

French Institute of International Relations

ANNUAL REPORT 2001



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French institute of international relations annual report 2001

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The year 2001 has been first and foremost marked by the September 11 attacks on New York and Washington. These events did not change the world. But the outbreak of “hyperterrorism” has changed our way of seeing it, of understanding the past and envisioning the future. Like in all comparable research institutes around the world, our activity following this historic date has been shaped by Al Qaida’s attacks. But our mission is a long-term one and aims at identifying all the major trends likely to affect significantly the international system. Thus we devote increasing energy to the study of globalization - in particular to the movements opposing it - to the evolving regulatory role of multilateral institutions (e.g. the World Trade Organization), and to new forms of “governance” linking public and private actors on the international scene. Another major issue looming ahead is the difficulty to grasp the nature of an enlarged European Union, whose identity and “governance” raise formidable problems.



Three aspects, which make Ifri unique in France, should be underlined:

- its independence: Ifri is not subject to governmental supervision. In particular its board is entirely coopted, with no members appointed from the outside, and its budget - of around 4,6 million euros - is equally financed from public funds (mainly from the Prime Minister’s general budget) and private funds (members’ contributions, research contracts with international foundations, etc.). The building in the Rue de la Procession was fully funded by private donations.
- the balance and the fruitful interaction between research and debate. The research team includes some thirty in-house highly qualified specialists. Ifri’s *force de frappe* is further enhanced by a large national and international network. The institute organizes around 150 events a year, with the participation of some of the most prominent French and foreign personalities in the field of international relations.
- the policy-oriented nature of its work, the aim of which is to shed light on the medium and long-term decision-making process of public and private actors. Corporations in particular have been essential partners for Ifri since its inception in 1979.

In an increasingly interdependent and complex world, we are convinced that our institution is more than ever necessary. Our ambition is to pursue our adaptation and development in order to deserve the confidence put in us by the many people who have supported us over the years.

Thierry de Montbrial

Member of the *Académie des sciences morales et politiques*

Mission Statement

A central actor in the European debate, Ifri is France's foremost independent center for research, meetings and debates on international relations. It was created in 1979 by Thierry de Montbrial with the aim of encouraging interaction between the private spheres, the public sector and policy-oriented research. Its independence, inscribed in its statutes (it is a membership-based non profit organization) is manifested by its state of mind, its non-partisan culture, its original and balanced form of financing, its complete freedom of choice in the determination of its work. Ifri's aim is to shed light on the major trends at work in the world and to promote dialogue between the different actors. It addresses public and private decision-makers in the economic and political spheres, research centers, students and all those who wish to better understand and anticipate international developments. Ifri has, since its inception, oriented part of its activities towards corporations by putting in place a program dedicated to them. Members are closely linked to the life of the institute. Today, Ifri aims, in particular, at contributing to the emergence of an informed and responsible international community and to the political organization of globalization. The Ifri staff numbers about 60.

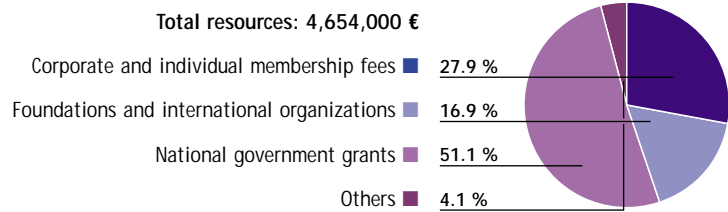
As a multidisciplinary research center, Ifri comprises around thirty researchers and relies on a vast international network of experts. Its work encompasses the international economy and the analysis of the dynamics of globalization, politico-strategic developments, particularly transatlantic relations in their various components, regional approaches, global strategies (global governance, the management of resources, of the environment, of immigration, etc.). Much of its work calls on the crossing of different competencies. The Institute trains young researchers with a new increasingly global conception of international relations. The researchers are bound by an ethic of responsibility and objectivity. However, Ifri is not bound by their positions.

The work conducted by Ifri is disseminated in several collections: "Les Notes de l'Ifri", "Les Cahiers de l'Ifri", "Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri". In addition to the quarterly journal *Politique étrangère*, Ifri has published, since 1981, the *RAMSES* report, an annual reference work on major global trends.

As a meeting center, Ifri attaches great importance to debate. It offers a non-exclusive forum to French and foreign figures wishing to express themselves freely in an unofficial setting. These meetings make it possible to assess divergence and convergence in a constructive vein. One of the missions of the institute is to facilitate dialogue. Its researchers are engaged in a permanent debate with their foreign counterparts. Thus, Ifri is a full participant in the debate at the international scale.



Ifri's premises have been entirely financed by private donations.





research

Research work conducted at Ifri has a two-fold objective: to contribute to the international debate and to nurture the thinking of decision-makers in the public and private sectors. The Institute relies on some thirty researchers. Research work takes the form of individual or collective studies leading to publication, and seminars and meetings with similar international think tanks. These studies bear the stamp of independence. They involve researchers in major international networks. By doing so, Ifri fosters interaction with overseas partners, drawing on the best international expertise in the various fields in which it is involved.

Two aspects are at the forefront of Ifri's research: security matters and the international economy. Processes of regional integration, beginning with the European Union, are also of central concern. In the area of transatlantic relations, special attention is given to the political, economic, trade and security dimensions of the relationship, particularly through the French Center on the United States (CFE), the goal of which is to contribute to a better mutual understanding of France and the United States by emphasizing the peculiarities of the American mechanism of decision-making in the public and private sectors.

Ifri's regional expertise is focused on four areas: Greater Europe, including an observatory of Franco-German relations, Russia, Asia, the Middle East, the Maghreb and the Mediterranean region. The Institute is also developing its expertise on Africa.

In 2001, in matters of security, Ifri concentrated on the developments of NATO, on the one hand, and of the CESDP, on the other hand, as well as on the future of the transatlantic link. The Institute also started a reflection on the new concepts of defense policy. Its work in the second semester was greatly influenced by the events of September 11.

In the field of economics, the stress was put on the process of globalization and some of its implications: national reactions, the impact of internationalizing R&D on the activity of multinationals as well as consequences for developing countries. Ifri also pursued its work on emerging economies.

European developments were addressed from various angles: the conditions for a strategy of normative influence by the Union were considered; the enlargement of the EU was discussed in two conferences with experts from candidate-countries; a study was led on Germany Eastern policy. Finally, the bi-annual research project on the problems of identity and citizenship raised by immigrant populations settling in Europe was completed.

Russia was discussed under the angle of a re-assessment of Franco-Russian relations while bearing in mind the Franco-German perspective.

The French Center on the United States organized its activities around four projects: domestic US policy, foreign policy, space policy and finally, energy and climate change. Its second annual conference was largely dedicated to the impact of September 11 on US policy.

In 2001, the Asian sector consolidated its capacities under the umbrella of a Centre asie ifri in order to strengthen its ties and interactions with the public and private sectors. It continued its work on preventive diplomacy in East Asia, particularly in the framework of the CSCAP. It also launched a working group on the Korean peninsula, followed up on the Franco-Korean, Franco-Japanese and Franco-Chinese dialogues, and maintained its involvement in its long-term research project on China.

In the framework of the Middle East/Mediterranean/Maghreb sector, the emphasis was on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the internal implications for Iraq of the embargo. In addition, a conference was dedicated to the problems of succession in the Arab World. Ifri organized the annual conference of EuroMeSCO (research institutes' network), which was opened by Hubert Vedrine, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. A comparative research project was launched on civil/intrastate conflicts in the Mediterranean region. Work on the Maghreb was focused on Algeria.

Finally, Ifri launched a reflection on external interventions in Africa.



Etats-Unis - Europe : réinventer l'Alliance
(US-Europe: Reinventing the Alliance)

Jacques Beltran and Frederic Bozo (eds.)
Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri,
Série transatlantique, 2001

La France et l'Alliance depuis la fin de la guerre froide. Le modèle gaullien en question
(France and the Alliance since the End of the Cold War: The Gaullist Model put into question)

Frédéric Bozo
Cahiers du Centre d'études d'histoire de la défense, n° 17, 2001

"Defense versus Security? Reflections on the Past and Present of the Future Tasks of the Alliance (1949-1999)"

Frédéric Bozo,
in Gustav Schmidt (dir.)
NATO at Fifty, London,
Macmillan, 2001

"Les Etats-Unis à l'épreuve de la vulnérabilité"
(The US facing Vulnerability)

Jacques Beltran
and Guillaume Parmentier
Politique étrangère, n° 4/2001

The security sector has organized its work around three poles: a reflection on transatlantic relations, a study of the political and military development of the Common European Security and Defense Policy (CESDP), and, more generally, a conceptual reflection on defense and security, whose precepts have been challenged by recent events.

Europe and Transatlantic Relations

• The Future of the Alliance: New Missions and New Enlargement?

This study, completed under the direction of **Frederic Bozo** in collaboration with **Jacques Beltran**, is organized around two issues: the globalization of the mandate of the Atlantic alliance and NATO's geographic enlargement. The study takes into consideration the early consequences of September 11th such as the war on terrorism and the development of closer strategic ties between NATO and Russia. The former confers an immediacy to the question of the globalization of NATO's mandate, while the new ties with Russia have lifted an obstacle on the path to NATO enlargement. The study underscores the fact that, while the terrorist attacks serve to reinforce the new global priorities of the U.S., the globalization of the mandate of the transatlantic security links is incompatible with an American security strategy that is essentially unilateral and a Europe that is primarily preoccupied with internal European affairs. In an introductory section that is largely forward-looking, Frederic Bozo considers several scenarios regarding the evolving mission and structure of the transatlantic relationship.



Frédéric Bozo



Jacques Beltran

The geographic expansion of NATO is discussed in four chapters reflecting the points of view of each of the four main protagonists: United States (**Ronald Asmus**, Center on Foreign Relations, CFR, Washington), Russia (**Dmitri Trenin**, Carnegie Moscow Center), Germany (**Karl-Heinz Kamp**, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung) and Poland (**Andrzej Karkoszka**, Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, DCAF). The study concludes that the possible evolution of the Atlantic Alliance (dilution in a politico-military G8 of global scale, rising role of the ESDP) suggests that enlargement has become less of a decisive factor than it was not long ago.

• Nato after September 11: A New Alliance? Paris, 6-7 December

This conference was organized by **Jacques Beltran** with the support of the Policy Planning Staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs three months after the September 11 attacks. It brought together American and European experts to debate the future of NATO. Although the September 11 events led to the first invocation of Article 5 (defining the fundamental mutual commitment of the members of the Alliance), they raised questions about the ability of an organization inherited from the Cold War to deal with threats of a new kind. The conference also shed some light on the risk of a "decoupling" between the European and American sides as Europeans are content to invest in the stability of their immediate surroundings, while Americans, who are alone able to act globally, prefer a unilateral approach. Finally, the future of the NATO-Russia relationship and the enlargement of the Alliance were also discussed. While all agreed that the attacks accelerated the warming of relationships between Moscow and Washington, many noted the fragility of the situation, especially with regard to the internal anti-Western pressures that the Russian president faces.

Participants: **Gilles Andréani**, *Cour des comptes*, Paris; **Steven Everts**, Centre for European Reform, London; **Isabelle Facon**, Foundation for Strategic Research, Paris; **Hanns Maull**, University of Trier; **Alexander Nikitin**, Center for Political and International Studies, Moscow; **Andrzej Karkoszka**, Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces; **Charles Kupchan**, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington D.C.; **Kori Schake**, National Defense University, Washington D.C.

• **Quadripartite Conference 2001**
Paris, 11-12 October

This year, the Quadripartite Conference, which brings together delegations from the RAND Corporation, the Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA), the *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik* (SWP) and Ifri was held in Paris, with the participation of **Christoph Bertram**, SWP, **Victor Bulmer-Thomas**, RIIA, **Thierry de Montbrial**, Ifri, and **James Thompson**, RAND. This meeting organized by **Frédéric Bozo**, was the first high-level transatlantic encounter after the September 11 attacks. The analyses were still marked by emotion, but the participants also expressed questions about the motivation and significance of these events and their consequences for American strategy (re-engagement or unilateralism?), for the position of Russia and for transatlantic relations.



Denis de Kergorlay, host to the meeting at Château de Canisy, John Major, former UK Prime Minister, Hubert Védrine, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sir Nigel Broomfield, director, the Ditchley Foundation and Thierry de Montbrial, Ifri.

Also participating were: **Roy Allison**, **William Hopkinson**, **Julie Smith**, RIIA; **Jeremy Azrael**, **The Hon. Robert Hunter**, **Stephen Larrabee**, RAND; **David Gompert**, **Stephan De Spiegeleire**, RAND Europe; **Hannes Adomeit**, **Peter Schmidt**, SWP; **Michel Foucher**, **Roland Galharague**, Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; **Nicole Gnesotto**, WEU-Institute for Security Studies; **Jacques Beltran**, Ifri; **Guillaume Parmentier**, CFE/Ifri ; **Daniel Vernet**, *Le Monde*; **Henry Zipper de Fabiani**, Strategic affairs directorate, Ministry of Defense.

• **Transatlantic Relations:
Cooperation
and Competition**

Ifri/Ditchley,
Château de Canisy,
29 June-1st July



Dominique Moïsi

This conference, a joint event by Ifri and the Ditchley Foundation (United Kingdom), was organized by **Sir Nigel Broomfield**, Ditchley, and **Dominique Moïsi**, Ifri. It aimed at evaluating the state of transatlantic relations in their economic and politico-strategic dimensions. It benefited from the presence of two former prime ministers, who co-chaired the conference, **Edouard Balladur** and **John Major**; and was attended by the Minister of Foreign Affairs **Hubert Védrine**. It gathered delegations from the UK, Canada and the United States. **Thierry de Montbrial** led the French delegation.

The discussion addressed first the causes of transatlantic tensions, which are heightened by the confusing signals sent by Europe, according to some, and by the "super-power syndrome" of the US, according to others. In view of the complexity of the two "systems", European and American, it was admitted that a more sophisticated approach on both sides is required, particularly in order to counter mutual misperceptions. At the economic level, the participants recognized that, while the *shareholders* culture was not well established in Europe barring certain exceptions ("Rheineland capitalism"), there has been considerable convergence between economic systems over the last fifteen to twenty years. The discussion on globalization and the backlash against it led the participants to call for a dialogue on global governance. *In fine*, doubts about the very fundamentals of the economic system were expressed, a system threatened by demographic growth, environmental degradation, and many other issues. In the debate on security, the participants were divided between those who question NATO's *raison d'être* and those who see it as necessary due in particular to its role as an organization for collective security. There was consensus on the need for its enlargement and on the rejection of a division of labor that would assign to the United States the task of conflict management and to Europe the task of peacekeeping. It was unanimously recognized that Europe needs to address the weakness of its defense efforts in order to demonstrate that it is a responsible partner. In conclusion, it was affirmed that a mature relationship should be capable of managing certain divergences (for example, on the Middle East), that common interests on both sides of the Atlantic are considerable, that, without cooperating, neither

"The Real Crisis
over the Atlantic"

Dominique Moïsi
Foreign Affairs, vol. 80, n° 4, 2001

America nor Europe could achieve their objectives, and finally, that unilateralism is doomed to failure. Essentially, it was established that a transatlantic divorce is unthinkable.

Also participating were: *Robert Cooper* CMG MVO, Defence and Overseas Secretariat, Cabinet Office; *Sir Michael Jay*, UK ambassador to Paris; *Christopher Mallaby* GCMG GCVO, former UK ambassador to Paris; *The Lord Simon of Highbury* CBE, consultant, Cabinet Office; *Philip Stephens*, *Financial Times*, for the British delegation; *Robert Conway*, The Goldman Sachs Group Inc; *The Hon. Richard Gardner*, Columbia University; *James Hoge Jr*, *Foreign Affairs*, Council on Foreign Relations; *Christopher Makins*, The Atlantic Council of the United States; *The Hon. Richard Perle*, American Enterprise Institute for Policy Research, for the American delegation; *Wolfgang Ischinger*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin; *Michael Stürmer*, *Die Welt*, for the German delegation; *Jeremy K.B. Kinsman*, High Commissioner in the United Kingdom, for the Canadian Delegation; *Jacques Andréani*, ambassador of France, former ambassador to Washington; *Marc Perrin de Brichambaut*, Strategic affairs directorate, Ministry of Defense; *Thérèse Delpech*, CERI/FNSP; *Gérard Errera*, Strategic affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; *François Gayet*, Thales; *Pierre Jacquet*, Ifri; *Guillaume Parmentier*, CFE/Ifri; *Daniel Vernet*, *Le Monde*, for the French delegation.

The CESDP: the Emergence of a Strategic Culture and of a European Security and Defense Policy

This research program led to the organization of three one-and-a-half-day seminars that brought together researchers and high-ranking security and defense officials from France, Germany and Britain, to discuss the state of cooperation between Paris, London and Berlin in the context of the CESDP.

• **France-Germany Symposium: “European Security and Defense Policy”**
Paris, 6 July

This seminar was organized by *Hans Stark* (Ifri/CERFA), *Frédéric Bozo* and the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik* (DGAP). The participants underscored the role of Franco-German

leadership in institution building (setting up new CFSP institutions, transforming the Eurocorps) and in the development of the military dimension. But given the differences in their approaches, most notably the Franco-German disagreement on the federalist orientation of the Union, the participants also recognized the challenges posed by future institutional reforms (particularly the elaboration of a European constitution). As expected, the most controversial question was the transatlantic dimension of European security. The divergences concerned the finality of the Union (autonomous global actor?) as well as some structural aspects (political and military structures of the CESDP) and strategic aspects

(defense concepts of both countries), hence the occurrence of roadblocks in the Franco-German dialogue. *Thierry de Montbrial* opened the symposium and *Karl Kaiser* (DGAP) closed it drawing some lessons for the Franco-German couple.



Karl Kaiser, DGAP

Also participating were: *Matthias Dembinski*, *Hessische Stiftung für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung*, Francfort; *Nicole Gnesotto*, WEU-Institute for Security Studies; *Karl Heinz Kamp*, *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung*, Sankt-Augustin; *Guillaume Parmentier*, CFE/Ifri; *Marc Perrin de Brichambaut*, Strategic affairs directorate, Ministry of Defense, Paris; *Daniel Vernet*, *Le Monde*.

• **Franco-British Seminar European Security and Defense Policy: Present and Future**
Paris, 2 October



Jolyon Howorth

This seminar was organized by *Jolyon Howorth*, University of Bath, associate researcher at Ifri. Franco-British cooperation in ESDP matters was discussed in the post September 2001 context. Officials and experts from both countries argued that in the short-term, European countries reacted to the events by adopting national positions. Most

participants, however, admitted that in the medium term, terrorist attacks would lead to an appreciable strengthening of the ESDP. While there was much agreement on the need to make the Rapid Reaction Force operational as soon as possible, there was more divergence about the dimension and ultimate role of such a force. On the other hand, there was remarkable convergence in the analyses concerning the transformation of NATO from an essentially military alliance to an increasingly political tool.

British participants: *Michael Clarke*, Centre for Defence Studies, King's College, London; *Stuart Croft* and *Tony Mason*, Centre for Studies in Security and Diplomacy, Birmingham University; *William Hopkinson*, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London; *Julian Lindley-French*, WEU-Institute for Security Studies, Paris; *Tom Mc Kane*, Cabinet Office, London; *Anand Menon*, European Research Institute, Birmingham University.

French participants: *Frédéric Bozo*, *Jacques Beltran*, *Dominique Moisi*, Ifri; *Marc Perrin de Brichambaut*, *Henry Zipper de Fabiani*, Strategic affairs directorate, Ministry of Defense.

• **France-Germany-UK
Trilateral Symposium:
the Future of the CESDP
after September 11**
Berlin, 23-24 November

This conference, opened by *Karl Kaiser*, DGAP, was organized jointly by the DGAP, the RIIA and *Philippe Moreau Defarges* and *Hans Stark* for Ifri. The September 11 attacks made the *raison d'être* of the Alliance the central question of the meeting. These events disclosed the latent politico-strategic divergences between Europe and the United States on the global security agenda in general, and on the articulation between short and long term (the second phase of the American response) policies in particular. Several scenarios were laid out, most notably the search for a new strategic partnership between an increasingly global and unilateral US policy and a Europe that is preoccupied with its own political construction and the stabilization of its periphery. The participants admitted that the realization of such a scenario depends on one condition: that Europe appear militarily credible to America.

Also participating were: from Germany: *Ulrike Guerot* and *Bernhard May*, DGAP, *Manfred Antes*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Volker Heise*, Ministry of Defense, *Johannes Varwick*, Bundeswehr University, Hamburg ; from France, *Frédéric Bozo*, Ifri, *Henry Zipper de Fabiani*, Strategic affairs directorate, Ministry of Defense, *Bruno Tertrais*, Foundation for Strategic Research, Paris; from the UK: *Victor Bulmer-Thomas* and *Julie Smith*, RIIA, *Sir Michael Quinlan*, former Under-Secretary of State for Defense, *Paul Cornish*, Cambridge University, King's College, London, *James de Waal*, Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Security
Prospective Studies

• **Simulation
of Regional Crises**

Etienne de Durand, research fellow at Ifri, led two successive studies with *Josué Priser* aimed at developing a method of crisis simulation including possible military aspects. These models of regional crisis management constitute the first elements of a competency for crisis simulation at Ifri.

• **A Review
of the Geo-strategic
Hypotheses of the Thirty Year
Prospective Plan**

The French Ministry of Defense acquired a planning tool a few years ago, allowing it to integrate in a global structure models of future armies and procurement programs. This 30-year plan (PP30) is based on an analysis of the geo-strategic context and how it might evolve over the next three decades. Under the direction of *Dominique David*, and with the collaboration of *Etienne de Durand*, a review of the major trends of the international system has been undertaken, the results of which could be integrated into future versions of the 30-year plan. Ifri will publish a version of its findings on the matter, which could lead to a large debate.

"La mondialisation et le militaire"
(*Globalization and the Military*)
Dominique David
in *RAMSES 2002* (chapter),
p. 31-45

"11 septembre : premières leçons
stratégiques"
(*September 11: The First Strategic
Lessons*)
Dominique David
Politique étrangère, n° 4/2001



Sécurité : l'après-New York
(*Security Issues after September 11*)
Dominique David
Presses de Sciences Po,
"La bibliothèque du citoyen"

"La défense antimissile: un
nouveau paradigme stratégique"
(*Missile Defense: a New Strategic
Paradigm*)
Camille Grand
Politique étrangère, n° 4/2001

"La France et la défense antimissile"
(*France and Missile Defense*)
Jean Klein
Politique étrangère, n° 4/2001

"Révolutions technologiques et
stratégiques"
(*Technological and Strategic
Revolutions*)
Camille Grand
in *RAMSES 2002*, (Chapter), p. 47-60

"Pour un grand débat européen"
(*For a Broad European Debate*)
Camille Grand and B. Schmitt
in *Nucléaire: le retour du grand débat*,
Cahiers de Chaillot, No 48, ISS WEU,
2001

SEMINAR PROGRAM IN COOPERATION WITH THE ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY (CEA)



Under the direction of **Dominique David**

8 March – 9h00-11h00
Europe and the United States: Partnership, Division of Labor or Rupture?

David Gompert, president of RAND Europe, discussed the possible scenarios for the future of transatlantic relations: disconnection following a division of tasks that confines Europeans to the management of their regional crises, or a new partnership involving, among other things, a shared antimissile defense system.



David Gompert

15 June - 9h00-11h00
Russia- US Relations and Arms Control

William Potter, director, Center for Non-Proliferation, Monterey Institute, and **Dmitri Trenin**, deputy director, Carnegie Moscow Center, analyzed the options left open by the divergence of Russian and American interests. (The texts relevant to this seminar were published in *Politique étrangère*, N° 4/2001).

25 June – 14h30-16h30
Caucasus and Chechnya: Implications for Political and Military Relations with Russia

Anatol Lieven, senior associate, Carnegie Endowment, Washington, gave a presentation of the chain of destabilization in the region, focusing in particular on Georgia and on the difficulty of viable solutions to the Chechnya war.

24 October – 17h00-19h00
Internal Responses to Mass Terrorism: the American View

Michael Wermuth, an analyst at the RAND Corporation working on the Gilmore Commission on terrorism using weapons of mass destruction, presented the American view, largely predating September 11th, on the control of mass terrorism by civil society.

22 November - 9h00-11h00
The Future of the Dissuasion of Medium-size Nuclear Powers, France and Great-Britain

Sir Michael Quinlan raised questions about the justification of maintaining nuclear power in a world where it appears to be relatively marginalized, the possible future of the arsenals of medium-size nuclear powers, the necessary modernizations and the premises for collaboration between these powers.

Seminar in Collaboration with SIPRI

• Building Nuclear Stockpile and Warhead Dismantlement Transparency Regime: Issues and Options
Paris, 8-9 February

This seminar was held in the context of a program initiated by the *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute* (SIPRI) and will culminate in the publication of a book under the direction of the institute's director, **Daniel Rotfeld**.

The seminar put forth the various approaches, European, American and Russian, on the transparency of the management and dismantling of nuclear arsenals.

STUDY TRIP

With the support of both the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Potomac Foundation, Jacques Beltran stayed for three months in Washington as a visiting Fellow at the GMF and at the Brookings Institution (Center on the US and France). His fellowship enabled him to get better acquainted with the new Administration and Congress positions on Iraq, missile defense and NATO enlargement.

In 2001, Ifri carried on its analysis of the world economy and of the perspectives of developing better institutions of global governance. The economic team continued to follow the process of globalization, with studies on multinationals, the international diffusion of innovation and economic cooperation in Asia. Two themes gave rise to several activities in the course of the year: the adjustment of national economic and social policies in the context of globalization, and the questions posed, in developed and developing economies, by the emergence of a knowledge-intensive economy.

Globalization: Backlash and National Adjustment

• National Reactions to Globalization

Opposition to globalization led Ifri, the Institute for International Economics/IIE, in Washington DC, and the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik*/DGAP in Berlin to launch a comparative research project on reactions to globalization in 2000. This project, supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States, is coordinated by **Pierre Jacquet** and **Frédérique Sachwald**. In 2001, it gave rise to several contributions and meetings on the difficulties faced by national economies in adjusting, and on the different perceptions of globalization, which are different from one country to the next.



Pierre Jacquet



Frédérique Sachwald

Workshop on Reactions to Globalization DGAP-Ifri-IIE, March 21, Berlin

This seminar discussed different aspects of the adaptation of national economies and the issue of evolving financial markets and their regulation. The contributions on labor markets (**Eric Maurin**,

INSEE, **Heiner Gansmann**, *Freie Universität* in Berlin and **David Richardson**, IIE) argued that the interactions between globalization and technical progress explain changes in employment. They also stressed the importance of specific policies aimed at low-skilled workers. The debate showed that national approaches to this issue differ across countries, in particular between the US and Europe.

The contributions by **Bernhard May** (DGAP) on the mergers and acquisitions in Germany and by **Frédérique Sachwald** (Ifri) on evolving national innovation systems also emphasized distinctive national features in the face of growing competition due to globalization. The national models of capitalism are put under pressure, raising serious concern, as was the case in the cellular phone industry with the Vodafone takeover of Mannesmann. The analysis of public policies and corporations' reactions during the 1990s suggests that adjustments are possible, and that they don't necessarily imply a total convergence of these "models".

The session dedicated to financial markets, which benefited from contributions by **Klaus Günter Deutsch**, Deutsche Bank, **Pierre Jacquet**, Ifri, and **Fred Bergsten**, IIE, underscored the differences in the national approaches to reforming international financial institutions.

Civil Society and Political Parties *in the face of globalization* Ifri, 30 March



Eddy Fougier

This seminar aimed at analyzing the French reactions to globalization, particularly the movement of criticism of "liberal globalization". The seminar, chaired by **Pierre Jacquet**, brought together representatives from various non-governmental organizations which are heavily involved in this movement, namely **Gustave Massiah** (CEDETIM) and **Philippe Pecatier** (Action contre la faim). The debate built upon the contributions by **Eddy Fougier** (Ifri), on "NGOs and the political debate in France in the face of globalization", by **Philippe Moreau Defarges** (Ifri), on "the reactions of political parties"

"Perceptions de la mondialisation aux Etats-Unis et en France"
(Globalization in the US and France)

Eddy Fougier

Politique étrangère, n° 3/2001

"Le mouvement de contestation de la mondialisation"
(The Anti-Globalization Movement)

Eddy Fougier

in *Annuaire français de relations internationales 2002*,

Brussels, Bruylant (forthcoming)

"Mondialisation : radiographie de la contestation"
(The Anti-Globalization Phenomena: An Analysis)

Eddy Fougier

Sociétal, n° 34, 4th quarter 2001



"Mondialisation et inégalités Nord-Sud"
(*Globalization and North-South Inequalities*)

Françoise Nicolas

"Dynamique des inégalités mondiales : rattrapages internationaux et ajustements internes"
(*World Inequalities: National Adjustments and International Adaptations*)

Frédérique Sachwald
in *Mondialisation et inégalités*,
La Documentation française,
Les Cahiers français, n° 305,
November-December 2001

"Mondialisation et politiques publiques. Le cas de la culture en France"
(*Globalization and National Policies: The French Cultural Policy as a Case-Study*)

Presentation
of Maryvonne de Saint-Pulgent
(text available on request)

"Patterns of R&D Co-operation by European Firms : Cost-economising vs Technology-Seeking"

Frédérique Sachwald
in S. Lundan (dir.), *Network Knowledge in International Business*, Aldershot (United Kingdom), Edward Elgar (forthcoming)

and by **Dominique Plihon** (University of Paris-Nord and member of the scientific committee of Attac) on "civil society and governance". The discussion placed the present movements in a historical perspective and provided an opportunity to identify some important issues in the globalization debate, such as the rise of inequalities which will be addressed in the "Reaction to Globalization" program in 2002.

Culture and Globalization

Ifri, 7 June

The aim of this roundtable discussion, chaired by **Pierre Jacquet**, was to discuss and analyze the cultural implications of globalization and their impact on cultural policies. Speakers included: **Pierre-Jean Benghozi**, CNRS, **Jean-Michel Frodon**, *Le Monde*, **Jacques Rigaud**, former president of RTL, member of the *Conseil d'Etat* (rtd), **Maryvonne de Saint-Pulgent**, member of the *Conseil d'Etat*, and **Yvon Thiec**, Eurocinema. France's policy decisions, particularly regarding cinema, were underscored.

In a presentation on "Globalization and Capitalisms", at the "ASEM Roundtable on Globalization and Regional Responses", **Frédérique Sachwald** emphasized the tensions that capitalist models are subjected to, be it in developed or developing economies, in the context of globalization (Seoul, May 28-29).

Global Governance

In 2001, **Pierre Jacquet** carried on his work on global governance, most notably with a chapter in *RAMSES 2002* dedicated to "global governance under attack". He was also one of the main contributors to the report of the French Council of Economic Advisers (CAE) *Gouvernance mondiale: les institutions économiques de la mondialisation* with Jean Pisani-Ferry and Laurence Tubiana. He took part in the mission of the CAE that presented this report to the US Congress, the IMF, the Brookings Institution and the World Bank (Washington, May 1-4).

Pierre Jacquet also participated in the debates of the Evian Group, "Back to the Future: Restoring Confidence, Momentum and Vision of the Global Liberal Order"

(Montreux, April 20-22), as well as in the work of the European Roundtable of Industrialists on the "Management of Europe" (Brussels, 30 July and 16 October).

He made a presentation on "Europe's Role in Global Governance and Challenges to East" at the invitation of the Institute for Global Economics (Seoul, 7-11 October).

Multinationals and National Economies

Ifri is conducting a research project on the activity of multinationals and their interactions with national economies in developed and developing countries. These analyses have, for several years, constituted an important part of the institute's work on globalization.

• Internationalization of R&D and Localization of Innovation

During 2001, **Frédérique Sachwald** continued her work on the internationalization of research and development and the constitution of global networks of innovation by firms.

Innovation-led Competition and Global R&D Management

Ifri, 26 June

This conference, organized as a part of Ifri's transatlantic program supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States, assessed the extent of internationalization of research in large global groups, and analyzed in detail their strategies in building up global innovation networks. The consequences for the home and host countries were also discussed.

Participants: *Paul Almeida*, Georgetown University, *John Cantwell*, University of Reading, *Saikat Chaudhuri*, Harvard University, *Yves Doz*, INSEAD, *Andrew Inkpen*, Thundervird School of International Management, *Frédérique Sachwald*, Ifri, *Maximilian von Zedtwitz*, IMD, Lausanne.

• French Firms and the Internationalization of R&D

Frédérique Sachwald continued her research project on the internationalization of R&D in French firms, especially in the context of the CNRS (National Centre for Scientific Research) program on "The implications of innovation". This project is based both on statistical analyses and on a qualitative survey of French firms. Some of the findings were presented in international conferences.

"R&D Cooperation by French Firms", in collaboration with Luis Miotti: presentation at the conference on *The Impact of Innovation and Globalization in Europe*, AITEG Project (Madrid 25-26 May)

"Geographical distribution of R&D accords: the case of France", presentation with Luis Miotti at the international conference at CEPN-Paris XIII, *Les trajectoires américaine et européenne réévaluées* (Paris, 28-29 June)

"Emerging Patterns of R&D Internationalization" a paper presented at the seminar on *New Forms of Global Firms and Innovation*, Center for Knowledge and Innovation Research, Helsinki School of Economics and Business Administration (Helsinki, 13-15 August)

• The Role of Foreign Investment in the Development of the Korean Economy

The findings of the project on *Korean investment abroad and its role in the recent development of Korea* were published in *Going Multinational, The Korean Experience of Direct Investment*. In 2001-2002, the Korea Foundation is supporting another research project on the Korean economy, led by **Frédérique Sachwald**. This project analyzes the role of foreign direct investment in the evolution of the Korean economy as Korea is shifting to a knowledge-intensive economy. It also emphasizes the role of foreign firms in the transfer of technology and in the managerial practices in Korea. The project started with Frédéricque Sachwald's study trip to Seoul in June 2001, which allowed her to discuss her work with Korean researchers. She also prepared the ground for a joint research work in the field on the behavior of Korean firms.

Françoise Nicolas studied the role of foreign intervention in the restructuring of the financial system, a Korean priority since the 1997 crisis. Her research trip in Korea in October 2001 allowed her to meet both with academics and with bankers involved in the process.

Serge Perrin et Frédéricque Sachwald presented a paper on the case of Korea at the meeting on "FDI, Human Capital and Education in Developing Countries", OECD Development Centre (Paris, December 13-14)

• The Impact of Direct Foreign Investment and Multinationals on Developing Economies

Frédérique Sachwald and **Serge Perrin** are preparing a report on the impact of foreign investment on developing economies as part of a research project coordinated by the University of Oslo. This report analyzes the conditions under which investments by multinationals lead to technology transfers which positively affect the productivity of the investing economy. Based on the findings of numerous studies, it seeks to identify local policies that are likely to amplify the beneficial effects of the presence of multinationals in developing countries.

Knowledge-Intensive Economies: Opportunities and Challenges

The accelerated rate of technical progress was singled out as one of the fundamental factors in the growth of the world economy since the 1980s. With the development of the Internet and the diffusion of information technology, the entry into a more knowledge-intensive economy offers new opportunities and raises new challenges for both developed and developing countries alike. In 2001, Ifri addressed many different aspects of this fundamental issue.



Going Multinational. The Korean Experience of Direct Investment
Frédérique Sachwald (dir.)
London, Routledge, 2001



Governance Issues in the Digital Economy
Policy Statement
from the T-5
Tokyo Club Foundation
for Global Studies, April 2002

TOKYO CLUB FOUNDATION FOR GLOBAL STUDIES

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 hand 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 in the *Tokyo Club Papers*, available on the website: www.tcf.or.jp.

• **Governance Issues in the Digital Economy – Tokyo Club Research Meeting**
Ifri, 24-25 January 2002

After analyzing the characteristics and significance of the development of information and communication technology in 2000, the *Tokyo Club* focused on governance issues posed by the Internet and the development of the digital economy. Its work underscores not only the need for global, sometimes innovative, rules of governance, but also the extent of adjustment in progress at the national level be it in competition law, in regulation or in the tax system.

Ifri organized the annual meeting of the five institutes (postponed until January because of September 11th). On the first day, contributions presented by each institute on issues related to the rise of the internet and digital technology were discussed by external experts: the evolving politics of regulation in the era of digital convergence (*Takeshi Shinohara*, NRI), competition policy (*Hans Schedl*, IFO), intellectual property rights (*Frédérique Sachwald*, Ifri, and *Bertrand Warusfel*, University of Paris-V), electronic commerce taxation (*Barry Bosworth*, Brookings Institution) and the perspectives of technological catching up opened to developing countries by the Internet (*Caroll Scott-Leonard* and *Brigitte Granville*, RIIA). The second day was largely dedicated to the drafting of a joint memo

summarizing the five institutes' analyses and policy recommendations. This Policy Statement from the T-5 will be published and available on Ifri's website, <www.ifri.org/>.

Ifri will publish all the contributions in a volume that will appear in 2002. *Frédérique Sachwald's* paper, "Intellectual Property Rights in the Global Information Society: Too Weak or Too Strong?" is available on the Ifri website at: <www.ifri.org/F/Opinion/DPI/dpi_sachwald.pdf>.

• **Whither Innovation in Vietnam?**

In view of the Third Franco-Vietnamese Forum organized by ADETEF (Association for the development of exchanges in economic and financial technology, Ministry of Economy, Finances and Industry) in Hanoi in March 2002, *Frédérique Sachwald* and *Thierry Paulmier* completed a joint study on innovation in Vietnam. The study aimed at analyzing how a poor but fast growing country such as Vietnam, can take advantage of international technology transfers to enhance its development. Thierry Paulmier's study trip to Vietnam between December 3rd and 14th 2001, allowed him to visit Vietnamese and foreign firms as well as research centers. The study, commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, will be published in 2002.

• **New Technologies and Development**



Françoise Nicolas

In *RAMSES 2002*, **Françoise Nicolas** and **Nicolas Occis** examine the role that information and communication technology (ICT) can play in the growth of developing countries. After analyzing the extent of the digital divide between North and South and confirming the concerns that it raises, the authors point out the benefits that developing countries can draw from ICT; they also hint at the risks and costs that may come with this technological revolution. Although ICT is no miracle solution, it can nevertheless help human and social development in these countries and accelerate their rate of growth by allowing for greater productivity and integration in the international networks of production.

Emerging Economies

• **Development Potential**

The research program on the development potential of emerging economies, led by **Françoise Nicolas** and supported by the *Institut Caise des dépôts pour la recherche scientifique, économique, financière et sociale*, continued through 2001. The study aims at establishing a typology of developing economies that takes into account the different sources of growth and combines structural characteristics as well as institutional and macroeconomic data. Starting with a survey of the recent literature (both theoretical and empirical) on the foundations of economic growth in developing countries, **Françoise Nicolas** and **Nathalie Avallone** underscore the importance of threshold effects and complementarities in the emergence of durable growth dynamics. The study questions the very notion of a model of development and seeks to identify different economic profiles likely to lead to different development paths.

• **New Exchange Rate Policies in East Asia**

After two years of serious economic turbulences, the main ASEAN economies, and Korea, have returned to relatively stable growth rates. Various attempts at regional cooperation have been presented, namely in the financial and monetary sector, within the so-called ASEAN+3 (China, Japan and South Korea) framework. In several studies **Françoise Nicolas** examined the progress of cooperation in exchange rate policies in the region, and assessed the dangers and benefits that these initiatives might create in the context of greater regional integration.

Projects in 2002

• **International Trade**

Philippe Colombani



Two research projects were launched at the end of 2001 conducted by **Philippe Colombani**.

- "World Trade Patterns in the 21st Century", a forward-looking study on world trade in the twenty first century, its main actors, factors and trends. This program benefits from the support of the European Commission.

- In the framework of the "Sustainable Trade" research project run in partnership with various European institutes led by ENSAE (Montpellier) and coordinated by **Laurence Tubiana**, Ifri manages the workshop on "European governance" in the fields of trade and sustainable development.

• **Energy**

Ifri launched a study on "The Caspian Sea and the regional and global energy game". Led by **Philippe Colombani**, this multidisciplinary study will deal with legal, strategic and economic aspects related to the economics of hydrocarbons. It will bring together Ifri researchers, **Anita Tiraspolksy** among others, as well as external experts. It is supported by a mix of public and private funds.



Anita Tiraspolksy

"Technologies de l'information: une chance pour le développement ?" (*ICT: An Opportunity for Developing Countries?*)
Françoise Nicolas and Nicolas Occis
In *RAMSES 2002*, (chapter) p. 91-106

"Politiques de changes en Asie du Sud-Est : plus ça change ..."
(*Exchange Rate Policies in Southeast Asia: plus ça change...*)
Françoise Nicolas

In *Mondes en développement*, volume 29, n° 113/114, January-July 2001

"The Future of Exchange Rate Policies in East Asia: A Case for Managed Flexibility"

Françoise Nicolas

In *International Trade and Capital Flows in Economic Restructuring and Growth - Europe and East Asia*, Pierre-Bruno Ruffini (ed.)
Le Havre, Presses universitaires du Havre (forthcoming)

Franco-German discussion within CERFA provides a continuing focal point for work on evolving European affairs. A project was undertaken on the way forward for an international strategy of the European Union. The enlargement of the Union was at the heart of two bilateral conferences with candidate countries.

"France-Allemagne :
quel après-Nice?"
(France-Germany:
What Perspectives After Nice?)
Hans Stark
Politique étrangère, n° 2/2001

"Les relations
germano-polonaises.
Un partenariat difficile"
(German-Polish Relations:
A Troubled Partnership)
Hans Stark
Documents, n° 5, 2001

CERFA

The Committee for the Study of Franco-German Relations (CERFA) was created in 1954 by a governmental agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and France. Ifri, from the French side, and the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik* (DGAP), from the German side, are in charge of the administration of CERFA. CERFA benefits from equal support from the Quai d'Orsay and the *Auswärtiges Amt*, and aims at contributing to a better knowledge of the two countries' respective approaches in politics and economics. This mission is achieved through the organizing of regular Franco-German meetings and seminars that bring together high-ranking officials, experts and journalists and coordinating research projects on topics of

common interest (domestic and foreign policy, in particular EU policies, social developments and security matters). *Hans Stark* has been CERFA's secretary general since 1991.

In 2001, the research and publication activity of CERFA focused on current international affairs directly linked to relations between Germany and France: the outcome of the Nice summit, the future of EU institutional reforms, the enlargement of the EU, France's and Germany's foreign and security policy after September 11. These

issues were tackled during meetings – Franco-German seminar on European defense policy, a trilateral conference with France, Germany and Britain, Franco-German seminar on Russia (see p. 8, 9, 19) –, in research ("Eastern Policy of Schröder's Germany"), in written contributions and in participation in several forums.

In 2002, CERFA will concentrate on the elections in France and Germany, the European constitutional debate, the evolution of CESDP, the Eastern enlargement of the EU and relations with Russia and the Balkans. As part of the effort of reviving Franco-German cooperation under the "Blasheim process", CERFA will intensify the organization of meetings dedicated to Franco-German relations.



Hans Stark

• Eastern Policy of Schröder's Germany

This study, directed by *Hans Stark*, reveals Germany's aspiration to a diplomatic return to "normalcy" and to an international role that matches its economic and industrial potential. This orientation is expressed by Germany's active policy towards Eastern Europe where it has many assets. The Federal Republic is especially interested in two countries – Poland, the pivot of Germany's rapprochement policies between Central Europe and Western institutions, and Russia, because Berlin aspires to playing a mediating role between Moscow and the West – and in a strategic axis: the Eastern enlargement of the EU.

Roland Götz and *Christian Meier* (*Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*, Berlin) tackle the Germany-Russia aspect. The authors note that Germany's aspirations are well received in Russia, since Moscow counts on Berlin to represent Russian interests in the West. At the economic level, they underscore that, while Germany is Russia's largest trading partner, the size of Russian debt remains a point of potential friction. *Henning Tewes* (*Konrad Adenauer Stiftung*, Warsaw) discusses relations between Germany and Poland. He points out that interests between Berlin and Warsaw are converging, but that contact and exchanges at the popular level are still insufficient and

feed a suspicion that could be the source of tensions in the context of a larger Europe. **Hans Stark** analyzes Germany's policy on EU enlargement. While enlargement corresponds to Germany's interests, its will to limit the financial impact of enlargement, and its attachment to an institutional deepening (preserving the EU's *acquis*) carry the seeds of possible divergence between Germany and Poland. The study highlights the limits of Germany's willingness to play the role of the mediator between East and West.

• **Conditions of an Influential EU Policy on a Global Scale**



Philippe Moreau Defarges

This study led by **Philippe Moreau Defarges** is organized in three parts. The first, by **Philippe Moreau Defarges**, discusses the general problematics of an influential EU strategy modeled by history, geography, values and structures. This problematics relies on two imperatives: for the EU to exist, organizing its periphery (Central and Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean) is an absolute necessity, and the EU, being the association of democratic states, can only promote the rules of democracy.

In the second part, **Olivier Cattaneo** analyzes the external and internal dimensions of the EU's trade policy. The only truly common foreign policy, trade policy is a favorite instrument of the EU, which has embarked on a race for influence with the United States in order to assert itself in the international arena. Using an approach that is bilateral while actively seeking multilateralism, it participates in the regulation of the global market.

In the third part, **Laurent Cohen-Tanugi** evaluates the European Union's international normative influence and highlights the assets as well as the weaknesses of Europe in this field. He identifies the parameters of a successful normative strategy to obtain influence, and confirms *in concreto* the indissociability of the political and institutional dimensions in the European project, and the path that Europe needs to tread before it can become a true international normative power.

• **France, Poland and the EU**
Warsaw, 22-23 June

Organized by **Dominique Letourneur** for Ifri with the Committee of European Integration of the Polish Republic in collaboration with the France-Poland Foundation and the French Embassy in Warsaw, this conference received the patronage of the French and Polish Prime Ministers and was part of the mutual effort for deeper Franco-Polish relations in the future enlarged European Union. The conference was held at the Chancellery of the Polish Prime Minister **Jerzy Buzek**, who opened the debate. **Pierre Moscovici**, French Minister for European Affairs, **Jacek Saryusz-Wolski**, Secretary of State for European Integration, and **Thierry de Montbrial**, introduced the discussions. The meeting was an opportunity to review the main stakes in enlargement for both parties. The participants – French and Polish parliamentarians, academics and experts – analyzed the parties' mutual perceptions without complacency. Among the participants were **Philippe Marini**, Senate Member (Paris), **Czesław Bielecki**, Sejm, Warsaw. They discussed the new challenges raised by the institutional architecture of the EU and the complementarities that are likely to be developed in a regional framework, with **Alain Barreau**, National Assembly, Paris, **Jerzy Lukaszewski** former Ambassador to Paris, College of Europe (Bruges), **Françoise de La Serre**, CERI, **Jan Kulakowski**, Polish negotiator at the EU, **Marek Borowski**, vice-Marshal of the Diet, Warsaw. Agricultural policy was discussed serenely and with relative optimism from both sides, by **Jan Trzuszczynski**, Presidential Chancellery, Warsaw, and **Henri Nallet**, former minister of Agriculture. Finally, the new premises of internal and external security – in the framework of the ESDP – led to constructive exchanges (**Philippe Lemaître**, *Le Monde*, **Jacek Saruysz-Wolski** and **Alain Lamassoure**, member of the European Parliament).

• **Romania: Internal Dynamics and International Integration**
Paris, 26-27 September

For the first time, French and Romanian experts gathered for a day and a half in a dialogue, led by



L'Union européenne, empire démocratique?
(Is the EU a Democratic Empire?)
Philippe Moreau Defarges
"Les Notes de l'Ifri", n° 38,
March 2002



Les institutions européennes
(The European Institutions)
Philippe Moreau Defarges
Paris, Amand Colin, Collection U,
5th edition, 2001

"L'Union européenne ou l'unité dans la diversité"
(The European Union: Unity Within Diversity)
Philippe Moreau Defarges
RAMSES 2002, (chapter) p. 127-140

"La question du gouvernement européen"
(Which European Government?)
Philippe Moreau Defarges
Le Débat, n° 118, January-February 2002



Nouvelles citoyennetés : réfugiés et sans-papiers dans l'espace européen
(*New Citizenships: Refugees and Undocumented Aliens in Europe*)

Rémy Leveau,
Khadija Mohsen-Finan,
Catherine Wihtol de Wenden (eds.)
"Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri",
Paris, 2001



L'Islam en France et en Allemagne. Identités et citoyennetés
(*Islam in France and Germany: Identities and Citizenships*)

Rémy-Leveau,
Khadija Mohsen-Finan,
Catherine Wihtol de Wenden. (eds.)
Ifri/La Documentation française,
Paris, 2001

Dominique David, which focused on three themes: the internal developments and the stakes in Romania (the birth of a new political culture, the consequences of demographic developments), Romania in regional dynamics, focusing on the economic aspects (development of exchanges, stakes of the Danube traffic) and on security matters; finally, the rapprochement vis-à-vis Euro-Atlantic institutions (perspectives for entry into the Union, nature of the insertion of defense policy in the enlargement of the Alliance, and finally the specific role of Franco-Romanian bilateralism). These exchanges benefited from the presence of representatives from the European Union and the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe and were characterized by free exchanges and a realistic attitude by both parties to the difficulties to face.

The main participants were: *Sergiu Celac*, Romanian Association of the Roma Club and the Romanian Institute for International Studies, Bucharest; *Catherine Durandin*, National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations, INALCO; *Corneliu Dobritou*, Ministry of Defense, Bucharest; *Didier Fau*, Coordination of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, Brussels; *Richard Harding*, European Union delegation, Bucharest; *Francis Lebihan*, University of Toulouse; *Zoe Petre*, Institute for Regional Cooperation and Conflict Prevention, Bucharest; *Patrick McClay*, European Commission, Brussels; *Mihaila Matei*, Ministry of Defense, Bucharest; *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri; *Violette Rey*, Ecole normale supérieure, Lyon.

New European Identity and Citizenship

This research program on the problems of identity and citizenship raised by immigrant populations settling in Europe was undertaken in July 1999 under the scientific direction of *Rémy Leveau* and was led by *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* with the support of the Ford Foundation. It was completed in 2001 with a closing seminar and the publication of two books: *Nouvelles citoyennetés: réfugiés et sans-papiers dans l'espace européen* and *L'Islam en France et en Allemagne*.

• Closing Seminar: New Territories and European Citizenship Ifri, 18-19 January



Rémy Leveau



Khadija Mohsen-Finan

This seminar, organized by *Rémy Leveau* and *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, aimed at surveying the question of identity and citizenship in Europe. Thus it reflected the state of the actual debate on citizenship and the recent forms of mobilization.

The participation of numerous French and foreign specialists made it possible to contrast the works conducted in the framework of the study to research done in a European context (*Jordi Moreras*, CIDOB, Spain, *Dietmar Loch*, Bielefeld University, Germany, *Gilles Kepel*, CNRS/IEP-Paris, *Stefano Allievi*, Padoue University, *Adrian Favell*, University of California, and *John Crowley*, CERI-FNSP), as well as research done in the US (*Jocelyne Césari*, University of Colombia, and *Mark Miller*, University of Delaware).

Two approaches were chosen: the field approach (*Jordi Moreras*, *Franck Frégosi*, CNRS, *Vasodeven Vuddamalay*, Evry University, *Florence Bergeaud*, CNRS-Bordeaux, *Dietmar Loch*, *Vincent Geisser*, Iremam, *Ottavia Schmidt*, University of Trieste, *Lionel Panafit*, IEP Aix-en-Provence, *Stefano Allievi*, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, Ifri) and a more theoretical approach (*John Crowley*, *Adrian Favell*). There were two salient dimensions: a global apprehension of the question of citizenship (*Rémy Leveau*, *Gilles Kepel*, *Mark Miller*, *Catherine Wihtol de Wenden*, CNRS-CERI), and a local apprehension, tackled through new aspects such as the role of media in the construction of Muslim communities, the Young Turk connective tissue in Strasbourg, or the question of citizenship and ethnicity in the school environment. The works of the study were synthesized by *Rémy Leveau* and *Mark Miller*.

Russia was dealt with from a Franco-Russian perspective and through Franco-German exchange of views.

• Relations between France and Russia from Moscow's Perspective

This study, led by *Thomas Gomart*, is based on interviews conducted by a group of Russian analysts (academics, experts, diplomats and specialists). It is a response to the apparent deterioration in relations between Russia and France in the months since President Putin's accession to power, and tries to understand the reasons. The French-Russian relationship is compared to Russia's other bilateral relations as well as to the existing relations between Moscow and multilateral organizations (EU, NATO, OSCE).

The first part discusses the points of convergence: the deterioration of relations – due primarily to Russia's policy in Chechnya – the priority given by Russia to relations with Germany and the EU, and the difficulty of relations with NATO. The analysts underscore the Islamic threat weighing on Russia. The second part lays out the divergences: on the security role given to the EU, on the future of the EU-NATO relationship and on the mechanisms of dialogue between the EU and Russia. The tone adopted in this section is one of skepticism and speculation. The third part offers a criticism of the discourse of analysts still caught in ideological residues.

Recommendations are given in order to avoid isolating Russian analysts whose views reflect a certain degree of distress.

• Franco-German Seminar on Russia Paris, June 28

This meeting, organized by *Hans Stark* (CERFA-Ifri) is the first Ifri seminar bringing together the Policy Planning Staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its German counterpart, the *Planungstab*, represented by their respective directors, *Michel Foucher* and *Achim Schmillen*. The meeting was part of the effort for the revival of the Franco-German cooperation in the framework of the "Blaesheim process". It aimed at analyzing and comparing and, when appropriate, contrasting the points of view of the main French and German actors and observers on the political and economic developments in Russia and more generally in the CIS. The exercise indicated that the German and French participants had, by and large, converging views



Michel Foucher, Thierry de Montbrial, Hélène Carrère d'Encausse.

on the state of the reform in Russia and the need to tie it to the European security structure.

Other participants: *Hélène Carrère d'Encausse*, permanent secretary, *Institut de France*; *Pierre Cochard*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; *Maurice Guyader*, European Commission, Brussels; *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri; *Klaus Segbers* and *Heinz Timmermann*, *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*, Berlin; *Rolf Schumacher*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin; *Wolfram Schrettl*, *Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW)*, Berlin; *Daniel Vernet*, *Le Monde*; Colonel *Pascal Vinchon*, *directorate of strategic affairs*, Ministry of Defense; *Anita Tiraspolky*, Ifri; *Gérard Wild*, CEPPI, Paris.

• Annual Ifri/MGIMO Seminar on Security Moscou, 14-15 November

Thierry de Montbrial opened the 2001 session of the dialogue between Ifri and MGIMO (Moscow State Institute for International Relations) – organized by *Dominique David*. The questions raised during this seminar, which brought together some fifty French and Russian experts and decision makers, touched on antimissile defense, dissuasion and the concept of strategic stability, European security, transatlantic relations and the European strategic concept (expansion of the Alliance and Russia's position, Russia's role in the European concept of ESDP), the question of Russia's southern flanks and Central Asia, and finally, the role of Franco-Russian bilateralism. *Dominique David's* presentation on Franco-Russian relations will be published in the magazine *Meimo* of the IMEMO (Institute of World Economy and International Relations), Moscow.

Dominique David was in Moscow from February 27th to March 6th, and from June 26th to July 2nd on the occasion of the Fourth Annual Conference of the Consortium of Defense Academics and Security Institutes (PFP).



**Reconcilable Differences.
U.S.-French Relations
in the New Era**

Michael Brenner
and Guillaume Parmentier
Washington, D.C.,
Brookings Institution Press,
1st trimester 2002

"An intelligent, comprehensive, dispassionate and eminently fair analysis of Franco-American divergences over the future of world politics, the role of NATO, and the handling of economic conflicts of interests.

The proposals for improving relations even though differences will remain (and the development of the European Union will complicate matters) are modest and sensible."

Stanley Hoffmann, Buttenwieser
University Professor,
Harvard University.

"Parmentier and Brenner argue convincingly in this volume in favor of national policies based upon greater attention to the other partners' positions. As demonstrated in the two countries' common experience in Bosnia post-1994, this would make it possible for mutual awareness of their shared interests to replace their tiresome, obsolete, and unhelpful diplomatic jousting."

Alain Juppé, former Minister
of Foreign Affairs,
former Prime Minister.

The French Center on the United States was founded on September 1, 1999 at Ifri on the same initiative as the creation of the Center on the United States and France (CUSF) at the Brookings Institution in Washington. The CFE aims at French and European understanding of the American political and economic system, focusing in particular on decision-making mechanisms. Its programs are determined independently.

THE CFE

The center's main activities are the following:

- publication of: policy papers, journal articles, books, Op-Ed contributions;
- meetings bringing together public and private decision-makers with a view to establishing an informal dialogue with experts; seminars focused on senior U.S. policy-makers traveling to Europe; an annual conference in the Fall;
- monitoring of main political developments in the United States;
- long-term research programs.

The center hosts American experts (visiting scholars) for periods of varying duration.

Website, <www.cfe-ifri.org>.

The team

Guillaume Parmentier, head of the CFE, non-resident professor, University of Paris II,

Pierre Lepetit, senior research fellow (energy),

Laurence Nardon, in residence at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, research fellow (spatial policy),

Pierre Noël, research fellow (energy),

Laurent Vignier, associate research fellow (climate change),

Margaret A. Cone, associate research fellow (domestic US policy)

Nicole Bedel, assistant to G. Parmentier,

Thierry de Montbrial chairs an advisory board which meets biannually.

Financing

The CFE does not depend on public subsidy. Long term research programs are financed by interested partners. These partners have access to all the center's activities and publications. The CFE is supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States.



Guillaume Parmentier

Research Programs

In 2001, the activities of the CFE were structured around four programs:

• Domestic Policy and Public-Sector Decisions in the United States

One of the priorities of the CFE is to familiarize French decision-makers and experts with the complexity of the decision-making mechanisms in the United States. The CFE organizes its work in this field along two main themes. The first seeks a better understanding of the American Congress. Thus, several meetings were held with a number of staffers and Congressional experts (including from the *Congressional Research Service*, *The Congressional*

Quarterly, and *The National Review*). A handbook was published listing key members and staffers of the 107th Congress on committees with competence in international affairs. It also describes U.S. parliamentary procedure (key role of committees, the passage of legislation through both authorization and appropriation committees). The volume is updated monthly by **Margaret A. Cone** in Washington, DC. It is available to CFE partners on the CFE website.

The second orientation focuses on the mechanisms of American federalism, with the publication of *The Challenge of Dual Sovereignty*, a study that sheds light on the influence of the Supreme Court under Judge William Rehnquist on the relations between the federal government and the states. There has been a trend, recently, to return certain powers to the states that were centralized during and after the *New Deal*.

This trend is the subject of a heated legal and political debate in the United States. This American dilemma is both pertinent and instructive for European construction.

• **US Foreign and Security Policy**

The inauguration of the new administration and the events of September 11 dominated the work of the CFE on foreign and defense policy during 2001. Meetings were organized on several foreign policy themes, going from the Middle East policy of the new administration to its attitude on European security. The CFE organized meetings with Congress staffers, as well as with people close to the new administration. The researchers of the Center also expressed their views in the media through interviews and Op-Ed contributions, in France as in the United States. The CFE published a policy paper on *The United States and the UN in the Post-Cold War Era*, which is a topic of growing divergence between the United States and European countries, especially France. Its publication led to an instructive and animated debate. A better understanding of the constraints on American policy is clearly needed.

Policy papers on the respective activities of the Chinese and Taiwanese lobbies in foreign policy and on the difficulty of obtaining Federal financing for internationally-led civil operations were commissioned in 2001 for publication in 2002.

• **Space Program**

At the beginning of 2001, the CFE undertook a long-term research project on spatial issues, led by **Laurence Nardon**. The United States is the world's leading spatial power. While Europe reconsiders the structure of its space policy (EU, European Space Agency, etc.) it is important to look towards US policy since America is itself seeing a shift from a policy developed according to scientific and industrial imperatives to a policy developed primarily according to the new administration's military concerns. The Pentagon has made space policy a new

priority and is reorganizing in order to better manage its capacity in this field. There are still, however, problems to be addressed, such as the US overcapacity, especially in launchers, or the quarrel with Congress about tempering procedures to control export. This project aims at better informing European officials and sensitizing the larger public to spatial issues.

• **Program on Energy and Climate Change**

This program, launched in September 2001 by **Pierre Lepetit**, senior research fellow with the CFE, aims at analyzing the decision-making mechanisms in matters of energy in the US and evaluating its ability to adopt coherent long-term national policies (implicitly taking into account the general interest), which, when crisis strikes, national opinion considers to be essential.

Among projects commissioned in 2001:

The United States and its dependence on oil: what are the political options?

This study, led by **Pierre Noël**, looks first at data on long-run oil supply in the United States and the growing need for imported oil. Careful interpretation of US oil policy, consistently followed since the early 1980s, reveals that the United States does not seek to achieve energy independence but rather looks to secure access to imported oil to respond to the growing demand for oil. The study also examines the possible effects of September 11 on oil policy.

The convergence of US and European climate policies

A European debate has begun on the system needed in order to implement the emissions reduction plans announced at Marrakech, while the United States could, if pushed by certain firms and several key senators, define a new policy for reducing the greenhouse effect. **Laurent Viguié** seeks to identify the options that are likely to lead to convergence between the United States and Europe at a negotiation table. The aim should indeed be to reduce the impact of political and methodological



The International Leadership of the 107th Congress of the United States

A Handbook for French and European Users
CFE/Ifri, April 2001

The Challenge of Dual Sovereignty

The Rehnquist Court and Contemporary American Federalism
Timothy J. Conlan
CFE/Ifri, February 2001

Les Etats-Unis et l'ONU dans l'après-guerre froide (The US and the United Nations Beyond the Cold War)

Alexandra Novosseloff
CFE/Ifri, March 2001



Satellite Imagery Control: An American Dilemma

Laurence Nardon
CFE/Ifri, March 2002

divergences on the relative competitiveness of the European and American economies, and, in particular, of international corporations. The CFE will organize a Euro-American dialogue on these issues on the basis of the work carried out jointly by European and American researchers.

MEETINGS AND SEMINARS

1st February

US-France Strategic Dialogue

With: *Ronald D. Asmus*, senior fellow, *Council on Foreign Relations*; *Antony Blinken*, former special assistant to the President, National Security Council; *Jeffrey Gedmin*, executive director, *The New Atlantic Initiative*; *Philip H. Gordon*, director, Center on the US and France, senior fellow, the Brookings Institution; *Bruce P. Jackson*, chairman, US Committee on Nato; *Robert Kagan*, senior fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; *Stephen E. Biegun*, staff director, Committee on Foreign Relations; *Stephen A. Cambone*, director, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University.

26 February

The Middle-East and the Bush Administration

Edward Djerejian, director, The James Baker III, Institute for Public Policy, Houston, Texas

7 March

The Challenge of the Dual-Sovereignty - The Rehnquist Court and Contemporary American Federalism

Timothy J. Conlan, professor, George Mason University

22 March

US Energy: is Equilibrium Achievable?

Clifford E. Singer, ACDIS director, professor Nuclear Engineering, University of Illinois

15 May

US Foreign Policy and the New Economy

Ethan Kapstein, professor, INSEAD, *Olivier Griffiths*, US Embassy in Paris, *Tom Marten*, MCI Worldcom, and *Jonathan Spalter*, Vivendinet

15 June

Futur Restructuring of the Aircraft and Defense Industry: the Transatlantic Dimension

Gordon Adams, professor, George Mason University, *Francis M. Cevasco*, vice-president, Hicks & Associates, Inc.

26 June

The Non-Profit Sector

Peter C. Goldmark, chairman, *The International Herald Tribune*, Paris

23 October

Space Policy:

A Priority for the Bush Administration

Jefferson Hofgard, director, International Export Policy & Strategy, Boeing Co, *Laurence Nardon*, research fellow, CFE-CSIS

5 November

The U.S. and the United Nations in the Post-Cold War Era

Jean Felix-Paganon, director of the United Nations and of International Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris; *Alexandra Novoseloff*, strategic affairs directorate, Ministry of Defense, Paris; *Robert C. Orr*, senior research fellow, CSIS, Washington

Second Annual Conference: G. W. Bush's America Before and After September 11

Ifri, Paris, 13-14 December

The impact of September 11 on the "State of the Union", and on US economic, foreign and defense policy was the first item discussed, focusing in particular on the notions of continuity and change. The session entitled "Has the US political system changed?" emphasized the divisions at the heart of American society before the events of September 11 and its subsequent rallying around the president and the federal government after the attacks. The introduction of antiterrorism measures was discussed at length at the session on "Crime and punishment: have US values changed?", in addition to criminality and capital punishment. The speakers at the roundtable on "Free-trade and fair trade: is US protectionism looming?" discussed the policies that transatlantic partners need to adopt in order to thwart the recession without altogether falling into

The French center on the United States (CFE)



John D. Podesta, former White House chief of staff, Georgetown University; Dominique Moïsi, Ifri; Eric Fassin, Ecole normale supérieure, Paris.



Strobe Talbott, former deputy secretary of State, Yale University; Guillaume Parmentier, Ifri.

the trap of a commercial war. The session on US energy policy broached the issues of energy security and global resource depletion. The panel on "What military does the US need?" spurred a debate on the absence of a real US military doctrine and on the emergence of a European defense policy. The roundtable on "The new forms of American leadership: multilateralism or unilateralism?" contrasted the traditional American tendency toward unilateralism and the multilateral approach of the Bush Administration in its war on terrorism. Organized with the support of the German Marshall Fund of the United States and of the Policy Planning Staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this conference brought together an audience confined to about a hundred French and American decision-makers in each session. The Secretary General of the

French Ministry of Foreign Affairs hosted the participants at the Quai d'Orsay. They were also hosted by the US ambassador to Paris and Mrs. Howard Leach at a luncheon at which Edwin Meese III, Heritage Foundation, former Secretary of Justice of the United States, gave a speech.



The Asia sector, the activities of which were consolidated within the Centre asie ifri, pursued its work on preventive diplomacy and crisis management in Asia especially through its involvement in the Council for the Cooperation and Security in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP). The dialogue with Chinese intellectuals and officials was strengthened through regular seminars, individual meetings or studies, most notably on the reforms and development projects launched in China. In addition, bilateral dialogues with Korean and Japanese researchers and officials were also pursued.

Centre asie ifri

The Centre asie ifri was created on September 1st, 2001. It encompasses the activities of the Asia sector. The restructuring came as a response to the expansion of the projects led by the Asia sector, and aims to strengthen the interaction with private and public actors concerned with Asian affairs.

The Center aims at anticipating the evolution of Asian issues. The activities of the Center are developed along three orientations: political dynamics and social phenomena, integration in the international market, conflict resolution and strategic convergence.

Its activities rely on a large international network and include: research (studies, analysis and scenarios), meetings, setting up of ad hoc groups with partners, publications.

Organisation

Head: *François Godement*
 Project Coordinator: *Régine Serra*
 Assistant: *Béatrice Francou*

Also contributing to the activities of the Center in 2001 were: *Xavier Crombé*, researcher; *Hervé Dejean de la Bâtie*, diplomat, senior research associate; *Masato Kitera*,

Japanese diplomat, visiting research fellow.

A Strategy advisory board, chaired by Thierry de Montbrial, holds an annual planning session.

Participation in the activities and seminars is by invitation. Some projects are reserved for the partners of the Center.

Preventive Diplomacy and Crisis Management

The research project focuses on strategic developments in East Asia. The architecture of regional security, the situation in the Korean peninsula and the Taiwan question are naturally at the core of its concerns.

The European Committee of the Council for the Cooperation and Security in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP Europe) co-chaired by *François Godement* and whose secretariat is led by *Régine Serra* has allowed the Center to be an active participant in the informal dialogue (track two diplomacy) on Asia security (see CSCAP insert).



François Godement



Régine Serra

CSCAP AND CSCAP EUROPE

The Council for Cooperation and Security in the Asia-Pacific or *CSCAP* was created in 1993 by the ten countries of the Asia-Pacific region to set up a structured regional process that would contribute to the discussion of confidence building measures in the region. Today the Council includes representatives from every country in the region including North Korea plus the European Union, the United States and Russia. Since the admission of the People's Republic of China in 1996, Taiwanese experts participate on an unofficial basis. The CSCAP offers the opportunity for informal discussions between expert members of the network and

officials in a private capacity. It is a channel for information and proposals to the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).

The European Committee of CSCAP or *CSCAP Europe* draws from European institutes renowned for their expertise and strategic analysis on the Asia-Pacific region. Granted observer status in 1993, CSCAP Europe became a full member of CSCAP in December 1998. CSCAP Europe includes prominent European experts, members of government and representatives of the private sector all sharing an interest in Asia-Pacific security issues. Today it numbers more than 90 members. CSCAP Europe

is co-chaired by *François Godement* (France), *Tom Hart* (Centre for Pacific Asia Studies, Stockholm University, Sweden), *Hanns Maull* (University of Trier, Germany) and *Michael Yahuda* (London School of Economics, United Kingdom). *Régine Serra* is in charge of the secretariat based at Centre asie ifri.

(Internet site: www.cscapeurope.org)



Tom Hart, Michael Yahuda, François Godement

• CSCAP CSBM and North Pacific Working Groups Joint Meeting Paris, 28-29 June

This meeting was co-chaired by the three CSCAP-Europe co-chairs, *François Godement* (France), *Tom Hart* (Sweden), *Hanns Maull* (Germany) and by the co-chairs of the respective working groups: *Brian Job*, University of British Columbia, CSCAP-Canada, and *Yoshinobu Yamamoto*, Tokyo University, CSCAP-Japan, for the North Pacific working group,



Jo Kil-Kong, vice-president, Ri Song-Mok, researcher, Institute for Disarmament and Peace

as well as *Ralph Cossa*, Pacific Forum/CSIS Honolulu, US CSCAP for the CSBM working group.

It was CSCAP's first working group meeting to be held in Europe since Europe joined the CSCAP process. The decision to bring together two important working groups considering the subjects tackled and their dynamism to Paris is therefore proof that the partnership with Europe is valuable and that our Asian friends are keen on learning from Europe's experience in preventive diplomacy and confidence-building, as well as from its unique experience in reconciliation. In addition, discussions on antimissile defense were an opportunity to assess US-China relations, each country being represented by its respective committee.

The four most salient aspects of the meeting were: the desire to promote US-China dialogue, the half-contained tension between Japan and China, the policy of mutual observation between the two Koreas, and finally, the desire of South East Asian states to put in place confidence-building measures.

The participation of a great number of CSCAP committees should also be underscored, especially the

"Une paix asiatique est-elle possible sans architecture régionale?"
(*Is Peaceful Settlement in Asia possible without a Regional Security Architecture?*)

François Godement

Politique étrangère, n° 1/2001.

"Confidence-Building Measures : Can Taiwan Learn from European Experiences ?"

François Godement

website Peace Forum of the Taiwan Research Institute,

<www.dsis.org.tw/peaceforum/symposium/2000-12/index.htm>, January 2001

"EU-Asia Relations"

Régine Serra

in *Encyclopedia of Modern Asia*, Berkshire (forthcoming)

involvement of all the active members of the North Pacific working groups: Mongolia, China, Japan, South Korea and North Korea.

The meeting was organized by *François Godement* and *Régine Serra* in partnership with the chairs of each of the working groups.

• **The Asia Pacific Security Forum (APSF)
2001 Roundtable**
Taipei, 29-30 August

The Asia Pacific Security Forum (APSF), launched on the initiative of the Institute for National Policy Research (INPR) of Taipei, brings together four institutes renowned for their expertise in security in the Asia-Pacific region: the INPR itself, the Institute for Security and Development Studies (ISDS) of Manila, the Pacific Forum-CSIS, Honolulu, and the Centre asie ifri.

The forum holds an annual meeting, alternatively hosted by each of the involved institutes (the previous meeting had been held in Paris in 2000). The forum met in Taipei in 2001 and was co-chaired by *Huang Chu-wen*, INPR, *Ralph Cossa*, Pacific Forum-CSIS, *François Godement*, Centre asie ifri, and *Carolina Hernandez*, ISDS. The forum discussed the development of Chinese and Taiwanese policies in the Asia-Pacific region, the new US strategy, Sino-Soviet relations in the 21st century and their implications for Taiwan, the relations between India and China and strategic developments in China, India and Taiwan, and, finally, the future of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).

• **Working Group on the Korean Peninsula**
Paris, 27 June

The working group, brought together by *François Godement* and *Régine Serra*, made it possible to compare different approaches (American, British, French, German and South Korean) to the situation in North Korea and the Korean peninsula. The meeting benefited from the valuable participation of the UK representative in Pyongyang, *James Hoare*, whose presentation provided useful information about living conditions in North Korea and the difficulty of diplomatic negotiations with Pyongyang.

The meeting focused on four topics: the domestic situation in North Korea, and Kim Dae-Jung's "sunshine policy"; diplomatic relations with North Korea and the British experience; the United States as a strategic mediator; and the strategic situation in China. Written contributions were presented by: *Pierre Chabal*, professor, Le Havre University, France, *Ralph Cossa*, president, Pacific Forum-CSIS, Honolulu, *Aidan Foster Carter*, director of research, Leeds University, United Kingdom, *Tom Hart*, professor, Centre for Pacific Asia Studies, Stockholm University, Sweden, *Kim Sunghan*, professor, Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS), Korea, *Hanns Maull*, professor of international relations, University of Trier, Germany.

Bilateral Dialogue

• **Franco-Korean Dialogue:**
Meeting with the Seoul Forum
Paris, 13 March

The meeting, organized by *François Godement* and *Régine Serra*, was held within the context of the regular exchanges between Ifri and Korea. The *Seoul Forum* is a private organization bringing together high-ranking Korean personalities. Chaired by *Thierry de Montbrial*, the meeting discussed inter-Korean relations and the new policy of the Bush administration towards North Korea.



François Godement, Lee Hong-Koo, former Prime minister, president, Seoul Forum, Thierry de Montbrial, Han Sun-Joo, director, Ilmin Institute, François-Xavier Ortoli, MEDEF international

The participants for the Korean delegation were: *Lee Hong-koo*, former Prime Minister, president, *Seoul Forum*; *Han Sung-Joo*, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, director, *Illmin Institute for International Affairs*; *Lee In-ho*, president, the Korea Foundation; *Hyun Hong-Choo*, former ambassador to the United States; *Young Soogil*, former ambassador to the OECD, *Paik Jin-Hyun*, professor, National University of Seoul; for the French delegation: *François Godement*, head of the Centre asie ifri; *Cyril Bouyeure*, technical adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs; *Dominique Girard*, director, Asia and Oceania, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Dominique Moisi*, deputy director, Ifri; *Camille Grand*, research fellow, Ifri; *Françoise Nicolas*, senior economist, Ifri; *François-Xavier Ortoli*, honorary president, MEDEF International; *Jean-Claude Paye*, former secretary general of the OECD; *Serge Perrin*, associate researcher, Ifri; *Frédérique Sachwald*, head of economics studies, Ifri; *Xavier de Villepin*, chairman, Senate Committee for Foreign Affairs and Defense; *Régine Serra*.

• Franco-Japanese Dialogue

"Franco-Japanese Strategic Dialogue"

10th Ifri-JIIA seminar

Tokyo, 18-19 June

This joint conference with the Japan Institute for International Affairs – the tenth one since 1991 – was held in Tokyo on the eve of the meeting between high-ranking officials from the French and Japanese Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense (2 + 2 strategic dialogue). Topics put on the table this year included alliances, the situation in China, Russia and the Korean peninsula. It gave the opportunity for Japanese experts to express qualified perceptions and views.

The French delegation, led by *Xavier de Villepin*, president, Senate Committee for Foreign Affairs and Defense, included *Thérèse Delpech*, director of strategic affairs, CEA, *François Godement*, head of the Centre asie ifri, Admiral *Jacques Lanxade*, former Chief of Staff, *Marc Perrin de Brichambaut*, director, Strategic Affairs directorate, Ministry of Defense, *Georges Sokoloff*, scientific advisor, CEPII and professor, INALCO.

This conference was organized by *François Godement* and *Régine Serra*.

"Common European Security and Defense Policies: Lessons for Japan"

1st Euro-Japanese Symposium

Tokyo, 20 June

Co-organized with the Japanese-German Berlin Centre (JDZB) and the Japanese daily *Yomiuri Shimbun*, this public conference aimed at informing the Japanese community of experts and officials, as well as a larger Japanese public, of the developments of the common European security and defense policies (ECPSD) and the European foreign policy. The symposium was well-attended. Among the speakers were: *Gérard Araud*, director of Strategic Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Admiral *Jacques Lanxade*, former Chief of Staff, General *Klaus Naumann*, German representative to NATO, *Göran Lenmarker*, Member of the Swedish Parliament, and *Friedberg Pflüger*, Member of the German Parliament. The symposium was opened by *Yasuki Akashi*, former assistant secretary general, United Nations.

• Franco-Chinese Dialogue

The dialogue with Chinese institutes, experts and officials was reinforced in 2001. One of the dialogue's main axes remains the regular meetings held with the China Reform Forum (CRF), headed by Zhen Bijian, vice-president of the Central School of the Chinese Communist Party. Founded in 1994, the China Reform Forum is an informal network that brings together members of and consultants to the Chinese administration as well as some of China's most influential experts.

Fourth Meeting with the China Reform Forum

"Competitive Economy and Public Initiative"

Paris, 8-9 November

This meeting, organized by *François Godement* and *Régine Serra*, benefited from the support of the ADETEF (the Association for the Development of Exchanges in Economic and Financial Technology, Ministry of Economy, Finance and Industry) and of the Policy Planning Staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The delegation of the China Reform Forum was led by Zhou Hong, director of the Institute for European Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social



Chine-Etats-Unis. Entre méfiance et pragmatisme (US-China. Between Mistrust and Pragmatism)

François Godement (ed.)

Paris, Ifri-La Documentation française, 2001.

Sciences. Following the assessment of the various dimensions of the bilateral relationship, both delegations went into an in-depth analysis of their respective experiences in relation to China's recent moves regarding public sector opening, social changes, infrastructures and facilities modernization. A whole session was devoted to an exchange of views on post September 11.

Other participants from the CRF, besides **Zhou Hong** were: **He Ping**, Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare; **Pang Zhangying**, Qinghua University; **Wang Tianyi**, CCP Central School; **Wu Baiyi**, Foundation for International and Strategic Studies (FIIS); **Zhang Hanya**, State Committee for Development and Economic Planning; **Zhou Qiyang**, Europe/CFR relations. Besides **François Godement**, French participants included, **Jean-Marie Aoust**, National Council of Advisors for External Trade; **Pierre-Yves Cossé** and **Pascale Béracha**, ADETEF; **Caroline Montalcino**, Ministry of Economy, Finances and Industry; **Michel Foucher**, Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and **Hervé Dejean de la Bâtie**.

First Meeting with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)

Paris, April 19

Informal relations with individual experts of the CASS are numerous. On April 19th, Ifri hosted, for the first time, a meeting with a delegation from the CASS led by its president, **Li Tieying**. The debate focused on the issue of sovereignty and integration in the European and Chinese contexts.

This meeting was organized by **Régine Serra** and **François Godement**.

SEMINARS

September 5, 2001

Meeting and dialogue with a delegation from the *Shanghai Institute for International Studies*, led by **YU Xintian**, president

October 4, 2001

Dinner-debate with **CHEN Yuan**, Governor, Chinese Development Bank (CDB)

November 5, 2001

Conference with **HU Jintao**, Vice-president of the Popular Republic of China

November 21, 2001

Closed meeting with **Donald TSANG**, Chief Secretary of the Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong

Research Programs on China

Since 1998, Ifri has led a research program on China that aims at analyzing a specific issue each year. Some of the topics that have been analyzed are: the participation of China in the multilateral security dialogues in the Asia-Pacific; the relations between China and the United States; the political debates in China (see *Politique étrangère* n°1/2001). This year, the program focused on China's "Go West Policy".

• China and its Western Frontier

Paris, 4-5 October

On October 4th, a first, closed, meeting bringing together experts on China's policy in the Western provinces was held, with written contributions by **David Goodman**, director, Institute for International Studies, University of Technology, Sydney, **Nicolas Becquelin**, EHESS, Paris, **Peter C. Perdue**, professor of History, MIT, Cambridge, **Xavier Crombé**, research fellow, Centre asie ifri, **Olivier Roy**, researcher, CNRS, **Jagvaral Hanibal**, director of Information, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia.

This seminar resulted in a lively and fruitful dialogue on the central government's policy on and commitment to the Western provinces (primarily in Xinjiang and Tibet) on the one hand, and on Beijing's stability goals for China's borders in Central Asia on the other hand.



Jean Desazars de Montgailhard, **Lafarge**, **Patrick Bourrier**, **Alcatel**, **François Godement**, **Chen Yuan**, **Nicolas Becquelin**, **Nicolas Occis**.

A second, open meeting, held on October 5th, provided an opportunity to define both aims and results of the central government's development policy in Western China. The interest of the debate was enhanced by the participation of **Chen Yuan**, the governor of the Chinese Development Bank (CDB). The meeting also benefited from **Nicolas Becquelin's** presentation on the political economy of Xinjiang, and **Nicolas Occi's** survey on the development opportunities in the West, as well as from the remarks of corporate representatives involved in the field (**Patrick Bourrier**, Alcatel, **Jean Desazars de Montgailhard**, Lafarge, **Olivier Laroche**, Snecma). This event benefited from the support of Lafarge.

The results of this program, led by **François Godement** with the cooperation of **Régine Serra** will be published in the collection *Les Cahiers d'Asie* from the Centre asie ifri, in 2002.

Central Asia

• Central Asia: Towards Conflict?

Paris, 16 October

This debate was organized jointly by the Centre asie ifri and the International Crisis Group (ICG) around **John Schoerberlein**, specialist on Central Asian conflicts and director of the Central Asian Project of the ICG, and **Robert Templer**, director of the ICG's Asia Program (Brussels).

The meeting assessed to what extent tensions were crystallized by the events of September 11th and the complexity of Afghanistan's relations with its neighbors, as well as the central role that Uzbekistan should play.

Régine Serra joined the helicopter-carrier *Jeanne d'Arc*, French Naval Academy, from Shanghai to Kuala Lumpur. She delivered two series of lectures on the strategic situation in the South China Sea region and on US-China relations (between March 18 and 29).

Projects

In 2002, the Centre asie ifri plans to reinforce its collaboration with South East Asia institutes, by developing a regular dialogue with the Institute for Defense and Strategic Studies (IDSS) of Singapore. A program on the political succession in China and on energy security in Asia should also be launched.

"Proche-Orient: le compte à rebours"
(Middle East: the countdown)

May Chartouni-Dubarry
in *RAMSES 2002* (chapter),
p.141-158



Armée et nation en Egypte: pouvoir civil, pouvoir militaire
(Army and Nation in Egypt: Civil-Military Relations)

May Chartouni-Dubarry
"Les Notes de l'Ifri", n° 31,
March 2001, 28 pages



Sud-Liban: scénarios de crise
(South Lebanon: Crises Scenarios)

May Chartouni-Dubarry
"Les Notes de l'Ifri", n° 36,
December 2001, 48 pages

2001 was one of the bleakest year in terms of security and peace in the Middle-East and the Mediterranean. The ruthless war without frontiers between Israelis and Palestinians represents a major threat for regional stability as a whole. It also undermines the viability of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership.

The Middle East

• **The Israeli-Palestinian Quagmire: a Forward-Looking Analysis**



May Chartouni-Dubarry

This study, conducted by *May Chartouni-Dubarry*, adopts a scenario approach and attempts to examine the most plausible outcomes in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the medium-term. Three salient cases can be identified: status quo with the inherent risk of escalation, the complete collapse of the Palestinian Authority, and possible ways out of the crisis. The analysis was based on the author's research fieldtrips to the Middle East between August 12th and 24th.

• **Joint Ifri/MENARG (Middle East and North Africa Research Group, Foreign and Commonwealth Office) Meeting on the Middle East**
Paris, 27 April

Organized by *May Chartouni-Dubarry*, this Franco-British meeting brought together diplomats and prominent specialists (researchers, academics and journalists) on the Middle East and the Maghreb. A full luncheon-session was devoted to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, seven months after the onset of the *intifada*. This informal discussion was pursued in the afternoon session by four working groups that debated relevant issue for each of the Near-East, Iraq, Iran and the Maghreb.

Also participating were: *Paul Arkwright*, Andrew Page, UK Embassy, Paris; *Patrick Seale*, writer and journalist; *Sylvain Cypel*, *Le Monde*; *Dominique Moisi*, Ifri; *Dalal Hanbali Desagneaux*, RFI; *Claude Lorieux*, *Le Figaro*;

Alain Dieckhoff, CNRS/CERI; *Agnès Levallois*, Nord Sud Export; *Rémy Leveau*, Ifri; *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, Ifri; *Loulouwa Al Rashid*, Institut d'études politiques, Paris; *Nahla Chahal*, academic; *Akram Ellyas*, *La Tribune*, Paris; *Francis Ghilès*, codirector, North Africa Business and Development Forum, Barcelona; *Nicole Grimaud*, professor, Collège interarmées de défense; *Olivier Roy*, CNRS; *Azadeh Kian-Thiebaut*, CNRS; *Bernard Hourcade*, CNRS. The MENARG team consisted of: *Greg Shapland*, *Hannah Carter*, *Martin Hetherington*, *Angus McKee*, *Gavin Proudley*.

• **Iraq: Internal Implications of a Decade-Long Embargo**

This study, conducted by *Loulouwa Al Rachid*, is based on several study trips. She analyzes the new logic of survival developed by the regime, the durability of which has been made possible by the "Oil for Food" program and which rests on a de-structuring of the old social order. She also tries to understand how the Iraqi people manage to cope with the hardships of daily life. Lastly, she draws conclusions for the future: Iraq is a wounded society that has also become somewhat more hardened and demanding. The study will give rise to forthcoming publications.

• **Monarchies, Successions and Dynastic Drifts in the Arab World**
Paris, May 21-22



H.H. Moulay Hicham Ben Abdallah El Alaoui,
Rémy Leveau et *Mohamed Arkoun*

Organized by *Rémy Leveau* and *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* in partnership with the Institute for the Transregional Study of the Contemporary Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia of Princeton

The Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Maghreb

University, and its director, *Abdellah Hammoudi*, this seminar aimed at examining the future of monarchical type regimes and their ability to preserve their identity in the face of globalization. The discussion centered around three main axes: historical (success or failure of some monarchies – Egypt, Libya and Tunisia – in resisting demands for pluralism and democracy after decolonization), religious (legitimization of monarchical power in some cases), and forward-looking (perspectives of succession and transition).

Participating in this seminar were, in addition to *Prince Moulay Hicham Ben Abdallah El Alaoui*, Morocco: *Philippe Ardant*, University of Paris II; *Yadh Ben Achour*, Faculty of Juridical Political and Social Sciences, Tunis; *Mounia Bennani Chraïbi*, Institute of political and international sciences, University of Lausanne; *François Burgat*, CNRS/CEFAS, Sanaa; *Marie Camberlin*, IEP, Aix en Provence/CEFAS, Sanaa; *Frédéric Charillon*, University of Auvergne and IEP, Paris; *Fatiha Dazy-Heni*, IEP, Paris; *Philippe Droz-Vincent*, IEP, Toulouse; *Mohamed El Hédi Chérif*, University of Tunis; *Jean-Noël Ferrié*, *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord*; *Ali Kassai*, Amman; *Franck Mermier*, CNRS, Maison de l'Orient, Lyon; *Peter Sluggett*, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; *Mohamed Tozy*, University of Casablanca.



Khadija Mohsen-Finan, Peter Sluggett, Ali Kassai

The Mediterranean

Ifri is a founding member of the Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission or EuroMeSCo. It is represented

in the Steering Committee since 1996 by *May Chartouni-Dubarry*.

EURO-MEDITERRANEAN STUDY COMMISSION/EuroMeSCo

EuroMeSCo 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). 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.

Activities of the network in 2001

- *Launching of the third phase of the work of the Euro-Mediterranean network*

Representatives from the nine member institutes of the Steering Committee met in Paris on February 24 and 25, 2001 to launch the third phase of works of the EuroMeSCo. Ifri (May Chartouni-Dubarry) will co-direct, alternatively with the Al-Ahram center in Cairo, a working group on the "Interlinkages within the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership". This working group will extend over three years.

- *Meeting with the High Officials in charge of implementing the Barcelona Declaration*

Organized under the Swedish presidency of the European Union, in collaboration with the EuroMeSCo secretariat at the IEEI (Lisbon) and the Swedish Institute of International Affairs (Stockholm), this conference was held in Brussels on June 18th, and looked at the promotion of civil society as a vector of dialogue and rapprochement between the two sides of the Mediterranean.



Thierry de Montbrial, Hubert Védrine, Alvaro de Vasconcelos, IEEI.

- **Annual conference:**
**"Europe and the Mediterranean:
 Towards a New Integration Approach**
 Ifri, January 31st - February 1st 2002

This conference, organized by *May Chartouni-Dubarry* with the financial support of the European Commission was initially scheduled for the fall of 2001. It was rescheduled because of the events of September 11.



Volker Perthes, SWP, Nadim Shehadi, Centre for Lebanese Studies, ambassador Rachid Driss, AEI



May Chartouni-Dubarry, Alvaro de Vasconcelos, IEEI, Eberhard Rhein, EU, Rosemary Hollis, RIIA

The opening of the conference by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, **Hubert Védrine**, confirmed France's interest in the Barcelona process and the Mediterranean region in general and in Middle-East developments. Thus, in front of a packed auditorium in which 35 member/observer - institutes of the EuroMeSCo and the representatives of the European Commission were present, the French minister unveiled his proposals in favor of revitalizing the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. These "ideas" took over the larger part of the first morning session. Hubert Védrine also warned against the risk of mixing the religious dimension – Islam – and the southern Mediterranean region. It was on the whole a stimulating message, eminently dynamic and constructive in its criticism of the *method* of the Barcelona process (heaviness, implementation too global), which aimed to give new life to a project that he deems "strategically excellent". Addressing the "hard, not the easy, topics" was the slogan he chose to enhance trans-Mediterranean dialogue.

Thierry de Montbrial and **Alvaro de Vasconcelos**, IEPI (Lisbon), introduced the debates taking into account the impact of September 11 on Euro-Mediterranean relations. The debates were centered around the four themes of the working groups launched during 2001: "Security issues – Common Ground and Common Language", with **Roberto Aliboni**, IAI, Rome, **Rachid Driss**, AEI, Tunis,

Jean-Louis Mignot, coordinator of the Barcelona process, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brussels, **Salim Nasr**, LCPS, Beirut; "ESDP: Security Perceptions and Prospects for Cooperation" with **Fouad Ammor**, GERM, Rabat, **Elvira Sanchez Mateos**, CIDOB, Barcelona, **Peter van Ham**, Clingendael, the Hague, **Alexandre Zafiriou** General Secretariat of the European Council, Brussels; "The Role of sub-regional cooperation?" with **Stephen Calleya**, MEDAC, Malta, **Abderrahmane Hadj-Nacer**, SBFI, Paris, **Mark A. Heller**, JCSS, Tel Aviv, **Michael Webb**, European Commission, Brussels; "Civil society as an essential factor of North-South Integration" with **Mahdi Abdul Hadi**, PASSIA, East Jerusalem, **Volker Perthes**, SWP, Berlin, **Marc Schade-Poulsen**, Human Rights Watch, Copenhagen, **Dorothee Schmid**, IEP, Paris, **Gamal Soltan**, ACPSS, Cairo. In view of current events, a fifth round table was convened about the role of the EU in the Arab-Israeli conflict, with **May Chartouni-Dubarry**, Ifri; **Rosemary Hollis**, RIIA, London; **Eberhard Rhein**, EPC, Brussels; **Alvaro de Vasconcelos**, IEPI, Lisbon. The interventions led to a stimulating and constructive debate among representatives of the North and the South of the Mediterranean. The conference demonstrated that while the Mediterranean remains, at many levels, an embryonic geopolitical unit, the Euro-Mediterranean project, although hampered by the persistent conflict in the Middle East, is more necessary now than ever before.

• Activities of the IEPM



Politics, Economics and the Search for Mediterranean Stability

May Chartouni-Dubarry, Stefania Bazzoni (eds.)

"IEPM", December 2001, 248 pages

INSTITUTE FOR MEDITERRANEAN POLITICAL STUDIES, IEPM

IEPM or *Institut d'études politiques méditerranéennes* was created in 1999 by the *Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale*, ISPI, Milan, and Ifri with the support of the Principality of Monaco as well as French and Monacan donors. IEPM is an independent institute. Its role is twofold:

- to promote research and debate on all Mediterranean topics. A

research program is carried out each year;

- to act as a forum to favor interaction between political figures, representatives of the corporate sector, scholars and experts as well as media representatives from the whole region, by organizing regular encounters.

IEPM is established under Monacan law, and its headquarters

are located in Monaco. The presidency of IEPM is rotated between ISPI and Ifri for three year periods. **Thierry de Montbrial** was named president in 1999.

May Chartouni-Dubarry ensures coordination of research for Ifri.

Civil Strife in the Mediterranean Region: Challenges and Responses

This research project launched by **May Chartouni-Dubarry** adopts a transversal and comparative approach by addressing case-studies as dissimilar as Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, Algeria and the Balkans, yet all torn by internal divisions, be they communal, ethnic, socio-economic and/or strategic. By bringing into the collective research project case-studies from outside the Mediterranean region from Canada, Switzerland, South Africa (all successful models of 'consociationalism democracy') and Ireland (a case of failure in resolving or regulating the civil conflict), the project's aims are twofold: avoid all culturalist prejudice that would reduce the analysis to a congenital Mediterranean issue and examine the wide array of case-studies in search of prevention and/or resolution models of this kind of conflict. A seminar bringing together the contributing writers is scheduled for the fall of 2002. It will be organized jointly with the Center for Lebanese Studies at Oxford. All the written contributions will be collected in both French and English in a book to be published in the spring of 2003.

Associated with this project are: **Florian Bieber**, European Center for Minority Issues, Belgrade; **Alain Dieckhoff**, CNRS/CERI, **Theodor Hanf**, Arnold-Bergstrasser Institute for Social Research, Freiburg; **Luis Martinez**, FNSP/CERI; **Patrick Murdoch**, academic, London School of Economics, United Kingdom; **David Russel**, Democratic Dialogue, Belfast; **Nadim Shehadi**, Center for Lebanese Studies, Oxford.

Maghreb

• Algerian Civil Society Can Algerian civil society contribute to the creation of an autonomous political space?

The research project aims at identifying the vigor of the rising civil society in Algeria and its ability to contribute to democratization. **Khadija Mohsen-Finan** organized four roundtable discussions with representatives of the Algerian civil society.

9 July

Algeria between a democracy of communities and a democracy of citizens

Daho Djerbal, historian, director of *NAQD* magazine.

12 July

Media in Algeria

Ghania Mouffok, independent journalist; **Djafer Said**, journalist at "Quotidien d'Oran"; **Aboubakr Jamaï**, director of the *Essahifa* and *Le Journal* weeklies, Casablanca.

31 October

NGOs in Algeria

Mostéfa Khiati, president of FOREM (National Foundation for Fostering Health and Research Development), Algiers.

6 November

The informal economy and associative network in Algeria

Daho Djerbal, historian and director of *NAQD* magazine, **Ahmed Henni**, economist and dean of the faculty of economics at Béthune.

Chairs of the sessions:

Rémy Leveau, Khadija Mohsen-Finan

SEMINARS

18 May

The reintegration of Libya in the Euro-Mediterranean cooperation process

François Burgat, CNRS/French Center for Archeology and Social Sciences, Sanaa.

André Laronche, professor of ancient history, University of Paris IV.

28 May

Remarks on the Algerian crisis

Dr Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria, presidential candidate in 1999.

24 October

After September 11: reactions in the Arab world

Christophe Ayad, journalist, *Libération*.

6 November

Knowledge, Belief and Islamic Power: an Interpretation

Malika Zeghal, researcher, Interdisciplinary Center for Religious Facts, CNRS.

Chairs of the sessions:

Rémy Leveau, Khadija Mohsen-Finan

Conference

22 March

The new Bush Administration and the Middle East

speaker: **Kenneth Stein**, **William E. Schatten** Professor of Contemporary Middle Eastern History and Israeli Studies, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia

Chair of the session:

May Chartouni-Dubarry

Seminars

23 Februar

Nezar Hamdoun, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iraq

3 May

US Middle East Policy under the Bush Administration

Jerrold Green, director, *Center for Middle-East Public Policy*, RAND

Chair of the session:

May Chartouni-Dubarry



L'Algérie : une improbable sortie de crise? (Algeria: the Unlikely End of the Tunnel)

Khadija Mohsen-Finan (ed.)

"Les Notes de l'Ifri", n° 37, March 2002



*Intervenir en Afrique ?
Le dilemme franco-britannique
(France and the UK in Africa:
the Dilemma of Intervention)*

François Gaulme
"Les Notes de l'Ifri", n° 34, 2001

The deterioration and increase in the number of conflicts in Africa have led Ifri to conduct a project on international interventions, in particular on the military role of the old colonial powers in Sub-Saharan Africa. The project is led by François Gaulme, research associate at Ifri.

• **Ten Years of International Intervention in Africa**

Ifri, 30 October

This one-day seminar brought together French and foreign academics, members of the administration and the military to discuss international security interventions in Africa. Among the participants were **Eddy Maloka**, executive director of the Africa Institute of South Africa (Johannesburg), General **Khalil Fal**, the former Secretary General of ANAD, colonel **Eric Bonnemaïson** from the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, in Washington, two representatives from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, **Mel McNulty**, Africa Research Group, and **Tom Porteous**, Africa Division, as well as representatives from the US and UK embassies. The participants reviewed the role of the UN in Africa, in particular in Sierra Leone, and addressed the role of Africans themselves. While it appeared that the latter wished to take security initiatives, it was clear that they couldn't do so on their own. The new French policy in Africa – which has yet to be fully articulated – was also evaluated. One item seemed certain: French troops

stationed in Africa in accordance with the agreements with African states should be maintained, even if the existing defense agreements need to be reviewed and updated. Military cooperation between France and Britain in the framework of the Saint-Malo agreements was also evoked.

• **Intervention in Africa: the Franco-British Dilemma**

The direct intervention of Great Britain in Sierra Leone in May 2000 reopened the question of the military role of the old colonial powers in Sub-Saharan Africa. The analysis of two parallel crises, in Sierra Leone and in the Central African Republic, underscores the divergence between French and British policies. On the one hand, and in the manner of the United States, France advocates indirect support to multinational forces in the framework of missions vested only in peacekeeping while strengthening African capacity, on the other hand, the Labour government in Britain saw direct and rapid intervention as necessary in a situation where UN troops seemed impotent. After analyzing both approaches, and situating the British approach in the context of *New Labour's* strategy, which is characterized by a new realism and sensitivity to problems of development, the study foresees a middle way based on Franco-British cooperation in accordance with the Saint-Malo agreement.



meetings and debates



To inform, to stimulate debate on international issues and to explore new avenues: it is in this mind-set that Ifri organizes cycles of monthly conferences for its members and partners—i.e. government representatives, corporate circles, scholars and the media. A forum of independent debate, Ifri has become a natural platform for numerous official figures, including heads of state and government visiting France.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

16 January

On the occasion of the publication of the special issue of *Politique étrangère*: "1900-2000 A hundred years of international relations", N.3-4/2000, Autumn-Winter 2000.

François Bédarida, honorary director of research at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS); Georges-Henri Soutou, professor at the University of Paris IV; Dominique David, Philippe Moreau Defarges and Anita Tiraspolsky.

AFRICA

9 May

The Challenges of Change in South Africa

Tony Leon, leader of the Democratic Alliance, main opposition party in South Africa.

5 December

Ghana and Africa: Leadership and Good Governance

John Agyekum Kufuor, President of the Republic of Ghana.

LATIN AMERICA

22 January

Diplomacy for Peace: Colombia's Axis of Foreign Policy

Andres Pastrana, President of the Republic of Colombia.

12 December

The Doha Development Cycle: the Position of Emerging Countries

Marta Lucia Ramirez Rincon, Minister of Foreign Trade of the Republic of Colombia.

ASIA

31 January

Non-Globalization and the Perils of Asian Regionalism

Jean-Pierre Lehmann, president of the Evian Group and professor at the International Institute for Management Development, Lausanne.

31 January

India and Stability of the Asian Continent

With Brajesh Mishra, Principal Secretary to Prime Minister of India, National Security Adviser to the Government of India

6 February

China's Entry to the WTO: Domestic Debates and National Decision Procedure

Yong Wang, associate professor, School of International Studies, University of Beijing.

6 March

Nepal and the New International Order

Girija Prasad Koirala, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Nepal and president of the Nepalese Congress Party.

13 June

Nuclear Asia

Isabelle Cordonnier, political analyst; Bruno Tertrais, lecturer at Sciences Po, Paris. On the occasion of the publication of their book *L'Asie nucléaire* (Centre asie ifri, Travaux et Recherches de l'Ifri, 2001).

10 October

What is the situation in Afghanistan?

Olivier Roy, director of research at CNRS.

5 November

China and the World in the Twenty First Century

Hu Jintao, Vice-President of the Popular Republic of China.



John Agyekum Kufuor, president of the Republic of Ghana.



Xavier de Villepin, Pierre Bellon, Michel François-Poncet, Marceau Long, François Scheer.

THE UNITED STATES

22 March

The New Bush Administration and the Middle East

Kenneth W. Stein, William E. Schatten professor of Contemporary Middle Eastern History and Israeli Studies, Emory University, Atlanta.

18 April

The Bush Administration's Trade Policy

Bruce E. Stokes, senior fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, D.C.

25 April

The Middle Empire

Pierre Melandri, professor, University of Paris III-Sorbonne Nouvelle; **Justin Vaisse**, researcher, the Brookings Institution, Center on the United States and France.

On the occasion of the publication of their book *L'Empire du Milieu: les Etats-Unis et le monde après la guerre froide* (Odile Jacob, 2001).

29 May

America and Europe: Tensions but not Divorce

Robert J. Lieber, professor, Department of Government, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

EUROPE/EURASIA

8 February

The Challenges of the OSCE at the Dawn of the New Millennium

Mircea Geoana, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania (conference organized in the framework of Romania's presidency of the OSCE).

1st March*The CFSP in an Enlarged Union*

Javier Solana, Secretary General of the EU, EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy.

26 April

Tomorrow: the Czech Republic in the European Union

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

10 May

Bulgaria in the Year 2001

Simeon of Bulgaria

14 May

Italy: First Lessons from the Elections

Marc Lazar, professor, director of the Doctoral School of Sciences Po, Paris.

17 May

Between Ultra-Liberalism and Social Justice: Is There a European Way?

Adair Turner, vice chairman of Merrill Lynch Europe, board director at *United Business Media and Netscalibur Ltd*, visiting professor at the London School of Economics. On the occasion of the publication of his book *Just Capital - the Liberal Economy* (Macmillan, 2001).

12 June

Central Asia: Ten Years after Independence

Xavier de Villepin, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defense and Armed Forces.

5 July

Towards a European Strategy of Energy Supply

Loyola de Palacio, member of the European Commission, vice-president in charge of Relations with the European Parliament, Transport and Energy.

18 September

Russia: the Society and the State

Serguei Kirienko, former Prime Minister of the Russian Federation (March-August 1998), plenipotentiary representative of the president in the Federal Volga region.

23 October

Franco-German Relations and the Future of the European Union

Klaus Kinkel, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, member of the Bundestag.

24 October

Austria and Europe Facing the New International Deal

Benita Ferrero-Waldner, Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria.

22 November

German Identity

Ingo Kolboom, professor of French Civilization at Dresden University, guest professor at the University of Montréal, and **Henri de Bresson**, journalist at *Le Monde*. On the occasion of the publication of their respective books *Pièces d'identité. Signets d'une décennie allemande 1989-2000* (Presses de l'université de Montréal, 2001) and *La nouvelle Allemagne* (Stock, 2001).

5 December

The Europeanization of the Balkans

Rexhep Meidani, President of the Republic of Albania.

18 December

Europe in a globalized World

Pierre Moscovici, Minister, in charge of European Affairs. On the occasion of the publication of his book *L'Europe, une puissance dans la mondialisation* (Seuil, 2001).



Robert Toulemon, AFEUR, Pierre Moscovici, minister of European Affairs.

THE MIDDLE-EAST AND THE ARAB WORLD

12 February

Jerusalem: the Sacred and the Political

Farouk Mardam-Bey, writer, member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, and **Elias Sanbar**, writer, editor-in-chief of the same journal. On the occasion of the publication of their book *Jérusalem : le sacré et le politique* (Actes Sud, 2000).

21 February

The Peace Process: a Historical Reading

Elie Barnavi, Israeli ambassador to Paris, historian.

28 May

How to be a Muslim in Europe?

Alain Gresh, editor-in-chief of the *Monde diplomatique*, and **Tariq Ramadan**, teacher of Philosophy and Islamology, University of Geneva. On the occasion of the publication of their book *L'Islam en question* (Actes Sud, 2000).

9 July

Algeria between a Democracy of Communities and a Democracy of Citizens

Daho Djerbal, professor of history, University of Algiers.

31 October

The Multicultural Lebanese Identity: for a true Dialogue of Cultures

Bahjat E. Rizk, cultural attaché of the permanent delegation of Lebanon at Unesco.

On the occasion of the publication of his most recent book, with the same title (IDLIVRE.com, collection Esquilles, 2001).

7 November

The Arab World Facing the Current Crisis

Nassif Hitti, representative of the Arab League in Paris.

GLOBALIZATION

7 June

Culture and Globalization

Roundtable with **Pierre-Jean Benghozi**, director of research at the CNRS; **Jean-Michel Frodon**, journalist at *Le Monde*, film historian; **Pierre Jacquet**, deputy director of Ifri; **Jacques Rigaud**, former chairman of *RTL*, member of the *Conseil d'Etat* (retired); **Maryvonne de Saint-Pulgent**, member of the *Conseil d'Etat*; **Yvon Thiec**, general manager, Eurocinéma (Brussels).

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

11 June

Ballistic Defense Missiles and Stability in the Twenty First Century

Thérèse Delpech, director of research, CERI/FNSP; **Michael Nacht**, dean and professor of Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley.

ECONOMIC ISSUES

12 April

Ethics and Corporations

Ethan Kapstein, Stassen professor of International Peace, University of Minnesota, guest professor at INSEAD, senior visiting fellow at Ifri.

29 March

The Geopolitics of Hunger: what Role for Humanitarian Action

Roger Godino, chairman, Action contre la faim (ACF), and **Sylvie Brunel**, adviser, ACF.

GOVERNANCE

21 June

Towards a Contractual Organization of the World?

Edgar Pisani, former Minister.

On the occasion of the publication of his book *Une certaine idée du monde* (Le Seuil, 2001).



Nassif Hitti, representative of the Arab League to Paris and permanent observer at UNESCO.

POST-SEPTEMBER 11

17 September

First Analyses after the Events of September 11

Roundtable discussions with Ifri researchers: **May Chartouni-Dubarry**, **Dominique David**, **François Godement**, **Pierre Jacquet**, **Dominique Moisi**, **Thierry de Montbrial** and **Guillaume Parmentier**.



28 November

The World after September 11: What Stakes, What Responses?

Roundtable discussions with Ifri researchers: **Jacques Beltran**, **Frédéric Bozo**, **Dominique David**, **François Godement**, **Jolyon Howorth**, **Pierre Jacquet**, **Rémy Leveau**, **Dominique Moisi**, **Thierry de Montbrial** and **Philippe Moreau Defarges**.

On the occasion of the publication of *RAMSES 2002*.

4 December

Foreign Policies after the September 11 Attacks

Frédéric Charillon, professor of Political Science, Sciences Po, Paris.

On the occasion of the publication of the book *Les politiques étrangères, ruptures et continuités* (La Documentation française, 2001).

11 December

Reflections on the Geostrategic Situation after September 11

Admiral Jacques Lanxade, strategic adviser EADS France, former chief of staff.

RAMSES 2001 CONFERENCE CYCLE

11 January

Asia: the New Stakes

Romain Bertrand, Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and researcher at CERI; **Jean-Luc Racine**, director of research at the Center for the Study of India and South East Asia (EHESS); **Christian Sautter**, former Minister of Economy, Finances and Industry, director of studies, EHESS, **François Godement**, Centre asie ifri/Ifri.

Chair: **Thierry de Montbrial**.

2 March

Intervention after Kosovo. The Balkans after Milosevic

Radomir Diklic, ambassador of Yugoslavia to Paris; **Nikola Dimitrov**, defense adviser to the President of the Republic of Macedonia; **Jacques Rupnik**, director of research, CERI; **Serge Sur**, professor, University of Paris 11; **Pierre Jacquet**, **Philippe Moreau Defarges**, **Hans Stark**, Ifri.

18 May

The Environment and Global Warming

Dominique Dron, project manager at the French Institute for Agronomy (INRA); **Daniel Esty**, visiting professor, INSEAD, professor, Yale University; **Jean-Charles Hourcade**, director of research, CNRS, director of studies, EHESS; **Hervé Le Treut**, director of research, Dynamic Meteorology Laboratory, CNRS; **Laurence Tubiana**, scientific adviser, Council for Economic Analysis (CAE), general inspector for Agriculture. Chairs: **Pierre Jacquet** and **Thierry de Montbrial**.

European Construction/ European Security

• Jacques Beltran

Participated in the seminar on *European Security and Defense Policy*, Institute for National Strategic Studies (NDU), **Washington**, D.C., 5 April.

Presentation "Missile Defense: Why do we Disagree?", at the conference *European Security and Cooperation in the 21st Century*, ARI Movement/Friedrich Naumann Foundation, **Istanbul**, 28-29 June.

Participated in the conference *Europe's Continuing Enlargement: Implications for Transatlantic Partnership*, Johns Hopkins University, SAIS, **Washington**, D.C., 22-23 October.

• Frédéric Bozo

Participated in the seminar: *Towards a European Strategic Concept*, WEU-Institute for Security Studies, **Paris**, 2 April.

Participated in the conference *The Atlantic Alliance since Kosovo*, University of Rome III, **Rome**, 18 May.

Participation in the conference *France in an Age of Globalization* with Hubert Védrine, Brookings Institution, **Washington**, D.C., 5-8 June.

• Dominique David

Presentation "The EU and Security in the Mediterranean" at the conference *The Mediterranean in the 3rd Millennium: Security Issues*, Institut national d'études de stratégie globale (INESG), **Algiers**, 28 January.

Conference *European Defense and Russia*, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO), **Moscow**, 3 March.

Presentation "Security Issues in the Mediterranean in the Post-September 11 Era", at the conference *New World, New Europe, New Threats: Nato and the European Union in the New Millennium*, American University in Paris, **Paris**, 8 December.

• Camille Grand

Participated in the conference *France, the European Union and the 2000 NPT Conference*, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, **Schlangenbad**, 26-30 May.

Participated in the French-Russian seminar *Strategic Stability in the XXIst Century*, co-organized by Ifri and MGIMO, **Moscow**, 14-15 November.

• Jean Klein

Presentation "Partnership or Competition? The EU between Strategic Autonomy and the Transatlantic Link", 3rd French-German dialogue organized by the European Foundation ASKO and the Robert Schuman Foundation on *Europe sur la voie de la sécurité commune? Initiatives franco-allemandes pour une politique commune de sécurité et de défense*, **Saarbrücken**, 31 May-1 June.

Opening address "Chances and Signification of a Common European Security and Defense Policy" at the international conference *Towards a Common European Security and Defense Policy: Challenges and Opportunities*, Centre de relations internationales et de stratégie, University Paris-I (Sorbonne), **Paris**, 15-16 June.

Presentation "French-German relations from 1815 to 1963", at the international colloquium *Wege und Irrwege deutscher Aussenpolitik im 20. Jahrhundert*, European Academy of Otzenhausen, **Otzenhausen** (Sarre), 5-7 October.

Participated in the meeting on *France and Germany's Foreign Policies*, organized by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, DGAP (Berlin) and the German Embassy in Paris, **Paris**, 9 October.

• Dominique Moisi

Participated in the conference *Europe's Future as Seen by its Nations-States*, The International Forum, **Bruges**, 11-12 January.

Presentation "European Expectation", at the Franco-British Council's meeting *EU 2010: An Optimistic Vision of the Future*, Cercle de l'Union interalliée, **Paris**, 1 February.

Presentation "France and the World", at the conference *The State of France*, The Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University, **Harvard**, 2-3 March.

Participated in the 14th *EU-Japan Journalist Conference*, organized by the EU, Delegation of the European Commission in Japan, **Dublin**, 7-8 March.

Presentation "Elections in the EU and the ongoing democratic deficit", 51. Könnigswinter Konferenz organized by the Deutsch-Englische Gesellschaft E.V., *Europe Opportunities and New Uncertainties*, **Potsdam**, 22-24 March.

Presentation "The Challenge of Politics in Europe", at the *European Financial Executive Conference*, Institutional Investor, **Paris**, 24 April.

Presentation at the launching event of the publication of *France in an Age of Globalization*, with Hubert Védrine, The Brookings Institution, **Washington**, D.C., 7 June.

Participated in the conference *France and France's Place in Europe*, The Royal College of Defence Studies, **London**, 14 June.

Participated in the *Europe-Mediterranean Conference*, Aspen Institute Italia, **Porto-Cervo** (Sardinia), 17-18 June.

Participated in the roundtable *"Politique extérieure française et politique européenne: complémentarités ou contraintes?"*, Ambassadors Conference, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, **Paris**, 29 August.

Participated in the *Club of Three Meeting*, **Les Mesnuls**, 28-29 September.

Participated in the *Club of Three Meeting, European Enlargement and the Future of European Institutions*, **Vienna**, 23-24 November.

• Thierry de Montbrial

Participated in the meeting *Bucharest Retreat: A discussion on Romania's Current Challenges and Priorities* (off-the-record meeting with the new

Participation of Ifri's researchers in international conferences

Romanian governmental team), with the participation of the President Ion Iliescu and the Prime Minister Adrian Nastase, East-West Institute, **Bucharest**, 26-27 January.

Visit to **Latvia** at the invitation of the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 14-16 February.

Participated in the *Club of Three* Meeting, **Les Mesnuls**, 28-29 September.

Participated in the Trilateral Commission meeting Europe, **Budapest**, 9-11 November.

Participated in the *Club of Three* Meeting, *European Enlargement and the Future of European Institutions*, **Vienna**, 23-24 November.

• Guillaume Parmentier

Participated in the conference *Gouvernance et sécurité européenne: de l'identité européenne de défense à la politique commune de sécurité*, Peace Academy, **Monaco**, 30-31 March-1st April.

• Philippe Moreau Defarges

Lecturer at the *Training Seminar on European Affairs*, organized by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, **Budapest**, 29-30 May.

Participated in the international conference *EU External Relations: Competition, Cooperation, Association and Accession*, Institute of European and American Studies (IEAS), **Taipei**, 10-14 September.

Presentation on "The EU's Foreign Policy", European Commission, **Brussels**, 7 November.

Participated in the meeting *A European Constitution*, ISPI, **Milan**, 19 December.

• Hans Stark

Participated in a series of workshops on *Issues and Consequences of Enlargement*, Bertelsmann Foundation and the *Centrum für angewandte Politikwissenschaften*, **Munich**, 1-2 February, **Brussels**, 25-26 March, and **Berlin**, 25-27 September.

Participated in the fourth meeting of the ad-hoc think-tank on South-Eastern Europe at the WEU-Institute for Security Studies, **Paris**, 11 May.

Presentation on "The CESDP: Prospects and Limits" at the conference *Jahrestagung des Deutschen Militärischen Bevollmächtigten Frankreich*, **Fontainebleau**, 12 September.

Participated in the *2nd Advisory Board Meeting* of the European Academy of Otzenhausen, organized in the framework of the *Project on the Comparative Analysis of Foreign Policies in Europe* of the University of Trier, **Trier**, 26-28 October.

Participated in the Meeting DGAP-Ifri-RIIA, **Berlin**, 23-24 November.

Transatlantic relations/ Non-proliferation/Disarmament

• Jacques Beltran

Submitted his views to the French National Assembly Committee on Foreign Affairs on "The U.N. and the sanctions issue" (the focus was on the Iraqi embargo and economic sanctions), **Paris**, 24 January.

Submitted his views to the European Parliament Committee on Foreign Affairs on "Iraq and the International Community" (the focus was on the embargo reform), **Brussels**, 26 February.

Presentation "Sanctions and Transatlantic Relations", at the Transatlantic conference *The Future of Collective Security*, Bertelsmann Foundation/The German Marshall Fund of the United States, **Treviso**, 26-27 June.

Presentation "A European perception of September 11", at the conference *Transatlantic Relations After the Attack on the USA*, Atlantic Partnership Program, Council on Foreign Relations, **Washington**, D.C., 1-3 November.

Presentation "Transatlantic Stress After September 11: A French View", at the luncheon-discussion organized by The New America Foundation, **Washington**, D.C., 5 November.

Presentation "The Transatlantic Debate on Economic Sanctions", at the conference *Sanctions and the Political Economy of Crisis*, CERI/International Peace Academy, **Paris**, 22-23 November.

Participated in the conference *Transatlantic Dialogue: Iraq and the War of 9-11*, IISS/Center for Strategic and International Studies, **Washington**, D.C., 11 December.

• Frédéric Bozo

Guest scholar (Woodrow Wilson Fellow) at the Ohio Wesleyan University. Series of lectures on "International Relations, French Policy and Transatlantic issues", **Delaware**, 28 January-2 February.

Presentation "The evolution of NATO Strategy", at the trilateral meeting *The Future of European Security and Defence Policy after the 11th September Events*, **Berlin**, 23-24 November.

• Dominique Moïsi

Participation at the meeting *The Future of Transatlantic Relations in the Wake of the New U.S. Administration*, organized by the Fundacao Oriente, **Lisbon**, 31 May-2 June.

Presentation "George W. Bush's America and the World", at the Swiss Ambassadors Conference, Centre d'analyse et de prospective, Federal Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, **Bern**, 27-28 August.

Submitted his views to the French National Assembly Committee on Foreign Affairs on the implications of September 11th and the U.S. response in Afghanistan, **Paris**, 21 November.

• Thierry de Montbrial

Presentation "The future world order? Transatlantic differences", at the Bucarius Summer School, The *Zeit* Foundation, **Hamburg**, 28 August.

• **Guillaume Parmentier**

Participated in the conference *NATO and the Future of European Security*, **Wilton Park**, 9-12 January.

Participated in the conference *Relations Between France and the United States*, organized by the American Defense Industry Forum (ADIF), **Brussels**, 22-23 January.

Participated in the conference *NATO After Kosovo: A European View*, Geneva Center for Security Policy, **Geneva**, 5-6 March.

Participated in the conference *US-France: Bridging the Difference*, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, **Chicago**, 10 May.

Presentation "Foreign and Security Policy Issues", at the conference *Transatlantic Relations: Cooperation and Competition*, Ditchley Foundation/Ifri, **Canisy**, 29-30 June-1st July.

Participated in the conference *Europe and the United States III: Current International Disputes between EU and the United States*, in the context of the Summer School on European Foreign and Security Policy, DGAP, **Berlin**, 30-31 July.

Conference *The United States and France After 11 September*, French General Consulate in **New-York**, 1-5 October.

Participated in the conference *NATO and the EU in the New Millennium*, American University in Paris, **Paris**, 8 December.

Presentation "Missile Defense and Preserving International Security", at the seminar *Re-Assessing the Challenges to the Global Nuclear Regime*, organized by the Monterey Institute of International Studies (MIIS), **Annecy**, 22 May 2001.

Presentation "Europe, East Asia, Missile Proliferation, and Missile Defense", at the Pugwash Conference *East Asian Security*, **Seoul**, 3-6 April.

Missile Defense

• **Jacques Beltran**

Participated in the conference *Missile Defense, the ABM Treaty and NATO*, chaired par Henry Kissinger, American Enterprise Institute, Paris, 28 May.

• **Guillaume Parmentier**

Presentation "Offense Vs Defense: The Europeans and Ballistic Missile Defense", at the conference *Looking Ahead: New Horizons and Challenges in Arms Control*, **Albuquerque** (New Mexico), 22-24 April.

• **Camille Grand**

Presentation "National Missile Defense and Arms Control: A European View", at the seminar *The Missile Threat and Plans for Ballistic Missile Defenses: Technology, Strategic Stability, and Impact for Arms Control*, Landau Network-Centro Volta, **Rome**, 18-19 January.

Presentation "National Missile Defense: The Political Implications of the Choice of Technology", at the meeting *The International Implications of Ballistic Missile Proliferation and Ballistic Missile Defence*, Mountbatten Center for International Studies, **Southampton**, 30 March-1 April.

Presentation "Do the NPT Conferences Matter Anymore?", at the conference *New Leaders, New Directions*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, **Washington**, 18-19 June.

Presentation "European Security and Missile Defence Prospects", at the conference *EU Common Security and Defence Policy From Aspiration to Action*, **Wilton Park**, 10-13 September.

Presentation "France, Missile Proliferation, and Missile Defences", at the conference *International Missile Defence? Opportunities, Challenges and the Implications of Missile Defence for Europe*, The Royal United Service Institute (RUSI), **London**, 16-17 October.

Economic Issues

• **Pierre Jacquet**

Chaired the roundtable "Globalization, Labor Markets and Local Unemployment Problems: Perceptions and Reality", at the conference *Reactions to Globalization*, The Otto Wolff

Foundation and The German Marshall Fund of the United States, **Berlin**, 21 March.

Participated in *The Tokyo Club Foundation for Global Studies Meeting*, **Tokyo**, 25-29 April.

Participation in the workshops *Management of Europe*, organized by The European Round Table of Industrialists (ERT), **Brussels**, 30 July and 16 October.

Participated in the conference *Europe's Role in Global Governance and Challenges to East* organized by the Institute for Global Economics, **Seoul**, 7-11 October.

• **Frédérique Sachwald**

Presentation "Globalization and Capitalism", at the *ASEM Roundtable on Globalization and Regional Responses*, **Seoul**, 28-29 May.

Presentation "R&D Cooperation by French Firms", with Luis Miotti, at the colloquium *The Impact of Innovation and Globalization in Europe*, ATEG Project, **Madrid**, 25-26 May.

Presentation "Distribution géographique des accords de R&D: le cas de la France", with Luis Miotti, at the international colloquium of CEPN-Paris XIII, *A Re-assessment of the American and European policies*, **Paris**, 28-29 June.

Presentation "Emerging Patterns of R&D Internationalization", at the seminar *New Forms of Global Firms and Innovation*, Center for Knowledge and Innovation Research, Helsinki School of Economics and Business Administration, **Helsinki**, 13-15 august.

Presentation "A case study: Korea", at the meeting *FDI, Human Capital and Education in Developing Countries*, OECD Development Center, **Paris**, 13-14 December.

Discussant on the panel "Did Government Regulation Matter?", at the French-American conference *The Global Internet Economy*, organized by the Reginald H. Jones Center, the Wharton Club of Paris and the Center of research in management of Ecole polytechnique, **Paris**, 12 March.

Participation of Ifri's researchers in international conferences

• **Françoise Nicolas**

Participated in the Second Forum on African prospects *Regional integration in Africa*, co-organized by the OECD Development Center and the African Bank of Development, **Paris**, 26-27 March.

Participated in the Seventh Forum on Asian prospects *Technology and Poverty Reduction in the Asia-Pacific Region*, co-organized by the OECD Development Center and the Asian Bank of Development, **Paris**, 18-19 June.

Presentation "Can Exchange Rate Policy Help Boost FDI-led Growth in ASEAN?", at the international colloquium *Location of Economic Activity, Regional Development and the Global Economy*, co-organized by the University of Le Havre and the University Inha, **Incheon** (Korea), 26-27 September.

Asia

• **François Godement**

Presentation "The Rise of China: a European Point of View", at the conference *China: Economic Prospects of an Emerging Market Economy*, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP), **Berlin**, 10 May.

Presentation "Did China's Relations With Its Main Partners Influenced Chinese Internal and External Policies?", at the conference *China's External Relations*, Southern Center for International Studies/Ditchley Foundation, **Atlanta**, 8-10 June.

Participated in the Euro-Japanese symposium *Europe Common Foreign and Security Policy: Lessons for Japan*, organized by the Japanese-German Center Berlin (JDZB), the Yomiuri Shinbun and Ifri, **Tokyo**, 20 June.

Participated in the Working Group on *Security in East-Timor in a Regional Context*, Instituto de Estudios Estratégicos e Internacionais (IEEI), **Lisbon**, 13-14 July.

Participated in the conference PLA 2001 *PLA's Responses in the Context of a More Determined America*, organized by the American Enterprise Institute, The Heritage Foundation and the US Army War College, **Carlisle Barracks**, (Pennsylvania), 7-9 September.

Participated in the conference on *China, a Rising Power: Which Implications for the Transatlantic Relations?*, roundtable on "China's Domestic Policy Evolution", DGAP/Henry L. Stimson Center, **Berlin**, 1st October.

Participated in the "Platform" *Saint Gobain in Asia-Pacific*. Written contribution: "After the Storm: Economic Renewal for Eastern Asia", **Tokyo**, 3 October.

Participated in the conference on *L'Asie de l'Est: nouveau défi stratégique?*, written contribution (published) "La Chine dans un monde interdépendant", at the colloquium *Politique de sécurité et médias*, **Bern**, 20 October.

Fourth Forum Air Power on *The Quest for Security and Autonomy in a new Strategic Era: Which implications for Korea in the XXIst Century?* Written contribution "L'autonomie dans l'Alliance: quelle pertinence dans le cadre du débat FX?", Center for International Studies, CSIS, Yonsei University, **Seoul**, 5 December.

Participated in the 16th Meeting of the *Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific* (CSCAP) Steering Committee, **Canberra**, 10 December.

• **Régine Serra**

Participated in the CSCAP Steering Committee meeting, **Kuala Lumpur**, 2-4 June.

• **Xavier Crombé**

Participated in the conference *The PLA and Chinese Society in Transition*, Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS) of the National Defense University, **Washington**, 30-31 October.

• **Hervé Dejean de la Bâtie**

Participated in the conference *Développer une dimension politico-sécuritaire dans la coopération*

Europe-Asie, organized by the Danish Institute of International Relations, the Vietnamese Institute of International Relations and ASEF, **Hanoi**, 10-11 December.

Participated in the Fourth meeting of the Waldbrohl Group on *European coordination of the security policies in Asia-Pacific*, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, SWP, **Berlin**, 13 December.

Participated in the Third Forum Europe-North East Asia *Democracy and conflicts settlement*, organized by the SWP and the Korean Institute for International Studies, **Berlin**, 14-15 December.

Middle East/Arab world

• **May Chartouni-Dubarry**

Participated in the workshop *The EU and the Mediterranean*, Geneva Center for Security Policy (GCSP). Chaired the session "EU and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Problems and Opportunities", **Geneva**, 5-6 March.

Presentation "The Impact of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict on the EMP", Second Forum *Managing Asymmetric Interdependencies within the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership – A German Perspective*, Center for European Integration Studies (ZEI), **Bonn**, 2 April.

Participated in the meeting *Israelis-Palestinians: How to restore confidence?*, organized by the National Assembly with the participation of Yasser Abed Rabbo, PA minister of Culture and Information and Yossi Sarid, member of the Knesseth, **Paris**, 31 May.

Presentation "Identity-based Nationalism in Europe and the Mediterranean" at the XIX^e International Conference *Europe, America and the Mediterranean Identity, Fundamental Values and Security in the Aftermath of the 11 September*, Instituto de Estudios Estratégicos e Internacionais (IEEI), **Lisbon**, 8-9 November.



MEETINGS AND DEBATES

Participation of Ifri's researchers in international conferences

• Rémy Leveau

Participated in the conference *Islam in Europe*, organized by the *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*, **Berlin**, 1 February.

Participation in the colloquium *Barcelona Process*, MITI, **Tokyo**, 20-25 March.

Participated in the conference *Les enjeux actuels au Maghreb*, Geneva University, IUED, **Geneva**, 2-3 April.

Participated in the conference *France's Arab Policy*, London School of Oriental Studies, **London**, 5 July.

Participated in the colloquium *Les élites de l'émigration maghrébine*, University of Bergen, **Bergen**, 17 October.

Participation in the colloquium *The Arab World after the 11 September Attacks*, Oslo University, **Oslo**, 18 October.

• Khadija Mohsen-Finan

Participated in the setting up of the Working group "Islam in Europe" at the Laboratory 'Society, Law, Religion in Europe', CNRS, **Strasbourg**, 21-22 June.

Participated in the conference *The Future of the Western Sahara and Development of the Maghreb Area*, organized by the autonomous University of Barcelona, **Barcelona**, 26-27 September.

• Dominique Moïsi

Participated in the Meeting *German-Jewish Dialogue*, organized by the *Club of Three* and the Bertelsmann Foundation, **Berlin**, 14-15 February.

Presentation at the seminar *The EU and the Middle-East: How to revive the Peace Process*, the WEU-Institute for Security Studies, **Paris**, 26 February.

Submitted his views at the National Assembly for the Council of Europe. Spokesman of the Committee on Political Issues on the theme: "Post-Oslo – Which Peace Prospects in the Middle-East?", **Paris**, 12 March.

Participation in the *Third European-Israeli Dialogue*, organized by the Club of Three and *Die Welt*, **Berlin**, 5-7 December.

Global Issues

• Dominique Moïsi

Participated in the *World Economic Forum Annual Meeting 2001*, **New York**, 24-30 January.

Second session of the Annual Planning Conference *The Role of Ideas in International Relations*, Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, **Paris**, 2 February.

Participated in the *Davos Global Issues Group* meeting, **Washington**, 4-6 April.

Conference *"La démocratie au nouveau millénaire"* organized by El Pais on its 25th Anniversary, **Madrid**, 10-11 May.

Participated in the *Alternative Investment Roundtable*, Institutional Investor, **Berlin**, 12-14 September.

Participated in the *Senior Delegates' Roundtable*, Institutional Investor, **Venice**, 10-11 October.

• Thierry de Montbrial

Participated in the Annual Meeting of the Trilateral Commission Europe "Globalization and Governance", **London**, 9-11 March.

Participated in the *Bilderberg* Meeting, **Gothenburg**, 24-27 May.

Participated in the IISS Annual Conference *The Strategic Implications of Terror in the Information Age*. Chaired the session: "The Strategic Challenge of Managing Capital Flows", **Geneva**, 13-15 September.

• Philippe Moreau Defarges

Participated in the conference *Corporate Sector and Globalization*, organized by the Association Progrès du management, **La Réunion**, 18-21 April.



ifri and the corporate sector

Charles de Croisset, chairman and CEO, Crédit Commercial de France, Bertrand Collomb, chairman and CEO, Lafarge, Felix Rohatyn, former US ambassador to Paris; – Hu Jintao, vice-President of the People's Republic of China; – Adalberto Rodriguez Giavarini, minister of foreign Affairs, International Trade and Culture, Argentina. (Events at Ifri)

IFRI AND THE CORPORATE SECTOR

Considered from the beginning as key actors in international relations, firms are given special attention by Ifri. The program developed for its 150 corporate members, addresses their concerns and aims at clarifying their current strategic choices. CEOs find numerous opportunities for informal contacts – with their peers, with representatives of the public sector, with foreign decision-makers or with the international research community. Thanks to the many international links established by Ifri, the institute has access to a widespread network, which its members can benefit from.

The program is structured around meetings of various formats –informal meetings; working lunches; off-the-record dinner–discussions with prominent French or foreign figures, actors or analysts of international affairs. It aims at developing a geopolitical approach to country-risk, to phenomena of regional integration (in Europe, Asia and Latin America) and to larger global issues, like resource management (energy, water...), the environment, health, etc... The program is closely linked to the research activity of the economic sector, which is largely dedicated to the study of the dynamics of globalization in its various dimensions (international trading system, direct foreign investment, multinationals, the role of technological progress, the insertion of developing countries in globalization) and to the exploration of new modes of regulation (global governance).

In 2001, the meetings featured Mike Moore, the director-general of the WTO, Javier Solana, secretary general of the Council of the European Union and EU high representative for the CFSP, Mikhail Gorbachev, Ali Rodriguez, secretary general of OPEC, a well as figures like Felix Rohatyn, David de Rothschild, Bill Crist, (Calpers) and European commissioners Loyola de Palacio and Franz Fischler. A series of meetings was dedicated to the discussion of energy.

European integration, in all its dimensions, is at the heart of the activities of the Franco-Austrian Center (CFA). The goal is to give rise to a deep dialogue between the corporate members and economic actors in Central and Eastern Europe in the perspective of enlargement.

Corporate executives are also associated with research programs with implications for the private sector (meetings organized by the Asian sector or the French Center on the United States, CFE). Upon occasion and at the request of companies, Ifri likewise arranges meetings and projects adapted to their needs.

Ifri intends to develop interaction with its corporate members by having them participate even more in its work. Given its nature, this initiative not only reaches out to French and European companies, but, in a general manner, to all those who are concerned with the development of their international activities.

Relations with companies are handled by Dominique Letourneur, with the assistance of Jean-Louis Andreu, Aymard de Lastours and Augustin Renaud, company consultants.



*Aymar de Lastours, Dominique Letourneur,
Augustin Renaud, Martine Breux,
Marie-Josèphe Turpault*

Conferences

All the conferences were naturally open to corporate members. Please see list page 36.

BREAKFAST-DISCUSSIONS

"ENERGY" SERIES

Directed by **Marie-Hélène Labbé**



Marie-Hélène Labbé

11 January

Energy Stakes in France and in Europe in the 21st Century

With **Yves Cochet**, Green Party, MP, vice-president of the French National Assembly

24 January

The International Development Strategy of EDF (Electricité de France)

With **François Roussely**, chairman and CEO, EDF

14 March

The Greenhouse Effect and Energy Policy

With **Pierre Radanne**, chairman of the Agency for the Environment and Energy Control (ADEME).

3 April

International Markets for Gas and Electricity: the Fundamentals for Private Enterprise

With **Jean-Pierre Hansen**, managing director, chairman of the General Management Committee, Tractebel, member of the Executive Committee Suez.

16 May

Relations between Producing and Consuming Countries: Is an Agreement Possible

With **Christophe de Margerie**, senior executive vice-president and president of Exploration and Production, member of the Executive committee TotalFinaElf

27 June

Gaz de France's Strategy and the Evolution of the European Energy Markets

With **Pierre Gadonneix**, chairman and CEO, Gaz de France

Chairs of sessions:

Marie-Hélène Labbé - Thierry de Montbrial

ECONOMIC TOPICAL ISSUES

6 February

With **Jean Pisani-Ferry**, scientific adviser to the Council of Economic Analysis (CAE).

Chair: Gérard Moatti

23 January

How the Head of Wipro Transformed a Soap Company into an Information Technology Giant?

With **Azim H. Premji**, chairman and managing director, Wipro Ltd.

Chair: Frédérique Sachwald

8 June

Internet: the End of a Bubble or a New Challenge

With **Francis Lorentz**, president, e-LaSer, chairman and CEO of the Audiovisual and Telecommunications Institute in Europe (IDATE)

Chair: Frédérique Sachwald

25 September

The Evolution of Capital-risk in Europ

With **André Lévy-Lang**, former chairman of the Board of Directors, Paribas, and **Walter Butler**, chairman and CEO of Butler Capital Partners

5 October

The Global Economy: Recession or Recovery

With **Rüdiger Dornbusch**, professor of Economics, MIT

Chair: Pierre Jacquet

11 October

Illegal Financial Practices: Laundering, Corruption, Tax Havens. Recent Developments and Challenges

With **Richard Labevière**, head of the international department, RFI (Radio France International), and **Jean-François Thony**, advisor to the Court of Appeals of Versailles

Chair: Rémy Leveau

6 December

Roundtable Ifri/Rexecode

The Economic Challenges of the New Geopolitical Deal

With **François David**, chairman and CEO, Coface, **Michel Didier**, CEO, Rexecode, **Pierre Jacquet**, deputy director, Ifri, **Thierry de Montbrial**, director, Ifri, **Jean-Marc Lamère**, general manager, FFSA, **Yves-Thibault de Silguy**, senior executive vice-president in charge of international affairs Suez



Anne-Claire Taittinger, president of the board of directors, Société du Louvre.
Patrick Boissier, chairman and CEO, Chantiers de l'Atlantique

EUROPE

7 February

Unions and Ruptures: Slovenia Ten Years after its Independence

With **Dimitrij Rupel**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Slovenia

Chair: Dominique Moïsi

29 March

Europe, Austria and the Enlargement of the European Union

With **Erhard Busek**, former vice-chancellor of Austria

Chair: Thierry de Montbrial

14 May

Croatia's Integration into the European Union and Nato – A Major Contribution to Regional Stability

With **Ivica Racan**, Prime Minister of the Republic of Croatia

Chair: Thierry de Montbrial

13 June

The Liberalization of Public Utilities in Europe

With **Anne-Marie Jorritsma**, Minister of Economic Affairs and vice-Prime Minister of the Netherlands

Chair: Pierre Jacquet

UNITED STATES

12 February

The New American Administration

With **François Bujon de l'Estang**, Ambassador of France to Washington

Chair: Thierry de Montbrial

23 February

Iraq and the United States

With **Nezar Hamdoun**, vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq

Chair: May Chartouni-Dubarry

3 May

US Middle East Policy under the Bush Administration

With **Jerrold D. Green**, director of Development and director of the Center for Middle East Policy, RAND Corporation

Chair: May Chartouni-Dubarry

See also the meetings organized by the French Center on the United States (CFE)

ASIA

31 January

India and Stability of the Asian Continent

With **Brajesh Mishra**, Principal Secretary to Prime Minister of India, National Security Adviser to the Government of India

5 November

China and the World in the Twenty First Century

With **Hu Jintao**, vice-President of the People's Republic of China.

See also the meetings organized by the Ifri Asia Center

MAGHREB / ARAB WORLD / ISLAM

18 May

The Reintegration of Libya in the Process of Euro-Mediterranean Cooperation

With **François Burgat**, CNRS/French Center of Archaeology and Sciences in Sanaa, and **André Laronde**, professor of Ancient History at the University of Paris IV

28 May

Comments on the Algerian Crisis

With **Ahmed Taleb Ibrahim**, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria and presidential candidate in the 1999 elections

24 October

After September 11:

Reactions in the Arab World

With **Christophe Ayad**, journalist, *Libération*, and **Rémy Leveau**, scientific adviser (Arab and Muslim World), Ifri

6 November

Knowledge, Belief and Islamic Power Today: looking for an interpretation

With **Malika Zeghal**, researcher at the Center of Interdisciplinary Study of Religious Matters, CNRS

Chairs: Rémy Leveau et Khadija Mohsen-Finan

LUNCHEON-DISCUSSIONS

15 May

With **Felix Rohatyn**, former ambassador of the United States to Paris

9 October

The Euro and European Monetary Policy

With **Jean-Claude Trichet**, governor of the Banque de France

29 November

The Weaknesses and Upturns of the Japanese Economy

With **Jacques de Larosière**, consultant at BNP Paribas, and **François Godement**, head of the Centre asie ifri and professor at INALCO, at the invitation of **Louis Schweitzer**, chairman and CEO, Renault



Felix Rohatyn, former US ambassador to Paris, **Bertrand Collomb**, chairman and CEO, Lafarge.

ifri and the corporate sector

Corporate program

19 December

American Foreign Policy: Who Decides?

With **Dominique Moisi**, deputy director Ifri, **Guillaume Parmentier**, head of the French Center on the United States (CFE), Ifri, and **Ethan Kapstein**, visiting professor at INSEAD, senior visiting fellow at Ifri, at the invitation of **Jean-Claude Gruffat**, managing director, Citibank

"INTERNATIONAL CORPORATE STRATEGY" SERIES

10 January

With **David de Rothschild**, statutory general partner, Rothschild & Cie Banque, at the invitation of **Anne-Claire Taittinger**, president of the board of directors, Société du Louvre

8 February

With **Philippe Lagayette**, chairman and CEO, JP Morgan, at the invitation of **Etienne Pflimlin**, chairman and CEO, Crédit mutuel

8 March

With **William Dale Crist**, president of the CalPERS (California Public Employee's Retirement System) Board of Administration, at the invitation of **Anne-Claire Taittinger**, president of the board of directors, Société du Louvre

24 April

With **Thierry Breton**, chairman and CEO, Thomson Multimedia, at the invitation of **Etienne Pflimlin**, chairman and CEO, Crédit mutuel

7 September

With **Azim H.Premji**, chairman and managing director, Wipro Ltd., at the invitation of **Frédéric Donnedieu de Vabres**, country tax and legal partner, Andersen Legal

See also the program of the Ifri Asia Center

DINNER-DISCUSSIONS

President : Thierry de Montbrial

(To encourage freedom of discussion while preserving positions or opinions of speakers and participants, these sessions are subject to rules of non-attribution. Media present are not allowed to quote remarks made.)

1st February

With **Adalberto Rodriguez Giavarini**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Culture of Argentina

7 February

With **Roger Fauroux**, former Minister, chairman of the High Council on Integration, and **Bernard Spitz**, member of the *Conseil d'Etat*, on the occasion of the publication of their book: *Notre Etat: le livre-vérité de la fonction publique*



Alain Bensoussan, president, CNES, Roger Fauroux, former minister.

1st March

With **Javier Solana**, secretary general of the EU Council, EU High representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), secretary general of the WEU



Charles Grant, director, Centre for European Reform, Thierry de Montbrial, Nicole Gnesotto, director, WEU-Institute for Security Studies

11 April

With **Bernard Kouchner**, Minister of Health, former head of the UN interim Administration mission in Kosovo

26 April

With **Juan Gallardo**, chairman and CEO, Grupo Embotelladoras Unidas, coordinator of the *Mexican Business Council for Free Trade Agreements* and the *Mexican Business Roundtable for Foreign Policy Committee*

15 May

With **Mike Moore**, director-general of the World Trade Organization (WTO)

*Jean-Claude Gruffat, managing director, City Bank
François Cornelis, president, Atofina
Mike Moore, director-general of the WTO
Jean-François Roverato, chairman and managing director, Eiffage*



Javier Solana, secretary general of the EU Council, EU High representative for CFSP.



Denis Ranque, chairman and CEO, Thalès, Bernard Kouchner, minister of Health, former head of the UN interim administration mission in Kosovo



IFRI AND THE CORPORATE SECTOR Corporate program



Giorgio Galli, executive vice-president, corporate communications and external affairs, L'Oréal
Françoise Crouigneau, Les Echos
Ferenc Madl, president of the Republic of Hungary



Thierry de Montbrial, Loyola de Palacio, vice-member of the European Commission, vice-president, responsible for relations with the European Parliament, Transport and Energy



Mikhail Gorbachev, Eliane Mossé



Jean-Claude Trichet, governor, Banque de France



Patrick Alexis, advisor to the chairman and CEO, Crédit Commercial de France
Antoine Labbé, chairman, L.A. Finances

21 May

With **Brigitte Sauzay**, adviser to President Gerhard Schröder on Franco-German relations

13 June

With **Ferenc Madl**, President of the Republic of Hungary

5 July

With **Loyola de Palacio**, member of the European Commission, vice-president, responsible for Relations with the European Parliament, Transport and Energy

11 July

With **Franz Fischler**, member of the European Commission, responsible for Agriculture, Rural development and Fisheries

4 September

With **Yuan Chen**, governor of the China Development Bank (Chair: François Godement)

22 October

After September 11

With the Ifri team and **Olivier Roy**, director of research at the CNRS, Laboratory on the Iranian World

4 December

With **Ali Rodriguez**, secretary general of the Organization of Petrol Exporting Countries (OPEC) (Chair: Pierre Jacquet)

5 December

With **Rexhep Meidani**, President of the Republic of Albania

11 December

With **Mikhail Gorbachev**

The publication of *RAMSES 2002* was celebrated in a cocktail party offered by the Governor of the Banque de France, Jean-Claude Trichet, on November 26th in the *Galerie dorée* at the Bank.



Gérald de Roquemaurel, chairman and CEO, Hachette Filipacchi Medias



Jean-Louis Bruguières, first vice-president, Court of Paris

• Liberty, risk and responsibility:

New Bearings in the Age of Globalization

Ifri, 13 November



Luc Ferry, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Paris-VII, chairman of France's National Curriculum Council, Dominique Moïsi, Bertrand de La Chapelle, Ifri

While our modern society perpetually seeks to reduce individual as well as collective risk, and while global interdependence multiplies them, this conference, organized by **Bertrand de La Chapelle** and **Dominique Moïsi**, aimed at contributing to the debate on the dialectic between individual liberty and the responsibility of the State. Are new rules needed to guarantee the security and liberty of individuals in sectors as wide apart as public health and the freedom of the press? Can such rules emerge at an international level? These are some of the questions raised and discussed. Fifteen personalities, who face these challenges on a regular basis in varied fields shared their experiences and more importantly the principles on which they based their daily decisions. **Luc Ferry** and **Alain Finkielkraut** gave philosophic interpretations; **William Dabb**, CNAM, **Gérard Pascal**, INRA, **Patrick Peugeot**, La Mondiale, dealt with public health. **Jean d'Amécourt**, Monitor Company, **Jean-Christophe Le Toquin**, AFA, and **Gérald de Roquemaurel**, Hachette Filipacchi Medias, discussed risks produced by society itself (alcoholism, video games, freedom of the press). Finally, special attention was given to the balance between rules, regulation and self-regulation in an era when independent agencies of all kinds are proliferating and when civil society has an increased say on every issue with **Isabelle Falque-Pierrotin**, Forum des Droits sur Internet, **Marie Georges**, National Commission on Information Technology and Liberties (CNIL), **Florence Schmidt-Pariset**, cabinet of the Premier Minister, **Nicolas Véron**, Lycos France, and **Jean-Louis Bruguière**, first vice-president of the Court of Paris.

ifri and the corporate sector

Corporate program 2001



Patrick Bourrier,
vice-president,
international affairs,
Alcatel



Daniel Dewavrin, president UIMM,
Jean-Louis Belfa, chairman and CEO,
Saint-Gobain

Amaury-Daniel de Sèze,
member of the executive
committee, BNP Paribas,
Jean Guyot, partner,
Lazard Frères et Cie



Jacques Maiyoux,
vice-chairman,
Goldman Sachs Europe,
Thierry de Montbrial,
Jean-René Bernard,
member of the Monetary
policy council,
Banque de France



Gérard Mestrallet,
chairman and CEO,
SUEZ



Tristan d'Albis, member
of the Cour des Comptes
Thierry de Beaucé,
senior executive vice-president
international affairs, Vivendi
Environnement



Jean-Bernard Lartigue, executive vice-president, Atofina
André François-Poncet, managing partner, BC Partners
Michel Guillet, managing partner, BC Partners



Philippe Jurgensen,
president and CEO,
ANVAR
Jean-Jacques Tamburini,
member of the supervisory
board, Crédit industriel
et commercial



René de La Serre,
member of the
supervisory board,
Compagnie financière
Edmond de Rothschild
Banque



Gilles de Margerie,
executive vice-president, member
of the executive committee in charge
of finance and logistics,
Crédit Agricole de Suez



Pierre Bellon,
chairman and CEO,
Sodexo Alliance



Michel Blanc,
chairman, Merrill Lynch



THE FRANCO-AUSTRIAN CENTER (CFA)

The Franco-Austrian Center for economic rapprochement in Europe (CFA) is a Franco - Austrian intergovernmental organization created in 1978 for the purpose of contributing to the development of economic relations between Eastern and Western European countries. Its headquarters are in Vienna. After the events of 1989, the CFA, which originally included France, Austria, Hungary and Poland, brought in the Czech and Slovak Republics, Romania and Bulgaria. Since the opening of accession negotiations of Central and Eastern Europe countries to the European Union, the CFA aims at facilitating their integration in the EU. Seminars are organized regularly under its auspices alternately in Paris and in the capital of each member countries. Since 1985, the chairman of the CFA, has been Thierry de Montbrial. The secretary general of the center is Ambassador Peter Jankowitsch (Vienna).



Dominique Letourneur, Thierry de Montbrial, Eliane Mossé

Franco-Austrian Center (CFA)

The Franco-Austrian Center (CFA)'s activities take into account the perspective of the European Union's enlargement toward the East. They contribute to familiarizing the economic decision-makers of Central and Eastern Europe with the developments taking place within the EU in order to facilitate their integration. This year, the center focused on health care reform, the role of civil society, the war on organized crime, the development of agriculture and rural areas, the role of the new information technologies in the process of transition, as well as the evolution of European institutions. Meetings, bringing together experts on economic and social issues, took place at breakfast-discussions or in seminars. They were organized by Dominique Letourneur, assistant director, and Eliane Mossé, adviser to the CFA at Ifri, in collaboration with the general secretariat in Vienna.

BREAKFAST-DISCUSSIONS

20 March

Health Care Reform in the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the Context of Membership in the European Union

Participants: Anne-Marie Brocas, secretary general, special advisory Committee on Pensions; Brigit Kofler, consultant, Vienna; David Marx, adviser to the President, Senate Commission on Health and Social Affairs, Czech Republic.

The three experts laid out the major stakes in the reform policies of their respective national health care systems in the European context.

Chair: Peter Jankowitsch, secretary general of CFA

11 December

The Role of Civil Society in the Integration of the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the European Union

Participants: Eddy Fougier, Ifri; György Granasztói, general director of the Teleki Laszlo Institute in Budapest; Gerald Hinteregger, former secretary general of the Economic Commission on Europe at the United Nations.

The growing role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the European debate was underscored, as was the emergence of non-establishment NGOs with international ramifications.

Chair: Peter Jankowitsch, secretary general of CFA

Conferences

These meetings, held in France and abroad, were mainly open to corporate members.

• The Role of the new Information Technologies in the Process of Transition of the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe. International Business Forum, Vienna, 19-20 April

This forum, organized as six thematic roundtable discussions, was followed by a half-day of exchanges between corporations. The debates were opened by Bertrand de La Chapelle, head of the ICT mission to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (France), and by Paul Saljka, Federal Minister of Transport, Infrastructure and Technology of Austria. The first roundtable, dedicated to a presentation of France's, Austria's and Central and Eastern European countries' markets, was chaired by Friedrich Bock, president of the working group "Information Society" of the Federal Chamber of Commerce of Austria. The second roundtable, chaired by Nenad Prelog, ambassador, member of the Strategic Group for the Computerization of Croatia, focused on the European regulatory framework. The following roundtables chaired by Thomas Mück, Institute of Computer Science at the University of Vienna and Alain Henriot, Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Paris, enabled the participants to share their experiences and discuss the opportunities afforded by the latest information technologies, as well as the risks and the financing needs in Central and Eastern European Countries. The last two roundtables, chaired by Laszlo Binder, Hungarian Association of Electronic and Information Technology Companies, and by Cécile Alvergnat, member of the National Commission on Information Technology and Liberties, CNIL (France), presented the views of France's, Austria's and of Central and Eastern Europe's societies. This conference gave the opportunity for the establishment of numerous contacts.



• European Cooperation for the Prevention of and Fight against Organized Crime

Bucharest, 26-27 June

Organized by the CFA under the high patronage of the President of the Republic of Romania, **Ion Iliescu**, this international conference aimed at taking stock of police and judicial cooperation within the European Union as well as with Central and Eastern European countries. The participants questioned the effectiveness of the fight against organized crime and money laundering circuits as well as preventive measures required at the European and global levels. The debate benefited from contributions by: **Dory Trifoi**, secretary of State at the Ministry of Justice of Romania, **Tanase Joita**, attorney general of Romania, **Pierre Joxe**, former minister of the Interior, member of the *Conseil Constitutionnel* (France), **Willibald Pahr**, former minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria, **Thierry de Montbrial**, Ifri, **Pierre Conesa**, Minister of Defense (France), **Jan Garnogursky**, Minister of Justice of Slovakia, **Mugur Isarescu**, Governor of the Central Bank of Romania, **Patrick Mordacq**, *Cour des Comptes* (France), **Karl Schramek**, ambassador, permanent representative of Austria to the OECD, **Yves Berthelot**, co-director of the UNIHP. The number of represented countries was an indication of the degree of interest sparked by the problem of organized crime.

• The Evolution of European Institutions

Franco-Austrian Bilateral Roundtable
Paris, 16 October

This meeting opened by **Thierry de Montbrial**, chairman of the CFA, director of Ifri and **Peter Jankowitsch**, ambassador, secretary general of the CFA, aimed at deliberating about what comes after Nice. This conference brought together French and Austrian

academics, civil servants and parliamentarians to four roundtables chaired, respectively, by **Hubert Haenel**, senator (France), **Eva Nowotny**, director of European Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria, **Gérard Fuchs**, deputy (France), and **Manfred Scheich**, ambassador. It tackled the question of institutional reform in the European Union and the functioning of institutions in an enlarged Union.

• Agriculture and Rural Areas, Whither Development?

International Conference,
Warsaw, 29-30 November

Organized jointly by the CFA, the French and Austrian Ministries of Agriculture, as well as the National Institute for Agronomic Research in Paris (INRA), this large scale conference brought together 150 civil servants and researchers from France, Austria and all of Central and Eastern Europe. It was an opportunity for the participants to exchange information on rural development and perspectives on agriculture in the participating countries. Opened by **Jaroslav Kalinowski**, minister of Agriculture of Poland, the meeting benefited especially from the participation of **Benoît d'Aboville**, ambassador of France to Warsaw, **Wolfgang Staininger**, ambassador of Austria to Warsaw, **Andr  Ruppachter**, representing the Minister of Agriculture of Austria, **Jerzy Plewa**, deputy secretary of state, Ministry of Agriculture of Poland, **Dominique Cairol**, CEMAGREF, France, **Tomas Zidek**, vice-Minister of Agriculture of the Czech Republic, **Rudolf Strasser**, secretary general of the Conference of the Presidents of the Austrian Chamber of Agriculture, **Philippe Lacombe**, scientific director at INRA, **Gerhard Pschacher**, from the Ministry of Agriculture of Austria. The participants expressed their desire for furthering their joint work in future meetings.



Ifri's corporate members (as at 31 December 2001)

ABN-AMRO FRANCE	DEXIA - CREDIT LOCAL DE FRANCE	MARSH
ACCOR	DRESNER KLEINWORT WASSERSTEIN FRANCE	MAZARS & GUERARD
AGENCE FRANCAISE DE DEVELOPPEMENT	EADS	MEDEF
AIR FRANCE	EIFPAGE	MERRILL LYNCH FRANCE
AIR LIQUIDE	ELECTRICITE DE FRANCE	MONITOR COMPANY
ALCATEL	ENTENIAL	MORGAN STANLEY DEAN WITTER
AMERICAN EXPRESS	ENTREPRISE MINIERE ET CHIMIQUE	NATEXIS BANQUES POPULAIRES
ANDERSEN LEGAL	ERIDANIA BEGHIN SAY	NOVARTIS FRANCE
ANVAR	EUROPE ASSISTANCE	OMD FRANCE
ARIANESPACE	EUROPA METALLI TREFIMETAUX	PROCTER & GAMBLE
AXA	FEDERATION DES INDUSTRIES DE LA PARFUMERIE	PSA PEUGEOT CITROEN
BANQUE DE FRANCE	FEDERATION FRANCAISE DES SOCIETES	RATP
BANQUE DU LOUVRE	D'ASSURANCES	RENAULT
BANQUE FEDERALE DES BANQUES POPULAIRES	FIEEC	RHODIA
BANQUE HERVET	FIAT FRANCE	ROLAND BERGER ET PARTNERS
BARCLAYS BANK	FIMALAC	ROTHSCHILD & CIE BANQUE
BAYARD PRESSE	FONCIERE THERMALE	SAGED
BC PARTNERS	FONDATION HIPPOCRENE	SAINT-GOBAIN
BNP PARIBAS	FRAMATOME	SANOFI-SYNTHELABO
BOUYGUES	FRANCE TELECOM	SCHNEIDER ELECTRIC
BRGM	GAZ DE FRANCE	SCOR
BUREAU VERITAS	GENERALI	SEITA
CABINET GIDE LOYRETTE NOUËL	GEODIS	SIEMENS FRANCE
CAISSE DES DEPOTS ET CONSIGNATIONS	GIMELEC	SOCIETE DU LOUVRE
CAISSE NATIONALE DE CREDIT AGRICOLE	GLOBAL EQUITIES	SOCIETE GENERALE
CENTRE NATIONAL D'ETUDES SPATIALES	GOLDMAN SACHS	SOCIETE GENERALE DE BELGIQUE
CGIP	GROUPE DANONE	SODEXHO ALLIANCE
CHAMBRE DE COMMERCE ET D'INDUSTRIE DE PARIS	GROUPE DE RECHERCHE SERVIER	SOGARIS
CHANTIERS DE L'ATLANTIQUE	HISTOIRE D'OR	SOFIL'LIONE
CHARBONNAGES DE FRANCE	HSBC	SOFINNOVA
C.I.F. BANK	IBM FRANCE	SOFRESA
CILAS	INSTINET	SOLVING INTERNATIONAL
CITIBANK	INSTITUT FRANCAIS DU PETROLE	STARSEM
CLEARY, GOTTLIEB, STEEN & HAMILTON	JEANTET & ASSOCIES	SUEZ
CNP ASSURANCES	JP MORGAN CHASE BANK	THALES
COFACE	KSB	TOTALFINAELF
COFIP	LA FINANCES	UBS WARBURG
COFIROUTE	LA MONDIALE	UNION DES INDUSTRIES METALLURGIQUES
COGEMA	LA POSTE	ET MINIERES
COLAS	LAFARGE	UNISTRAT ASSURANCES
COMMISSARIAT A L'ENERGIE ATOMIQUE	LAZARD FRERES	USINOR
COMPAGNIE PARISIENNE DE REESCOMPTÉ	LES ECHOS	VALLOUREC
CREDIT AGRICOLE INDOSUEZ	LIAUTAUD & COMPAGNIE	VIA BANQUE
CREDIT COMMERCIAL DE FRANCE	L'OREAL	VIEL & CIE
CREDIT FONCIER DE FRANCE	LVMH	VIVENDI UNIVERSAL
CREDIT INDUSTRIEL ET COMMERCIAL	LYONNAISE DE BANQUE	
CREDIT LYONNAIS		
CREDIT MUTUEL		
CREDIT SUISSE GROUP		
DAIMLER CHRYSLER		
DEUTSCHE BANK		

publications, library and the documentation center





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

*Ifri complements its research and debate activities with the publication of a quarterly journal *Politique étrangère*. The Institute disseminates its efforts in the annual collective work *RAMSES*, as well as in various collections: *Les Cahiers de l'Ifri* are reserved for the publication of short studies or reports of conferences held at the Institute; *Les Notes de l'Ifri* cover short analysis on issues of topical prominence; *Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri* gathers the results from medium and long-term research projects.*

“RAMSES” (Rapport annuel mondial sur le système économique et les stratégies) (Annual Global Report on the Economic System and Strategies)

Recognized for its in-depth analyses, *RAMSES* has been published since 1981. In order to address the growing complexity of the international environment, its structure was revamped in 1999. *RAMSES* today focuses on two complementary approaches: the study of major international trends or regional issues; and a survey of political, strategic and economic developments of the past year.

The result of a collective effort and published under the direction of Thierry de Montbrial and Pierre Jacquet, *RAMSES* draws on the expertise of Ifri researchers as well as on numerous outside specialists.

This year's issue was published a few days before the September 11 attacks, and though considerable upheaval will result from the events, they only confirmed the major international trends identified in the report. Thus *RAMSES* 2002 sheds light on the new globalization movement while anticipating some of its limits.

In an introductory chapter, Thierry de Montbrial reviews the year gone by: the consequences of the American economic slowdown and the first steps

taken by the Bush Administration, Europe and the unexpected developments in Serbia as well as the emergence of a debate about a European Constitution after Nice, Putin's Russia returning to a certain normalcy without miracles, and finally, the rising hopes in China as it pursues its policy of opening up.

• Global trends and regional developments

In the security field, the report underscores the consequences of globalization and the technological revolution on the military (Dominique David) and on strategic approaches (Camille Grand). Both contributions show the limits and dangers of technological revolutions that fail to be backed by a corresponding renewal in political and strategic concepts, in a world where the security problematic is increasingly complex. This section concludes with an analysis of the limits of the UN's capacity (Dominique Moïsi).

In a second part, *RAMSES* emphasizes three evolutions. The first is the rise of the anti-globalization movement and its implications for global governance: Pierre Jacquet focuses on the main characteristics of these movements and explores some of the possible governments' responses. The second topic discussed is the contribution of new information and communication technologies to development by Françoise Nicolas and Nicolas Occis. The third topic is the intensification of urbanization, which makes cities major globalization agents in the synergies linking local to global (Georges Cavallier).

In a third part, *RAMSES* sheds light on four local and regional dynamics: the pursuit of European integration, confronted with the following dilemma: unity and the recognition of diversities and minorities (Philippe Moreau Defarges); the Middle East in a deadly countdown since the launching of the *Al-Aqsa* Intifada (May Chartouni-Dubarry); East Asia caught between globalization, regional construction and the balance of powers (François Godement); Latin America, still subject to recurrent crises but henceforth embedded in democracy and



engaged in an interactive process of regional, continental and global integration.

• Survey of current events

Carried out under the direction of Eddy Fougier and Christophe Jaquet, this section is composed of around sixty articles, written by the foremost experts, and organized alphabetically: by country, by geographical areas and by theme (European defense policy, global warming, international criminal justice, the new economy, etc...).

RAMSES also provides a chronology of the year and a substantial statistical appendix, a political and economic cartographical appendix as well as a general index.

Politique étrangère

Politique étrangère is the oldest French journal of international relations. Its first issue appeared in 1936 under the auspices of the *Centre d'études de politique étrangère*, which was succeeded by Ifri in 1979. The journal then underwent significant transformations.

Goals:

- To provide all the elements of the ongoing debate by opening its pages to foreign analyses and contrasted opinions;
- To be a reference tool for academic circles, decision-makers and society at large.

Politique étrangère contains a section "Voices from the past" dedicated to the publication of older texts, the pertinence of which contributes to the understanding of present developments.

A substantial section "Books review" reviews recent international works, which are of interest to the field of international relations.

Editors in chief: Pierre Jacquet, Dominique Moïsi.

Each issue of *Politique étrangère* highlights one or two topics which are dealt with from different angles.

In 2001, special attention was given to *China* (N. 1/2001). The state of reforms, relations between the army and the Communist Party, the problematic of relations between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan and the weight of economic exchanges between Beijing and Taipei are analyzed by David Zweig (Hong Kong University), You ji (University of New South Wales, Australia), Szu-yin Ho (national Chengchi University, Taipei) and Philippe Chevalérias (University of Tokyo). These analyses are complemented by Nicolas Occis' contribution (N. 4/2001) on the challenges of China's membership in the WTO.

Issue 2/2002 focuses on the *European Union after Nice*. Françoise de La Serre (CERI) discusses the dialectic of deconstruction and re-founding, Philippe Moreau Defarges (Ifri) and Ulrike Guerot (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik*) take on institutional perspectives, Hans Stark (Ifri) deals with the future of Franco-German relations and Günter Verheugen (European Commission) addresses the future of EU's enlargement. The survey is completed by Chris Patten's remarks (in issue 3/2001) on Europe's contribution to conflict prevention.

The third issue (3/2001) focuses on *Russia after Putin* with George Sokoloff (CEPII) and Anne de Tinguy (CERI), and on *the perspectives and questions raised by globalization* with contributions by Gilles Andréani (*Cour des comptes*) on the problem of global governance, Eddy Fougier (Ifri), on the perception of globalization in France and in the United States, Ethan B. Kapstein (INSEAD and visiting fellow, Ifri), on "corporate ethics", and Zaki Laidi (CERI) on the globalization/democracy issue.

The last issue (4/2001) gathers the first few thoughts on the events of *September 11*, namely,

their impact on the United States, by Jacques Beltran and Guillaume Parmentier (Ifri). It also contributes to the new strategic debate sparked by the *missile defense system* with Jean Klein, Ifri, the contrasted points of view of Jack Mendelsohn (vice-president and executive director of the Lawyers' Alliance for World Security, Washington, former director of the Arms Control Association), Kim Holmes (Vice-President of the Heritage Foundation), and Dmitri Trenin (deputy director of the Carnegie Center, Moscow). The debate was already broached by François Heisbourg (*Fondation pour les Etudes Stratégiques*) in the previous issue.

It is also worth mentioning Thomas E. Mann's (The Brookings Institution, Washington DC) remarks on the United States presidential election, Frederico Rampini's (economist, journalist) contribution on the lessons of the Italian elections, Jacques Rupnik's (CERI) and Anne Bazin's (Sciences Po) articles on the difficulty of a reconciliation between the Czech Republic and Germany, and Hamit Bozarslan's (EHESS) contribution on Turkey's candidacy to the European Union. François Godement focuses on Asian perspectives: peace/prosperity or a drift towards crises and wars? Eric Lair (Externado University of Columbia, Bogota) takes stock of the situation wavering between war and peace in Colombia, and Fiona Hill (The Brookings Institution) looks at America's uncertain strategy in the Caucasus and Central Asia since 1991.

Finally, *Politique étrangère* addresses the issue of global warming with Bob van der Zwaan (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam) (Issue 2/2001) and devotes an article to the discourse of legitimization of Palestinian "martyrs" with Pénélope Larzillière (Issue 4/2001).



POLITIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE N° 1/2001 - JANUARY-MARCH

TOPICAL ISSUES

Les violences de la paix (*A violent peace*) Rémy Leveau and Dominique Moisi
 Réflexions sur l'élection présidentielle aux Etats-Unis (*On the Presidential Election in the U.S.*) Thomas E. Mann

CHINA IN FOCUS

Chine 1998-2000 : la dernière vague de réformes en panne (*The stalled Fifth Reform Package*) David Zweig
 L'armée et le pouvoir : vers une nouvelle donne (*Civil-Military Relations in China*) You Ji
 Politique et rhétorique dans les relations Chine-Taiwan (*Politics and Semantics in Cross-Strait relations*) Szu-yin Ho
 Chine-Taiwan : le poids des échanges économiques (*China-Taiwan: The Influence of Economic Exchanges*) Philippe Chevalérias

TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Une paix asiatique est-elle possible sans architecture régionale ? (*Is an Asian Peace Possible Without a Regional Framework?*) François Godement
 Une stratégie incertaine : la politique des Etats-Unis dans le Caucase et en Asie centrale depuis 1991 (*A Not So Grand Strategy: United States Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia Since 1991*) Fiona Hill
 La Colombie entre guerre et paix (*Colombia: Between War and Peace*) Éric Lair
 Mexique 2000 : histoire de la déroute du parti hégémonique (*Mexico in 2000: The Rout of the Ruling Party*) José Antonio Crespo
 L'église orthodoxe russe, un facteur politique à prendre au sérieux ? (*The Russian Orthodox Church: a Major Political Factor*) Irène Semenoff-Tian-Chansky
 Francophonie : un avenir incertain (*The French Speaking World: a Plea for a Franco-German Reflection and Response*) Ingo Kolboom
 Le français, la francophonie et les autres (*French, Francophonie and the Others*) Jack Batho

SPEAKERS' CORNER

Au-delà de l'arme nucléaire ? (*Beyond Nuclear Weapons*) Michael Quinlan

POLITIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE N° 2/2001 - APRIL-JUNE

TOPICAL ISSUES

Europe-États-Unis : vers un vrai découplage ? (*Europe and the United States: Towards a "decoupling"?*) Dominique Moisi

THE EU AFTER NICE

Le traité de Nice : déconstruction ou refondation de l'Union ? (*The Nice Treaty: a Deconstruction or a Recasting of the Union?*) Françoise de La Serre
 Après Nice : vers un gouvernement fédéral ? (*After Nice: Towards a Federal Government?*) Philippe Moreau Defarges
 France-Allemagne : quel après-Nice ? (*France and Germany: what after Nice?*) Hans Stark
 L'élargissement communautaire après le sommet de Nice (*The Enlargement Process After Nice*) Günter Verheugen
 Une Constitution européenne, si et seulement si... (*A European Constitution: if, and only if...*) Sylvie Goulard and Christian Lequesne
 Une nouvelle Constitution pour le Vieux Continent ? (*A New Constitution for the Old Continent?*) Ulrike Guérot
 La défense européenne, de l'autonomie à l'intégration (*European Defence: from Autonomy to Integration*) Jacques Walch

TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

La difficile réconciliation tchéco-allemande (*The Uneasy Reconciliation between Germany and the Czech Republic*) Anne Bazin and Jacques Rupnik
 La candidature de la Turquie à l'Union européenne (*Turkey's Candidacy to the European Union*) Hamit Bozarslan
 Scission et permanence au sein de l'Union européenne (*Secession and Continuity Within the European Union*) Andrés Ortega and José M. de Areilza
 Les dimensions politiques de l'OPEP (*The Political Dimensions of OPEC*) Robert Mabro
 Réchauffement de la planète et décarbonisation de l'énergie (*The Warming of the Planet: on the Need for a "De-carbonisation" of Energy*) Bob van der Zwaan

IN TRIBUTE TO

Le système mondial de Susan Strange (*S. Strange's World System*) Jonathan Story

POLITIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE N° 3/2001 - JULY-SEPTEMBER

TOPICAL ISSUES

Les leçons des élections italiennes (*Lessons from the Italian Elections*) Federico Rampini

RUSSIA AFTER PUTIN

Vladimir Poutine et l'Occident (*V. Putin and the West: Towards Pragmatism*) Anne de Tinguy
 Poutine saura-t-il infléchir la trajectoire russe ? (*Does Putin Know how to Deflect the Russian Trajectory?*) Georges Sokoloff

ABOUT GLOBALIZATION

Gouvernance globale : origines d'une idée (*Global Governance: the Origins of an Idea*) Gilles Andréani
 La mondialisation en France et aux USA (*Perceptions of Globalization in France and the United States*) Eddy Fougier
 La croisade pour l'éthique d'entreprise (*The Corporate Ethics Crusade*) Ethan B. Kapstein
 Mondialisation et démocratie (*Globalization and Democracy*) Zaki Laïdi

TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Défenses antimissiles : l'analyse des Européens (*Missile Defence Systems: Strategic Analysis and Interests in Europe*) François Heisbourg
 La politique américaine de défense antimissile (*Is the Third Time the Charm? The American Politics of Missile Defense*) James M. Lindsay
 Prévention des conflits et gestion des crises (*Conflict Prevention, Crisis management: a European Contribution*) Chris Patten
 Dynamiques régionales au Proche et au Moyen-Orient (*Regional Dynamics in the Near and Middle-East*) Volker Perthes
 La politique danoise de sécurité (*Danish Security Policy*) Sten Rynning

SPEAKERS' CORNER

Un projet mort-né : la Confédération européenne (*The European Confederation; an Abortive Plan*) Roland Dumas

POLITIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE N° 4/2001 - OCTOBER-DECEMBER

SEPTEMBER 11 : THE DAY AFTER

Premières leçons stratégiques (*The First Strategic Lessons to be Drawn from September 11*) Dominique David
 Les États-Unis à l'épreuve de la vulnérabilité (*American Politics at the Age of Vulnerability*) Jacques Beltran et Guillaume Parmentier

Le monde arabe à la croisée des chemins (*A New Challenge for the Arabic World*) Rémy Leveau
 L'onde de choc asiatique (*The Riposte and its Target*) François Godement

ANTIMISSILE DEFENSE: THE NEW STRATEGIC DEBATE

La défense antimissile : un nouveau paradigme stratégique (*Missile Defence: The New Strategic Paradigm?*) Camille Grand
 La France et la défense antimissile (*France and Missile Defence*) Jean Klein
 Sécurité nationale et maîtrise des armements sous l'Administration Bush (*National Security and Arms Control Under the Bush Administration*) Jack Mendelsohn
 Par-delà la destruction mutuelle assurée : le rôle d'une défense antimissile pour assurer la paix et la stabilité (*Beyond Mutual Assured Destruction: The Role of Missile Defence in Ensuring Peace and Stability*) Kim Holmes
 République populaire de Chine : défense antimissile et sécurité nationale (*Ballistic Missile Defence and China's National Security*) Dingli Shen
 États-Unis - Russie : la question de la maîtrise des armements (*U.S.-Russian Relations: The Arms Control Agenda*) William C. Potter
 Les relations russo-américaines et la maîtrise des armements (*Russian-American Relations and the Future of Arms Control*) Dmitri Trenin

TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Le "martyre" des jeunes Palestiniens pendant l'intifada al-Aqsa (*Young Palestinians "Martyrdom" during the Al-Aqsa Intifada*) Pénélope Larzillière
 De Suez à Skopje : un nouveau partenariat franco-britannique pour le XXI^e siècle ? (*From Suez to Skopje: A New Franco-British partnership for the 21st Century*) Frédéric Charillon
 Les enjeux de l'adhésion de la Chine à l'OMC (*China's Accession to WTO: What's at Stake?*) Nicolas Occis

SPEAKERS' CORNER

L'action extérieure de la France : un exemple possible de réforme de l'Etat (*The Reform of the Quai d'Orsay: a possible Pattern for State Reform*) Bernard Adrien

Ifri collections

• "Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri"

Observation et théorie des relations internationales - Volume 2, Seminar-debate led by Thierry de Montbrial, 204 pages, May.

L'Asie nucléaire, Isabelle Cordonnier and Bruno Tertrais, 186 pages, May.

Etats-Unis – Europe : réinventer l'Alliance, Eds. Jacques Beltran and Frédéric Bozo, 181 pages, June.

Nouvelles citoyennetés : réfugiés et sans-papiers dans l'espace européen, Eds. Rémy Leveau, Catherine Wihtol de Wenden and Khadija Mohsen-Finan, 202 pages, October.

• "Les Cahiers de l'Ifri"

N° 32 : *Mémoires d'un combat : Kultura, 1947-2000*, Eds. Stefan Meller and Thierry de Montbrial, May.

N°33 : *Les Eclats de l'empire ou la Communauté des Etats indépendants (CEI)*, Youri Roubinski, May.

• "Les Notes de l'Ifri"

N° 22bis : *The Use of Force in the Kosovo Affair and International Law*, Serge Sur, Transatlantic series, May.

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N° 26 : *The Transatlantic Exchange of Ideas and Pratices: National Institutions and Diffusion*, Bruce Kogut, Transatlantic series, January.

N° 27 : *Des 35 heures à la nouvelle économie. Changements organisationnels et diffusion de l'innovation*, Philippe Askenazy, Transatlantic series, February.

N° 30 : *The Information Society Race: Is Europe a Follower or a Challenger?*, Michel Catinat, Transatlantic series, January.

*

N° 31 : *Armée et nation en Egypte : pouvoir civil, pouvoir militaire*, May Chartouni-Dubarry (ed.), March.

N° 32 : *Les Défenses antimissiles et la sécurité internationale au XX^e siècle*, Thérèse Delpech, Transatlantic series, March.

N° 33 : *Missile Defense and International Security in the 21st Century*, Thérèse Delpech and Michael Nacht, Transatlantic series, November.

N° 34 : *Intervenir en Afrique? Le dilemme franco-britannique*, François Gaulme, October.

N° 35 : *La Réforme de la Bundeswehr : adaptation ou rénovation intégrale?*, Franz-Josef Meiers, December.

N° 36 : *Sud-Liban : scénarios de crise*, May Chartouni-Dubarry, December.

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The Challenge of Dual Sovereignty, Timothy J. Conlan, 64 pages, February.

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Other publications by researchers

• Security

Jacques Beltran

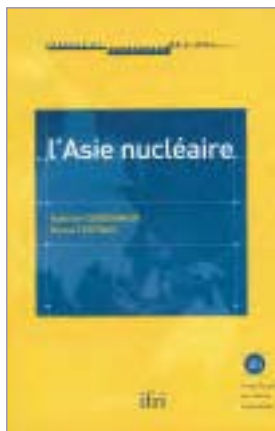
Book

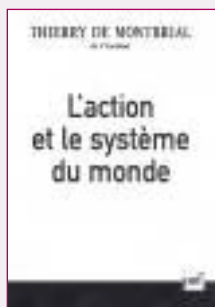
Etats-Unis-Europe : réinventer l'Alliance, Jacques Beltran and Frédéric Bozo (eds.), "Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri", Transatlantic series, Paris.

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L'Action et le système du monde

Thierry de Montbrial
Puf, Paris, 1^{er} quarter, 2002,
472 pages.

The aim of the book is to lay down the foundations of a “science of action” or “praxeology”.

The praxeology is given a broad sense that makes it applicable to very diverse situations. The author gives special attention to the complementary fields of economics and international relations. More specifically, international relations offer a vast array of praxeological problems –i.e. problems pertaining to interactions among the elements of a group of “active units” and to their consequences - in a world that is still fragmented into distinct and conflicting political units. The book provides an in-depth analysis of conflict-resolution, both at a theoretical level and through case studies as well as an assessment of the international system at the turn of the century.

“The book is in two parts. The first is a theory of the “praxis”, that is, according to Aristotle, of relations between individuals and between groups, assuming that the driving force is the taste for power. The formalization begins with the definition of an elementary component, which Montbrial decides to call the “active unit”. [...]. The second part is as rich as the first. With the foundations of the conceptual system laid down, Thierry de Montbrial applies it to the actual world to check its validity.[...]. This book is a sum total which draws on a lifetime of reflection and action [...]. Schumpeter, Clausewitz, but also Raymond Aron, it is against such minds that Thierry de Montbrial has dared to pit himself. Successfully.”

Alain Besançon, director of studies at the School of Higher Studies in Social Sciences (EHESS), *Les Echos*

“Here is most certainly an important and rare book. Important because of the subjects it addresses as well as because of the several scales of analysis, which allow the work to transcend a particular subject and give food for thought in various, apparently distant fields. Important also because of its ambition of synthesis which makes it the final outcome of reflection and not merely a single step in its development. Rare because of the quality of the

demanding and personal thought, of an approach that [...] always seeks to validate itself, by assessing itself as it progresses, like a mountain-climber always secures his grips before continuing his ascent.”

Serge Sur, professor of international law and international relations, University of Panthéon-Assas Paris II, *Annuaire français de relations internationales*, vol. 2002, Bruylant, Bruxelles.

“At the beginning, there was action. This saying by Goethe rallied an entire committed generation during World War II in a debate for democracy. But in an era of globalization, is a philosophy of action still possible, is it still thinkable? This is the question that makes Thierry de Montbrial’s book, L’Action et le système du monde, exceptionally interesting.”

Blandine Kriegel, *France Culture*

“After the fall of Marxism, and the stalling of the most ideological liberalism, a great voice that has never contented itself with either of these magical solutions says in its own fashion: don’t be afraid of the great mephitic light of September 11, 2001: man possesses the rational means to act better and to avert destiny. Machiavelli wrote the “Breviary of Republicans”, so Thierry de Montbrial gives us a manual of democracy for a season of storms.”

Alexandre Adler, *Le Monde*

“The work of Thierry de Montbrial is a first rate contribution to the analysis of national and international policies in a global framework, and therefore in their global dimension. It is in the same line as the famous Raymond Aron book War and Peace Between Nations which it brings up to date.”

Raymond Barre, former Prime Minister, *Le Figaro*

La France du nouveau siècle

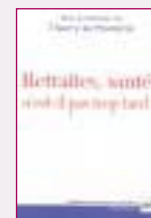
Thierry de Montbrial (dir.) - Paris, PUF, 1^{er} quarter, 2002

Following a well established tradition, the president of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences –one of the five academies that constitutes the *Institut de France*—is responsible for organizing the work of the group during his time in office. Thierry de Montbrial, member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences and president for the year 2001, proposed to his colleagues to develop a general survey of France at the dawn of the twenty first century, by bringing in a group of highly experienced figures.

The book collects their thoughts. The approach that was chosen did not seek to be exhaustive. Thus, Thierry de Montbrial, “convinced that the

capabilities of external action of a country are primarily a function of its human, moral and economic resources”, decided to leave foreign policy and defense out of this survey. This collective work deliberately emphasizes the principal internal reforms that France needs to undertake.

France and the notion of liberalism, France and human rights, the status of the French language, science, universities, the question of cultural identity, of involvement in politics the status of the state, the judicial revolution, social dialogue, the financial system, the France of entrepreneurs... are among the themes addressed. Certain chapters bring an external point of view. Most contributions fit into a European and a wider global context.



Contributors:

Michel Albert, Claude Bebear, Jean-Pierre Boisivon, Jean-Denis Bredin, Bernard Brunhes, Jean-Claude Casanova, Jean-Pierre Chevènement, Bertrand Collomb, Jean-Marie Colombani, Jean-François Dehecq, Jean-Pierre Delalande, Jean Drucker, Serge Feneuille, Denis Gautier-Sauvagnac, Hervé Gaymard, Pierre Joxe, Dominique Lecourt, André Levy-Lang, Thierry de Montbrial, Nicole Notat, Michel Pébereau, Dominique Perben, René Rémond, Felix G. Rohatyn, Pierre Rosanvallon, Louis Schweitzer, Alain-Gérard Slama, Jean-Louis Tauran, François Terré, Henrik Uterwedde, Jean-Marc Varaut, Dominique Wolton.

“The volume in its entirety forms a sort of encyclopedia of present times that is essentially forward-looking: those who seek to know what will become of language, of the firm, of the economy, of the university, of justice and of the state will find it valuable to consult this book”.

Guy Sorman, writer, *Le Figaro*

"Les Etats-Unis et le concept de *States of concern*", *Annuaire français de relations internationales*, Brussels, Bruylant.

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Books

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"La tradizione gollista della Francia : il bilancio, l'eredità, l'adattamento", in Massimo de Leonardis (ed.), *La nuova NATO : i membri, le strutture, i compiti*, Bologna, Il Mulino.

"La France, fille aînée de l'Alliance? La politique atlantique de François Mitterrand 1981-1984", in Serge Bernstein and Pierre Milza (eds.), *Actes du colloque: "Changer la vie"*, Paris, Perrin.

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Dominique David

Article

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Camille Grand

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Jean Klein

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Guillaume Parmentier

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Pierre Jacquet

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Frédérique Sachwald

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Guillaume Parmentier

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Régine Serra

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Dominique Moisi

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Philippe Moreau Defarges

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Guillaume Parmentier

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May Chartouni-Dubarry

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Rémy Leveau

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Khadija Mohsen-Finan

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Eddy Fougier

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Philippe Moreau Defarges

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Thierry de Montbrial

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the library and the documentation center

The Library

The "Guy Ladreit de Lacharrière" library (named after a former president of Ifri), is managed by **Chantal Vérité** with the help of **Dina Degras-Marx** and the assistance of **Maud Beau**. It inherited the library of the *Centre d'études de politique étrangère* and includes collections from the first half of the twentieth century, as well as foreign journals from the same period (e.g. the Royal Institute of International Affairs' *Bulletin of International News*, the *Far Eastern Survey*, *Pacific Affairs*,...). The library holds a large collection on World War I from the *Carnegie Foundation*, in particular *The Economic and Social History of the World* published in the late 1920s. It also holds interesting documents on World War II, like the French version of the 42 volumes published by the international military tribunal on *The Trial of War Criminals at Nuremberg*.

Continually updated, the library today possesses around 32,000 French and foreign volumes on issues linked to international relations, and 1,000 journals titles. It welcomes numerous readers every year, including members of Ifri, students, scholars, researchers and journalists specialized in international relations.

The documentation software *Xthèque* - which contains around 106,000 references (articles and books) - allows readers to run searches by title or by author. A bimonthly catalogue of journals lists a brief description of the latest periodicals available.

In addition to processing the material that reaches Ifri (books, publications, reports) from around the world, the librarians' main work consists of developing the databases in order to facilitate the use of the *Spirit* software.



Chantal Vérité, Dina Marx

The Documentation center

The documentation center is essentially reserved for researchers at the institute. It covers current international, economic and political-strategic affairs. Data collection and analysis are carried out using electronic sources (websites and press agencies) as well as daily and weekly press, gray literature, etc. to develop an internal database - accessible through Ifri's intranet using the software *Spirit*.



Guity Bailey, Valérie Dupré, Dominique Desgranges, Daniel Marier

Another major task for the documentalists - **Guity Banan-Bailey**, **Dominique Desgranges**, **Valérie Dupré** and **Daniel Marier**, assisted by **Elisabeth Louedec**, **Azra Isakovic** and **Gerardo Ramos** - is to keep a watching brief - mostly on Internet - in the researchers' fields of expertise in order to identify the main sources of specialized information. They also disseminate information through a variety of documentation means, and they run point searches. The documentalists are closely associated to Ifri's major research projects.



Elisabeth Louedec, Azra Isakovic, Gerardo Ramos



The team (as at 31 december 2001)

Thierry de Montbrial,
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Dominique Moïsi,
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Jean Klein, senior research fellow
Marie-Hélène Labbé, senior research associate
Bertrand de la Chapelle, senior research fellow
Pierre Lepetit, senior research fellow, French Center on the United States
Rémy Leveau, scientific advisor
Khadija Mohsen Finan, research fellow
Dominique Moïsi, deputy director
Philippe Moreau Defarges, senior research fellow
Eliane Mossé, senior research fellow
Laurence Nardon, research fellow, French Center on the United States
Françoise Nicolas, senior research fellow
Pierre Noël, research fellow, French Center on the United States
Guillaume Parmentier, head of the French Center on the United States
Thierry Paulmier, research fellow
Frédérique Sachwald, head of economic studies
Régine Serra, research fellow and project coordinator, Centre asie ifri
Hans Stark, secretary general, CERFA
Anita Tiraspolksy, senior research fellow

Biographies of the researchers are available on Ifri's website (www.ifri.org).

Secretarial assistance

Marie-Claire Bani Amer (Europe); Natacha Crance (Membership, meetings); Nicole Bedel (CFE); Jeanne Frey (Middle East/Maghreb); Béatrice Francou (Centre asie ifri and CERFA), Françoise Thomas (Security).

Corporate members, meetings and CFA

Dominique Letourneur,
assistant director for corporate members

Eliane Mossé,
advisor for CFA

Jean-Louis Andreu, Aymar de Lastour,
Augustin Renaud,
advisors for corporate members

Martine Breux, Marie-Josèphe Turpault,
assistants

Security studies
NATO, European security
Middle East, Arab world, Mediterranean
Resources Geopolitics
Chinese strategic issues
Security and strategic studies
Asia-Pacific area
Strategic and military issues
Reactions to globalization
Sub-Saharan Africa
Asia-Pacific area
Security, proliferation
European security
International macroeconomics, finance, trade
Germany, disarmament
Proliferation, nuclear energy
Global governance
Energy, climate change
Arab-Muslim world
Maghreb, Immigration, Islam in Europe
Transatlantic relations, European issues
European issues, Globalization
Central and Eastern Europe
Space policy and industries
Emerging economies and development
Energy
Transatlantic relations, NATO
International trade
Globalization, innovation, corporate strategy
Asia-Pacific area
Franco-German relations, European issues
Central and Eastern Europe, CIS



Natacha Crance, Françoise Thomas,
Jeanne Frey, Marie-France Feigenbaum

The team (as at 31 december 2001)

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secretary general

Corinne Bureau,
assistant secretary general

Accounting: Bernadette Chartrin

Secretary: Françoise Henry

IT supervisor: Daniel Safon



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secretary general*

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Selim Bouabsa, Alex Maleau, Mustapha Zitouni

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Christophe Jaquet,
head of publications

Marielle Roubach,
Delphine Renard,
editorial assistants

Library, Documentation center

Guity Banan-Bailey (political issues)

Dina Degras-Marx (library)

Dominique Desgranges (economic issues)

Valérie Dupré (economic issues)

Daniel Marier (political issues)

Chantal Vérité (librarian)



Corinne Bureau, Bernadette Chartrin, Françoise Henry



*Nathalie Rivet, Daniel Safon, Selim Bouabsa, Alex Maleau,
Mustapha Zitouni*

CHANGES IN STAFF IN THE YEAR 2002

Pierre Jacquet left Ifri at the beginning of January 2002 to join the Agence française de Développement (Afd) as Executive Manager Strategy and chief economist.

Sean Guibert joined Ifri at the beginning of 2002 as research assistant at the economic department.

Visiting fellows and interns

Visiting fellows

Ethan Kapstein (United States), *Stassen Professor of International Peace* at the University of Minnesota, guest professor at INSEAD, senior visiting fellow at Ifri since July 1st 2000. Works on the new economy.

Masato Kitera (Japan), diplomat, senior visiting fellow at Centre asie ifri from September 1st, 2001 to April 15th 2002. Worked on Sino-Japanese relations and domestic Japanese policy.

Interns (and field of research)

Alix de Bosredon, research assistant at the French Center on the United States since October 2001.

Corentin Brustlein (August 1st-October 1st, 2001).

Elisabeth Carey, research assistant at the French Center on the United States (September 1st-December 30th, 2001).

Marta Dias (Portugal), University of Porto (December 1st, 2001-March 30th, 2002). *Transatlantic Relations*

Stephan de Fay, student engineer at ENSTA, (March 5th-June 5th, 2001). *Countries of Central and Eastern Europe and Enlargement.*

Sonia Kaznina (Russian Federation), Mgimo/Moscow State Institute of International Relations (September 15th, 2001-January 31st, 2002). Internship in the context of a cooperation agreement with Mgimo and Sciences Po (Paris). *OSCE and the European Security.*

Patrick Murdoch, (Canada), London Schools of Economics (October 15th - December 15th, 2001). *Intra-State conflicts.*

Nicolas Occis, student engineer at Ecole nationale des Ponts et chaussées. *Development issues, China.*

Valérie Stolba, University of Paris-Sud, (March 1st -June 1st, 2001). *German-Czech Relations*



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Professor at the *Institut d'études politiques de Paris*
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- Xavier de Villepin
Chairman of the senate Foreign Affairs,
Defence and Armed Forces Committee
- Prosper Weil
Member of the *Académie des sciences morales et politiques*



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French Institute of International Relations

ANNUAL REPORT 2001



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