

FRENCH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ANNUAL REPORT

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FRENCH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
ANNUAL REPORT 1999



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MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR



For Ifri, the year 1999 was marked by the 20th Anniversary of its foundation. 1,500 people including some 80 leading specialists in international relations from the five continents invited for the occasion, as well as four foreign Heads of State attended the international conference on 3-4 November "Into the 21st century". Following the conference, the President of the Republic Jacques Chirac hosted a reception at the Elysée Palace at which he delivered an important speech. The event was also marked by a special edition of *RAMSES* that has grown in stature ever since it was first published in 1981 and by two issues of the publication *Politique étrangère*, the first devoted to a look back over twenty years of international policy (1979-1999) a period of considerable upheaval with 1989 as the pivotal year; the other covering the proceedings of the conference held on 3-4 November.

As can be seen from this report, this has not prevented Ifri from also being extremely active both in research and debate, in all areas of international relations as well as expanding its audience through education and publications. Without neglecting the more traditional aspects of foreign policy, the Ifri team naturally pays close attention to the transformation of the international system, globalisation and the new economy thereby prompting closer ties with the business community. The reader will also note that Ifri has become a prominent destination for international leaders and policy makers from around the world. Our institute is thus continuing to strengthen its position as leader in the field of international system analysis, organized around the two complimentary pillars of research and debate. Both its statutory independence and the diversity of its funding, unique in France, contribute to enhancing its influence.

In order to provide a clear overview of all our activities, we will henceforth be publishing an annual report of which this is the first issue. This report replaces the former quarterly newsletter. Those wishing to follow Ifri's activities on a continuous basis can consult our web site: www.ifri.org.

A stylized, handwritten signature in black ink.

Thierry de Montbrial

Member of the *Académie des sciences morales et politiques*

R E S E A R C H

Research undertaken at Ifri has a twofold objective: to forge synergies in France between researchers, academic and economic circles as well as policy makers of relevant government departments (in particular ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence); to develop the international dimension of research. Ifri attaches particular importance to developing a European perspective.

Research is organized around: individual or collective studies; debates in the form of seminars or conferences bringing together researchers, academics and senior policy makers from France and abroad together with representatives from economic and financial circles and lastly the Ifri annual report *RAMSES*.

In *RAMSES 2000*, Thierry de Montbrial highlights the main trends of the international system on the eve of the 3rd Millennium. He focuses on the necessary reconfiguration of the role of states within the evolving interaction between cooperation and sovereignty ("*Le monde au tournant du siècle*"; The world at the turn of the century). In the same publication Philippe Moreau Defarges examines the secular tension between ethics and politics with the advent of globalisation where law is subjected to two legitimacies — that of the sovereign state and that of the international community — and assesses the likelihood of achieving global norms. ("*Droit et mondialisation*"; Law and globalisation).

Furthermore institute researchers made a significant contribution to n°3/99 of *Politique étrangère* devoted to a retrospective analysis of twenty years of international relations. Thierry de Montbrial begins with a critical study of the state of theoretical debate in this area, Philippe Moreau Defarges assesses how the concept of humanity has evolved during this period both from a legal and political perspective ("*L'humanité, ultime "grande illusion" du xx^e siècle ?*"; Humanity, the ultimate "grand illusion" of the 20th century).

(See also areas of research).



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50th Anniversary of NATO, 23 April 1999.
Jacques Chirac, Bill Clinton and Javier Solana,
then Secretary General of NATO.

One of the major events of 1999 was to be the triumphant celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Atlantic Alliance in Washington on 23-25 April. An Alliance emerging victorious from the cold war and enlarged in March to include Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. Put to the test in Kosovo, Nato demonstrated its cohesion. However the disputable grounds for its intervention and the precarious peace that ensues raise a great many questions about armed intervention and cooperation between Washington and its European allies.

The war in Kosovo in underscoring Europe's military reliance on the United States, nevertheless revitalized European defence and security policy. The momentum initiated at the Franco-British summit in Saint-Malo and the dramatic shift in the British position prompted by Tony Blair resulted in significant progress being made throughout the year.

The issue of a rebalancing of tasks and responsibilities between European Union and Nato now lies at the heart of the transatlantic relationship.



In *RAMSES 2000*, **Dominique Moïsi** highlights the strengths and vulnerabilities of the United States in the age of globalisation.



Nicole Gnesotto analyses international security at the beginning of the 21st century stressing the contradictions resulting from the coexistence of several value systems.



Dominique David recalls the context surrounding the current major strategic initiatives: shifting violence, evolving warfare, technological development...



In the issue of *Politique étrangère* looking back to the past twenty years, **Frédéric Bozo** takes stock of the Alliance's achievements from the INF deployment "battle" to war in Kosovo and

while stressing its legitimacy and leadership, questions the scope of its role. He took up this theme again in presentations (under publication) delivered at several Nato 50th anniversary conferences in which he gave a historian's perspective.

Nicole Gnesotto considers common defence against the backdrop of renewed debate on Nato europeanisation or globalisation in "*Les Notes de l'Ifri*": *Burdensharing in Nato: Issues and Realities* — part of a trilogy she has produced.

Dominique David has published *La nouvelle architecture de sécurité de l'Europe* (with Bernard Adam, André Dumoulin, Bruce Georges and Eric Remacle).

> EUROPEAN SECURITY

EUROPEAN SECURITY ARCHITECTURE PUT TO THE TEST IN KOSOVO

Since 1989 evolving relations between the EU, Nato, the UN and OSCE are strongly conditioned by the impact of full-blown crises, the most prominent being, since 1991, the conflicts in the Balkans. The study "EU, Nato and OSCE" under the leadership of **Frédéric Bozo** and **Nicole Gnesotto** looks at the goals and resources of these organizations from a dual standpoint: their legitimacy; force effectiveness. The outcome of operation "Allied Force" in Kosovo is viewed as a comeback, albeit modest, of the UN. The authors stress that the Kosovo crisis has demonstrated that Nato is not adapted to the new missions it has set itself. They see the need for a clear redefinition, on a sound basis, of relations between a European Union with a military capability for it to act in conflict prevention and management, and Nato.

NATO AND THE EUROPEAN UNION AFTER KOSOVO (9-10 DECEMBER)

This seminar, organized by **Frédéric Bozo** brought together European and American research

chers as well as representatives from Foreign and Defence ministries. Participants were both mixed and critical in their assessment of the Kosovo intervention, both for the Balkans as well as for the Alliance, recognizing that in institutional terms Nato with its survival at stake, emerged strengthened. They agreed that the geographical scope of Alliance interventions — a transatlantic sticking point — would be limited by enlargement. It was agreed that some form of cooperation between Nato and the UN was necessary, although the prospect of developing a ESDI highlighted American misgivings on role sharing.

Speakers:

Dana Allin, Editor, *Survival*, IISS, London; Frédéric Bozo, Ifri; Stephen Cambone, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, Washington D.C.; Nicole Gnesotto, Institute for Security Studies of the WEU; Philip Gordon, Center on the US and France, Brookings Institution, Washington D.C.; Stephen Larrabee, RAND, Washington D.C.; Guillaume Parmentier, The French Center of the US/Ifri; John Roper, RIIA, London; Kori Schake, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, Washington D.C.; Jane Sharp, Center for Defence Studies, King's College, London; Serge Sur, Paris II University (Panthéon-Assas); Henry Zipper de Fabiani, *Délégation aux affaires stratégiques*, Ministry of Defence, Paris.

> ENLARGEMENT

BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE THREE NEW NATO ALLIES

The aim of this study was to undertake a qualitative assessment of bilateral defence cooperation between France and each of the three new Nato members since the end of the Warsaw Pact and consider possible areas of discussion on a European defence concept. These are: exchanges between military organizations, armaments cooperation and interaction on strategic concepts. This initiative led by **Dominique David**, draws on the expertise of leading military and strategic specialists in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic.

Contributors:

Bogdan Klich, Deputy Minister for National Defence; Stanislaw Parzymies, Professor at Warsaw University, adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Poland); Petr Lunak, Deputy Director, Policy and Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Jiry Sedivy and Jan Eichler, Institute of International Relations, Prague (Czech Republic); Ferenc Gazdag, Director, Institute for Strategic and Defence Studies, Budapest; Zsolt Pataki, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Hungary).

UKRAINE, GREATER EUROPE AND EUROPEAN SECURITY: 20TH CENTURY CHALLENGES (1-2 MARCH)



Organized by **Dominique David** and **Anita Tiraspolsky** in cooperation with the RAND Corporation (Washington) and the Kiev International Centre for Policy Studies with the support of WEU's Institute for Security Studies, this seminar, the first of its kind in France, considered Ukraine's role in the various European security issues both regionally and more globally. With the participation of specialists and officials from Central Europe, European and Atlantic institutions, Western European countries and the United States, the discussions considered Ukrainian options within the context of European integration.

Speakers:

Yevhene Bersheda, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Kiev; Zbigniew Brzezinski, CSIS, Washington D.C.; Kostiantyn Gryshchenko, Ukrainian Ambassador to Belgium; Bogdan Hawrylyshyn, International Centre for Policy Studies, Kiev; Rudolf Joo, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Hungary.

> INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

The year 1999 was also marked by intricate management of the consequences of the Indian and Pakistani tests in May 1998 and renewed tension in relations between Iraq, subjected to an unprecedented sanctions regime since 1990, and the United States. A further stand off between Washington and Baghdad in December 1998 led to UNSCOM's

SEMINARS

Two restricted sessions were held during the Kosovo crisis:

> 23 April

Ifri researchers – Frédéric Bozo, Dominique David, Nicole Gnesotto, Dominique Moisi, Thierry de Montbrial and Hans Stark – had a discussion with a group of experts and policy makers.

> 26 April

Russia, the West and Kosovo

with Wladimir Baranovsky, Deputy Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Moscow.

Seminars organized in cooperation with CEA

> 7 June

Russia and its Asian environment

Wladimir Baranovsky and Dimitri Trenin, Deputy Director, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Moscow.

> 26 November

Evolving international law. National sovereignty and humanitarian intervention

Gwyn Prins, Senior fellow, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.

> 14 December

The German debate on the future of nuclear weapons

Karsten Voigt, coordinator for German-US cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin.

departure and the setting up of UNMOVIC (United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission). However the international community remains increasingly divided on the question of Iraqi sanctions.

In the Balkans the "defeat" of Milosevic and the destruction inflicted on Serbia during the Kosovo war raises again the question of sanctions imposed on the FRY since 1991, also the subject of transatlantic disagreement.



In *Politique étrangère* n° 3/99, **Jean Klein** looks back over twenty years of arms control and disarmament agreements ("*Vingt ans de négociations sur le désarmement et la maîtrise des armements*"; Twenty years of arms control and disarmament negotiations); **Marie-Hélène Labbé** assesses the growing nuclear

proliferation over the same period ("*Vingt ans de prolifération nucléaire*"; Twenty years of nuclear proliferation).



REVIEW AND OUTLOOK FOR THE USE OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST STATES



Based on three case studies – Iraq, Serbia and India – this research programme, led by **Jacques Beltran** and **Marie-Hélène Labbé**, seeks to clarify the debate on economic sanctions by analysing the conditions in which such sanctions were applied: it studies their impact both economic and political and derives a number of rules to be observed in making this economic weapon more effective as part of enhanced transatlantic cooperation.

Contributors:

Jacques Beltran, Ifri; Marie-Hélène Labbé, Ifri; Hanns Maull, Trier University; Jean-Luc Racine, EHESS; Brahma Chellany, Center for Policy Research, New Delhi.

INTER-INSTITUTE MEETING

The Quadripartite, bringing together the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the RAND Corporation, the SWP (*Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*) and Ifri held its annual meeting in London on 3-5 October 1999 at the invitation of Chatham House.

Discussions were dominated by the war in Kosovo and focused on its impact on transatlantic relations and Nato's future in particular together with the prospects for European defence now firmly on the agenda. Also highlighted were doubts and mistrust inherent in the American perception of an emerging independent European defence capability.

The delegations were headed by Chris Gamble from Chatham House, James Thomson from RAND and Christoph Bertram from SWP. The Ifri delegation was comprised of Frédéric Bozo and Guillaume Parmentier as well as Gilles Andréani (research fellow at the IISS) and Henry Zipper de Fabiani, deputy director of the *Délégation aux affaires stratégiques*, Ministry of Defence.



KFOR monitoring flights, Kosovo.

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INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY: GLOBALISATION AND GOVERNANCE

In 1999, there was increased interdependence through trade, investment, mergers and acquisitions with **globalisation** continuing to dominate international economic headlines. At the same time **global governance** came to the fore, building on globalisation and seeking to limit its destabilizing effects.

These two themes have been the focus of particular attention at Ifri. Two chapters of *RAMSES 2000* deal with economic globalisation. In "Gouverner l'économie mondiale" (World economic governance), **Pierre Jacquet** studies the various dimensions of international cooperation (trade, finance, currency) and stresses the importance of a multilateral approach.



In "Réseaux contre nations? Les multinationales au XXI^e siècle" (Networks versus nations? Multinationals in the 21st century), **Frédérique Sachwald** questions the reality of the global enterprise and shows that smoother relations between multinationals and states since the 70s stem from the existence of a set of rules and recognized areas of action specific to each of the international players.



In the issue of *Politique étrangère* devoted to the last twenty years, Pierre Jacquet discusses and draws the lessons from increased capital flows;

Françoise Nicolas illustrates disparities in development experience and analyses the evolving "Washington consensus" and the role of international financial institutions.



> WTO MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

The preparation, followed by the failure of the WTO Interministerial Conference in Seattle in November was a major development in 1999. The *Millennium Round* Study undertaken by

Pierre Jacquet, Patrick Messerlin and Laurence Tubiana on behalf of the Economic Policy Council (*Conseil d'analyse économique - CAE*) of which Pierre Jacquet is a member, analyses French and European interests in the negotiation. It stresses the importance of strengthening WTO and adopting a proactive and ambitious negotiating posture taking full account of the key aspects of economic and trade interdependence. Pierre Jacquet also contributed as a discussant to the CAE report: "Agricultures et négociations commerciales" (Agricultural and trade negotiations). A seminar was devoted to this topic (see page 14).

> THE ASIAN CRISIS, FINANCIAL CRISES AND THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

The financial crisis which shook the "miracle economies" in 1997-1998 raises doubts about the policies and future of these economies. **Françoise Nicolas** has written many papers looking at the underlying causes of the crisis, focusing in particular on the link between the financial dimension and its impact (in particular: "Le regard de l'économiste : une crise aux multiples facettes"; An economist's perspective: a multifaceted crisis), in *Crises en Asie du Sud-Est*, edited by Philippe Richer; *Foreign Direct Investment and Recovery in Southeast Asia* (with Stephen Thomsen, OECD), etc. (see *Publications*). A seminar was devoted to this theme (see page 14).

EXCHANGE RATE POLICIES IN EAST ASIA

Undertaken by **Françoise Nicolas** during a two month visiting fellowship at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore, this research programme, funded by the European Commission, assesses the role of a rigid exchange rate policy in nurturing the crisis and considers possible alternative exchange rate policies available to Southeast Asian economies both individually as well as regionally. This initiative was published under the title "Is there a case for a single currency within ASEAN?",

TRANSATLANTIC PROGRAMME SEMINARS

> 12 January

What difference does the euro make in US perceptions of Europe?

Simon Serfaty, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington D.C.

> 25 January

What future for the Asian miracle?

Donald P. Hanna, Director General, Asia Economic Research, Goldman Sachs.

> 26 March

Is an agreement on culture possible and desirable?

Pierre Sauvé, researcher and visiting professor, Harvard University.

Singapore Economic Review and prompted various other publications (see *Publications*).

One of the dimensions of this study was the subject of a presentation by **Françoise Nicolas** on the difficulty of managing capital flows within financial globalisation, "Capital flows and exchange rate regimes in East Asia: lessons from the crisis" at the working group seminar of the Council for Asia-Europe cooperation on 13-14 September (see *Asia*).

FINANCIAL INSTABILITY AND THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM

Following the Asian crisis and with the advent of the euro, there was renewed debate on reforming the international monetary system notably with discussions on a system of target-zones. **Pierre Jacquet** has written many papers on the organization of the international monetary system (see *Publications*).

The report *The Case for Joint Management of Exchange Flexibility* by Pierre Jacquet together with C. Fred Bergsten (Institute of International Economics, IIE Washington D.C.) and Olivier Davanne (CAE) defends flexible exchange rates by making the case that close monitoring of exchange rates leads to improved investor information and serve to limit currency fluctuations. The authors stress that developing countries are not, as is often claimed, forced to choose a "tight" solution (fully fixed rate, for example with an issuing fund or pure floating) but can generate some leeway to manage exchange flexibility. This work was followed up in a study undertaken within the framework of the Tokyo Club by Olivier Davanne and Pierre Jacquet ("Practicing Exchange Rate Flexibility") which was the subject of a Chatham House meeting.

THE TOKYO CLUB

The Tokyo Club Foundation for Global Studies was created in 1987 by a leading Japanese investment bank Nomura Securities to promote the study and discussion of world economic management. This foundation brings together two groups of research institutes: on the one hand five institutes from the G5 countries: Brookings Institution (United States), *Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung* (IFO, Germany), Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House, United Kingdom), Nomura Research Institute (Japan) and Ifri; on the other ten Asian research institutes (China, Korea, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Taiwan). Its aim is to promote the work of these institutes on annual commonly identified themes. The studies are then published on the *Tokyo Club Papers*, available at web site: www.tcf.or.jp.

In 1999, the G5 agreed topic was the international financial architecture. Studies focused on reform potential, prudential regulations, analysis of the Asian crisis, management of the international monetary system, appropriate exchange regimes for central and Eastern European countries as well as monetary organization in Asia. A research meeting was held in London on 28-29 October 1999. In attendance were Barry Bosworth and Ralph Bryant (Brookings Institution), Rolf Dumke and Heidi Scherman (IFO), Olivier Davanne (*Conseil d'analyse économique*) and Pierre Jacquet (Ifri). Chris Gamble, Brigitte Granville (RIIA), John Forsythe (University of Cambridge), John Flemming (University of Oxford), John Calverley (American Express Bank, Ltd), Edward Chen (Lingnan College, Hong Kong), Zainal Aznam Yusof (Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Malaysia), Schozo Hashimoto, Hitoshi Okuda, Seiichi Masuyama, C.H. Kwan, Hidehiro Iwaki, Tetsuo Kondo, Kiyohiko Kukushima, Sir Douglas Wass, Takumi Shibata and Yoshindo Takahashi (Nomura Research Institute), Tadao Enoshita and Masao Kundo (Tokyo Club Foundation for Global Studies).

Pierre Jacquet and Olivier Davanne (CAE) presented a study on "Practicing Exchange Rate Flexibility".



> THE YEAR OF THE EURO

1999 was also the year of the euro. Ifri studied both the impact of the single currency on the international monetary system as well as on economic and exchange rate policy in Europe.

The study on **the euro and the dollar** undertaken by Claude Bismut and **Pierre Jacquet** within the Tokyo Club considers the various factors likely to influence the position of the euro. This study is published in "*Les Notes de l'Ifri*" (*The Euro and the Dollar: An Agnostic View*).

The creation of the single currency has strengthened the machinery for economic cooperation in Europe. In a joint study, **Making EMU a Success**, Rudiger Dornbusch (MIT) and Pierre Jacquet recommend the implementation of a European growth pact based on immediate tax cuts funded by an incremental programme of public expenditure reductions and deregulation to be initiated within the coordination of economic policies. This study led into the work of a planning group on economic policy coordination in Europe and was the subject of presentations given at a Chatham House conference and a Europe-Japan seminar at Trier.

A seminar was also held on the euro (see page 14).

MULTINATIONALS AND NATIONAL ECONOMIES: KOREA

Over the past ten years Ifri has been monitoring the growth of multinationals as a major component of globalisation. The research programme headed by **Frédérique Sachwald** in 1998-1999 and funded by the Korea Foundation analyses the interaction between corporate strategies and the path followed by the Korean development model with its internationalisation dependent on penetrating foreign markets and cutting imports.

In the 90s globalisation resulted in the growth of Korean multinationals whereas foreign investors in Korea were subject to numerous restrictions. This research programme provides an insight into the radical development of this trend and Korea's

recent move to facilitate foreign direct investment aimed at increasing the transfer of technology. An analysis of the difficulties encountered by Korean companies is valuable in assessing certain strategic trends.

A review seminar was held in November 1999. Contributions were discussed by Alice Amsden, MIT; John Cantwell, Reading University; Pierre Jacquet, Ifri; Randall Jones, OECD; Bruce Kogut, Wharton School; Lynn Mytelka, University of Ottawa.

This work is being published in *Going Multinational* (under the leadership of Frédérique Sachwald).

Contributors:

Françoise Nicolas, Ifri; Luis Miotti, Paris XIII University; Frédérique Sachwald, Ifri; Serge Perrin, Paris I University; Marc Lautier, University of Rouen; KongRae Lee, STEPI, Seoul.

> INNOVATION AND COMPETITIVENESS

Since the 80s the role of innovation as a fundamental growth driver is increasingly recognized and studied. Hence the focus on competitiveness in economic analyses and policies.

TRANSATLANTIC COMPARISONS

Frédérique Sachwald attended a CAE working group on competitiveness during 1999 and gave a presentation on the apparent lag between the innovation strategies of European companies and the EU's innovation policy. This study is published in the CAE report *Des politiques industrielles aux politiques de compétitivité en Europe* under the leadership of E. Cohen and J.H. Lorenzi.

Two innovation seminars were held.

DEFENCE INDUSTRY RESTRUCTURING

The study, undertaken by **Frédérique Sachwald**, defends the view that restructuring which started in the US — driven by a sharp decline in military spending on the one hand and escalating R&D costs on the other — is symptomatic of the



INNOVATION SEMINARS

> 13 April

Industrial and innovation policies. What have we learned?

This seminar organized jointly by Frédérique Sachwald with the *Conseil d'analyse économique* discussed the findings of an international research programme by Richard Nelson (Columbia University) on the sources of industrial leadership.

Participants:

Danièle Archibugi, CNR, Rome; Rémi Barré, OST; Elie Cohen, CNRS and CAE; Benjamin Coriat, Paris XIII University; Dominique Guellec, OECD; Jean-Hervé Lorenzi, Paris IX University and CAE; Richard Nelson, Columbia University; Frédérique Sachwald, Ifri.

> 15 October

What are the drivers of US competitiveness?

John Jochelson, president of the Council on Competitiveness, Washington D.C.; Elie Cohen, CNRS and CAE (*transatlantic programme*).

SEMINARS DEVOTED TO DEFENCE INDUSTRIES

> 11 February

The RMA, a strategic and industrial challenges for Europe?

Robert P. Grant, Associate Fellow at US-CREST and Ifri (*transatlantic programme*).

> 20 April

Policy towards an emerging transnational defence industry

This seminar, organized jointly by Frédérique Sachwald and Ann Markusen (Council on Foreign Relations), brought together industrialists and policy-makers from French and US Defence Ministries.

Participants:

Jean Barrio, Lagardère; Graham Chisnall, British Aerospace; Jean Fournet, *Délégation générale à l'armement*, Ministry of Defence; Steve Grundman, United States Department of Defence; Joel Johnson, American Aerospace Industries Association; Ann R. Markusen; Richard Ravitch, Ravitch Rice & Company; Frédérique Sachwald; Guillaume Schlumberger, *Délégation aux affaires stratégiques*, Ministry of Defence.

defence industry becoming more "common-place". Both civilian technology as well as political push are eroding the very foundations of defence industry exception. This study is published in a "Note de l'Ifri": *Defence Industry Restructuring: the End of an Economic Exception*.

Two seminars were held on this issue.

> REACTIONS TO GLOBALISATION

Ifri in conjunction with the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik* (DGAP, Berlin) and the Institute for International Economics (IIE, Washington D.C.) and with the support of the German Marchall Fund of the United States has launched a two-year research programme into the study of reactions to globalisation.

The programme comprises three aspects: a comparative analysis looking at how economic globalisation structures the debate in each country, within political parties, NGOs, trade unions; a critical study of how certain sectors or policies are adapting to globalisation (e.g. cultural policy in France) followed by a review of suitable policies aimed at stimulating the positive effects of globalisation and mitigate its negative effects.

José Bové, demonstration in Seattle, United States, 2 December 1999.



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EUROPEAN ISSUES

The Kosovo war emerged as the major challenge for Europe in 1999. However the European scene was also marked by the installation of a new Commission after the institutional crisis at the end of 1998, the adoption of Agenda 2000, preparations for the IGC and lastly the first steps of Gerhard Schröder's "new Germany" assuming the dual presidency of the EU and the WEU.

> INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES



An attentive follower of European construction, **Philippe Moreau Defarges** has published a new edition of his work *Les institutions européennes* (The European institutions). Beginning with the 1945 European institutional landscape, he analyses the foundation role and operation of Europe's institutions, a genuine institutional laboratory, as well as that of the pan european structures, by placing them in a political perspective. He considers the issue of crisis management (Kosovo in particular) and concludes on the need for the European institutional architecture to be overhauled.

> GERMANY AND EUROPE

The future of Europe was also discussed within the framework of the *Comité d'études des relations franco-allemandes* (Study Group on Franco-German Relations, CERFA) established at Ifri with the aim of analysing French and German foreign policy as well as issues that have a direct impact on relations between France and Germany.



In *Politique étrangère* n° 3/99, **Hans Stark**, Secretary General of CERFA, analyses the Federal Government's international policy over the last twenty years ("De Bonn à Berlin. D'une politique étrangère à l'autre?"; From Bonn to Berlin. From one foreign policy to another?). Similarly, he devotes a study to French foreign policy ("Frankreich in der Weltpolitik. Weltpolitik als Berufung?") in the *Länderbericht Frankreich* of the *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*.

THE SECURITY POLICY OF "NEW GERMANY"

This research programme headed by **Hans Stark** together with four German academics and researchers sets out to demonstrate that the evolution of German foreign policy — illustrated notably by the transfer of the Federal Government from Bonn to Berlin — forms part of a policy of continuity (see *Publications*).

Contributors:

Hans-Georg Ehrhart, *Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik*, University of Hamburg; Eckard Lübckemeier, Research Institute at the *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*; Berthold Meyer, *Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung*; Hans Stark, CERFA/Ifri.

EUROPE AND FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS (17 SEPTEMBER, PARIS)

Coorganized by CERFA and the research institut of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik* DGAP in conjunction with the French Foreign Ministry Policy Planning Staff and the German Foreign Ministry, the seminar was attended by leading French and German academics and researchers. It provided an opportunity for fruitful discussion of French and German positions on European construction — ahead of the IGC



Franco-German summit in Toulouse, 29 May 1999.
Lionel Jospin, Jacques Chirac and Gerhard Schroeder.



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Nato's 50th Anniversary formalizes enlargement, April 1999.

and future enlargement to countries of Central and Eastern Europe — as well as on European defence.

Participants:

Helmut Eifenkämper, *Planungstab*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin; Nicole Gnesotto, ISS at WEU; Sylvie Goulard, Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris; Josef Janning, *Centrum für Angewandte Politikforschung*; Karl Kaiser, DGAP, Berlin; Thierry de Montbrial, Ifri; Hans Stark, CERFA/Ifri.

> ENLARGEMENT

THE "ROLE OF CENTRAL AND EAST EUROPEAN ELITES IN ENDING THE COLD WAR AND REDEFINING THE WORLD" (17 DECEMBER, PARIS)

Opened by Stefan Meller, Polish Ambassador to France, and Thierry de Montbrial, this international conference open to the public, paid tribute to Poland's pioneering role and that of the publication *Kultura* in the emancipation of the communist states of Eastern Europe, and to the contribution of Polish opinion makers in forging closer ties with Western Europe. The accounts given by opponents of that period — artists, leading journalists (Natalia Gorbanievskaïa),

Nobel prize winner (Czeslaw Milosz), historians (Bronislaw Geremek, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland, Adam Michnik), philosophers (Leszek Kolakowski) and those of Jerzy Giedrocz, founder and director of *Kultura*, and by Zbigniew Brzezinski provided a particularly intellectual and human perspective to this gathering.

The discussions highlighted the fact that cultural continuity militates in favour of the establishment of a European cultural and political identity. On the French side they were led by René Rémond of the *Académie française*, Michel Foucher, adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and director of the Policy Planning Staff, Jacques Le Goff, historian.

INTEGRATION OF CANDIDATE COUNTRIES FROM CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

Ifri has attached particular importance to this dimension of enlargement, notably within the context of the "Franco-Austrian Centre" (*Centre franco-autrichien pour le rapprochement en Europe*, CFA).

(See Meetings: CFA)

TRANSATLANTIC PROGRAMME

The end of the cold war, a deepening and enlarging European Union and the new dynamism of the US economy mean that transatlantic relations remain more than ever the corner stone of the international system both in economic and trade terms as well as security.

Since 1997, with the support of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, Ifri has gradually built up the transatlantic dimension of its activities. This effort has resulted in:

- regular seminars being held with American guest speakers on themes central to relations between the United States and Europe (the "transatlantic seminars");
- the focus on involving American academics, business leaders or senior policy makers in the various events organized by the institute on a wide range of issues;
- the publication of a series of "transatlantic papers", allowing French or US authors to make their views, positions and recommendations

known and to contribute to open debate on both sides (see *Research: Ifri and corporate circles, and Publications*).

Conference:

The American Enterprise Institute (AEI) and Ifri organized a conference entitled "**The Transatlantic Community and Post-Cold War Challenges: Where do we Disagree and Why?**", from 9-11 April near Chantilly. This conference was part of the "New Atlantic Initiative" launched in 1996 under the aegis of AEI aimed at strengthening the atlantic community. It brought together almost a hundred American and European opinion leaders, including Central and Eastern Europe, and addressed key issues of common interest in the field of economics (state of transatlantic economies, European integration, WTO) and security (future of Nato, European defence, implications of the Kosovo war...). Ifri received support from the German Marshall Fund.

The meeting was organized by Jeffrey Gedmin from AEI and **Pierre Jacquet** from Ifri.



ASIAN ISSUES

Ifri founder member of the Council for Asian Europe Cooperation (CAEC) together with 5 other European institutes and 6 Asian institutes enjoys a prominent position in European and Asian networks of expertise.

> SECURITY ISSUES IN ASIA-PACIFIC

This research programme focuses on analysing the situation in the Korean peninsula and on the Taiwan question. More generally it reviews strategic developments in South-East Asia. The 2nd annual meeting of the Asia Pacific Security Forum-APSF was an opportunity for intra-Asian and Euro-Asian discussions on the range of regional security issues.

1999 ASIA PACIFIC SECURITY FORUM CONFERENCE: "THE DYNAMICS OF ASIA-PACIFIC SECURITY: A FIN DE SIÈCLE ASSESSMENT" (17-18 DECEMBER)



This Conference jointly organized by **François Godement** with the Institute for National Policy Research (INPR) of Taiwan was held in Taipei and was opened by the Defense Minister of Taiwan. The participants — US, European and Asian scholars and academics — discussed the balance of power in Asia-Pacific and the impact of information technologies on regional security. They ended by conducting a review of the different strategies — bilateralism, multilateralism, or "minilateralism" — likely to prevail in the area.

François Godement gave a presentation on "Sino-American Relations: Is There a New Paradigm?".

Furthermore Ifri's links with **CSCAP Europe** allow it to take an active part in the informal dialogue on regional security (second track) with Asian countries (*see CSCAP Europe*).

The Annual Plenary meeting of CSCAP Europe was held at Ifri on 18 June.

A focal point for Europeans on security issues in

Asia-Pacific, the meeting presented a mixed review of Europe's role in the Korean peninsula. The analysis of reactions of hostility and nationalism in China notably after the Chinese Embassy in Kosovo incident laid the blame squarely on the intervention "Kosovo doctrine". Lastly the debate on the impact of the financial crisis on regional security underscored the opposition between "regionalists" and "globalists" in Europe.

SINO-US RELATIONS

China is the focus of permanent research at Ifri. Chinese domestic policy, relations with Taiwan, China's place in the world and in Asia are monitored regularly. In *Politique étrangère* n° 3/99, **François Godement** looks at the cyclical evolution of the Chinese continent over the past twenty years ("*Chine : la transition sans fin*"; China, the endless transition).

As part of studies on security issues in Asia Pacific, a restricted working group on **the Status of Sino-US relations**, coordinated by François Godement met on 21-22 October. This session allowed four American and Chinese specialists to exchange views based on written contributions. The discussion was articulated around the interaction of domestic and economic factors as well as the strategic dimension in Sino-US relations. The contributions presented at this session are in publication.

Participants:

Shen Dingli, Center for American Studies, Fudan University; Elizabeth Economy, The Council on Foreign Relations; François Godement, Ifri; David Shambaugh, George Washington University; Zhang Yebai, Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

A study by François Godement and Xavier Crombe on "*La participation de la Chine aux dialogues multilatéraux de sécurité en Asie-Pacifique*" (China's participation in Asia Pacific multilateral security dialogue) was published in *Chine, Japon, ASEAN. Compétition stratégique ou coopération?* (Strategic competition or cooperation?).

CSCAP EUROPE

Achieving full membership of CSCAP (Council for Security and Cooperation in the Asia Pacific) in December 1998 after observer status since its creation in 1993, CSCAP Europe is the informal suggestions and information channel on European policies towards Asia for the Asean Regional Forum (ARF). The European committee comprises 80 members from 12 European countries: officials in their own capacity, experts and academics, representatives of the private sector, all sharing an interest in strategic developments in Asia Pacific. The secretariat of CSCAP Europe formerly based at IISS in London is now provided by Ifri. François Godement is co-chairman of CSCAP Europe.

Internet site: www.cscapeurope.org

> EMERGING FROM CRISIS IN ASIA AND REGIONAL COOPERATION

An immediate analysis of the Asian crisis led to the publication in early 1999 of *The Downsizing of Asia*, by **François Godement**. Regional restructuring in South East Asia was closely monitored by Sophie Boisseau du Rocher (*"La sécurité de l'Asie du Sud-Est à l'épreuve de la crise économique"*; South East Asian security tested by the economic crisis) in *Chine, Japon, ASEAN. Compétition stratégique ou coopération ?*

In *RAMSES 2000*, François Godement considers the establishment of a "regionalism open on the world" in Asia and notes the interdependence reluctance that hinders such a venture (*"États-nations ou régions en Asie orientale ?"*; Nation-states or regions in East Asia?).

Discussion of Europe's possible role in Asia, strengthened since the ASEM summit was held in Bangkok in March 1996, constitutes a further important area of Ifri's research, notably as part of its ties with the Council for Asia-Europe Cooperation (CAEC).

EUROPE-ASIA COOPERATION OVER AND ABOVE THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

In the context of the work undertaken by CAEC ahead of the ASEM (Asia Europe Meeting) in Autumn 2000, Ifri convened on 13-14 September one of the three groups mandated by CAEC on "Monetary and Financial Policies in European Asia: Impact of the Crisis and Outlook for Euro-Asian Cooperation".

This conference organized jointly by **François Godement** and Chia Siow-Yue of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) of Singapore, was attended by leading figures from Asia and Europe. The working group recommended the adoption of Asian monetary cooperation measures and stressed European interest in favour of the emergence of regional centers strongly structured around economic growth.

Françoise Nicolas gave a presentation on "Capital Flows and Exchange Rate Regimes in East-Asia: Options and Challenges".

The results of this work, submitted to the plenary meeting of CAEC in Tokyo in May 2000, were published in *"Les Cahiers de l'Ifri"*.

Coordinators:

Chia Siow-yue, ISEAS; François Godement, Ifri.

Members of the working group:

Ahn Choong Yong, Graduate School of International Studies, University Chung-Ang, Seoul; Suthiphand Chirathivat, Center for European Studies, University Chulalongkorn, Bangkok; Philippe Delhaise, Thomson Banwatch-Asia, Hong Kong; Jesus Estasnilao, University of Asia and the Pacific, Manille, former Minister of Finance, Philippines; Fan Gang, National Research Institute, Beijing; Heiner Flassbeck, former State Secretary, Germany; Daniel Gros, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels; Sahoko Kaji, University Keio, Tokyo; Takashi Kiuchi, The Long-Term Credit Bank of Japan Ltd, Tokyo; Jean-Pierre Lehmann, International Institute for Management Development (IMD), Lausanne; Stefano Manzocchi, University of Perugia; Thierry de Montbrial, Ifri; Suzanne Mundschenk, Association pour l'Union monétaire de l'Europe, Paris; Françoise Nicolas, Ifri; Simon Nuttal, member of the CAEC board of directors, College of Europe, Bruges; Jean-Michel Severino, World Bank, Washington D.C.; Augustine Tan, National University of Singapore; Soogil Young, Permanent Delegation of South Korea to the OECD.

> BILATERAL DIALOGUES

THE FRANCO-CHINESE DIALOGUE

This dialogue resulted in the holding of the second Ifri-Forum of China Reformers meeting on 7-8 October organized by **François Godement**. The first meeting was held in Beijing in 1998. Attended by researchers, academics and policy makers, this meeting established a Franco-Chinese dialogue on social economic conditions for stability, the consequences of the Asian crisis and regional security. The Chinese delegation



Akihiko Tanaka, François Godement, Yoshihide Soeya.
Meeting at JIIA, Tokyo.

was headed by Li Junru, vice-president of the Reformers Forum and Wang Jisi, director of the Institute for American Studies of Beijing. On 21st September moreover, Ifri received a Chinese delegation headed by Zhu Qizhen, former minister of Foreign Affairs and former Chinese ambassador to the United States.

FRANCO-JAPANESE DIALOGUE

The dialogue initiated since 1991 with the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) represents the backbone to this program.

> First Franco-Japanese Seminar on Security and Defence Issues (11-12 January)

Representatives from the French and Japanese Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Foreign Affairs attended the first seminar on Franco-Japanese cooperation in the field of security and defence, in Tokyo with JIIA. This meeting formed part of events during the "Year of France"

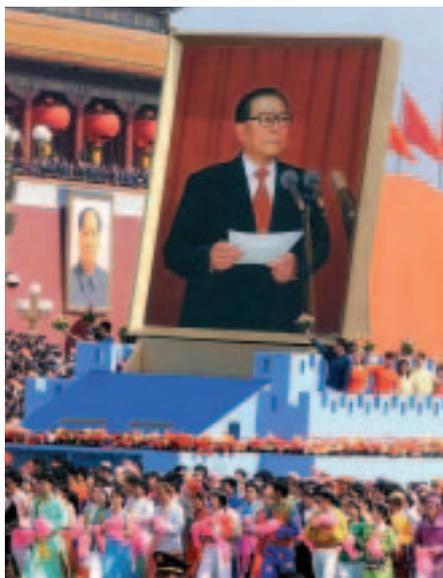
in Japan. Engaging high level dialogue between the two countries, it provided an opportunity to discuss European defence policy and development in the Japanese defence system.



The study by Régine Serra on Japanese defence policy developments ("*Le monde politique japonais en quête d'une nouvelle politique de défense*"; Japan seeks a new defence policy) was published in *Chine, Japon, ASEAN. Compétition stratégique ou coopération ?* (see Publications).

INTERNATIONALISM OF JAPAN

Régine Serra resided as visiting fellow at the Institute for International Economic Studies (IIES - Toyota Institute), Tokyo, from 22 November - 22 December. During her stay, she undertook a study on the Japan's perspective of internationalisation and on the opening initiated since the Nakasone Era 1982-87.



50th Anniversary
of the Popular Republic of China.

MIDDLE EAST AND MEDITERRANEAN

SEMINARS

> 28 May

US Middle East Policy:
Perspectives on Gulf Security

Speaker:

Dr. Jerrold Green, Director, Center for
Middle East Public Policy, RAND Corporation.

Facilitator:

May Chartouni-Dubarry.

> 18 November

Israel: The New Peace Challenges

Speakers:

Mark Heller, Principal Research Associate,
Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv
University; Alain Dieckhoff, Research direc-
tor, CERI/CNRS.

Facilitator:

May Chartouni-Dubarry.

Moderator:

Dominique Moïsi.

> MIDDLE EAST

After a three year freeze in the peace process, the coming to power of Ehud Barak's labour government after early elections in May 1999 stands out as the major event of the year in the regional equation.

In the Gulf region, the status quo resulting from the war in Kuwait persists. However US policy of dual containment towards Iraq, under international embargo for almost ten years, and Iran is now strongly criticised even amongst the leading circles in Washington.

ARMY/POLITICAL LEADERSHIP TIES

On a strategic level, the political culture of countries in the region remains dominated by the balance of power inherited from the Cold War. The peace process and the neutralisation of Iraqi power have not contributed to curbing the arms race. In both Israel and Egypt the military and political leadership remain closely interwoven.



In 1998 Ifri conducted a research programme headed by **May Chartouni-Dubarry** on the highly specific relationship between the nation of Israel and its army (*The Israeli Changing Agenda: Army/Society Relations*). Following this study, in 1999 a further study also undertaken by May Chartouni-Dubarry considered all aspects of the "Links between Army and political leadership in Egypt".

> MEDITERRANEAN

After a chaotic start, the EMP (Euro-Mediterranean Partnership) process launched in November 1995 in Barcelona is now on track. The freeze in the Israeli-Arab peace process jeopardised the whole architecture aimed at establishing a free trade area based on shared peace and prosperity between the EU 15 and 12 Southern Mediterranean partners. The Stuttgart Summit (Barcelona III) held in April 1995 led to a temporary easing of the Middle East

obstacle by finding a precarious balance between Israeli and Arab positions.

"COMPLEMENTARITY BETWEEN EU & US IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE PROCESS: THE IMPLICATION FOR EURO MEDITERRANEAN PARTNERSHIP"

This study carried out within the EuroMesco (see p. 22) network is the outcome of work undertaken by a small working group which met at Ifri in October 1998 and in July 1999 under the leadership of **May Chartouni-Dubarry**. The group's discussions attended by Arabs, an Israeli, an American and Europeans addressed three cross-cutting topics:

- The comparative advantages between US and EU.
- The comparative advantages between EU member states.
- The receptiveness of local players.

The report drawn by May Chartouni-Dubarry notes that, although US and EU differ in their approach to the peace process, this does not reflect diverging interest but rather a difference in priority setting ("globalist" approach to the area in the US, "regionalist" approach by Europeans). It further states that for various reasons, for all regional players and despite repeated calls for Europe to play a more active role, the US remains the main negotiating partner. It ends with recommendations aimed at optimizing de facto complementarity and leveraging the EU's competitive advantage.

Participants:

May Chartouni-Dubarry, Ifri; Graham Fuller, RAND Corporation, United States; Manuel Hassassian, University of Bethlehem, Palestine; Mark A. Heller, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Israel; Volker Perthes, *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*, Germany; Nadim Shehadi, Centre for Lebanese Studies, Great Britain.

INSTITUTE FOR MEDITERRANEAN POLICY STUDIES (IEPM)

In 1999 an *Institut d'études politiques méditerranéennes* was established with Ifri and ISPI

EUROMESCO

EuroMeSCo (Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission) is a non governmental network set up in 1996 with the financial support of the European Commission comprising independent foreign policy institutes from 27 signatory states of the Barcelona Declaration which established the Euro Mediterranean Partnership (EMP). May Chartouni-Dubarry represents Ifri on the Steering Committee.

EuroMeSCo seeks to promote a political and security dialogue within civil society and more particularly amongst experts, researchers and academics acting as confidence-building measures for EPM.



Map showing *EuroMeSCo* member institutes. Image from the web site: www.euromesco.net

(*Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale*, Milan), as cofounders. The head-office of this institute is located in Monaco.

For the first three years **Thierry de Montbrial** will chair IEPM. **May Chartouni-Dubarry** will coordinate research work for Ifri. Founded under Monaco law, IEPM was established with the support of the Principality of Monaco and organizations from both France and Monaco.

As an independent institute, IEPM has a twofold mission:

- Promote research and discussion at the highest level on all Mediterranean issues.
- Provide a forum for political and business leaders, academics, experts as well as media representatives from across the region.

During the launch phase of the institute (December 1999), Ifri focused on research topics stressing Europe-Eastern Mediterranean ties: "The EU's role in consolidating and multilateralizing peace in the Middle East"; "The involvement of Northern Europe in constructing a Euro-Mediterranean area"; "Is there a Mediterranean Europe?"; "The European Union in Israeli foreign and security policy".

> MAGHREB

The June early elections in Algeria and Abdelaziz Bouteflika's coming to power raised hopes of an end to the crisis. Ifri chose to address the Maghreb as a whole at a seminar devoted to Maghreb-US relations.

TOWARDS A NEW DIMENSION
IN MAGHREB-US RELATIONS

(8 OCTOBER)



This seminar organized by **Rémy Leveau** and **Khadija Mohsen-Finan** brought together leading American, Arab and French researchers. Participants assessed the strategic and economic issues that the Maghreb raises for the United States, considered possible areas of collaboration and reviewed perceptions of US influence in the region where American interest is concentrated on Algeria. American discussants stressed the absence of any US regional policy in the area, although Algerian leaders seem to be waving the threat of closer ties in order to encourage a bolder response from Europeans.



Participants:

Jameledine Chichti, University of Tunis; Mehdi Dazi, Scudder Kemper Investments, New York; Akram Ellyas, *La Tribune*, Paris; John Paul Entéris, Fordham University, New York; Nicole Grimaud, CERI/FNSP, Paris; George Joffe, RIIA, London; Rémy Leveau, *Institut d'études politiques*, Paris, Ifri; Luis Martinez, CERI/FNSP; William Quandt, University of Virginia, Charlottesville; Fahd Yata, *La Nouvelle Tribune*, Casablanca; William Zartman, SAIS, Washington.

> 15 December

Algeria: Prospects for an end to the crisis?

Participants:

Naoufel Brahim El Mili, financial expert, lecturer at *Institut d'études politiques*, Paris; Akram Ellyas, journalist, *La Tribune*, Paris.

Facilitators:

Khadija Mohsen-Finan, Ifri; Rémy Leveau, professor at *Institut d'études politiques*, Paris, Ifri.

AFRICA

The local conflicts that have been waged in Central Africa throughout the 90s have numerous implications. With no in-house expertise on Africa, Ifri commissioned a study on migratory flows from François Gaulme, editor of Afrique contemporaine and seminar director at the École spéciale militaire Saint-Cyr Coëtquidan.

The study "**Migrations and conflicts in central Africa: historical perspective**" underscores the interaction between conflict development and population flows in the Great Lakes region of Africa.

It is based on the historical analysis of two examples (Great Lakes and lower Congo in pre-colonial times) culminating in a detailed study of current demographic and conflict rationales in Rwanda and the Congo Republic (Formerly Congo-Brazzaville).

The population movement dialectic, inclination to withdraw into ethnic fortresses – new conflicts, shows no early sign of abating.

GLOBAL ISSUES

NEW EUROPEAN
IDENTITY AND CITIZENSHIP

In July Ifri launched a two year research programme entitled: "New European Identity and Citizenship".

This study undertaken with the support of the Ford Foundation, under the scientific leadership of **Rémy Leveau** and run by **Khadija Mohsen-Finan** considers the new forms of citizenship and identity that have emerged with the settlement of immigrant populations in various countries of Europe.

Through their claims to citizenship, shifting religious identities and by occupying the high ground both locally and at European level, these populations challenge longstanding citizenship models and give full meaning to the concept of supranational European citizenship. However will such European citizenship include all residents of Europe or will it increase the exclusion of certain migrants?

The specific studies carried out as part of the project assess the implications of three emerging citizenship trends:

- The impact of the demand for Islam.
- The emergence of undocumented migrants and their inclusion in an increasingly stratified society.
- Lastly the rising tide of ordinary or political refugees who are challenging European citizenship on their own terms.

France and Germany are the focus of comparison, however other European countries in which surveys have been made are also considered. A large team of researchers is involved in the study. For France: Rémy Leveau, Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, Vincent Geisser, Franck Frégosi, Vassouf Wudamalay, Riva Kastoryano and Hamit Borzalslan; for Germany: Werner Ruf, Klaus Geiger and Jamil Malik; for Belgium: Mario Martiniello and Monique Renharts; for Italy: Giovanna Zincone, Ottavia Smith and Giovanna

Campani; for Spain: Bernabé Lopez García and Joachim Arango; lastly for Britain: Danièle Joly and Karima Imtiaz.

GLOBAL THINKNET CONFERENCE

The Japan Center for International Exchange (JCIE) headed by Tadashi Yamamoto and Ifri organized the "3rd Global ThinkNet Conference" on 18-19 March in Paris. Bringing together some forty analysts and representatives of independent research institutes, the conference addressed the complex relations between globalisation, governance and civil society, theme of a major research project undertaken by JCIE.

The first session considered the role of civil society in the governance of societies as well as challenges common to the various development models. Session two focussed on the role of transnational civil society in international governance. The third session attempted to assess the role of research institutions (in the field of international relations) in the coming period and examined ways of strengthening international cooperation networks. In conclusion participants sought to define a common research agenda.

M E E T I N G S A N D D E B A T E S

Ifri makes available to its members and partners a network of French and foreign specialists on international issues. It receives prominent international figures from France and abroad including many distinguished leaders on official or private visits to France for weekly conference-debates, seminars, roundtables and informal meetings. The events organized by Ifri are aimed at fostering fertile interaction between research and debate.

Its objectives are twofold :

- create ties between the State and civil society;
- promote discussion between academic, economic and administrative circles, between practitioners (diplomats, civil servants, military staff, international civil servants) as well as teachers and researchers.

XXTH ANNIVERSARY

> INTO THE 21ST CENTURY
GLOBALISATION AT WORK
3-4 NOVEMBER

To mark its twentieth anniversary Ifri organized an international conference at the *Cité des sciences et de l'industrie de la Villette* on the interdependent themes of globalisation and European construction.

During two half-day plenary sessions, 1,500 participants including over 80 eminent figures invited to Paris for the occasion were able to hear the viewpoints of some of the leading players of contemporary international policy whose presentations were exceptionally informative. A half day was devoted to six parallel workshops focusing on topics addressed in *RAMSES 2000*.

Among the speakers, **Hubert Védrine**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, presented his realistic but ebullient vision of the world at the turn of the century. Of noteworthy interest was his assessment of relations between Europe and the United States and his reference to so called "Western neo-imperialism". He believes Europe could serve as the catalyst for the emergence of a genuine "international community".



Jean-Marie Lustiger, Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris, recalled that the church had long ago implemented the concept of globalisation and called for its self regulation.



Pedro Malan, Minister of Economy and Finance, Brazil, spoke out against a universalist form of globalisation dominated by Western civilization and called for the preservation of national identities.



The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Africa, **Nkosazama Clarice Zuma**, criticized the process of exclusion brought about by globalisation. She deplored the resulting



reduction in state sovereignty, adding that many developing countries suffer from too little rather than too much state and inveighed against the agricultural protection of industrialised countries.



President **Henri Konan Bédié** of Ivory Coast, now dismissed from office, followed up by stressing the need for international assistance and debt forgiveness of developing countries urging them to set up reasonably protected regional markets.



C. Fred Bergsten, Director of the Institute for International Economics, wondered how globalisation would evolve and recommended the adoption of new international rules of the game.



Jean-Marie-Messier, CEO of Vivendi, and **André Villeneuve**, Executive Director of Reuters Group plc, gave the perspective of big business.



Aleksander Kwasniewski, the Polish President, sought to define the "cultural code" of Europe, this "common spiritual area based on freedom and therefore democracy but also on awareness of social problems, solidarity with the weakest". He clearly stated his faith in the European success.



Lord Dahrendorf and **Karl Kaiser** (photo) referred to the difficulties of European construction: the former recalled that Europe had failed to integrate the Eastern countries of the continent at the turn of the century and urged the European Union to see it as its duty not to erect a wall around its outer borders (notably with Ukraine, Russia and Turkey) and to keep its promise to the Balkans; the latter stressed the need for the EU not to compromise on the rules of the *acquis communautaire* and to adopt the reforms that would enable it to function at 28 including the deepening of enhanced cooperation.



Thierry de Montbrial underscored the time factor in the European construction process — a test laboratory for the new political unit that will emerge in the next century.



Christian Sautter outlined his views on international trade regulation setting out the conditions, as he sees them, for successful globalisation, which include cultural diversity, the precautionary principle as well as environmental and social standards. He too called for greater generosity towards the poor countries.



Lord Robertson, the new Secretary General of Nato, welcomed the advent of a stronger European security and defence identity within Nato.



Teo Chee Hean, Singaporean Minister, also addressed security issues but within the context of Asia. He stated bluntly: "*the post cold war world is not multipolar. The malaise is because globalisation is in fact americanisation*". Noting that it is impossible to undo globalisation, he called for a redefinition of concepts such as: government, state, nations interests as well as the need to renovate certain institutions.



Alain Richard, French Defence Minister, hailed as a major step forward for European Defence the constructive and coherent role played by Europeans during the crisis in Kosovo.



For **Brent Scowcroft**, the security of the European continent during the 21st century will only be assured through close cooperation between the United States, Europe and Nato. He does however make this contingent upon Russia joining an overarching structure covering all security issues of the continent (a revamped OSCE) and that Europe should not be in competition with the United States.



Andrei Kokoshine, vice-Chairman, Russian Academy of Sciences, asked the West to help Russia join international markets notably in the field of defence industries.



Johannes Rau, the new President of the Federal Republic of Germany, also presented a vision of Europe rooted in culture. He stressed the urgent need for a radical reform of European institutions and vigorously supported the idea of a federal European constitution.



Javier Solana, High Representative of the European Union for Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), set on his vision of a "European model" society and the resulting principles for the Union's external policy.



On the basis of his own country's remarkable experience in managing the emergence of the information society, the President of Finland **Martti Ahtisaari** urged Europe to take the lead in its development and become "*the continent which reconciles technology, economy, balanced social development and the rights of the individual*", and offered a refreshing and dynamic vision of globalisation.

Lastly, **Abdlatif Youssef Al-Hamad**, Chairman of the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, presented a candid view of the Arab world and explained why he did not believe that the countries of the region would necessarily count among "history's losers".



Ismaïl Kadaré, of the *Académie des sciences morales et politiques*, each gave their vision of the impact of globalisation on the cultural environment.



Hisashi Owada, Chairman of the Japan Institute of International Affairs (Tokyo), and



André Villeneuve, Pedro Malan, C. Fred Bergsten.



Congress room,
Cité des sciences et de l'industrie.



Johannes Rau, Thierry de Montbrial, Javier Solana.



Javier Solana.



Helmut Sonnenfeldt.



Andrei Kokochine, Lord Robertson, Alain Richard, Dominique Moisi, François Godement.

WORKSHOPS

Worsening Inequalities in the World

Masood Ahmed, vice-President, World Bank (Washington, D.C.)

Assia Bensalah Alaoui, Director of Studies, *Centre d'études stratégiques* (Rabat)

Théodore Columbus, Director General, ELIAMEP (Athens)

Yoichi Funabashi, Diplomatic correspondent and columnist, *Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo)

Moisés Naïm, Editor, *Foreign Policy* (Washington, D.C.)

Jusuf Wanandi, Director, Center for Strategic and International Studies (Jakarta)

The New Security Dimensions

Gilles Andréani, Senior Fellow, International Institute for Strategic Studies (London)

Christoph Bertram, Director, *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik* (Berlin)

John Chipman, Director, International Institute for Strategic Studies (London)

Han Sung-Joo, Chairman, Ilmin International Relations Institute (Seoul)

James Hoge, Editor, *Foreign Affairs* (New York)

Andrei Kokoshine, vice-Chairman, Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow)

Winston Lord, Former assistant to the Secretary of State (United States)

International Financial Architecture

C. Fred Bergsten, Director, Institute for International Economics (Washington, D.C.)

Rudiger Dornbusch, Professor, MIT (Cambridge, Mass.)

Yoshindo Takahashi, Dean and Director, Nomura School of Advanced Management (Tokyo)

Martin Wolf, Editor, *Financial Times* (London)

Soogil Young, Ambassador, Permanent representative of the Republic of Korea to the OECD

International Relations and Sustainable Development

Richard Cooper, Professor, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.)

Tommy Koh, Director, Asia-Europe Foundation (Singapore)

Jessica Mathews, President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Washington, D.C.)

Alvaro Vasconcelos, Director, *Instituto de Estudos Estratégicos e Internacionais* (Lisbon)

Tadashi Yamamoto, Chairman, Japan Center for International Exchange (Tokyo)

Law and Globalisation

Lord Dahrendorf, Member of the House of Lords

Karl Kaiser, Director, *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik* (Berlin)

Jim Hoagland, Editor, *Washington Post* (Washington D.C.)

Hisashi Owada, Chairman, Japan Institute of International Affairs (Tokyo)

Sergueï Rogov, Director, Institute of United States and Canada (Moscow)

Science, Information Society and Interdependence

John Deutch, Professor, MIT (Cambridge, Mass.)

Philippe Kourilsky, Professor, *Collège de France* (Paris)

Cesare Merlini, Chairman, *Istituto Affari Internazionali* (Rome)

Joël de Rosnay, Director of Strategy, *Cité des sciences et de l'industrie* (Paris)

Eugene Skolnikoff, Professor, MIT (Cambridge, Mass.)

On Wednesday 3 November, **Philippe Faure**, Managing Director of GAULTMILLAU, hosted a reception for the participants at the *Pavillon Ledoyen* with the support of leading French chefs.

OTHER FOREIGN GUESTS OF IFRI

Bill Antholis, Visiting researcher, German Marshall Fund of the United States (United States)

Andras Balogh, Ambassador, Director General, Hungarian Institute of International Affairs (Hungary)

Vladimir Baranovsky, Deputy Director, Institute of World Economy and International Relations (Russia)

Boris Biancheri, Chairman, *Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale* (Italy)

Vladimir Bilcik, Deputy Director, Slovak Foreign Policy Association (Slovak Republic)

Joachim Bitterlich, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Spain (Germany)

Christophe Carle, Deputy Director, UNIDIR (France)

Patrick Chamorel, Stanford University (United States)

Căiș Traian Dragomir, Ambassador, Editor, *Romanian Life* (Romania)

Andriy Fialko, Deputy Director, Foreign Policy Directorate (Ukraine)

Chris Gamble, Director, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House (United Kingdom)

Ferenc Gazdag, Director, Hungarian Institute for Strategic and Defence Studies (Hungary)

Georgy Granasztói, Chairman, Batthyány Foundation (Hungary)

Steve Grand, Director, Policy and Opinion Leaders Program, German Marshall Fund of the United States (United States)

Charles Grant, Director, The Centre for European Reform (United Kingdom)

Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, Director, International Centre for Policy Studies (Switzerland)

Brenda Hunter, Executive Assistant, The Potomac Foundation (United States)

Michael Iovenko, President, The French-American Foundation (United States)

Peter Jankowitsch, Secretary General, Franco-Austrian Centre (Austria)

George Joffe, The Royal Institute of International Affairs (United Kingdom)

Bogdan Klich, Director, Institute for Strategic Studies (Poland)

Ingo Kolboom, Professor, *Geschäftsführender Direktor, Institut für Romanistik/Cifraqs* (Germany)

Helmut Kramer, Professor, Wifo, *Österreichisches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung* (Austria)

Arrigo Levi, Foreign Relations Adviser to the President of the Republic (Italy)

Raimundas Lopata, Director, Institute of International Relations and Political Science (Lithuania)

Peter Ludlow, Director, Centre for European Policy Studies (Belgium)

James G. Lowenstein, APCO Associates (United States)

Daniel McDonald, President, The Potomac Foundation (United States)

Christopher Mallaby GCMG GCVO, Former Ambassador (United Kingdom)

Dame Pauline Neville-Jones, vice-Chairman strategy, Hawkpoint Partners (United Kingdom)

Alexandr Ort, Director of studies, Centre of International Studies Jan Masaryk (Czech Republic)

Jose Maria Oyarzabal, *Fundación BBU* (Spain)

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

Jacques Chirac, "France in a multipolar world", speech given at the *Palais de l'Élysée*, 4 November 1999.

« *The leading French "think tank" [...] a "think tank", a policy studies centre encompassing both academia and the private sector, dependent on neither and devoted to the study of international relations. Ifri has proved its worth becoming for scholars, the media and politicians an independent forum for thought and discussion.* »

Alain Frachon and Eric Izraelewicz, *Le Monde*, 26 October 1999.

« *Founded in 1979 by Thierry de Montbrial, Ifri has become one of Europe's leading centres for foreign policy studies, a focal point open to the world where ideas that drive major international initiatives germinate.* »

François Schlosser, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 14-20 October 1999.

« *Ifri remains the only French institute for research and debate on international relations capable of rivaling anglo-saxon think tanks.* »

Paula Boyer, *La Croix*, 3 November 1999.



Hubert Védrine.

MEETINGS AND DEBATES

XXTH ANNIVERSARY



Jean-Marie Lustiger, Pedro Malan.



Dominique Moisi, Hisashi Owada, Ismail Kadaré.



Thierry de Montbrial.

Charalambos Pamboukis, Secretary General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Greece)

Andrew J. Pierre, Jennings Randolph Director of Research, United States Institute of Peace (USA)

Federico Rampini, European Editor, *La Repubblica* (Italy)

John E. Rielly, President, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations (USA)

Jim Rollo, co-Director, Sussex European Institute (United Kingdom)

Panagiotis Roumeliotis, Special Representative of the European Union to the Process of Royaumont (Greece)

Wolfgang Schallenberg, President, Austrian Association for Foreign Policy and International Relations (Austria)

Ingrid Shikova, Director, Centre for European Studies (Bulgaria)

Stefano Silvestri, vice-President, *Istituto Affari Internazionali* (Italy)

Eugen Simion, President, Romanian Academy (Romania)

Helmut Sonnenfeldt, The Brookings Institution (USA)

Immo Stabreit, President, *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik* (Germany)

Alfred van Staden, Director, Netherlands Institute of International Relations (Netherlands)

Seyfi Tashan, Director, Foreign Policy Institute (Turkey)

Anatoly Torkunov, Deputy Director, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (Russia)

Ivan Tuline, vice-Rector, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (Russia)

Dario Valcarcel, Adviser to the Incipe, Director of *Politica Exterior* (Spain)

Georges Vilain XIII, vice-President of the Council, Royal Institute of International Relations (Belgium)

Franz Vranitsky, Former Chancellor of Austria

Robert Wade-Gery, BI (United Kingdom)

Philippe de Woot, Professor, *Université Catholique* of Louvain (Belgium)



After the conference, President **Jacques Chirac** hosted a reception at the Elysée Palace at which he gave an important speech, a powerful plea for building a multipolar world in which the European Union should naturally play a prominent role.

He further called for a strengthening of international institutions both in economic and security terms, stressing the need to combat "exclusion" that grows with globalisation.

The celebration ended with a dinner hosted by **Anne-Claire Taittinger**, Chairman of the Board of the *Société du Louvre* at the *Hôtel de Crillon*.

Part of the official programme for the year 2000 celebration in France, this conference received the support of *Mission 2000 en France*, the *Cité des Sciences et de l'Industrie*, the *Bosch Stiftung*, the Ford Foundation, the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the Potomac Foundation as well as Reuters, Concorde Hotels and Air France.

CONFERENCES

> LATIN AMERICA

> 15 March

Venezuela and its environment

Jorge Giordani, Minister of State of Venezuela, Minister for Planning and coordination, and **Maritza Izeguirre Porra**, Minister of Finance, governor for Venezuela of the Interamerican Development Bank.

> 23 March

Mexico: from financial crisis to political modernisation

Xavier de Villepin, Chairman of the French Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Armed Forces Committee.

> ASIA

> 4 February

After the Asian crash: a major social crisis

Richard Werly, journalist, *La Vie*.

> 6 April

The Far East after the storm

Domingo L. Siazon, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines.

> 7 April

Pakistan and security in South Asia

Muhammad Siddique Khan Kanju, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan.

> 25 May

The return of Asia

Robert Cooper, Director, Asia Pacific, Foreign Office, London.

> CIS

> 1 February

Azerbaijan and security in the region

Tofiq Zoufougarov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan.

> 30 March

Prospects for peace in the Caucasus: hopes and realities

Khosrov Haroutunian, President of the National Assembly of Armenia.

> 27 October

Daghestan, Tchetchnia: another in the Caucasus?

Georges Charachidze, Professor at *Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales* (INALCO), and **Charles Urjewicz**, lecturer at INALCO.

> 26 November

Russia before the elections: domestic and foreign issues

Evgueni Primakov, former Prime Minister of the Russian Federation.

> 16 December

The Russian dilemmas

Zbigniew Brzezinski, former Adviser to President Carter and member of CSIS, Washington.

> UNITED STATES

> 24 March

US public opinion and US foreign policy in 1999

John E. Rielly, Chairman, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

> 16 June

America and Kosovo

Stanley Hoffmann, Professor, Harvard University.

> EUROPE

> 17 February

Foreign policy of Estonia

Raul Mälik, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Estonia.

> 9 March

Toward a political Europe

Pierre Moscovici, French Minister for European Affairs, and **Günter Verheugen**, German Minister for European Affairs.

> 29 April

Czech foreign policy

Jan Kavan, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic.

> 5 May

Slovakia on the threshold of the European Union

Jan Figel, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic.

> 10 May

Kosovo at war

Thierry de Montbrial, member of the *Académie des sciences morales et politiques*, Ifri; **Dominique David**, Ifri; **Nicole Gnesotto**, Ifri; **Dominique Moïsi**, Ifri; **Hans Stark**, Secretary General of CERFA, Ifri.

> 18 October

Lithuania in the new European area

Vytautas Landsbergis, President of the Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania, Former Head of State of Lithuania.

> MIDDLE EAST AND ARAB WORLD

> 13 January

The foreign policy of the State of Israel

Ariel Sharon, Foreign Minister of Israel.



Thierry de Montbrial, Aleksander Kwasniewski.

> 14 January

The Afghan crisis

Barnett R. Rubin, Director and Senior Fellow, Center for Preventive Action, Council on Foreign Relations, New York.

> 19 May

The Israeli political system confronting elections

Yirmiyahu Yovel, Professor of philosophy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and at the New York School of Social Research, New York.

> 3 June

The United States and the Middle East after the Israeli elections

Michael Eisenstadt, The Washington Institute, Washington.

> 28 June

Contemporary Yemen

Rémy Leveau, Professor at the *Institut d'études politiques*, Paris, Ifri; **Franck Mermier**, researcher at *CNRS/Groupe de Recherche et d'études sur la Méditerranée et le Moyen-Orient/GREMMO*.

> 26 November

International support for the Palestinian leadership

Michel Rocard, former Prime Minister, Member of the European Parliament, Chairman of the Task Force Commission, Council on Foreign Relations, New York.

> 1 December

Democratic challenges in the Arab and Islamic World

HRH Prince Moulay Hicham Ben Abdallah El Alaoui, Morocco.

> GLOBALISATION

> 19 October

The United States and Europe confronting globalisation

Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Chairman of the Board, *Institut des hautes études de défense nationale* (IHEDN).

> 29 November

France, the United States and globalisation

Felix G. Rohatyn, United States Ambassador to France.

> INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

> 18 January

For a French peace strategy in the 21st century?

François Géré, scientific Director, *Fondation pour les études de défense* (FED).

> 24 November

*From Kosovo to Timor:**the future of humanitarian intervention*

Alvaro Vasconcelos, Director, *Instituto de Estudos Estratégicos e Internacionais* (IEEI), Lisbon.

> 15 December

The new strategic posture and National Missile Defence

Thérèse Delpéch, researcher, *Centre d'études et de recherches internationales* (CERI), and **Marc Perrin de Brichambaut**, Director for Strategic Affairs, Ministry of Defence.

> INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ISSUES

> 21 January

The hunger weapon

Sylvie Brunel, Strategic Adviser, *Action contre la faim* (ACF).

> 9 February

The UN Security Council: a role that needs redefining?

David M. Malone, Chairman, *International Peace Academy*, New York.

> 15 February

Europe, United States, Japan before year 2000

The Hon. Sir Leon Brittan, QC, vice-President of the European Commission.

> 14 April

Repentance: a political act?

Philippe Moreau Defarges, Professor at the *Institut d'études politiques*, Paris, Ifri.

> 22 April

Sovereignty in question

Bertrand Badie, Professor at the *Institut d'études politiques*, Paris, Ifri.

> 29 June

John Paul II. A Pope at the heart of History

Jean-Bernard Raimond, Ambassador of France, former Minister, member of French National Assembly.

> 14 October

Globalised violence

Gérard Chaliand, Director, *Centre européen d'études des conflits* (FRS); **Dominique David**, Ifri; **Loup Francart**, General Moderator; **Dominique Moisi**, Ifri.

Conferences and meetings organised by Ifri are featured on the Institute web site: www.ifri.org.

THE FRENCH CENTER ON THE UNITED STATES (CFE)

The United States and France find it difficult to understand each other. This is particularly the case for political business and administrative leaders of both countries for whom there is no permanent structure to facilitate informal dialogue.

The **French Center on the United States (CFE)** set up on September 1999 at Ifri, jointly with the **Center on the United States and France (CUSF)** at the **Brookings Institution** in Washington, is aimed at improving mutual knowledge of public policy in France and the United States thereby enabling policy makers to gain a better understanding of how the other country's system operates, through research on issues of topical prominence for the French-US relationship.

This think tank, independent in its work and conclusions keeping in touch with the major developments affecting political and business circles, will ease understanding of political, economic and social developments of the United States by working on domestic and foreign policy as well as political economic issues which all impact on the conduct of global US policy. The CFE and the center on the United States and France maintain a close working relationship.



The "Jefferson Building" of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

> ACTIVITIES

The French Center on the United States aims to promote in depth work on topics of relevance to public and private decision makers, in close conjunction with the sectors concerned, and in particular with companies that support these programs. This initiative takes the form of studies and meetings.

The main activities are the following:

- Publications: Policy papers, reviews, books, editorials.
- Meetings bringing together public and private sector decision makers (quasi track two) aimed at establishing a permanent structure for informal discussion between policy makers with the participation of experts.

- Seminars involving senior US policy makers visiting Europe.
- Annual conference organised jointly with the CUSF, alternating United States and France.
- Receives visiting US scholars for periods of varying duration.
- Interactive web site.

> ORGANISATION



The Head of the French Center on the United States is **Guillaume Parmentier**, also associate professor at Paris II University. He served on the Nato senior staff from 1990 to 1994 then as adviser to the French Defence Minister from 1995 to 1997. He is the author of several publications and articles on transatlantic relations and European security issues. Created within Ifri and interacting closely with it, the center will ultimately comprise 5 or 6 experts working on key developments concerning the United States and Franco-American relations.

An advisory Board has been established under the chairmanship of Thierry de Montbrial.

> FUNDING

The French Center on the United States operates on the basis of several multiyear programs funded by contributions from interested partners. The CFE receives no direct public subsidy. Participation in CFE programs provides access to all the center's work.

The CFE does not undertake commissioned studies but is able to provide information of use to contributing members.

The CFE is supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

INVOLVEMENT OF RESEARCHERS IN INTERNATIONAL DEBATE

Ifri scholars are regularly called upon to provide a French perspective at leading international fora: the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Wilton Park or the Ditchley Foundation in Britain, renowned university research centers and Ifri peer institutes around the world. This participation in international debate enriches their own thinking.

> SECURITY: TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS/PROLIFERATION

FRÉDÉRIC BOZO

- Presentation "François Mitterrand's atlantic policy" at the conference "François Mitterrand 1981-1984" organised by the *Fondation nationale des sciences politiques/FNSP* and the François Mitterrand Institute, **Paris**, 14-16 January.

Participation in major international debates organised in conjunction with Nato's fiftieth anniversary in particular:

- "Nato after fifty years", Kent State University, **Kent**, Ohio, 7-8 May;
- "Nato: the first fifty years", **Bonn**, 20 May;
- "Cooperation between the UN and Nato: Quo Vadis?", International Peace Academy, **New York**, 11 June;
- "A strategy of stabilization for the Balkans", 7th Castelgondolfo Colloquium on Transatlantic Affairs, organized by the *Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale* (CESPI), **Castelgondolfo**, 9-10 July.

JEAN KLEIN

- Presentation: "The past and future of the Atlantic Alliance" at the international conference of the European Academy of Otzenhausen, **Nonnweiler**, Sarre, 18-20 June;
- "Europe and Nato: what security for Europeans?" Europaeum Summer University conference (consortium of six European universities: Bologna,

Bonn, Geneva, Leiden, Oxford, Paris). **Paris**, *Panthéon Sorbonne*, 3-4 September.

MARIE-HÉLÈNE LABBÉ

- "Repairing the regime of non proliferation", 7th annual conference of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, **Washington**, 11-12 January;
- "Iraqi proliferation", seminar of the Institute for Science and International Security (ISIS), **Washington**, 13 January.

DOMINIQUE MOÏSI

- "Nato fifty years and beyond", conference organized jointly by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), the Atlantic Council of the United States and the Association of the United States Army (AUSA), State Department, **Washington**, 9 April;
- "A French view of US foreign policy", presentation given at the invitation of the Philadelphia Committee on Foreign Relations, **Philadelphia**, 13 April;
- Presentation: "The lessons of Kosovo" at the annual Bilderberg meeting "Nato's future", **Lisbon**, 4-5 June.

THIERRY DE MONTBRIAL

- Attended the 35th Munich Conference of Security Policy, **Munich**, 5-7 February.

GUILLAUME PARMENTIER

- "The European Security and Defence Identity and Nato's Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI)", Potomac Foundation, **Washington**, 17 September;
- "Franco-Russia-British Seminar" at **Wilton Park**, 15-16 October;
- "Franco-German relations and European integration in transatlantic dialogue", AICGS Condominium Competitors, **Washington**, 16 September.

> EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION / EUROPEAN SECURITY

JACQUES BELTRAN

- "Foreign and defence policy – current challenges", Vth Franco-German colloquium, *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung*, **Roquebrunne**, 19-20 November.

DOMINIQUE DAVID

- "Europe on the threshold of the new millennium", Defense Study Center, **Brussels**, February 23;
- "Nato entering the 21st century. A strategic vision for Central Europe", Institute for Central European Studies of the Teleki Laszlo Foundation and Hungarian Foreign Affairs Ministry, **Budapest**, 26-27 March;
- "France, Germany and Britain in a changing world", Bradford University, **Bradford**, 21 May;
- "The United States in the European security system", Institute for Strategic Studies, **Krakow**, 2-3 October;
- "The United Nations, the Atlantic Alliance and the European Union: hard and soft security in a global world", *Institut européen de prospective et de relations internationales* (IEPRI), **Brussels**, 25-26 October.

NICOLE GNESOTTO

- "European Security Identity Evolution", *Institut royal supérieur de défense*, **Brussels**, 13 January;
- "France, Britain and European Security: constructive or dialogue of the deaf?", Franco-British Conference at Bath University, **Bath**, 27-28 May.

In addition, as a member of the CFSP "High Level Group of Experts" appointed by the European Commission, Nicole Gnesotto took part in the relevant working group meetings in Brussels.

JEAN KLEIN

- Presentation Otzenhausen European Academy colloquium "The ties between German and European Policy from the 17th to the 20th century", **Nonnweiler**, Sarre, 23-25 April.

DOMINIQUE MOÏSI

- "European common foreign and security policy", the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, **Jerusalem**, 8-12 January;
- Presentation to the attendees of the 94th Nato Defence College session on "European Security and Defence Identity", **Rome**, 12 May;
- Presentation of "France and France's place in Europe", Royal College of Defence Studies, **London**, 8 June;
- "The New European Scene", The Council of the United States and Italy, **Como**, 13-15 June.

THIERRY DE MONTBRIAL

- Presentation on Europe given to the French Institutes of Cologne, Dusseldorf, Bremen and Kiel, **Germany**, 23-26 February;
- Visit to **Finland** at the invitation of the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Talks with members of the government and senior political leaders. Presentation at the Finnish Institute for International Relations "EU, NATO and European security", 27-29 April.
- Visit to **Greece** at the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic. Working session with political directors of departments in charge of Balkan States, Turkey, Black Sea and Caucasus states; round-table discussion with directors of Greek policy studies institutes (ELLAMEP, IDIS, EKEM). Presentation at Athens University: "Globalisation and foreign policy", 16-22 October.

MEETINGS AND DEBATES

INVOLVEMENT OF RESEARCHERS IN INTERNATIONAL DEBATE

GUILLAUME PARMENTIER

- Intervention at the 5th Franco-German Colloquium organized by the *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung* on "Foreign and defence policy. The current challenges", **Roquebrunne**, 19-20 November.

HANS STARK

- "The EU's Big Three: new leaders, new dynamics", US State Department, **Washington**, 25 January;
- "Nato at Fifty: what tasks for Europe on the world stage?", *Université libre de Bruxelles*, **Brussels**, 5 March;
- Study session organized by the German Foreign Affairs Ministry (*Planungstab*) and the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik*, DGAP, on "European Security and Defence Policy", **Bonn**, 7 June;
- "*Geist und Zeit : Eigenverantwortung und Staatliche Regulierung*", *Centrum für angewandte Politikforschung*, **Berlin**, 12-13 October;
- "Foreign and Defense Policy – The current challenges", 5th Franco-German Colloquium, *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung*, **Roquebrunne**, 19-20 November.



Ifri conference room.

> ECONOMIC ISSUES

PIERRE JACQUET

- "The euro": Franco-British seminar, British Embassy in Paris/*Conseil d'analyse économique*, **Paris**, 15 February;
- "Managing systemic risk in the 21st century": World Bank, Interamerican Development Bank and *Asociación para el Progreso de la Dirección*, **Madrid**, 17 March. Presentation: "Financial liberalisation and growth in emerging markets";
- "Liberalisation and internationalisation of financial services", World Bank and World Trade Organisation, **Geneva**, 10 May;
- XVIth European-Japanese Hakone Conference, Japan Center for International Exchange (JCIE)

et Center for Asia Pacific Studies (CAPS) at Trier University, **Trier**, 12-14 May;

- "Economic and Monetary Union: economic and political implications for "Ins", "Outs" and European business", **Wilton Park**, 27 May;
- "New directions in services trade liberalization", World Services Congress 1999 – Services 2000, **Washington**, 31 May-2 June;
- "Strengthening the international financial system: the role of the G7/G8", *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik* (DGAP) and Toronto University (G8 Research Group), **Bonn**, 14 June;
- "Implementing the European employment pact", *ZEI-Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung*, **Bonn**, 8 July;
- "The Continental European economic situation under Euro and its prospects", Institute for International Economic Studies (IIES), **Tokyo**, 1-4 September;
- "EMU. Realignments in and out of the Eurozone", Chatham House Conferences Financial Series, **London**, 25 October;
- Annual Meeting of the Tokyo Club, **London**, 28-29 October. Presentation with Olivier Davanne (*Conseil d'analyse économique*) of the study "Practicing Exchange Rate Flexibility".

FRANÇOISE NICOLAS

- "Towards a sustainable financial system: analysis and prospects", Fifth International Forum on Asian Perspectives organised by the Asian Development Bank and the OECD Development Centre;
- 9th General Conference of the European Association of Development Institutes (EADI), **Paris**, 22-25 September. Presentation of the study "Is there a case for a single currency within ASEAN?";
- "International trade and capital flows in economic restructuring and growth: European and East Asian experiences", University of *Le Havre* and Inha University (Inchon, Korea), **Inchon**, 5-6 October. Presentation: "Post crisis exchange rate policies in East Asia: options and challenges".

FRÉDÉRIQUE SACHWALD

- Working Group "The future of the European defence industry", Centre for European Reform and CEPS, **Paris**, 28 January;
- "Multinational enterprise strategies", 7th International Conference at the Sorbonne with the support of the *Commissariat général du Plan*, of the French Ministry of National Education, Research and Technology, of the *Ecole doctorale d'économie appliquée, TEAM (CNRS – Paris I) et de l'Observatoire des stratégies d'entreprises Sorbonne (OSES-Gestion Sorbonne)*, **Paris**, 17-18 June;
- 1st meeting of the Innovation Studies Network, set up at the initiative of Jan Fagenberg, University of Oslo, **Oslo**, 14-16 October.

> ASIA

FRANÇOIS GODEMENT

- "Globalisation of the East Asian crisis: implications for trade and investment, the WTO agenda and the world economic order", IVth meeting of the Evian's group, *International Institute for Management Development (IMD)*, **Lausanne**, 19-21 February. Presentation: "Origins and lessons of the East Asian crisis";
- "Turbulence in the global business environment: corporate strategy and policy implications from the East Asia crisis", *IMD and Swiss Asia Foundation*, **Lausanne**, 22 February;
- "Vietnam and the division of the world – Reunification and social developments of Vietnam between an East-West confrontation and globalization", *Haus der Kulturen der Welt*, **Berlin**, 24 March;
- "Stability and security on the Korean Peninsula: developing a research agenda", Center for Applied Policy Research (Ludwig-Maximilian University, Munich) and Korea Economic Institute of America (Washington, D.C.), in conjunction with the Korea-Pacific Program at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (University of California, San Diego), **San Diego**, United States, 26-27 May;

- 11th Steering Committee of the Council for Security and Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP), **Kuala Lumpur**, 29 May;
- "Confidence building and conflict reduction", 13th Asia-Pacific roundtable, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) of Malaysia, **Kuala Lumpur**, 30 May-2 June;
- 7th Ambassadors Conference, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, **Paris**, 25 August. Presentation on security issues in Asia;
- "For a better tomorrow – Asia-Europe partnership in the Twenty-first century", conference on the ASEM, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP) and Institute for Global Economics (IGE), **Seoul**, 12 October;
- "Asia and EU's common foreign and security policy", The Strategic Alliance and European Institute for Asian Studies (EIAS), **Brussels**, 24 November. Written contribution on "The role of China in the security of East and Southeast Asia".
- Steering Committee meeting and plenary meeting of the CSCAP (Council for Security and Cooperation in the Asia Pacific), **Seoul**, 2-4 December;
- "The dynamics of Asia-Pacific security: a *Fin-de-siècle* assessment", 2nd Conference of the Asia-Pacific Security Forum (APSF), Institute for National Policy Research (INPR), **Taipei**, 17-18 December. Written contribution on "Sino-American relations: is there a new paradigm?".

> MIDDLE EAST/MEDITERRANEAN

MAY CHARTOUNI-DUBARRY

- "The US and the UK should concentrate efforts on the overthrow of the Iraqi regime", International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), **London**, 3 February;
- "Iran and Iraq: prospects and policies", The Ditchley Foundation and The RAND Corporation, **Oxford**, 5-7 February;
- "Israel, Lebanon and Syria into the Year 2000", Foreign and Commonwealth Office, **London**, 5 March;

- EuroMeSCo (Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission) workshops: "Euro-Mediterranean political and security partnership", *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*, **Bonn**, 19-20 March; "Regionalism, sub-regional co-operation in the Middle East", Center for Political and Strategic Studies, **Cairo**, 18-19 April;
- Steering Committee meeting of the EuroMeSCo, **Brussels**, 16 July;
- "Peace in the Middle East: The prospects", **Wilton Park**, 26-30 July. Presentation: "Lebanese-Syrian relations: Is change needed and what would be the implications for peace?";
- EuroMeSCo workshops: "Sub-regional cooperation", Jaffee Center, 15-16 September. Presentation: "Prospects for a sub-regional cooperation in the Middle East"; *Istituto Affari Internazionali*, **Rome**, 15-16 October. Contribution: "The Middle East peace process and the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership".

> GENERAL ISSUES

DOMINIQUE MOÏSI

- Contribution: "Responsible globality: Managing the impact of globalization", during the annual meeting organised by The World Economic Forum, **Davos**, Switzerland, 29 January-2 February;
- "Club of Three" meeting organised by the *Istituto Per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale* (IPSI) **Milan**, 7-9 May;
- "Law, politics, economy, mass media", seminar organised by the Moscow School of Political Studies, **Moscow**, 21-24 May;
- "Globalization: Challenges and discontents", conference organised at the University Al Akhawayn by the 21st Century Trust, **Ifrane**, Morocco, 10-18 September.

RÉMY LEVEAU

- "Globalization: Challenges and discontents", conference organised at the University Al Akhawayn by the 21st Century Trust, **Ifrane**, Morocco, 10-18 September.

THIERRY DE MONTBRIAL

- "21st Century strategies of the Trilateral countries: Shared leadership or divergent paths?", Trilateral Commission plenary meeting, **Washington**, 12-14 March.

PHILIPPE MOREAU DEFARGES

- "Non-Violent Sanctions", conference organised by The Ditchley Foundation, **London**, 10 February.

NB: This list does not include presentations given to various government bodies, training institutions or French graduate schools.

Thierry de Montbrial submitted his views to:

- The *Conseil économique et social*, on "French growth and globalisation", 28 January;
- The French Senate Foreign Affairs, Armed Forces and Defense Committee on "Diplomacy, Defense and International Criminal Justice", 10 February;
- The French Senate Foreign Affairs, Armed Forces and Defense Committee on "The long term consequences of the Kosovo crisis", 23 June.

IFRI AND CORPORATE CIRCLES

In an age of globalisation, companies as key international players are crucial partners for Ifri. Their concerns are addressed specifically in the special exchange and information programme tailored to business leaders of the 150 member companies: in 1999, assessment of regional risks (post-crisis Asia, EU enlargement); implications of the euro; new forms of competition; future of multilateral trade negotiations, advent of the digital economy. These meetings enable them to build a relationship with the research community, explore issues more fully with public authorities, interact with leading international figures as well as to compare their own experience with their French and foreign peers.

Senior executives of member companies are also invited to all Ifri discussion events, including some research seminars if these are of interest to them (notably Asia seminars).

Corporate support to Ifri has been remarkably consistent.

Events organized during the year are structured around various meetings in the form of seminars, breakfast debates, lunch debates on international issues with Ifri researchers or foreign correspondents, or diner-debates with prominent French or international figures as guest speaker.

C O R P O R A T E P R O G R A M M E S



Aymard de Lastours, Dominique Letourneur, Augustin Renaud, Martine Breux, Marie-Josèphe Turpault.



Bertrand Collomb, Alain Joly, Jean-Louis Gergorin.



Denis Ranque

> **TRANSATLANTIC PROGRAMME SEMINARS**

> **12 January**

What does the euro change in US perceptions of Europe?

With **Simon Serfaty**, Director of European Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington D.C.

> **25 January**

What future for the Asian miracle?

With **Donald P. Hanna**, Director General, Asia Economic Research, Goldman Sachs.

> **11 February**

RMA: a strategic and industrial challenge for Europe

With **Robert P. Grant**, associate fellow at US-CREST and IISS.

> **26 March**

Is a multilateral agreement on culture possible and desirable?

With **Pierre Sauve**, scholar and visiting professor, Harvard University.

> **15 October**

What are the drivers of American competitiveness?

With **John Yochelson**, President of the Council on competitiveness, Washington D.C.; **Elie Cohen**, research director at CNRS, professor at the *Institut d'études politiques*, Paris.

> **BREAKFAST DEBATES**

> **20 January**

The role of the United Nations in Iraq

With **Dennis Halliday**, former Director of the UN programme for Iraq "Oil for Food".

> **2 February**

Asian Economies between resistance and reform

With **François Godement**, Ifri.

> **9 February**

Internet e-commerce and international relations

With **Henri de Maublanc**, Chairman of AFTEL and the Clarisse-Politel Group.

> **10 March**

Economic outlook and continuing emergence of India

With **Jean-Charles Rouher**, Minister-Counsellor at the French Embassy in India.

> **24 March**

Regional prospects after the Asian crisis

With **Goh Chok Tong**, Prime Minister of Singapore.

> **30 March**

The former GRD Länder: situation and outlook

With **Reinhard Höppner**, Minister-President SPD of Saxe-Anhalt Lander.

> **26 April**

Russia, the West and Kosovo

With **Vladimir Baranovsky**, Deputy Director of the Institute for Global Economics and International Relations – IMEMO, Moscow.

> **19 May**

Georgia, the Caucasus and European security

With **Irakli Menagarishvili**, Foreign Minister of Georgia.

> **27 May**

International relations into the 21st century

With **Jaswant Singh**, Foreign Minister of India.

> **21 June**

The Indian economy in the domestic and Asian context

With **Ashok Desai**, Editor, *Business Standard*, New Delhi.

> **10 September**

Asia between hopes and worries

With **Gareth Evans**, former Foreign Minister of Australia and candidate to the Director Generalship of UNESCO.

> **11 October**

Food safety

With **Ismail Serageldin**, vice-President of the World Bank for special programmes and candidate to Director Generalship of UNESCO.

> **16 November**

Setting up and managing a joint-venture in China:

Key success factors

With **Guillaume Franck**, professor of international Management at HEC; **Jean-Louis Andreu**, General Manager of the International Division of Schneider Electric; **François Godement**, Ifri.

> **18 November**

Israel, the new challenges for peace

With **Mark A. Heller**, Principal Research Associate at the Jaffe Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University; **Alain Dieckhoff**, Research Director at CERI/CNRS; **May Chartouni-Dubarry** and **Dominique Moïsi**, Ifri.

> **25 November**

Latvia: Reform issues and success

With **Andris Skele**, Prime Minister of Latvia.

> **15 December**

Algeria: Prospects for an end to the crisis

With **Naoufel Brahimi El Mili**, financial expert lecturer at the *Institut d'études politiques*, Paris; **Akram Ellyas**,

journalist at *La Tribune*; **Khadija Mohsen-Finan**, Ifri; **Rémy Leveau**, Professor at the *Institut d'études politiques*, Paris, Ifri.

> **OFF THE RECORD MEETINGS**

> **22 March**

With **Christian Noyer**, vice-President of the European Central Bank.

> **21 May**

With **Didier Lombard**, Deputy Ambassador for international investment, French Ministry of Economy, Finance and Industry.

> **22 June**

With **Louis Gallois**, Chairman of French railways, SNCF.

> **LUNCH DEBATES**

> **15 January**

International monetary, financial and commercial architecture

At the invitation of **Jacques Delmas-Marsalet**, President of the *Chambre syndicale des Banques populaires*.

Speakers:

Thierry de Montbrial and Pierre Jacquet, Ifri.

> **31 March**

The situation in the Middle East on the eve of the Israeli elections

At the invitation of **Denis Ranque**, CEO of Thomson CSF.

Speakers:

Bassma Kodmani, Director of the Programme "Civil Society Governance and International Cooperation" of the Ford Foundation, Cairo; May Chartouni-Dubarry and Dominique Moïsi, Ifri.

> **10 May**

International strategy of a large company

At the invitation of **Anne-Claire Taittinger**, Chairman of the Board of the *Société du Louvre*. With **Henning Schulte-Noelle**, Chairman of the Board of Allianz AG.

> **30 June**

Developments in the European Banking System

At the invitation of **Claude Bourmaud**, Chairman of *La Poste*.

Speakers:

Dominique Plihon, professor of Economics at Paris XII University; Frédérique Sachwald, Ifri.

> **30 September**

Economic revival in Japan?

At the invitation of **Jacques Puechal**, CEO of Elf-Atochem.

Speakers:

Thierry de Montbrial, Pierre Jacquet and Dominique Moïsi, Ifri.

> **8 December**

Mergers-acquisitions: How busy in the coming years?

At the invitation of **Patrice Vial**, Chairman, and **André François-Poncet**, Chief Executive of Morgan Stanley Dean Witter.

> **DINNER DEBATES**

> **4 February**

With **Jusuf Wanandi**, President of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Djakarta.

> **15 February**

With **Sir Leon Brittan**, vice-President of the European Commission.

> **1 March**

With **Zbigniew Brzezinski**, former Adviser to President Carter, CSIS, Washington D.C.

> **15 March**

With **Jorge Giordani**, Minister for Planning and Coordination, Venezuela.

> **22 April**

With **Jean-Paul Huchon**, President of the *Conseil régional d'Île-de-France*.

> **3 May**

With **Suleyman Demirel**, President of the Republic of Turkey.

> **7 July**

With **Leïla Shahid**, Ambassador Representative of Palestine to France.

> **28 September**

With **Emil Constantinescu**, President of the Republic of Romania.

> **12 October**

With **Wim Kok**, Prime Minister of the Netherlands.

> **25 November**

With **Louise Arbour**, former Prosecutor General of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, Judge at the Supreme Court of Canada.



Jean-Marie Messier and Anne-Claire Taittinger.



Sönmez Köksal, Ambassador of Turkey to France, and Suleyman Demirel.



Jacques Leclercq and Ernest-Antoine Sellière.

THE FRANCO-AUSTRIAN CENTRE (CFA)



Dominique Letourneur.



Éliane Mossé.

THE FRANCO-AUSTRIAN CENTRE (CFA)

The Franco-Austrian Centre for economic cooperation in Europe (CFA) is a Franco-Austrian Intergovernmental Organisation founded in 1978 with the aim of promoting economic relations between Western and Eastern European countries. Its headquarters are in Vienna. Thierry de Montbrial has been its chairman since 1984. Following the events of 1989, the CFA, which originally comprised France, Austria, Hungary and Poland, was enlarged to include the Czech and Slovak Republics, Slovenia, Romania and Bulgaria. Since the opening of accession negotiations of Central and Eastern European countries to the European Union, the CFA aims to promote their integration into the EU. It regularly organizes conferences both in Paris and in the capital of each member country.

With a view to the European Union enlarging eastwards, the Franco-Austrian Centre (CFA) contributes to familiarizing the economic players of Central and Eastern European countries with developments underway within the EU so as to facilitate their integration. This year it has focused on the harmonisation process, at micro-economic level, of public and private sector management and more broadly, at a political level, on social and environmental as well as monetary issues. The sessions, bringing together economic and social players take the form of breakfasts or seminars organized by **Dominique Letourneur** and **Éliane Mossé**, Ifri adviser for the CFA, in conjunction with the general secretariat in Vienna.

> BREAKFAST

> 15 March, Paris

The CEES and corporate governance at a time of globalisation

Speakers:

Fianna Jesover, consultant, Privatisation and corporate reforms unit at OECD; **Conrad Eckenschwiller**, representative for International Affairs, MEDEF; **Franz Nauschnigg**, Deputy Director for integration and international instructions at the National Bank of Austria.

> September 28, Paris

Public finance scrutiny by Courts of Accounts

Speakers:

Patrick Mordacq, conseiller maître at the *Cour des comptes*; **Vojtko Anton Antonic**, President of the Court of Accounts in Slovenia; **Karl Wollrab**, President of the Austrian Court of Accounts.

> SEMINARS

> 19 and 20 April, Budapest

Bringing the environment into line with European standards in Central and Eastern European countries
Organised jointly with MEDEF.

> 10 and 11 June, Vienna

The social dimension of Eastwards enlargement of the European Union

This session was devoted to employment, labour law and social dialogue. It comprised policymakers of the Ministries for Social Affairs, leaders of Labour Employers

Federations and trades unionists of member countries as well as senior civil servants from the European Commission and the International Labour Organization (ILO).

> 2 and 3 December, Paris

EMU in Central and Eastern European Countries

With the support of the National Bank of Austria and the Banque de France.

Aimed at assessing the adjustment measures required from Central and Eastern European countries in order to meet the Amsterdam treaty requirements as well as the consequences of the introduction of the euro on EMU States and on Central and Eastern European countries, this seminar brought together policy makers of Central Banks and Economic Ministries of member countries, policy makers from the European Commission and academics.

Lastly the CFA organized a **round-table on the Balkans** in Vienna on 24 November with the participation of politicians, policy makers as well as experts. The meeting discussed the political, economic and security issues in the region after the Kosovo crisis.

Participants:

Michel Foucher; Philippe de Fontaine-Vive; Paul Lendvai; Ewa Nowotny; Thomas Mayr-Harting; Dominique Moïsi.



XXth Anniversary of the CFA.
Frantz Vranisky, Hubert Védrine, Thierry de Montbrial, Peter Jankowitsch, Secretary General of CFA, Vienna.

IFRI'S CORPORATE MEMBERS (as at 31 December 1999)

In 1999, the following companies have been members of Ifri.

Abn-Amro France	Cogema
Accor	Colas
Aérospatiale Matra	Commissariat à l'Énergie Atomique
Agence Française de Développement	Compagnie cotonnière
Air Liquide	Compagnie Financière Edmond de Rothschild
Alcatel	Compagnie Parisienne de Réécompte
American Express	Comptoir des Entrepreneurs
Anvar	Consortium de réalisation
Arianespace	Crédit Commercial de France
Axa	Crédit Industriel et Commercial de Paris
	Crédit Local de France
	Crédit Lyonnais
	Crédit Mutuel
	Crédit Suisse Group
Banque de France	Daimler Benz
Banque du Louvre	Deutsche Bank
Banque Hervet	Donaldson Lufkin & Jenrette
Banque Nationale Paris (BNP)	
Banque OBC - Odier, Bungener, Courvoisier	Efficacité, Finance conseil
Banque Woolwich	Eiffage
Banque Worms	Électricité de France (EDF)
Barclays Bank	Elf Aquitaine
Bayard Presse	Elf Atochem
Bayer France	Eni
Bouygues	Entreprise Minière et Chimique
Brandt	Eridania Beghin-Say
BRGM	Europa Metalli - Tréfinmétaux
Bull	
Bureau Veritas	Faurecia
	Fédération des Industries de la Parfumerie
Cabinet Gide Loyrette Nouel	Fédération Française des Sociétés d'Assurances
Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations	FIEEC
Caisse Nationale de Crédit Agricole	Fiat France
CEA Industrie	Fimalac
Centre National d'Études Spatiales	Foncière Thermale
CGIP	Fondation Hippocrène
Chambre de Commerce & d'Industrie de Paris	Framatome
Chambre Syndicale des Banques Populaires	France Télécom
Chantiers de l'Atlantique	
Charbonnages de France	Gan
Citibank	Gaz de France
Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton	Geodis International
Clifford Chance	Gimelec
CNP	Goldman Sachs
Coface	Groupe Danone
Cofip	Histoire d'Or
Cofiroute	

IFRI AND CORPORATE CIRCLES

IFRI'S CORPORATE MEMBERS

IBM France
Institut Français du Pétrole

Jeantet et Associés
JP Morgan

KSB

L.A. Finances
La Mondiale
La Poste
Labinal
Lafarge
Lazard Frères & Cie
Les Échos
L'Oréal
LVMH
Lyonnaise de Banque

Marsh & Mc Lennan France
Mazars & Guérard
Medef
Midland Bank
Morgan Stanley

Natexis

Paribas
Peugeot SA

RATP
Renault
Reuters
Rhône Group
Rhône Poulenc
Roland Berger & Partners
Rothschild & Cie Banque
RTL

Saft
Saged
Saint-Gobain
Sanofi-Synthelabo
Schneider
Scor
Seagram Global Brands Division
Sedgwick

Seita
Siemens France
Société du Louvre
Société Générale
Société Générale de Belgique
Sodexho
Sofaris
Sofil'Lione
Sofinnova
Sofresa
Starsem
Suez-Lyonnaise des Eaux

Technip
Thomson
Total

Union de Banques Suisses
Union des Industries Métallurgiques et Minières
Union Européenne de CIC
Unistrat Assurances
Usinor

Vallourec
Viel & Cie
Vivendi
Volvo Trucks France

OUTPUT DISSEMINATION



les cahiers de l'ifri

politique étrangère

20

2009



les notes de l'ifri - n° 15

Libéralisation et restriction
des industries de défense

Fredérique Saffraoui

L'entrée
dans le

Sous la direction
de Thierry de Montmarquet
et Pierre Lagarde



Centre de
Recherche
pour les
Affaires
Internationales



IFRI AND THE UNIVERSITY

Closer ties between Ifri and the university world are aimed at creating synergies between the disciplined approach of research and university education and the specificity of the work undertaken within the institute. Ifri thereby contributes to broadening the scope of study of international relations.

These ties translate into:

- Teaching by Ifri research fellows — and notably by academics associated with Ifri as researchers* — in various universities and graduate schools.
- The introduction of a post-graduate degree course (DEA) in international relations at the University of Marne-la-Vallée taught by several Ifri researchers.

Since 1998, as part of the chair in applied economics which he holds at the *Conservatoire national des arts et métiers*, and the DEA at Marne-la-Vallée, **Thierry de Montbrial** also created and runs a seminar entitled "Observation and theory of international relations". Following on from 1997-1998 which looked at issues challenging the Nation-state in an age of globalisation, the 1998-1999 seminar identifies various globalisation drivers and considers their role. The conferences give rise to an annual publication.

> SEMINAR "OBSERVATION AND THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS"

PROGRAMME 1998-1999

> 5 November 1998

Thierry de Montbrial
The concept of globalisation

> 17 December

Bassma Kodmani-Darwish,
Lecturer at the University of Marne-la-Vallée and Ifri
Research Fellow
Diasporas: a globalisation driver

> 7 January 1999

Anton Breder,
Director of Economic Studies at CPR
Associate professor at Paris-Dauphine University
*Financial markets,
global world governance and growth*

> 11 February

Serge Sur,
Professor at Paris II University
Is there US hegemony?

> 4 March

Gérard Théry,
Head of the Y2K Task Force at the Ministry for Industry
International challenges of information technology

> 8 April

Pierre Bauchet,
Member of the *Institut de France*
Transport, a globalisation driver?

> 6 May

André Lebeau,
Professor, former President of CNRS
Space technology and globalisation

> 10 June

Jean-Paul Charnay,
President of the *Centre de philosophie de la stratégie*
*Systemic analysis in power relationships,
recent trends*

* **Frédéric Bozo** is Professor at the University of Nantes; **François Godement** is Professor at the *Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales*; **Jean Klein** is Professor at Paris I University (Sorbonne); **Rémy Leveau** is Professor at the *Institut d'études politiques*, Paris; **Anita Tiraspolksy** is a lecturer at the *Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales*.

Thierry de Montbrial is Professor at the *Conservatoire national des arts et métiers* and Professor at the *Ecole polytechnique* where he teaches "Strategy and international relations".

PUBLICATIONS

> RAMSES

In 1999, the structure of *RAMSES/Rapport Annuel Mondial sur le Système Économique et les Stratégies* (Annual world report on economic systems and strategies) was revamped.

The three traditional sections devoted to an analysis of developments over the past year in the political strategic field on the one hand, economic on the other, as well as to an indepth study of prominent issues of debate, have been replaced by sixteen thematic chapter and a "panorama". This offers the broader possible perspective of international, political, strategic and economic developments across some fifty entries listed alphabetically with each article giving a summary of the issues involved.

This special edition entitled "*L'entrée dans le XXI^e siècle*" (Entering the 21st century) offers a forward-looking perspective, introduced by **Thierry de Montbrial**, on the various dimensions of international relations focusing extensively on the implications of scientific and technological progress. The topics identified are addressed from the interdependence and globalisation perspective.

Part one, *Interdependence constants*, considers the traditional notion of international interdependence with **Pierre Hassner**, "*Fin des certitudes, choc des identités : un siècle imprévisible*" (End of uncertainties, clash of identities: an unpredictable century); **Jean-Claude Chesnais**, "*Vers une récession démographique planétaire ?*" (Towards a global demographic recession?); **Daniel Cohen**, "*L'avenir des inégalités mondiales*" (The future of world inequalities); **Dominique David**, "*Violence internationale : une scénographie nouvelle*" (International violence: a new scenography); **Philippe Chalmin**, "*Géopolitique des ressources naturelles*" (Geopolitics of natural resources).

Part two, *Science and interdependence*, recalls that the scale and speed of scientific and technological progress is such that they both play a key role in globalisation with **Paul Caro**, "*Nouveaux*

enjeux scientifiques et techniques" (New scientific and technological challenges); **Philippe Kourilsky**, "*La révolution biotechnologique*" (The biotechnology revolution); **Hubert Curien**, "*La conquête de l'espace*" (The conquest of space); **Joël de Rosnay**, "*La société de l'information au XXI^e siècle*" (The information society in the 21st century).

RAMSES 2000 then considers the *Responses to globalisation* with **Frédérique Sachwald**, "*Réseaux contre nations ? Les multinationales au XXI^e siècle*" (Networks versus Nations? Multinationals in the 21st century); **Pierre Jacquet**, "*Gouverner l'économie mondiale*" (Governing the global economy); **Nicole Gnesotto**, "*La sécurité internationale au début du XXI^e siècle*" (International security at the beginning of the 21st century); **Philippe Moreau Defarges**, "*Droit et mondialisation*" (Law and globalisation).

Finally, the last part, *Beyond Nation-states*, implicitly asks the question relating to the future of states by looking at how the United States, Asia and Europe are addressing the need for a renewal of sovereignty with **Dominique Moisi**, "*L'Amérique, l'ère de la maturité*" (America, the age of maturity); **François Godement**, "*États-nations ou régions en Asie orientale ?*" (Nation-states or regions in East Asia?) and **Jean-Marie Guéhenno**, "*Le modèle européen*" (The European model).

As with every year, *RAMSES 2000* also provides a chronological digest of the past year, a substantive statistical annex, an annex of maps in color and a general index.

> POLITIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE

In 1999, the first two issues of *Politique étrangère* were devoted to:

- **Europe** in n° 1/99 with Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Françoise de La Serre, Gilles Andréani and Willem Buiters, and to **Germany** with Michael Mertens and Hans-Georg Ehrhart;



« In its latest issue of *RAMSES Ifri* has decided to focus on the next century. The quality of this publication is on a par with leading English language policy briefs on international relations. »

Gilbert Achcar, *Le Monde Diplomatique*.





- **Lessons from Kosovo** in n° 2/99 with Nicole Gnesotto, François Heisbourg, Louis Gautier, Karl Heinz Kamp and Thérèse Delpech, and to **Russia** with Rodric Braithwaite, Isabelle Facon and the Russian Foreign Minister, Igor Ivanov.

Politique étrangère also published "The Carrington Report on the Implementation of Security Council Decisions", introduced and analysed by Jean-Pierre Cot (n° 1/99) as well as the US Public opinion survey of foreign policy published every four years by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations chaired by John Rielly (n° 2/99).

The structure of the last two issues has been modified owing to the celebration of the 20th Anniversary of the institute.

N° 3/99 offers a twenty years retrospective review of international policy (1979-1999), a period of momentous change with 1989 as the high point. Many Ifri researchers contributed to the analysis of these crucial years (*see Research*).

Under the heading "L'entrée dans le XXI^e siècle. Les enjeux de la mondialisation" (Entering the 21st century: the challenges of globalisation) *Politique étrangère* n° 4/99 published the presentations given in plenary sessions at the international conference on 3-4 November when a written text was submitted by the author.



> **IFRI PAPERS AND POLICY BRIEFS**

Les Cahiers de l'Ifri are reserved for the publication of short studies and reports of conferences held at the institute; *Les Notes de l'Ifri* cover individual discussion of issues of topical prominence.

PUBLICATIONS 1999

« *Les Cahiers de l'Ifri* » series

N° 28: *Energie, développement et sécurité*, edited by Dominique Finon and **Pierre Jacquet**, Ifri/IEPE (*Institut d'économie et de politique de l'énergie*), April 1999.

N° 29: *L'énergie nucléaire au XXI^e siècle : enjeux de sécurité*, Bob van der Zwann, July 1999.

« *Les Notes de l'Ifri* » series

N° 6 bis: *Where Does the Atlantic Alliance Stand? The Improbable Partnership*, **Frédéric Bozo**, Transatlantic series, January 1999.

N° 8: *The United States and the Conservative Arab Gulf Monarchies*, Joseph A. Kechichian, edited by Bassma Kodmani-Darwish, Transatlantic series, January 1999.

N° 9: *Anglo-American Relations and Crisis in Yugoslavia (FRY)*, Jane M. O. Sharp, Transatlantic series, March 1999.

N° 10: *The Israeli Changing Security Agenda: Army Society Relations*, Amir Oren, Yehuda Ben Meir, Stuart A. Cohen, Mark A. Heller, edited by **May Chartouni-Dubarry**, April 1999.

N° 11: *Le partage du fardeau dans l'OTAN – Volume 1 : Enjeux et réalités*, **Nicole Gnesotto**, Transatlantic series, June 1999.

N° 12: *Burdensharing in NATO – Volume 2: The US and Transatlantic Burdensharing*, Stanley R. Sloan, edited by **Nicole Gnesotto**, Transatlantic series, June 1999.

N° 13: *Burdensharing in NATO – Volume 3: The German Perception*, Karl Heinz Kamp, edited by **Nicole Gnesotto**, Transatlantic series, June 1999.

N° 14: *Les États-Unis et la France. La puissance entre mythes et réalités*, **Philippe Moreau Defarges**, Transatlantic series, June 1999.

N° 15: *Banalisation et restructuration des industries de défense*, **Frédérique Sachwald**, Transatlantic series, June 1999.

N° 15 bis: *Defence Industry Restructuring: The End of an Economic Exception*, **Frédérique Sachwald**, Transatlantic series, October 1999.

N° 16: *Le triangle atlantique. L'émergence de l'Amérique latine dans les relations Europe/États-Unis*, Alfredo G. A. Valladao, Transatlantic series, June 1999.

N° 17: *The Euro and the Dollar: An Agnostic View*, Claude Bismut and **Pierre Jacquet**, Transatlantic series, July 1999.

> OTHER PUBLICATIONS
BY THE RESEARCHERS

SECURITY

Frédéric Bozo

> Articles

- "De la 'bataille' des euromissiles à la 'guerre' du Kosovo : l'Alliance atlantique face à ses défis", *Politique étrangère*, n° 3/99.
- "Le rang et la puissance", in J.-P. Rioux et J.-F. Sirinelli, *La France d'un siècle à l'autre. Dictionnaire critique*, Hachette Littératures, Paris, 1999.

Dominique David

> Publications

- *La nouvelle architecture de sécurité en Europe*, with Bernard Adam, André Dumoulin, Bruce George and Éric Remacle, GRIP, Brussels, July 1999.

> Articles

- "The Individual in the New Clothes of War", in *Individualism and World Politics*, edited by Michel Girard, Macmillan, London/ St. Martin's, New York, January 1999.
- "Armée/Nation : le débat ignoré", *Bulletin d'études de la Marine*, n° 14, February 1999.
- "La sécurité dans un monde interdépendant", in *L'Europe au seuil d'un nouveau millénaire*, Institut royal supérieur de défense, colloquium 23-24 February 1999, Centre d'études de défense.
- "Violence internationale : une scénographie nouvelle", in *RAMSES 2000*, Dunod, Paris, September 1999.
- "Kosovo : de vraies et de fausses leçons stratégiques", *Défense nationale*, n° 12, December 1999.

Nicole Gnesotto

> Articles

- "La PESC", in *L'Union européenne*, "Les Notices", La Documentation française, Paris, March 1999.
- "La sécurité internationale au début du XXI^e siècle", in *RAMSES 2000*, Dunod, Paris, September 1999.

Jean Klein

> Articles

- "Atomic Scientists and Disarmament", in *Individualism and World Politics*, edited by

Michel Girard, Macmillan, London/St. Martin's, New York, January 1999.

- "Vingt ans de négociations sur le désarmement et la maîtrise des armements", *Politique étrangère*, n° 3/99.

Marie-Hélène Labbé

> Article

- "Vingt ans de prolifération nucléaire", *Politique étrangère*, n° 3/99.

ECONOMIC ISSUES

Pierre Jacquet

> Publications

- *The Case for Joint Management of Exchange Flexibility*, with C. Fred Bergsten and Olivier Davanne, Institute for International Economics (IIE), *Working Paper Series*, n° 99-9, Washington D.C., July.
- *Le cycle du millénaire*, with Patrick Messerlin and Laurence Tubiana, report to the *Conseil d'analyse économique*, La Documentation française, Paris, 1999.

> Articles

- "Pour une gestion conjointe de la flexibilité des changes", with C. Fred Bergsten and Olivier Davanne, in *Architecture financière internationale*, report to the *Conseil d'analyse économique*, La Documentation française, Paris, 1999.
- "Europe and the Euro", in *The European Economic Situation under the Euro, and its Prospects*, IIES Seminar Series, n° 9909, Tokyo, September 1999.
- "Mondialisation ou guerre économique", in *Espérances et menaces de l'an 2000*, Cercle des économistes, Descartes & Cie, Paris, 1999.
- "Deux décennies de mondialisation financière", *Politique étrangère*, n° 3/99.
- "Gouverner l'économie mondiale", in *RAMSES 2000*, Dunod, Paris, September 1999.
- "La difficulté de prévenir les crises financières", *Risques*, n° 40, October-December 1999.

Françoise Nicolas

> Publication

- *Foreign Direct Investment and Recovery in Southeast Asia*, with Stephen Thomsen, OECD, Paris, 1999.

« On all current issues, Ifri scholars are amongst the most perceptive. »

Baudoin Bollaert, *Le Figaro*, 3 November 1999.

« This untypical French institute is the only one to combine, as in the United States, Britain or Germany, research and enterprise, analysis and debate on economic or international issues "quite independently from the world of politics or business". »

Françoise Crouigneau, *Les Échos*, 15 November 1999.

« The French Institute of International Affairs [Ifri], the country's leading research organization. »

Joseph Firchett, *International Herald Tribune*, 9 November 1999.

« Since its foundation in 1979, Ifri has acquired a reputation as an indispensable source of independent research and analysis. »

Lord Robertson (Nato Secretary General), speaking at Ifri, 4 November 1999.

« It is [...] at seminars and conferences regularly organised by the Institute [Ifri] that one has the opportunity of meeting, in Paris, the greatest number of politicians, experts and specialists from around the world who come to explain their policies or offer their assessment on political, economic and strategic issues raised by the evolving global balance of power. »

Le Nouvel Observateur, 14-20 October 1999.



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ASIA

François Godement

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Régine Serra

> **Article**

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EUROPE

Dominique Moïsi

> **Article**

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Philippe Moreau Defarges

> **Publication**

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Hans Stark

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ARAB WORLD

Rémy Leveau

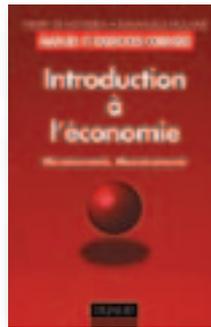
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OTHERS

Dominique Moïsi

> Articles

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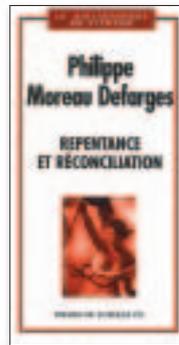
Thierry de Montbrial

> Publication

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- "Réflexions sur la théorie des relations internationales", *Politique étrangère*, n° 3/99.
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Philippe Moreau Defarges

> Publication

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- "Punir les tyrans", *Défense nationale*, Paris, January 1999.
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THE LIBRARY AND THE DOCUMENTATION CENTRE

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During the year 1999 the Ifri library received over 500 readers, members of the institute, students, teachers, researchers and journalists specialized in international relations. Over 30,000 books and 1,000 publication titles including 350 "living" were made available to them.

The prime objective of the library is to process efficiently the enormous amount of material that reaches Ifri (books, publications, reports) from around the world and in particular from similar foreign institutes with which the institute has close ties.

Since 1996, readers can consult a computerized base for data after 1995. In 1999, in cooperation with the documentation centre, the library decided to change its computerized data base by acquiring a software package better suited to its needs and meeting international cataloguing standards, thereby facilitating data exchange with other centres. After reviewing the solutions available, it was decided in December 1999 to adopt the *Xibèque* for data retrieval and SPIRIT to consult data.

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Ifri has its own documentation centre reserved exclusively for researchers at the institute. The centre covers all international economic and political-strategic developments by press digests updated daily and manages a computerized data base containing background material.

The bulk of its work is now devoted to consulting external data bases and keeping a watching brief on Internet, a truly remarkable data resource.

The year 2000 will bring about considerable change within the documentation centre through the acquisition of the SPIRIT software package which will enable natural language queries on our documentary resource as well as web sites.



THE TEAM (as at 31 December 1999)

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Dominique Moïsi,
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Aymar de Lastour, Augustin Renaud,
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Martine Breux, Marie-Josèphe Turpault,
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Guillaume Parmentier, Former Nato Deputy Director for Information and former adviser to the Minister of Defence, joined the Institute on 1 September 1999 to set up the French Center on the United States.

Nicole Gnesotto left Ifri on 30 October 1999 to head the WEU Institute for Security Studies.

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Anna Léa Rosenberger, Federal Republic of Germany, 17 May-21 May

Pascal Jentch, Federal Republic of Germany, 28 June-27 August

Jana Paskajova, Slovak Republic (WEU Fellowship), 2 September-2 November

Svetlana Anourova, Russian Federation, 1 September-1 December

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