*, in *EU-Turkey-Monitor*, vol. 3, N° 3, November-December 2007.

“Trouble in the Neighbourhood”, *Kerry Longhurst*, in *Internationale Politik*, Winter.

“Poland in the European Union: Empowering or Inhibiting the EU as a Security Policy Actor?”, *Kerry Longhurst*, in *Johan Lembke* and *Sven Biscop* (dir.), **Enlarged and Empowered? EU Enlargement in a Re-Balanced Transatlantic Partnership**, Boulder (CO), Lynne Rienner, 2007.

“Time to Dismember the European Neighbourhood Policy ?”, *Kerry Longhurst*,

in *Czech Journal of International Affairs*,
December 2007.

Russia/Nis

Electronic series *Russie.Nei.Visions*

(Policy papers, available on www.ifri.org in French, Russian, and English)

Russia and the Council of Europe: Ten Years Wasted? *Jean-Pierre Massias*, N° 15, January

Russia and the WTO: On the Finishing Stretch, *Julien Vercueil*, N° 16, February.

Gazprom, the Fastest Way to Energy Suicide, *Christophe-Alexandre Paillard*, N° 17, March 2007.

Gazprom, partenaire prévisible : relire les crises énergétiques Russie-Ukraine et Russie-Belarus, *Jérôme Guillet*, N° 18, March.

The Opacity of Russian-Ukrainian Energy Relations, *Amaud Dubien*, N° 19, May.

Russia-EU Beyond 2007. Russian Domestic Debates, *Nadejda Arbatova*, N° 20 June.

Russia and the Deadlock over Kosovo, *Oksana Antonenko*, N° 21, July.

Rosoboronexport, Spearhead of the Russian Arms Industry, *Louis-Marie Clouet*, N° 22, September.

Paris and the EU-Russian Dialogue: A New Impulse with Nicolas Sarkozy? *Thomas Gomart*, N° 23, October.

Russia and the "Gas-OPEC." Real or Perceived Threat? *Dominique Finon*, N° 24, November.

High Stakes in the High North: Russian-Norwegian Relations and Their Implication for the EU, *Jakub M. Godzimirski*, N° 25, December.

Articles

"La politique russe de la France : fin de cycle ?", *Thomas Gomart*, in *Politique étrangère*, N° 1/2007, Spring.

"France's Russia Policy : Balancing Interests and Values", *Thomas Gomart*, in *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 30, N° 2, Spring 2007.

"Union européenne/Russie : de la stagnation à la dépression", *Thomas Gomart*, in *Revue du Marché commun et de l'Union européenne*, n° 510, July - August 2007.

"Quelle place pour la Russie en Europe ?", *Thomas Gomart*, in *Questions internationales*, N° 27, September-October 2007.

"L'Europe marginalisée", *Thomas Gomart*, in *Politique internationale*, N° 118, Winter 2007.

Asia

Collection « Notes de l'Ifri »

Energy Challenges in Asia, *Valérie Niquet*, October 2007.

Asie.Visions

(electronic publication of the Centre Asie Ifri available on www.ifri.org)

La recherche spatiale en Chine : saut technologique et capacités militaires, *Valérie Niquet*, N° 1, December 2007.

"The 17th Congress of the CPC: Between Reform and Constraints", *Valérie Niquet*, N° 2, December.

See also *Lettre du Centre Asie*, available on www.ifri.org

Articles

"Asie-Pacifique. Régionalisation et lignes de faille", *Valérie Niquet*, in *RAMSES 2008*, Paris, Dunod, 2007.

"Crise financière en Asie de l'Est. Dix ans après", *Françoise Nicolas*, in *RAMSES 2008*, Paris, Dunod, 2007.

"Complementarity and Rivalry in EU-China Economic Relations in the 21st Century", *Françoise Nicolas* and *Bernadette Andreosso-O'Callaghan*, in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, University of Limerick (Ireland), vol. 12, N° 1, 2007.

"L'ASEAN au cœur de l'intégration économique en Asie orientale – Mythes, réalités, perspectives", *Françoise Nicolas*, in *Accomex*, N° 75, May/June 2007.

"Dix ans après la crise financière : le retour du miracle asiatique ?", *Françoise Nicolas*, in *Sophie Boisseau du Rocher* (eds.), *Asie orientale 2007-2008*, Paris, La Documentation française, 2007.

"Militärstrategie", *Valérie Niquet*, in *Brunhild Staiger, Stefan Friedrich and Hans-Wilm Schütte* (dir.), *Das Grosse China Lexikon*, Darmstadt, Primus Verlag, June 2007.

"Are the Economies of ASEAN and the EU Complementary ?", *Françoise Nicolas* and *Bernadette Andreosso-O'Callaghan*, in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, vol. 24, N° 2, August 2007.

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Middle-East /North Africa/Mediterranean

« Notes de l'Ifri »

L'Iran : une puissance énergétique (ré)émergente, *Denis Bauchard* and *Clément Therme*, September 2007.

Perspectives Moyen-Orient/Maghreb

(electronic publications available on www.ifri.org)

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

Iran 2007 : entre défis et incertitudes, *Denis Bauchard*, May 2007

Articles

"Un Moyen-Orient en recomposition", *Denis Bauchard*, in *Politique étrangère*, N° 2/2007, Summer.

"Mémoire et réconciliation au Maroc", *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *Politique étrangère*, N° 2/2007, Summer.

"Israël. En quête d'un leader", *Marc Hecker*, in *RAMSES 2008*, Paris, Dunod, 2007.

"Islamisme. Le djihadisme s'invite au Maghreb", *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *RAMSES 2008*, Paris, Dunod, 2007.

"Turquie. La transition post-kémaliste ?", *Dorothee Schmid*, in *RAMSES 2008*, Paris, Dunod, 2007.

"Moyen-Orient : les nouvelles règles du grand jeu", *Dorothee Schmid*, in *RAMSES 2008*, Paris, Dunod, 2007.

"La relation franco-turque dans la tourmente", *Dorothee Schmid*, in *Rapport EDAM*, Istanbul, January 2007.

"Quel avenir pour les relations russo-iraniennes ?", *Clément Therme*, site du GIPRI, January 2007.

"Sahara occidental : le coût du conflit", *Alain Antil*, in *Rapport Moyen-Orient/Afrique du Nord*, N° 65, June 2007, International Crisis Group (ICG).

"La relation russo-iranienne à l'épreuve de la crise nucléaire", *Clément Therme*, in *Questions internationales*, N° 25, June 2007.

"Méditerranée : le retour des Français ?", *Dorothee Schmid*, in *Confluences Méditerranée*, N° 63, Autumn 2007.

"Les résonances du conflit israélo-palestinien en France", *Marc Hecker*, published on the website of the Congrès de l'Association française de science politique, September 2007.

"Al Qaïda, mort et transfiguration", *Marc Hecker*, *Études*, November 2007.

"Les ententes multipolaires de l'Iran. Aspects russes et asiatiques de la politique étrangère de Téhéran", *Clément Therme*, with *Thierry Kellner*, *Politique étrangère*, N° 4/2007, Winter.

Security

Focus stratégique

(electronic publications of the Security Studies Center available on www.ifri.org)

Opérations basées sur les effets : rationalité et réalité, *Philippe Coquet*, N° 1, October 2007.

Après l'échec. Les réorientations de Tsaah depuis la deuxième guerre du Liban, *Pierre Razoux*, N° 2, October 2007.

L'interarmées aux États-Unis – Rivalités bureaucratiques, enjeux opérationnels et idéologie de la jointness, *Étienne de Durand*, N° 3, November 2007.

Proliferation Papers

(electronic publications of the Security Studies Center, published in collaboration with the French Atomic Energy Commission (CEA), available in English on www.ifri.org)

The 13 February Action Plan and the Prospects for the North Korean Nuclear Issue, *Narushige Michishita*, N° 17, April 2007.

China's Space Ambitions, *Joan Johnson-Freese*, N° 18, July 2007.

Deterrence Today : Roles, Challenges and Responses, *Lewis A. Dunn*, N° 19, September 2007.

New Wine in Old Bottles ? The New Salience of Nuclear Weapons, *Yury Fedorov*, N° 20, December 2007.

Articles

"Visions américaines de l'OTAN", *Christopher Chivvis*, in *Politique étrangère*, N° 3/2007, automne.

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Space Program

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"Cold War Space Policy and Observation Satellites", *Laurence Nardon*, in *Astropolitics*, vol. 5, N° 1, January - April 2007.

"Espace : un ciel menaçant", *Laurence Nardon*, in *RAMSES 2008*, Paris, Dunod, 2007.

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La sécurité des approvisionnements énergétiques en Europe : principes et mesures, *Jan Horst Keppler*, Note de l'Ifri (publication électronique), April 2007.

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"Changement climatique. À la une des médias", *Jacques Lesourme*, in *RAMSES 2008*, Paris, Dunod, 2007.

"Enjeux énergétiques en Asie. Des besoins croissants, des implications globales", *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, in *RAMSES 2008*, Paris, Dunod, 2007.

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United States

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"Le système électoral américain", *Anne Toulouse*, N° 1, November 2007.

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Économie

Documents de travail

"La fuite en avant dans l'endettement", *Jacques Mistral*, N° 15, October 2007.

"Un partenariat économique transatlantique adapté à l'ère de la globalisation", *Jacques Mistral*, N° 16, October 2007.

"OMC : un nouvel équilibre Nord-Sud ?", *Olivier Louis*, in *Politique étrangère*, N° 3/2007, Autumn.

Articles

"Je dois être le maître dans tout et surtout dans ce qui concerne les affaires de la Banque", *Jacques Mistral*, in *Telos*, November 2007.

"Le régionalisme commercial, quelle réalité, quels dangers ?", *Françoise Nicolas*, in *Annuaire français des relations internationales 2007*, Bruxelles, Bruylant, 2007.

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Migrations and citizenship in Europe

"Les musulmans, la France, l'Europe : contre quelques faux-semblants en matière d'intégration", *Christophe Bertossi*, electronic publication "Migrations et citoyenneté en Europe", published with the Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung (FES), available in French and in German, Paris, Ifri/FES, March 2007.

"L'armée française face à la diversité : les militaires issus de l'immigration", *Christophe Bertossi and Catherine Wihtol de Wenden*, in *CASOAR*, N° 186, March 2007.

"French and British Models of Integration : Public Philosophies, Policies and State Institutions", *Christophe Bertossi*, Oxford, Oxford University, Centre on Migration Policy and Society (COMPAS), Working Paper N° 07-46, May 2007 (in partnership with the Oxford University).

"L'immigration "choisie" est-elle possible ?", *Christophe Bertossi*, in *L'essentiel des relations internationales*, N° 17, November-December 2007, pp. 24-26.

"L'intégration des communautés immigrées en Europe : un enjeu euro-méditerranéen ?", *Christophe Bertossi*, in *Med.2007 Annuaire de la Méditerranée*, Barcelone, IEMed, Fundació CIDOB.

See also:

"The Clash of Emotions", *Dominique Moisi*, in *Foreign Affairs*, January/February, 2007.

Conferences and Debates

January

8 – Democracy in the Middle East: The Case of Palestine

With *Dorothee Schmid*.

Chair: *Dominique David*.

29 – Is Islam an Intruder in Europe?

With *Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu*, Secretary General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference

Chair: *Xavier de Villepin*, Honorary Senator.

February

February 14 – Israel 2007: New Challenges

With *Denis Bauchard* and *Dominique Moisi*.

March

March 12 – The United States, Iran and the Middle East

With Ambassador *Robert D. Blackwill*.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

March 14 – Energy Power Games in Asia

With *Tatsuo Masuda*, Visiting Professor at Paris Dauphine, former Vice-President of the Japan National Oil Corporation and former Director of the IEA.

Chair: *Jan Horst Keppler* et *Valérie Niquet*.

22 – What Are the Goals of Moscow's Europe Policy?

With *Sergei Yastrzhembskiy*, Special Advisor to President Putin

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

April

April 2 – Time for a Revival of Disarmament

With *Hans Blix*, President, Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, Stockholm.

Chair: *Dominique David*.

4 – The Geopolitics of Globalization

With *Laurent Cohen-Tanugi*, writer and Partner with the international law firm Skadden Arps.

Chair: *Dominique Moisi*.

23 – Is Europe Supporting or Harming Democracy?

With *Vivien A. Schmidt*, Professor of International Relations, Jean Monnet Chair of European Integration at Boston University and Franqui Interuniversity Chair (Belgium).

Chair: *Dominique David*.

26 – Can Gazprom be Trusted to Ensure Russian Energy Exports?

Round table with *Christophe-Alexandre Paillard*, Head of the Industrial and Technological Trends Department with the French Ministry of Defense's Strategic Affairs Office and Senior Lecturer on International Issues at Paris Sciences-Po, and *Jérôme Guillet*, Investment Banker in Paris, specializes in structured finance for Energy Projects, Director of European Tribune

Participants: *Jan Horst Keppler* and *Dominique Finon*, Head of Energy Program at CNRS, President of the Association of energy Economists

Chair: *Thomas Gomart*.

May

22 – Kosovo's Future

Round table with *Michel Foucher*, Geographer and Diplomat, *Muhamedin Kullashi*, Lecturer, Philosophy, University of Paris VIII, and *Ivan Vejvoda*, Deputy Director, Balkan Trust for Democracy, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Belgrade.

Chair: *Dominique David*.

June

5 – What Future for the Transatlantic Relation?

Breakfast-debate with *Susan Eisenhower*, President of the Eisenhower Institute, and the Eisenhower Group, Inc.

Chair: *Dominique Moisi*.

June 14 – How Threatened does Georgia Feel?

Conference-debate with *Nino Burzhanadze*, President of the Georgian Parliament.

Chair: *Xavier de Villepin*.

20 – Where is America Headed?

With *Tony Smith*, Cornelia M. Jackson Professor of Political Science, Tufts University (United States), Historian and author of *A Pact with the Devil: The Bush Doctrine and the Betrayal of Liberal Democratic Internationalism* (Routledge, 2006).

Chair: *Dominique Moisi*.

July

July 9 – Israel-Palestine: Year Zero?

With *Dominique Moisi*, *Denis Bauchard*, *Dorothee Schmid* and *Raed Bader*, Associate Research Fellow.

Chair: *Dominique David*

September

5 – Innovation and Reform: Keys for Germany

and Europe's Future

Conference-debate with *Edmund Soiber*, Minister-President of Bavaria and President of the Christian Democratic Union (CSU).

Chair: *Hans Stark*.

11 – Proliferation and Terrorism After 9/11: What Can International Cooperation Bring?

With *Alexander T.J. Lennon*, Editor-in-Chief, *The Washington Quarterly*, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington.

Chair: *Dominique David*.

18 – Romania after its Accession to the EU

Breakfast debate introduced by *Teodor Baconski*, Romanian Ambassador to France, with *Édith Lhomel*, Senior fellow at the Institut d'études européennes (Paris VIII), Responsible for Central and Eastern Europe at *Courier des pays de l'Est*, and *Odette Tomescu-Hatto*, Lecturer, Institut d'études politiques (IEP), Paris.

Chair: *Éliane Mossé*.

20 - RAMSES 2008 Presentation

Event held for the release of RAMSES 2008.

Guest of Honor: *Jean-Pierre Jouyet*, Secretary of State for European Affairs.

Speeches by *Thierry de Montbrial* and *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, co-directors of the report.

Round table on four "crisis areas" with: *Dorothee Schmid*, (Turkey), *Clément Therme*, (Iran), *Alain Antil*, (West Africa), and *Marielle Debos* (Darfur).

October

3 – EADS and French-German Relations

Breakfast-debate with *Louis Gallois*, Chief Executive Officer, EADS

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

9 – Relations Between China and the European Union

Breakfast meeting with *Wu Jianmin*, Former Ambassador of China in France, President of the China National Association for International Studies (CFAU), Vice-President of the China National Association for International Studies.

Chair: *Jean-Pierre Raffarin*, Former French Prime Minister, Senator from Vienne.

24 – Security Policy in South East Asia

Breakfast Meeting with *Dato'Sri Mohd. Najib Tun Abdul Razak*, Deputy Prime Minister and Defense Minister of Malaysia.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

25 – The New Capitalists of North Africa

With *Michel Peraldi*, Senior Research Fellow, CNRS, and Director of the Centre Jacques

Berque, Rabat.

Chair: *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*.

30 – Crisis in Belgium or Belgium in Crisis?

With *Vincent de Coorebyter*, General Director for the Center for Socio-Political Research and Information, CRISP.

Chair: *Dominique David*.

November

5 – US Policy Towards Israel: In Whose Interests?

Round table with *John J. Mearsheimer*, Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago, *Stephen M. Walt*, Professor of International Relations at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, and *André Kaspi*, United States Historian.

Chair: *Jolyon Howorth*.

12 – Towards a Break-Up of Iraq?

With *Denis Bauchard*, *Myriam Benraad*, Research Fellow at Institut d'études Politiques (IEP) in political science and Iraqi specialist, *Etienne de Durand* and *Fanny Lafourcade*, Researcher in political science and Iraqi specialist, IEP Paris/CERI.

Chair: *Denis Bauchard*.

15 – A Rising Role for Japan in Asia and the World, Facing Instability and Emerging Powers

Lunch-Debate with *Hitoshi Tanaka*, Former Vice-President of Foreign Relations and advisor to Prime Minister *Junichiro Koizumi*, notably on relations with North Korea, China, and the US, researcher at the Japan Center for International Exchange, Tokyo.

Chair: *Dominique Moïsi*.

22 – An Economic Base for the Union for the Mediterranean

Breakfast debate with *Jean-Marie Chevalier*, Professor at the Université Paris-Dauphine, *Jacques Mistral* and *Olivier Pastré*, Professor at the Université Paris XIII.

Charied by: *Jean-Hervé Lorenzi*, President, Cercle des économistes, and *Thierry de Montbrial*.

The future of southern Mediterranean countries depends on the future of Europe. The debate centered on the book written by the Cercle des économistes with Hubert Védrine, “5 + 5 = 32.” This work defines a roadmap that the five countries from the North and the five from the South could follow (5 + 5). Could this initiative, in terms of economics, constitute a veritable base for a Mediterranean Union of 32 countries? What economic reforms would be required? What should be its priorities: agriculture, energy, finance, etc.? What initiatives are currently plausible?

December

12 – Kosovo 2008: A Momentour Year

With: *Jean-Arnault Derens*, Historian and Chief Editor of *Courrier des Balkans*, and *Jacques Rupnik*, Research Director at Centre d'études et de recherches internationales (CERI) and President of the “Grande Europe” Club.

Chair: *Éliane Mossé*.

17 – The Future of Croatia and the Balkans

With *Stjepan Mesic*, President of the Republic of Croatia

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

Conferences that are mentioned here are public meetings. Other conferences are listed in the section devoted to research.

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European governance and the geopolitics of energy Program

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Cécile Kerebel, Research Fellow
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Financial annex

Balance sheet (euros)

ASSETS	2007			2006	LIABILITIES	2007	2006
	cost	Depreciation Provisions	Net value	Net value			
FIXED ASSETS					FUNDS		
Intangible assets	233 774	233 774	10 070	9 896	General Fund	8 470 553	8 470 553
Tangible assets	11 095 382	3 576 465	7 518 917	7 745 177	Restricted Fund	47	47
Financial assets	48 954	10 062	38 892	41 027	Reserve	994 630	991 451
					Net income for the year	217 492	3 179
FIXED ASSETS	11 378 110	3 810 231	7 567 879	7 796 100	FUNDS	9 682 722	9 465 230
CURRENT ASSETS					PROVISIONS	224 167	280 125
Inventories	31 381		31 381	2 515	DEFERRED GRANT INCOME	140 294	115 258
Others debtors/Prepayments	107 482		107 482	72 827	CREDITORS		
Account receivable	342 032		342 032	643 278	Bank overdrafts	10 774	250
Portfolio (fixed interests)	3 216 752		3 216 752	2 231 820	Account payable and other liabilities	251 195	269 776
Bank balances	9 504		9 504	42 418	Taxes and social security	590 839	571 454
Accrued income	62 535		62 535	67 754	ACCRUALS AND DEFERRED INCOME	437 574	154 618
CURRENT ASSETS	3 769 686		3 769 686	3 060 612	LIABILITIES	11 337 565	10 856 711
TOTAL ASSETS	15 147 796	3 810 231	11 337 565	10 856 712			

Account (euros)

EXPENDITURE	2007	2006
Expenditure	71 794	97 502
<i>Office supplies</i>	31 100	46 697
<i>Power and water</i>	20 444	20 640
<i>Books</i>	20 250	30 165
Other expenditures	1 514 421	1 434 371
<i>cePrinting</i>	20 291	42 610
<i>Rental for machinery</i>	134 872	149 970
<i>Maintenance</i>	119 614	105 433
<i>Insurance</i>	21 925	19 429
<i>Documentation</i>	54 704	57 517
<i>Honoraria and professional services</i>	664 321	647 850
<i>Donations, membership subscription</i>	7 667	7 662
<i>General travel and meetings</i>	404 838	322 144
<i>Postage and telephone</i>	86 189	81 756
Taxes	332 553	295 055
Staff costs	3 024 466	2 801 408
Deferred grant income	140 291	115 255
Depreciation and provisions	275 767	276 067
Others expenditure	112 827	1 836
Operational activities expenditure	5 472 119	5 021 494
Financial cost	2 772	2 838
Exceptionnal costs	70 377	23 286
Corporate tax	25 262	0
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	5 570 530	5 047 618

INCOME	2007	2006
Public grants	2 431 172	2 148 851
Private funding	3 004 176	2 745 787
<i>Donations and members subscriptions</i>	1 084 380	1 000 957
<i>Research funding & contracts</i>	1 872 948	1 674 023
<i>Other income</i>	46 848	70 807
Deferred grant income reversal	115 255	41 700
Provision reversal	55 958	16 705
Others incomes	23 925	16 786
Operational activities expenditure	2 626 310	2 224 042
Financial income	133 600	60 466
Exceptional income	23 936	20 502
TOTAL INCOME	5 788 022	5 050 797

Knowledge for action

Annual Report 2007

The French Institute of International Relations

