

# Annual Report

# 2003



# 2003 annual report

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## message from the president

The year 2003 was dominated by the war in Iraq, the collapse of Saddam Hussein's regime, and those events' manifold consequence, most notably as regards transatlantic relations and European unity – both of which were sorely tested. Ultimately, the difficulties the coalition experienced following its crushing and swift military victory forced all parties to subdue their differences and returned the United Nations Organization, itself not unscathed, to a role at once crucial and secondary. A year after the war in Iraq began, the administration of president George W. Bush remains loyal to its ideals, but the “neo-conservatives” are no longer favored by circumstances.

Throughout the year, Ifri contributed actively to the debate on all of these issues simultaneously continuing to work on persisting issues such as European enlargement and the development of the European Constitution; the structure of US policy-making systems and their impact on domains such as space and energy; regional developments, notably in the Maghreb and in Asia; the various aspects of the very real problems of weapons of mass destruction proliferation and the growing asymmetry brought about by the “revolution in military affairs”; some of the key political and economic dimensions of globalization, such as popular resistance and the capacity of economies to benefit from it; and the growing global economic role of emerging countries and the future of multi-lateral trade negotiations.

These works bore fruit in the form of numerous analytical documents that can be consulted on Ifri's website, <[www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org)>, which is now one of our new channels of communication. The

*RAMSES* annual report and the *Politique étrangère* review remain our key instruments of communication: this year, both publications offered a broad spectrum of expert viewpoints on major international issues and regional developments.

Ifri continues to undergo vigorous reform from within. Our reform effort will bolster our institute's skills potential and utility, while at the same time preserving the characteristics that have enabled Ifri to make its mark: independence, openness at the highest level to international expertise, and research rigor.

With the support of our partners and the commitment of all of our team, Ifri is moving forward along a path that will further strengthen its position on an ever more international “ideas market”.



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

The ***Institut français des relations internationales (Ifri)*** is France's foremost *independent* research and debate center. Ifri is a key contributor to today's debate on European issues.

Ifri was founded in 1979 by Thierry de Montbrial. Its aims are:

- to provide public and private sector decision makers with insight, choices, and proposals;
- to facilitate constructive collaboration between French and overseas researchers and policymakers;
- to foster and structure the debate on international issues and to contribute to keeping society informed and responsible.

Ifri's independent status is written into its charter. This independence is underpinned by the Institute's non-reliance on any single source of financing, and it ensures the Institute's total freedom in the selection and orientation of its projects.

As a *multidisciplinary research center*, Ifri conducts research programs on the international economy (the impact of globalization, the dynamics of multinational corporations, trade policy, direct investment, emerging economies); political and strategic developments and transatlantic relations; regional issues, with a particular focus on Europe, the United States, East Asia, the Middle East and Maghreb, and Russia; and global issues (international governance, resource management and energy in particular; the environment; the impact of migration in Europe, etc.).



Ifri relies on a team of around thirty researchers and on a broad network of outside specialists both in France and abroad. Ifri works in close collaboration with a number of research institutes in Europe, and runs permanent exchange programs with its counterparts in other parts of the world, most notably in the United States, Asia, and the Middle East. Ifri also works to instill in young researchers a fresh and more global view of international relations, and to provide France with skilled researchers specializing in the major issues that shape the evolution of the international system.

As a *meeting venue*, Ifri is a forum for frank discussion open to French and foreign figures. Through its independence, Ifri offers an informal, non-partisan and uniquely appropriate framework for discussion between public and private policymakers, analysts, and French and foreign specialists. Ifri's closed meetings provide opportunities to identify and assess points of agreement and divergence. When needed, Ifri also plays the role of "dialogue facilitator".

Information on upcoming conferences is sent monthly to Ifri members.

#### *Publications*

Ifri's works are available in several collections: "*Les notes de l'Ifri*", "*Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri*", "*Cahiers et conférences de l'Ifri*", "*Cahiers d'Asie*" (published by the Centre asiatique Ifri), and "*Policy Papers*" (published by the French Center on the United States). These works are distributed within France and abroad to those who should be aware of the analysis and proposals produced at Ifri. They are also distributed by the Documentation française.

Ifri also publishes the quarterly review "*Politique étrangère*", and since 1981, the *RAMSES* report, a yearly survey of major world trends. The new Ifri website can be visited at <[www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org)>.

# research

*The objective of research led at Ifri is to provide both private and public decision-makers within France and Europe with policy-oriented analyses.*

*Ifri's research programs are based on intensive international networking and have promoted a multidisciplinary and comparative approach.*

*In 2003, Ifri research focused on:*

- European construction. Key issues such as the debate over the Constitution, the enlargement and integration problems were deeply reviewed. Sensitive topics such as the enlargement's consequences, its extension to the Balkans and the Turkish membership were also addressed;*
- Transatlantic relations and US domestic and external evolutions. In addition to its usual activities, the French Center on the United States reinforced its programs on climate change and on space-related issues;*
- Economic and social dimensions of globalization, the world economy governance and the integration of emerging economies in an increasingly globalized world. A long term research program on governance and multilateral commercial negotiations after Cancun has been launched;*
- Security issues. The different forms of conflict as well as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction continued to be focused;*
- The Asia Center continued to specifically concentrate on the rise of China and its regional implications. In addition, it focused on the evolutions within South East Asia and on multilateral approaches to security in Northern Asia. Studies on energy-related security issues were also carried out. A new program was launched aimed at studying the regional integration process in Asia and the role of China.*
- Middle East. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict and its regional implications were addressed. A special attention was also paid to Arab public opinions, especially in the countries of North Africa. The meaning and significance of Islam in France was consistently studied.*

*As in previous years, Ifri moreover consulted and debated extensively with its European, American and Russian counterparts.*

# Europe



Philippe Moreau Defarges, Maxime Lefebvre

2003 was an eventful year for Europe. The Iraq crisis sparked a deep divide between European countries and led the European Union to debate a new “European security strategy”; the Convention on the Future of Europe put the finishing touches on a draft of the European Constitution; and the accession treaties of the ten new EU member States were signed. Ifri, which gained a new European affairs expert in Maxime Lefebvre, contributed to the debates on these issues. The Cerfa and the French-Austrian Centre also made their respective contributions.

Ifri’s focus was threefold:

- *the debate on the European Constitution*, in which Ifri participated in the context of the EPIN (European Policy Institutes Network), which brings together a large number of European institutes around the Center for European Policy Studies (CEPS). Several round tables were conducted (see Cerfa);
- *the preparation for enlargement* to twenty-five member States, the outstanding candidate countries, and partnership with countries lying on the periphery of the European Union (see conferences/breakfasts and debate dinners, Cerfa and CFA);
- *external and common security policy and the development of an European defense* (see conferences and Cerfa, trilateral seminar of November 27-28, “The Global Role of Europe: Challenges, Responsibilities and Instruments”).

## European Constitution Meetings

May 14

*Where Is the Convention Going?*

A debate with *Robert Badinter* and *Pierre Lequiller*

September 30

*From the Convention to the IGC: What Kind of Constitution for Europe?*

*Maxime Lefebvre*, researcher, Ifri, *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, researcher, Ifri, *Etienne de Poncins*,

Foreign Affairs adviser, member of the European Convention Secretariat.

December 19

*The Constitution: A Step Forward for Europe?*

*Pascale Andréani*, European Affairs adviser to the Prime minister, former assistant representative of the French government at the Convention, *Pervenche Bérès*, member of the European Parliament, president of the French Socialist delegation to the European Parliament, former representative of the Parliament at the Convention, *Jean-Louis Quermonne*, professor emeritus.

## Enlargement Conferences

One conference was held to discuss enlargement in the Baltic States and another to address the Turkey enlargement issue:

April 29

## Europe and the Baltic States After the Prague and Copenhagen Summits

Co-organized with the embassies of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and inaugurated by *Christian Poncelet*, president of the Senate, this eminently constructive conference was an occasion for the young Foreign Affairs ministers of the three Baltic States, *Sandra Kalniete* (Latvia), *Kristiina Ojuland* (Estonia) and *Antanas Valionis* (Lithuania), to focus attention on their countries’ potential and to express their expect-

*La France, l’Allemagne, l’Europe. Perspectives (1)*, Karl Kaiser and Thierry de Montbrial (eds.), with Ulrike Guerot, Martin Koopmann, Maxime Lefebvre, Philippe Moreau Defarges and Hans Stark, “Les Notes de l’Ifri”, n° 53, 2003.

*La France et la Convention : entre les intérêts nationaux et une vision européenne*, Maxime Lefebvre, Ifri/EPIN, *Policy Brief*, February 2003.

tations of and commitment to Europe in what became a remarkably spontaneous exchange. *Carsten Sondergaard*, Denmark's Foreign Affairs minister, *Hans Magnusson*, his Swedish counterpart, and *Pekka Orbana*, their counterpart for Finland, underlined the regional integration of the three Baltic States. The French position was expressed by three parliamentarians with a particular awareness towards the situation in the Baltic region (*Hubert Haenel*, president of the European Union parliamentary delegation at the Senate, *Pierre Lequiller*, president of the National Assembly delegation for the European Union, and *Denis Badré*, president of the France-Baltic States friendship group at the Senate), and by *Michel Foucher*, French ambassador to Latvia.

The conference, which was chaired by *Thierry de Montbrial* and *Dominique Moïsi*, was closed by *Edouard Balladur*, president of the Foreign Affairs Commission at the National Assembly.

December 2

### Turkey and the European Union

Co-organized by Cerfa, Ifri and the Turkish Embassy in France and inaugurated by *Hervé de Charette*, former minister and member of Parliament, and *Thierry de Montbrial*, this colloquium presented an opportunity to assess the Turkey's candidacy (notably in the light of the Copenhagen criteria), the economic and financial aspects of Turkey's possible accession, the advances made by Turkish society, and the role of Turkish communities in Europe. The Cypriot question, which was addressed by a Greek and a Turkish Cypriot, and international matters of common concern to both the European Union and Turkey (particularly the Balkans, the Middle East and the Caucasus), were also the subject of animated discussion.

Other speakers: *Kenan Atakol*, Turkish Cypriot engineer and politician, *Fabrizio Barbaso*, DG Enlargement, European Commission, *Gilles Bertrand*, IEP, Paris, *Marie-Janine Calic*, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin, *Lellos P. Demetriades*, Greek Cypriot engineer, *Ferhat Kentel*, Bilgi University, Istanbul, *Maxime Lefebvre*, Ifri, *Rémy Leveau*, Ifri, *Solî Özel*, Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD) and Bilgi University, Istanbul, *Uluc Ozülker*, Turkish Ambassador to France, *Faruk Sen*, Zentrum für Türkeistudien,

University of Duisburg-Essen, *Charles Urjewicz*, INALCO, Paris, *Yves Zlotowski*, Coface, Paris.

December 12

### Turkey Between Middle East and Europe

with *Kemal Kirişçi*, professor of political science and international relations, Jean Monnet professor of European Affairs, and director of the European Studies Center at the Bogaziçi University of Istanbul (meeting organized with the support of the CEA).

## The Center for Research on Franco-German Relations, Cerfa

*Established in 1954, the Cerfa is today one of the oldest Franco-German institutions. The Cerfa is jointly administered by Ifri for France and by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP) for Germany. The Cerfa is financed on parity by the French ministry of Foreign Affairs and by Germany's Auswärtiges Amt, and its board of management has an equal number of French and German representatives.*

*The Cerfa's objective is to contribute to a better understanding of each country's respective approach to political and economic matters. With this in mind, its mission is to analyze the principles, conditions and state of Franco-German relations in the political, economic, and international spheres; to throw light on the concrete issues and problems that Franco-German relations raise at a governmental level; and to formulate practical proposals and suggestions with a view to deepening and harmonizing relations between the two countries. This translates into regular meetings and seminars between senior civil servants, experts, and journalists from the two countries, as well as research conducted into areas of common interest.*

*In 2003, forty years after the signing of the Elysée Treaty, the Cerfa focused on the new dynamism that has infused Franco-German relations, notably in the context of the Convention on the Future of Europe. The Cerfa also looked at the social reform process launched by the German government. Franco-German dialogue also worked to achieve a common position with respect to Russia, transatlantic relations, the Balkans, and Turkey.*

“L’Allemagne entre affirmation nationale et ancrage multilatéral”, Hans Stark, *Politique étrangère*, n° 3-4/2003.

“Turquie-Europe : le débat allemand sur l’identité européenne”, Claire Demesmay, *Documents. Revue des questions allemandes*, issue 2, 2003.

“Un programme géopolitique pour l’Europe élargie”, Maxime Lefebvre, *Politique étrangère*, n° 3-4/2003.

“Au-delà des apparences ou les lents progrès de la PESD”, Jolyon Howorth, *Politique étrangère*, n° 3-4/2003.



Hans Stark, Claire Demesmay

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Jean-Marie Paugam, Helga Haftendorn, Jens Van Scherpenberg

## Seminars and Conferences

September 16-17

### **The European Union and Russia in the New World Order**

This seminar, held in Moscow, was organized by the Cerfa, the Russian State Institute for International Relations (Mgimo), represented by the Institute's rector *Anatoli Torkounov*, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Ifri and the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP, Berlin), in collaboration with the policy planning departments of the Russian, French and German Foreign Affairs ministries, represented by their respective directors, *Alexandre Kuznetsov*, *Gilles Andréani* and *Georges Dick*. The Ifri delegation, led by *Thierry de Montbrial*, comprised *Dominique David*, *Thomas Gomart*, *Maxime Lefebvre*, *Françoise Nicolas* and *Hans Stark* (Cerfa).

The seminar addressed the issues of organizing a new multilateral system, of an expanded role for the United Nations Organization (UNO), and of multilateral collaboration in the fight against new threats. It

also dealt with ways of stabilizing the world economy (and therefore economic governance and globalization), and with North-South relations. European Policy on Security and Defense (ESDP), the Convention on the Future of Europe, and the partnership between the European Union and Russia were also discussed.

Other speakers: *Hannes Adomeit*, SWP, Berlin, *Vladimir Baranowsky*, IMEMO, Moscow, *Olga Butorina*, Mgimo, *Dmitri Danilov*, Institute of Europe, Moscow, *Jean-Jacques Gabas*, IEP, Paris and University of Paris XI, *Klaus-Jürgen Gern*, Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, Kiel, *Camille Grand*, French ministry of Defense, *Andrei Granowski*, Russian ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Leonid Grigoriev*, Mgimo, *Alexander Konovalov*, Mgimo, *Alexei Mechkov*, Russian deputy minister of Foreign Affairs, *Andrei Melville*, Mgimo, *Peter Nunnenkamp*, Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, Kiel, *Alexander Rabr*, DGAP, Berlin, *Peter Schmidt*, SWP, *Ulrich Schneckener*, SWP, *Thierry Tardy*, Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), Geneva, *Heinz Timmermann*, SWP.

October 7-10

### **The Washington-Paris-Berlin Triangle: Lessons of the Iraq Crisis**

This Franco-German seminar, which brought together around twenty experts from France and Germany, looked at the future of the Washington-Paris-Berlin triangle in the light of the Iraq crisis. It considered the direction taken by US foreign policy, torn between the temptation of unilateralism and its multilateral anchors, as well as transatlantic differences over trade and monetary policy and the role of NATO following the Iraq crisis.

Speakers: *Etienne de Durand*, Ifri, *Helga Haftendorn*, professor emeritus, Free University of Berlin, *Konrad Scharinger*, director of the United States department, German ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Guillaume Parmentier*, CFE-Ifri, *Jean-Marie Paugam*, Ifri, *Jens Van Scherpenberg*, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin, *Peter Schmidt*, SWP, Berlin, *Hans Stark*, Cerfa-Ifri, *Bruno Tertrais*, Fondation pour la recherche stratégique, Paris.

November 27-28 (London)

### **Europe's Global Role: Challenges, Responsibilities and Instruments**

Co-organized by the Cerfa-Ifri, the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP), and the Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA), this

seminar took place in the context of the annual trilateral meetings between Ifri, the DGAP and the RIIA, which alternate between Paris, Berlin and London. This year, it was the turn of the RIIA to host the event.

The seminar dealt with the role that the European Union can/should play in the international arena, and in particular addressed the challenges with which the Union is confronted, its responsibilities, and the instruments of power it has or could have available to it.

Participants: *Gilles Andréani*, CAP, French ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Victor Bulmer Thomas*, RIIA, *Robert Cooper*, European Union Council, Brussels, *Timothy Garden*, Kings College, London, *Jean-Yves Haine*, IES-UE, *Christopher Hill*, London School of Economics, *Bernhard May*, DGAP, *Dominique Moïsi*, Ifri, *Henning Riecke*, DGAP, *Eberhard Sandschneider*, DGAP, *Lord Wallace of Saltaire*, RIIA Council and London School of Economics.

November 25-26

### **The Balkans Within the European Security Architecture**

This seminar dealt with geopolitical trends in South-East Europe, specifically Bosnia-Herzegovina (the consolidation process and secessionist trends), Albania (the status of Kosovo), Macedonia (attempts at integration and the risk of disintegration), and Serbia and Montenegro (internal democracy-building and external ruptures). It also addressed relations between the European Union and the Balkans, notably the stability pact and the EU accession prospects of the countries of South-East Europe. The seminar was organized by *Hans Stark* and *Claire Demesmay*.

Participants: *Ylljet Alicka*, European Commission delegation in Albania, *Franz-Lotbar Altmann*, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin, *Dominique Chassard*, French ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Catherine Durandin*, INALCO, Paris, *Horst Gödicke*, UNESCO, *Vladimir Gligorov*, Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies (WIIW), Vienna, *Gerald Knaus*, European Stability Initiative (ESI), Berlin, *Albin Kurti*, politician, Kosovo, *Ognyan Minchev*, Institute for Regional and International Studies, Sofia, *Christian Preda*, University of Bucharest, *Reinhard Priebe*, DG External Relations, European Commission, *Nadège Ragaru*, IRIS, Paris, *Nano Ruzin*, Ambassador of the Former Yugoslav Republic of

Macedonia to NATO, *Predrag Simic*, University of Belgrade, *Mladen Stanicic*, Institute for International Relations (IMO), Zagreb, *Bela Szombati*, Ambassador of Hungary to the U.K., *Miodrag Vlabovic*, Center for Regional and Security Studies, Podgorica (Montenegro).

## Conferences and Debates

February 25

*The Franco-German Dynamic: a Durable Renewal for Europe?*

*Jean-Louis Bianco*, member of Parliament, former secretary general of the Elysée, member of the France-Germany Group at the National Assembly, and *Andreas Schockenhoff*, member of the Bundestag, president of the France-Germany parliamentary group at the Bundestag.

February 28

*Common Foreign and Security Policy and its Impact on Transatlantic Relations*

*Sascha Müller-Krämer*, director of the Heinrich Böll Foundation (Berlin).

March 13

*The European Union on the Eve of an Historic Enlargement: Challenges and Prospects*

*Günter Verbeugen*, member of the European Commission, in charge of enlargement.

April 22

*The Convention: What Project for Europe?*

*Elmar Brok*, member of the European Parliament, member and coordinator of the European People's Party (EPP) within the Convention.

May 22

*Islam, Migration and European Identity: a Franco-German Perspective*

*Valérie Amiraux*, senior research fellow at the CNRS, expert on Islam in Europe, and *Bassam Tibi*, professor of International Relations at the University of Göttingen, expert on Islam.

June 16

*Germany and NATO after the Iraq Crisis*

*Klaus Naumann*, former president of the NATO Military Committee (1996-1999), former chief of staff of the Bundeswehr.

October 14

*Has Germany become Marginalized? Foreign Policy under Gerhard Schröder*

*Hanns W. Maull*, professor of political science at the University of Trier, and *Jean-Paul Picaper*, former permanent correspondent of *Le Figaro* in Germany.

November 13

*An End in Sight to the Recession? Germany's Economy under the Schröder Government*

*René Lasserre*, professor, director of the Centre d'information et de recherche sur l'Allemagne contemporaine (CIRAC), president of the University of Cergy-Pontoise, and *Isabelle Bourgeois*, senior research fellow at the CIRAC, editor-in-chief of *Regards sur l'économie allemande*.

## Cerfa publications

### Notes de Ifri

N° 53: *La France, l'Allemagne, l'Europe. Perspectives (1)*, Karl Kaiser and Thierry de Montbrial (eds.), with Ulrike Guerot, Martin Koopmann, Maxime Lefebvre, Philippe Moreau Defarges and Hans Stark, 2003.

### Notes du Cerfa (electronic publications)

N° 1: *Paris-Berlin dans l'architecture de sécurité européenne: vieille Europe ou avant-garde?*, Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, University of Hamburg, March 2003.

N° 2: *L'Économie allemande entre faiblesses structurelles et volonté de réformes*, Cansel Kiziltepe and Camille Logeay, German Institute of Economic Science (DIW), Berlin, April 2003.

N° 3: *Recompositions politiques sur fond de crise économique en Allemagne*, Hans Stark, Ifri/Cerfa, May 2003.

N° 4: *Berlin-Washington - vers une rupture durable?*, Karl-Heinz Kamp, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Berlin, September 2003.

N° 5: *Le Débat constitutionnel européen – une vision allemande*, Jürgen Schwarze, University of Freiburg, October 2003.

N° 6: *Le Déclin démographique allemand – données statistiques et conséquences politiques*, Herwig Birg, director of the Institute of Demographic Research of the University of Bielefeld, November 2003.



Isabelle Bourgeois, Hans Stark, René Lasserre

“Les dilemmes de la politique étrangère de l'Allemagne”, Hans Stark, *Documents*, n° 4, january-february 2003.

“Les Européens existent-ils?”, Claire Demesmay, *Politique étrangère*, n° 3-4/2003.

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N° 7: *Le Nouvel Ordre mondial et les relations transatlantiques*, Karsten Voigt, co-ordinator of German-US cooperation at the German ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin, December 2003.

## The Franco-Austrian Center for European Cooperation (CFA)

*The Franco-Austrian Center for Economic Cooperation in Europe (CFA) – which has been renamed the Franco-Austrian Center for European Cooperation in 2003 in order to better correspond to the nature of its activity – is an intergovernmental organization created in 1978 with the aim of contributing to the development of economic relations between the countries of Eastern and Western Europe. Its headquarters is in Vienna. Following the events of 1989, the CFA which originally included France, Austria, Hungary and Poland, was expanded to take in new Eastern countries. Thierry de Montbrial has served as chairman since 1985. The center's general secretary is ambassador Peter Jankowitsch (Vienna).*

In the early 1990s, the Center took on the role of apoint of European Union information for the candidate countries and a forum for sharing experiences during the transition phase. The accession of ten new countries to the European Union has modified the CFA's role by shifting the center of gravity towards the “new neighbors” of Eastern and Southern Europe. The Center intends to take this new dimension into account, while continuing to pave the way for the successful integration of the new member countries.

The special nature of the Franco-Austrian relationship continues to hold: beyond the fact that Austria is closer both geographically and historically to the new member countries, the relationship reflects the diversity of Europe (“engaged” countries and neutral countries, “large” and “small” countries, etc.), and, through those differences, permits a deeper reflection on the conditions that will determine the success of enlargement.

The Center marked its twenty-fifth anniversary in 2003 with an international conference patronized by the presidents of France and Austria.

## CFA Meetings

June 3

*After Visegrad?*

*Karoly Lodz*, ambassador of Hungary to the OECD, and *Marjorie Jouen*, head of the European Union-accession bureau, External Economic Relations Directorate (DREE), French ministry of the Economy, Finance and Industry.

March 13

*The Czech Republic on the Eve of Accession*

*Petr Janyska*, ambassador of the Czech Republic to France, *Jacques Rupnik*, research director, Centre d'études et de recherches internationales (CERI), and *Joseph Poeschl*, economist, WIIW, Vienna.

## Conferences

In 2003, the meetings organized by the CFA addressed the key challenges of the enlarged Europe: agriculture, healthcare reform, and developing a common foreign policy.

April 3-4

### Agriculture and Sustainable Development in Europe on the Eve of Enlargement

This conference, which was organized in partnership with the Vienna Eco-Social Forum, the National Institute for Agronomic Research (INRA) in Paris, and the French and Austrian ministries of Agriculture, took place in Budapest and was attended by *Franz Fischler*, European Agriculture Commissioner. It brought together ministers from many countries of Central Europe and from France and Austria, as well as researchers and business leaders from food and agriculture conglomerates. The extremely useful debates enabled the participants to understand the new challenges posed by the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), the reforms that have already been accomplished, and the changes in the relationship between the European Union and the future new member States (who are progressing towards open markets). The closing sessions focused on the demands of sustainable development, with notable contributions by *Bertrand Hervieux*, INRA, and *Josef Riegler*, Vienna Eco-Social Forum. *Thierry de Montbrial* also contributed actively to the debates.

June 26-27

### The reform of Healthcare Systems in the Enlarged Europe

Organized in collaboration with the European Commission (TAIEX Agency, *Technical assistance information exchange*), this *business forum* took place in Lille and was attended by the Health ministers of several Central European and Baltic countries, senior civil servants, and leaders of pharmaceutical companies from France, Austria and the new member States. The participants looked at how healthcare systems in the European Union and the accession States are evolving, the challenges they face (in particular social and economic inequality), healthcare cost evaluation, and the consequences of enlargement for the pharmaceutical industry.

October 7

### Europe Between the Iraq Crisis and Enlargement

This French-Austrian bilateral conference took place in Vienna. It brought together French and Austrian policy makers, defense and strategy specialists, and experts on European affairs. The participants first analyzed the differences that emerged during the Iraq crisis and the lessons to be learned from those differences for the Union as a whole and for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). The participants then discussed the choices that need to be made by the enlarged Europe: deepening of integration mechanisms, a stronger role for Europe at international institutions, and closer cooperation on economic and social policies. Ifri was represented by *Dominique David*, *Thierry de Montbrial* and *Eliane Mossé*.

Other participants: *Thomas Angerer*, University of Vienne, *Elvire Fabry*, Robert Schuman Foundation, Paris, *Michael Gebler*, University of Innsbruck, *Hubert Heiss*, Federal Chancellery, Vienna, *Peter Jankowitsch*, secretary general of the CFA, *Herbert Krauss* and *Alfred Längle*, Austrian ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Bertrand de Largentaye*, “Notre Europe”, Paris, *Pierre Lévy*, French ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Philippe Marini*, Senate, Paris, *Thomas Mayr-Harting* and *Martin Sajdik*, Austrian ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Franz Nauschnigg*, National Bank of Austria, Vienna, *Heinrich Neisser*, University of Innsbruck, *Werner Neudeck*, Diplomatic Academy, Vienna, *Willibald Pahr*, former federal minister, Vienna, *Jean-Louis Quermonne*, National Foundation for Political Sciences (FNPS), Paris.

November 27-28

Twenty-Fifth Anniversary

### The Transition Process in Europe: Current Situation and Prospects on the Eve of Enlargement

The conference, which was inaugurated by *Johannes Kyrle*, secretary general of the Austrian ministry of Foreign Affairs, and *Stanislas de Laboulaye*, assistant secretary general and director of political and security affairs at the French ministry of Foreign Affairs, was hosted at Ifri. It brought together former Prime ministers and ministers of Foreign Affairs from various Central European countries – *Petre Roman* and *Teodor Melescanu* for Romania, *Kazimira Prunskienne* for Lithuania, *Jiri Dienstbier* for the Czech Republic, *Alojz Peterle* for Slovenia, as well as former French ministers *Pierre Joxe*, *Bernard Kouchner*, *Robert Badinter*, and *Hubert Védrine*, as well as numerous figures from politics and academic life. The conference provided an opportunity to measure the progress achieved during the transition period in the political, economic, cultural and scientific domains, and to look at how the identity of the enlarged Europe might be shaped. An important contribution was made by Eurodeputy *Jean-Louis Bourlanges*. Looking to the future in a brilliant historical exposé, *Hélène Carrère d'Encausse* raised the issue of the frontiers of Europe, while *Hubert Védrine* and *Thierry de Montbrial* spoke on the uniqueness of the European project and the importance of the time factor.

Other participants: *Gilles Chouraqui*, Council of Europe, *Josef Christl*, National Bank of Austria, *Ewa Freyberg*, under-secretary of State, Polish ministry of Education, *Jean-Dominique Giuliani*, Robert Schuman Foundation, Paris, *Bernard Kasriel*, Lafarge, Paris, *Roman Kuzniar*, Diplomatic Academy of the Polish ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Jean Lemierre*, EBRD, London, *Serge Lemoine*, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, *Tonu Mertsina*, Chancellery, Estonia, *Chantal Million Delsol*, University of Marne-la-Vallée, *Jean Nestor*, "Notre Europe", Paris, *Jacques Rupnik*, CERI, Paris, *Andris Ruselis*, National Bank of Latvia, *Solomon Saltiel*, Association of Bulgarian Physicians, *Brigita Schmögnerova*, Economic Commission for Europe, UNO, Geneva, *Walter Schwimmer*, Council of Europe, *Istvan Szent-Ivanyi*, Hungarian Parliament, *Zdenek Tuma*, National Bank of the Czech Republic.

### OTHER PUBLICATIONS

#### Claire Demesmay

"La présence allemande en Europe centrale : rencontre d'intérêts ou politique de conquête ?", supplement to *La lettre de la Fondation*, Nr. 104, January 13, 2003, Robert Schuman Foundation, Paris.

"Turquie-Europe : le débat allemand sur l'identité européenne", *Documents. Revue des questions allemandes*, n° 2, 2003.

"Allemagne : le temps de l'action", in *RAMSES 2004*, Ifri-Dunod, 2003.

"Les nouveaux espaces de la citoyenneté. Enjeux et obstacles d'une citoyenneté européenne", *Cahiers français*, n° 316, September-October 2003.

"Identita europea, identificazione con l'Europa", *Bulletin Europe*, n° 640, September 2003.

"Les Européens existent-ils ?", *Politique étrangère* n° 3-4, fall-winter 2003.

#### Maxime Lefebvre

*La France et la Convention : entre les intérêts nationaux et une vision européenne*, Ifri/EPIN, *Policy Brief*, February 2003.

"L'élargissement à l'Est : un défi ou une chance", *Revue du Marché commun et de l'Union européenne*, n° 467, April 2003.

"France, Germany and the United Kingdom in the Convention", with Ulrike Guerot, Kirsty Hugues, Maxime Lefebvre and Tjark Egenhoff, *EPIN Working Paper*, July 2003.

*La Constitution européenne : une brève analyse*, Ifri/Centre for European Studies Strasbourg (CEES), *Policy Brief*, November 2003.

*Quelles perspectives pour la CIG?*, Ifri/CEES, *Policy Brief*, November 2003.

#### Hans Stark

"Berlin-Londres, Berlin-Washington : L'Allemagne et son environnement anglo-saxon", *Défense*, January-February 2003.

"Le temps des divisions", *La Lettre de confrontations*, February-March 2003.

"Liquidation politique du modèle rhénan ?", *Regards sur l'économie allemande*, n° 61, 2003.

"Berlin, Washington et la crise irakienne", *Documents. Revue des questions allemandes*, n° 2, 2003.

"Serbie-Monténégro : crises, violences et perspectives d'éclatement", *RAMSES 2004*, Ifri-Dunod, 2003.

"Les enjeux politiques des réformes économiques en Allemagne", *Regards sur l'économie allemande*, n° 64, 2003.

"L'Allemagne entre affirmation nationale et ancrage multilatéral", *Politique étrangère*, n° 3-4, 2003.

"Paris-Berlin : leçons de la crise irakienne", *Allemagne d'aujourd'hui*, n° 166, October-December 2003.



Hubert Védrine, Thierry de Montbrial, Hélène Carrère d'Encausse

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## EXTERNAL EVENTS

### **Claire Demesmay**

“A Constitution without a people: the paradoxes of European policy”, European Academy, Otzenhausen, Saarbrücken, June 13.

“Memory and tolerance in Europe: forty years of Franco-German relations”, European Parliament, Strasbourg, November 19.

### **Jean Klein**

Participation to the international conference on *The Franco-German cooperation and the European Construction*, European Academy, Otzenhausen, Saarbrücken, March 24.

Presentation to the international conference *The European Security System*, University Keimyung, Séoul-Daegu (South Korea), May 23-24.

### **Maxime Lefebvre**

Colloquium on *The Franco-German Relationship*, organized by the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies and the Embassies of France and Germany, Washington, January 16-17.

EPIN meeting at the CEPS, Brussels, February 5-6.

Franco-German Seminar on *The enlargement of the European Union*, CEES, Strasbourg, February 12-13.

Workshop on “*Neues*” und “*altes*” *Europa im transatlantischen Verhältnis*, Warsaw, March 23-24.

International Conference on *Federalism in history*, Institute of Central-East Europe (IESW), Lublin, April 25-28.

Conference on the *Future of Europe National Debates*, CEPS/European Institute, Sofia, May 31-June 2.

EPIN Meeting on *The New EU Constitution: Firm basis for the enlarged EU or weak compromise?*, Brussels, June 25.

Speech, “What geopolitical role for the enlarged European Union?” Pierre Mendès France University, Jean Monnet European Hub, Grenoble, September 19.

Meeting on *Old and New Europe*, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Budapest, October 9-10.

Speech, “The Reform of the PESC/PESD”, CEES, Strasbourg, October 16-17.

Speech at the Colloquium on *The European Union in multilateral negotiations*, Strasbourg Research Centre, Dubrovnik (Croatia), October 20-21.

Conference on the *Prospects for the IGC*, organized by Wilton Park, Madrid, October 27-28.

Conference on *France and Europe*, Diplomatic Academy, Vienna, November 22-25.

### **Thierry de Montbrial**

Lecture, *Where is the European Union going* at the French Institute in Budapest, Budapest, February 12-13.

Speech, “After Iraq and the Convention: Where is European Construction now?” at the conference on *Thinking Europe*, organized by the Romanian Academy, UNESCO and the National Foundation for Sciences and Arts of Romania, Brasov, October 2-3.

### **Philippe Moreau Defarges**

“Great Europe”, AFCE, Nancy, June 26.

Round Table Discussion on the “European Convention: Franco-British Evaluation”, Trans-European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA, Brussels), Lille, September 24.

### **Hans Stark**

“The Balkans Policies of France and Germany”, seminar on the European Union and South-East Europe organized by the OFAJ, Sète, March 15.

“Germany and the Iraq crisis”, Maison de l’Europe, Paris, March 20.

“The Iraq crisis and Franco-US relations”, Amerika-Haus, Munich, April 28.

“Prevention and intervention. Franco-German experience and perspectives for the CESP”, 5th Franco-German Dialogue, European Academy, Otzenhausen, Saarbrücken, May 22-23.

“French Foreign and Security Policy”, Kiel University of Political Sciences, Kiel, June 5.

“France, Germany and Poland during the Iraq crisis”, OFAJ, Paris, October 2.

“French Foreign and Security Policy”, conference organized by Centra Technologies, Washington, November 10.

“The Weimar Triangle. Current Situation and Prospects”, colloquium organized by the Centre Thucydide, University of Paris II, the Deutsch-Französisches Institut (DFI) at Ludwigsburg and the Polish Institute of International Relations, Paris, November 17.

# the French Center on the United States (CFE)

*The French Center on the United States (CFE) was created in September 1999 along with the Center on the US and France at the Brookings Institution in Washington. Its purpose is to contribute to a better understanding of the American political and economic system and to foster greater mutual understanding between France and the United States. CFE is supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF).*

*CFE conducts research on political, economic and social changes in the United States, as well as on Franco-American and transatlantic relations. It organizes regular meetings that bring together public and private sector decision makers and publishes articles and policy papers. CFE's programs cover periods of several years, and are defined in conjunction with the enterprises and partners that provide the Center's support base. These programs are designed to spearhead in-depth research into issues of interest to business and political leaders in France and in the United States.*

*During 2003, CFE focused its efforts on preparing two important documents for publication: an update by James Lindsay (Research Director at the Council on Foreign Relations) of his guide to the US Congress, "The International Leadership of the 108th Congress of the United States", and a collective work edited by Guillaume Parmentier, director of the CFE, in which 10 high-profile analysts looked at the way in which the United States is changing today.*

## CFE's Programs

CFE's activities are structured around four areas: domestic policy and decision making; foreign and security policy; energy and climate change policy; and space, aeronautical and defense policy. Given the recent crisis in transatlantic relations, which highlighted several areas of mutual discord, CFE plans to expand the scope of its activities. CFE first plans to take a more systematic look at the close relationship between American judicial culture and

its political systems. Second, it plans to initiate a program that will explore US and European approaches to risk policies.

## Foreign and Security Policy

The consequences of the war in Iraq, and in particular their impact on transatlantic relations, were naturally the chief focus of CFE's activities in the Foreign and Security Policy Program. The transatlantic dimension was addressed through a series of seminars.



Is America at a turning point in its history? Since the events of September 11, 2001, Americans answer "yes" without hesitation. But if they are right, how is the United States changing?

Ten essays by renowned experts, for the most part Americans with a wide variety of viewpoints, offer in-depth analysis based on ten specific themes that are dividing America's ruling elite, from balance of power and methods of regulation to the United States' role in the world. Because above all, America is a place of pluralism!

To gain a better understanding of the diversity and complexity of the United States, which is all too often under-estimated in Europe.

**Edited by Guillaume Parmentier**

Contributions by **Lionel Barber, Charles E. Cook, David S. Evans, David C. Gompert, Sylvie Kauffmann, Charles A. Kupchan, Thomas E. Mann, Vincent Michelot, Jeffrey Rosen, and Gary J. Schmitt.**

“La ‘doctrine’ de sécurité d’un pays transformé”,  
Guillaume Parmentier  
*Commentaire*, winter 2003-2004.

### Seminars

*January 22*

Opening NATO’s Door: How the Alliance Remade Itself for a New Era  
with *Ron Asmus*, GMF.

*March 7*

The Guardians of Freedom: Europe and the United States at the Start of the Twenty First Century  
with *Laurent Cohen-Tanugi*, Paris attorney, and *Dick Morris*, US senator, and former advisor to President William J. Clinton.

*July 22*

The Fight Against Terrorism and Transatlantic Cooperation  
with *Christopher Makins*, The Atlantic Council.

*September 10*

Transatlantic Trends Overviews  
with *Craig Kennedy*, president of the GMF, and *The Compagnia di San Paolo*.

*October 14*

Domestic Imperatives in United States Policy on Israel  
with *Dana H. Allen*, International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), and *Steven Simon*, RAND Corporation.

*October 17*

Franco-German Security Relations in a Post-Iraq World  
in collaboration with *the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies*.

*December 2*

Building a New Transatlantic Strategic Dialogue  
with Senator *Joseph R. Biden*.

### Publication

*Les Pouvoirs de guerre en débat à Washington*,  
Barthélémy Courmont, *CFE Policy Paper*, Ifri,  
September 2003.

### Domestic Policy and Decision Making

This program addresses the goals of bettering the European understanding of both the inner workings of Congress and the American federal system.

Numerous studies have already been conducted on these two topics. The program’s broad purpose is to familiarize the French public with the US approach to pluralistic decision-making. In 2003, the program focused on the impact of the events of September 11, the domestic US debate on the war in Iraq, the gubernatorial recall in California, and the preparations for the 2004 presidential elections.

Research fellow: *François de Chantal*

The program’s publications can be downloaded from the CFE’s website, <[www.cfe-ifri.org](http://www.cfe-ifri.org)>.

### Publications

*Les élections de mi-mandat aux Etats-Unis*, François de Chantal, *Policy Brief*, January 2003.

*L’économie du don et la philanthropie aux États-Unis et en France : analyse comparée*, Pierre Buhler, Paul C. Light, Francis Charhon, *CFE Policy Paper*, Ifri, May 2003.

*Les libertés civiles et la lutte anti-terroriste aux États-Unis*, François de Chantal, *Policy Brief*, June 2003.

*La crise budgétaire des États fédérés*, François de Chantal, *Policy Brief*, August 2003.

*Après Enron. Wall Street et le gouvernement d’entreprise*, Yves-Marie Péréon, *CFE Policy Paper*, Ifri, October 2003.

### Energy and Climate Change

The purpose of this program is to look at United States policy on energy and climate change, and to help the French government and private sector to better understand its underlying issues, objectives, and international implications.

Research fellow: *Pierre Noël*

### Climate Change

#### Seminar

*January 14*

**Climate Change: the United States’ Position and the Mobilization Prospects of Developing Countries**

This seminar saw contributions from *Odile Blanchard*, conference manager at the University of Grenoble

(“Climate Change: the United States’ Position and the Mobilization Prospects of Developing Countries”) and from *David Reiner*, Judge Institute of Management, Cambridge University (“Climate Change’s Tower of Babel: Kyoto, the Trans-Atlantic Divide and Burden Sharing”).

## Colloquium

March 19

### Climate Change: Beyond Kyoto?

How can the process of implementing an international system regulating greenhouse gas emissions move forward? CFE and *Resources for the Future* (RFF, Washington, DC) brought together around twenty European and American experts to look at the current state of international talks and to discuss some of the more promising ways to move ahead. The participants looked at ways of reducing uncertainty, controlling implementation costs, mobilizing developing countries, and accelerating the technological transition.

Participants: *Rafe Pomerance*, Americans for Equitable Climate Solutions, *Daniel Bodansky*, University of Georgia, *P. Watkinson*, Inter-ministerial greenhouse effect mission (MIES), *Patrick Criqui*, Energy Economics and Policy Institute (IEPE-CNRS), *Cédric Philibert*, International Energy Agency (IEA), *Denny Ellerman*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), *William Pizer*, RFF, *Laurent Viguier*, University of Geneva, *Carlo Carraro*, Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei (FEEM), *Michael Toman*, RFF, *Christopher Boyd*, Lafarge Group, *Jean-Charles Hourcade*, International Center for Environmental and Development Research (CIRED), *Jonathan Pershing*, IEA/OECD, *David Victor*, Stanford University.

## Energy

### Seminar

September 23

“Energy and Environmental Policy in the US”

with *Sue Tierney*, The Analysis Group Inc.

*Sue Tierney*, formerly of the United States Department of Energy, looked at how energy and environmental policies are developed in the United States, with a particular focus on how the federal government and the individual states interact. Her presentation focused on the liberalization of the electricity sector and on climate change policy.

## Studies

In 2003, CFE’s team conducted two studies on the United States international oil policy as part of a series of research contracts carried out for the French ministry of Defense:

- “To what extent are America’s military deployments in the world linked with the implementation of the United States’ energy policy?”, January 2003.
- “The African policy of United States oil companies”, March 2003.

## Publications

*La Stratégie de sécurité américaine et le pétrole du Moyen-Orient*, Pierre Noël, *CFE Working Paper*, October 2003.

*L’Amérique et le pétrole irakien*, Pierre Noël, *CFE Policy Brief*, issue 4, February 2003.

*The Bush Administration Climate Proposal: Rhetoric and Reality*, Odile Blanchard, *CFE Working Paper*, March 2003.

*Energy and Environmental Policy in the US*, Sue Tierney and Paul J. Hibbard, *CFE Policy Paper*, June 2003.

## Space, Aeronautical and Defense

This program is based on three key objectives: to provide precise, up-to-date and long-term data on changes in American space policy; to facilitate dialogue between American, French and European players in this area; and to increase European public awareness of space issues, particularly in the transatlantic context. The scope of the program’s effort has been expanded and now includes issues related to the aeronautical and defense sectors.

Research fellow: *Laurence Nardon*

## Seminars

October 3

Conference: “NASA and the Future of Manned Spaceflight Programs”

with *John Logsdon*, director of the Space Policy Institute, and *Xavier Pasco*, researcher at the Strategic Research Foundation (FRS).

*L’Amérique et le pétrole irakien*  
Pierre Noël  
*CFE Policy Brief*, issue 4, February 2003.

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James Dobbins, Hubert Védrine, Guillaume Parmentier



Kevin Hassett, AEI



Pierre Noël, François Vergniolle de Chantal, Laurence Nardon, Anne-Lorraine Bujon de l'Estang

December 18

Round table: "Galileo and GPS in 2004: What Way Forward for the Europeans?"

with European policymakers and *Gérard Brachet*, former director general of the National Center for Space Research (CNES).

#### Studies carried out for program partners

(Laurence Nardon)

"The draft space budget 2004. The 108<sup>th</sup> Congress and Space", March 2003.

"The American View of China's Space Program", March 2003.

"Controlling Commercial Space Imagery: Reconciling Business and Security", June 2003.

"Export Controls: Major Changes, but not before 2004", June 2003.

"United States/Japan: the Start of Commercial Space Cooperation", November 2003.

"India, the United States' New Ally in Asia", November 2003.

"The Proliferation Security Initiative, A Complementary Mechanism to the MTCR", November 2003.

"Between NSC and National Policies Reports, the White House's Options Regarding Spacecraft and Manned Spaceflight", December 2003.

#### Publications

*Les Missiles portables et l'aviation civile : la réponse des États-Unis à une "nouvelle" menace terroriste*, Ch. Bolkcom and B. Elias, *CFE Policy Paper*, November 2003.

*L'Observation de la Terre pour l'environnement : les ambitions de l'Europe après le sommet de Washington*, Gérard Brachet, *CFE Policy Paper*, November 2003.

"Espace : le rôle moteur des acteurs et budgets publics", Laurence Nardon, *RAMSES 2004*, Ifri/Dunod, 2003.

## IVth Annual Conference: the United States After the War in Iraq

December 11-12

Organized in partnership with the GMF, this conference aimed at analyzing Franco-American relations at the end of 2003. Two sessions, one dealing with "American exceptionalism" and "the French exception" (with *Erik Izraelewicz*, *Les Echos*, *Stéphane Rozes*, CSA, *Bruce Stokes*, National Journal, and *Pierre Mélandri*, Institut d'études politiques de Paris), and the other dealing with Franco-American relations after the crisis (with *James Dobbins*, The RAND Corporation, *Guillaume Parmentier* and *Hubert Védrine*, former minister of Foreign Affairs), focused specifically on bilateral relations. With one year to go before presidential elections in the United States, the debates also touched upon the evolution of United States domestic politics (with *Adam Clymer*, Annenberg Public Policy Center, *Norman J. Ornstein*, American Enterprise Institute (AEI), *Stuart Rothenberg*, The Rothenberg Report) as well as America's foreign policy resources (with *Michèle Fleurnoy*, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), *Tod Lindberg*, Policy review, Hoover Institution, and *Gilles Andréani*, policy planning directorate, French ministry of Foreign Affairs). The economic policy of the Bush administration was addressed in a highly stimulating debate by *Christian de Boissieu*, president of the Economic Analysis Council, *William Gale*, Brookings Institution, *Kevin Hassett*, AEI, and *Philippa Malmgren*, Canonbury Group. The future prospects of the Doha cycle were also debated by *Christophe Padilla*, Assistant US Trade representative, *William Antholis*, GMF, and *Kevin Nealer*, The Scowcroft Group.

The participants were hosted at the ministry of Foreign Affairs by Foreign Affairs minister *Dominique de Villepin*. The United States ambassador in Paris, *Howard Leach*, also held a reception in their honor.

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS

### François de Chantal

“La société américaine après le 11 septembre”, *Questions internationales*, issue 3, September 2003.

“Californie : la crise politique cache une profonde crise budgétaire”, *Les Échos*, September 4, 2003.

Special issue of *Critique internationale*, “Citoyenneté et fédéralisme aux États-Unis et en Europe”, edited by François de Chantal and Florence Deloche-Gaudez (IEP de Paris), “La convention de Philadelphie : les fondements du modèle américain”, n° 21, October 2003.

### Guillaume Parmentier

“Le jeu de la France face à la guerre annoncée”, Real Instituto Elcano, February 21, 2003.

“La ‘doctrine’ de sécurité d’un pays transformé”, *Commentaire*, winter 2003-2004.

“The New American Strategic Doctrine: European Perspectives and Responses”, *The Monitor*, fall 2003, vol. 9, issue 3.

### Pierre Noël

“États-Unis et Moyen Orient : le pétrole ne fait pas la politique”, *Sociétal*, n° 42, 4<sup>th</sup> quarter 2003.

“Les États-Unis et le pétrole”, *Questions internationales*, spring 2003.

“Les États-Unis et le changement climatique : position actuelle et perspectives d’évolution” (to be published by the French ministry of the Environment).

### Laurence Nardon

“Les systèmes spatiaux dans le monde”, *Forum du désarmement*, n° 1/2003, March 2003.

## EXTERNAL EVENTS

### Laurence Nardon

(*Senior visiting fellow* at the CSIS in Washington, DC, through March 2003).

Speech on “Commercial Imagery and the Government-Industry Relationship”, during the *Industry Studies* seminar at the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, National Defense University, *Washington, DC*, February 27, 2003.

### Pierre Noël

Speech on “Energy and International Relations: the United States and China”, during the *Energy Geopolitics* colloquium at the Collège Interarmé de Défense, *Paris*, March 12, 2003.

Presentation at the annual conference of the Energy Security Council *US and European Approaches to International Energy Policy*, *Houston* (Texas), November 6, 2003.

Presentation on “The Prospects for the World Oil Market in 2030: Some Lessons to be Drawn from the POLES Model” (with Patrick Criqui), conference *Sensing the Future Energy Systems*, *Cairo*, December 17, 2003.

### Guillaume Parmentier

Presentation on “ESDP: Implications for the Transatlantic Relationship” at the meeting *Beyond the Elysee Treaty: the Future of Franco-German Relations*, AICGS-Brookings, *Washington, DC*, January 17, 2003.

Speech on “The US and Europe: Where is the Relationship Going?” at the Security Policy Center conference, *Geneva*, February 3, 2003.

Presentation on “Transatlantic Difficulties: Where are We Going?” at the Institute for International Studies conference, *Copenhagen*, April 1, 2003.

Speech on “Beyond the Present Quarrels: US-European Relations at a Turning Point”, New Atlantic Initiative, *Budapest*, May 15, 2003.

Presentation at the Chamber of Representatives on “Transatlantic Cooperation and Competition: A Pre-Summit Agenda”, German Marshall Fund of the US, *Washington, DC*, June 24, 2003.

Presentation on “Is it Useful Still?”, conference at the DGAP, *NATO, Berlin*, July 10, 2003.

Participation in the GMF Conference, *Public Opinion Surveys: The Foreign Policy and Security Relationship: How Much Commonality in the Future?*, *Washington, DC*, September 15, 2003.

Participation in the French-American Foundation Young Political Leaders, *Security and Alliances: Where Do We Stand?*, September 17, 2003.

Participation in the Second France-Singapore Conference, *The European Security and Defense Policy*, IDSS, Centre asie ifri, *Singapore*, November 10, 2003.

Presentation on “*Europe and the US: Transatlantic Relations and Global Security*”, Centre des Relations Internationales, *Warsaw*, November 14, 2003.

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# transatlantic relations and ESDP

*Debates on the implications of the events in Iraq for transatlantic relations and for the European Union's foreign policy took the center stage once again this year. Beyond the simply how to restore the transatlantic link, the key issue is how to manage the international system using a set of rules on which Europe and the United States can agree, and how to prioritize the challenges that will arise in the future. This matter was addressed during two conferences organized by Frédéric Bozo.*

October 2-3, London

## **Quadripartite Meeting – Ifri-RAND-SWP-RIIA/ Chatham House**

The traditional “quad” annual meeting between Ifri, its German (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, SWP) and British counterpart (Chatham House) and RAND Corporation, which rotates between Paris, Berlin, London, and Arlington (United States), was convened at Chatham House in 2003. In the light of the political and military lessons to be drawn from the lead-up to the war in Iraq, from the war itself, and from the post-war situation, the purpose of the meeting was twofold: to look at the functioning of multilateral institutions – the United Nations, NATO and the European Union (European Security and Defense Policy, ESDP) – and possibly to redefine their role and reflect on the capacity of Europe and the United States to jointly and constructively manage the global strategic agenda (the fight against terrorism, weapons of mass destruction proliferation, conflicts in Africa, etc.). The regional impact of the war and its implications for the regimes in the neighboring countries and for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict were also discussed during the meeting. The delegation from RAND was led by *James Dobbins* with the International Security and Defense Policy Center. The delegation from the

SWP was led by *Christoph Bertram* and the Ifri delegation was led *Dominique Moïsi*. The delegation sent by RIIA included *Victor Bulmer-Thomas* and *Sir Tim Garden*.

Other participants included: RAND: *Robert Bradtke*, State Department, *David Gompert*, *Jerrold Green*, Center for Middle East Public Policy, *Robert Hunter*, *James Thomson*, *Zalmay Khalilzad*, *James Hoagland*, Washington Post, *Kori Schake*, National Security Council; SWP: *Muriel Asseburg*, *Jens van Scherpenberg*; Ifri: *Guillaume Parmentier*, *Frédéric Bozo*, *Thérèse Delpech*, Atomic Energy Agency (CEA), *Gilles Andréani*, Analysis and Forecasting Center (CAP), ministry of Foreign Affairs; RIIA: *Chris Wright*, *Rosemary Hollis*, *Julie Smith*, *Lord Wallace of Saltaire*, Council member, *Mick Cox*, London School of Economics (LSE), *Simon Webb*, ministry of Defense.

November 21-22

## **The United States and France Beyond Iraq – Shared Threats, Shared Goals, Shared Policies?**

Organized jointly by the New Atlantic Initiative/American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (AEI) and Ifri, this conference took place at the Château Mont-Royal, Chantilly. It brought together representatives of the French and United States governments, researchers, and scholars. Once again, the purpose of the conference was to identify

the roots of the transatlantic crisis and to look at ways of adopting a concerted approach to future challenges within existing modes of cooperation. The participants expressed their respective standpoints regarding the Middle East, and measured the adequacy of the existing forums for concerted action between the two countries. The highly frank dialogue revealed numerous differences in opinion between the two parties. The conference was opened by *Thierry de Montbrial* and *Radek Sikorski* of the New Atlantic Initiative, with opening addresses by *Richard Perle*, AEI, and *Alain Richard*, former minister of Defense.

The main speakers included: *Reuel Gerech*, AEI, *Philip Gordon*, The Brookings Institution, *William Kristol*, “The Weekly Standard”, *Danielle Pletka*, AEI, *Gilles Andreani*, CAP, ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Frédéric Bozo*, Ifri, *Pierre Hassner*, Centre d’études et de recherches internationales (CERI), *Dominique Moïsi*, Ifri, *Guillaume Parmentier*, French Center on the United States/ifri, *Olivier Roy*, National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS).

## EXTERNAL EVENTS

### **Frédéric Bozo**

Participated in the conference on *The Future Role of NATO*, *Ditchely*, February 21-23.

Participated in a seminar on *US-European Relations*, Georgetown University, *Fiesole*, May 2-3.

### **Thierry de Montbrial**

Presentation, “Europe and the United States”, Franco-British colloquium organized by Saint-Gobain, *Versailles*, January 17-18.

Guest speaker at a breakfast discussion, *President George W. Bush, the French and the Europeans*, at the French American Foundation, *New York*, January 28.

Lecture on *The Evolving Image of the USA in France*, at Georgetown University, *Washington*, January 29.

Participation in a round table discussion on *France-USA-Great Britain: an impossible ménage-à-trois?*, organized by *The Economist*, *Paris*, March 24.

Lecture on *Europe and the United States After the War in Iraq*, at the Dialogo Association, *Madrid*, June 5-6.

Participation in the *Independent Task Force on Transatlantic Relations* co-chaired by *Henry A. Kissinger* and *Lawrence H. Summers* at the Council on Foreign Relations. The task force, which was directed by *Charles A. Kupchan*, director of European studies at the CFR, brought together some 25 experts in New York on May 5, July 22, and September 30. The task force's report, *Renewing the Atlantic Partnership*, is available on the website of the Council on Foreign Relations, <[www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org)>.

Presentation on "Driving Forces of Conflict in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" at the conference *America's Changing Role in the World – Implications for World Order and Transatlantic Relations*, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP), *Berlin*, June 26-28.

Participation in the symposium on *US Unilateralism and the Future World Order*, organized by the *Asahi Shimbun*, *Tokyo*, October 25.

Participation in the meeting of the "Club of Three", *The Big Friendly Giant: Europe Living with a Hyperpower*, Embassy of the United Kingdom, *Paris*, November 14-15.

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# Centre asie ifri



Rodolfo Severino, Abdurahman Wahid, François Godement, Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, Bertrand Fort (Asef), Edwina Moreton (*The Economist*)

*The Centre asie ifri, which was founded in September 2001, focuses mainly on East Asia. All of its researchers, whether staff or visiting fellows, maintain close relations with the leading international institutes, experts, and specialists on Asia. The Center is thus at the core of a broad academic network of international expertise.*

*Together with its Asian, European and US counterparts, the Center offers a forum for dialogue that contributes research into multilateral and bilateral issues affecting North East and South East Asia. The Center hosts seminars, watchdog groups and analytical projects in conjunction with its public and private sector partners. The results of these works are published in *Les Cahiers d'Asie* and are discussed at Ifri.*

*The Centre asie ifri is run by François Godement, a historian specializing in East Asia and contemporary China. During 2003, the Center's project work was coordinated by Régine Serra, a specialist on Japan and North East Asia. Other valued staff at the Center include Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, a researcher specializing in South East Asia and regional integration in Asia, and Françoise Nicolas, an emerging economies specialist and associate senior lecturer at the University of Marne-la-Vallée. During 2003, research assistant Christile Drulhe edited *Les Nouvelles de Chine*, a monthly review of the Chinese press. Hervé Dejean de la Bâtie worked at the Center through September 2003 as an associate researcher, while Fumihiko Yamada was a visiting research fellow at the Center through April 2003.*



Hong Zhou (China), Chul Koo Woo (South Korea), Françoise Nicolas, Kanishka Jayasuriya (Malaysia)

## Multilateral Issues and Dialogue

### • Regional Integration in Asia and in Europe

During 2003, the Center hosted a number of working-papers-based meetings addressing the issue of relations between Europe and Asia. The most important of those, which was jointly organized with the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF), took place in Paris between October 1-3.

October 1-3

### **Regional Integration in Asia and Europe**

The purpose of this public conference was to exchange viewpoints on the foundations, and the

driving forces underpinning regional integration. The participants drew on their own respective experience to look at the challenges and issues raised by integration as an organized form of interdependence. Three major topics were examined in depth: regional economic cooperation in the context of globalization (financial, trade and agricultural issues); the goals of a common approach to security; and institutions, rules and cross-border exchange as driving forces of regional integration.

*Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, a Centre asie ifri researcher, was in charge of this event, which culminated in two days of uniquely useful and constructive discussions.*

The conference was opened by *François Godement* (*Centre asie ifri*) and *Delfin Colomé*, director of ASEF, both of whom stressed the importance of political will for the endeavour to be successful. Other speakers included *Rodolfo Severino*, former Secretary general of ASEAN, and *Gilles Andréani*, director of the Policy Planning Staff, French ministry of Foreign Affairs. The debate on economic integration was opened by *Jean-Pierre Lehmann*, IMD and Evian Group, Switzerland, and saw stimulating contributions from Malaysian economist *Jomo Kwame Sundaram* from the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, from the Chinese specialist *Fan Gang* of the National Institute for Economic Research, China Reform Foundation, and from *Eisuke Sakakibara*, former Japanese deputy minister of Finance. *Eisuke Sakakibara* also chaired discussions on financial and monetary issues. The issue of building a common approach to security issues was addressed by *Franco Algeri*, Applied Politics Research Center, Munich, *Dewi Fortuna*, Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), Indonesia, *Jusuf Wanandi*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta, *Timothy Huxley*, IISS, London, and by former minister of Defense of the Philippines, *Orlando Mercado*, de la Salle University, Manila. The contribution made by Chinese specialist *Zhou Hong*, from the European Studies Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, cut straight to the core of the debate. The conference closed with a meaningful speech by former Indonesian president *Abdurahman Wahid*.

Other participants: *Marc Abensour*, French ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Amitav Acharya*, IDSS, Singapore, *Suchit Bunbongkarn*, judge at the Constitutional Court of Thailand, *Carsten Hefeker*, HWWA, Hamburg, *Björn Hettne*, University of Gothenburg, *Richard Higgott*, ESRC Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation, University of Warwick, *Nicolas Jabko*, CERI, Paris, *Saboko Kaji*, University of Keio, *Finn Laursen*, European Studies Center, University of Southern Denmark, *Edwina Moreton*, *The Economist*, London, *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Ifri, *Don Pathan*, *The Nation*, Bangkok, *Surin Pitsuwan*, member of Parliament and former minister of Foreign Affairs, Thailand, *Karoline Postel-Vinay*, CERI, Paris, *Kumar Ramakrishna*, IDSS, Technological University of Nanyang, Singapore, *Yungong Wang*, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, *Charles Wyplosz*,

Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, *Josef Yap*, Philippine Institute for Development Studies, Makati City.

### • Europe-Asia Cooperation and Energy Security

As a founding member of the Council for Asia-Europe Cooperation (CAEC), the *Centre asie ifri* conducts regular task forces that report their findings to the participants in the ASEM (Asia-Europe Meeting) summits. The results of the Center's 2002 research into employment policies in Europe and Asia and cooperation between the two regions were published in *Les Cahiers d'asie*.

Given the added pressure on the energy markets provoked by China's increasing influence, energy security has become a matter of increasing urgency in Asia and elsewhere. In 2003, the *Centre asie ifri*, in collaboration with the Institute for International Policy Studies (IIPS) in Tokyo, set up a new CAEC task force to look at energy security in Asia and in Europe and to assess the prospects for energy cooperation between Europe and Asia.

The task force, which is composed of European and Asian energy experts, convened for a *preparatory meeting* on March 3-4, and held its plenary meeting in Paris on October 23-24. *Françoise Nicolas* is responsible for this program.

Participants in the preparatory meeting of March 3-4: *François Godement*, *Centre asie ifri*, *Karl Kaiser*, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP), Berlin, *Françoise Nicolas*, Ifri, *Régine Serra*, *Centre asie ifri*, *Lord William Wallace*, London School of Economics (LSE), *Jusuf Wanandi*, CSIS, Jakarta, *Takashi Yamamoto*, Japan Center for International Exchange (JCIE), Tokyo.

*October 23-24: Task Force meeting*

### **Asia-Europe Energy and Security Cooperation Potential and Challenges**

Participants: *Philip Andrews-Speed*, Centre for Energy, Petroleum and Mineral Law and Policy, University of Dundee, United Kingdom, *Jun Arima*, International Energy Agency (IEA), Paris, *Richard Baron*, Institute for Sustainable Development and International Relations (IDDRI), Paris, *Norio Ebara*, IEA, Paris, *François Godement*, *Centre asie ifri*, *Brett Jacobs*, IEA, Paris, *Karl Kaiser*, Europe Coordinator of the CAEC, *Yves Maignac*, World Information Service on Energy (WISE), Paris, *Yuji Nakamura*, IIPS, Tokyo, *Françoise Nicolas*,



Eisuke Sakakibara, François Godement

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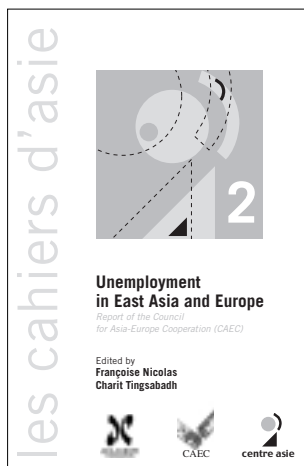
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*Unemployment in East Asia and Europe*, Report of the Council for Asia-Europe Cooperation (CAEC), Françoise Nicolas and Charit Tingsabadh (eds.), Les Cahiers d'asie, issue 2, 2003.

Ifri, *Pierre Noël*, French Center on the United States/Ifri, *Michel Poireau*, Research DG, European Commission, Brussels, *Frank Umbach*, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP), Berlin, *Widhyawan (Wawan) Prawiraatmadja*, FACTS Inc., Indonesia, *Taizo Yakusbiji*, IIPS, Tokyo, *Li ZhiDong*, Technological University of Nagaoka, China, *Bob van der Zwaan*, Energy Research Centre of the Netherlands (ECN), Amsterdam.

### • Security and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region

Since 1999, the *Centre asie ifri* has acted as the Europe committee secretariat of the Council for Security and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP), which is co-chaired by *François Godement*. During 2003, in its capacity as secretariat of the Council's Europe committee, the Center assured a European presence at the meetings of the CSCAP's steering committee (*Owen Greene* represented the European committee at Kuala Lumpur on August 6 and at Jakarta on December 6-7, where *François Godement* spoke of Europe's stance regarding the international order after the war in Iraq). French and European delegates were also sent to the meetings of three

### The CSCAP and the CSCAP Europe

**The Council for Security and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific**, or **CSCAP**, was founded in 1993 by ten Asia-Pacific countries determined to launch a structured regional process that would contribute to the discussion on confidence building measures in the region.

Today, the Council's members include all of the Asia-Pacific countries, including North Korea, plus the European Union, the United States, and Russia. Taiwan has been sending experts to the Council as Taiwanese delegates since the People's Republic of China joined the Council in 1996. The CSCAP serves as a channel for the exchange of information and proposals with the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). **The CSCAP Europe Committee**, or **CSCAP Europe** brings together European institutes with a strong expertise on strategic issues related to the Asia-Pacific region. The CSCAP Europe today has some 90 members and is co-chaired by **François Godement** (Centre asie ifri, France), **Tom Hart** (Stockholm School of Asian Studies, Sweden) and **Frank Umbach** (DGAP, Berlin).

working groups dealing with cross-border crime (Manila, June 27-28), confidence building measures (Singapore, August 11-12), and maritime cooperation (Singapore, September 6-7). The *Centre asie ifri* also hosted the annual general meeting of the CSCAP Europe committee in Paris. The Center's CSCAP activities, which were coordinated in 2003 by *Régine Serra*, place the *Centre asie ifri* at the core of a network of European experts specializing in Asia-Pacific security issues, experts whose work provides a valuable analysis of the strategic issues in the region.

November 7

### 2003 General Meeting of the CSCAP Europe - Paris

The 2003 general meeting of the CSCAP Europe was held at the *Centre asie ifri*. The meeting, which was opened by the three co-chairmen of the CSCAP Europe, *François Godement*, *Tom Hart* and *Frank Umbach*, DGAP, Berlin, addressed developments on the Korean Peninsula and the prospects for reunification. The meeting also addressed nuclear and social and economic matters, the role of external participants in the "Six-party talks" launched in August 2003, and the European standpoint.

Participants included: *Gracia Abad Quintanal*, UNISCI, Complutense University, Madrid, *Marc Abensour*, French ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Ramses Amer*, Uppsala University, *Arnaud d'Andurain*, French ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Matteo Benusiglio*, ISESIO, Bocconi University, Italy, *Axel Berkofsky*, European Institute for Asian Studies, Brussels, *Any Bourrier*, RFI, Paris, *Ruediger Frank*, University of Vienna, *Christian Hauswedell*, Federal ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin, *James Hoare*, former United Kingdom representative in Pyongyang, *Nathalie Hoffman*, French ministry of Defense, *Antonio Marquina*, UNISCI, Madrid, *Valérie Niquet*, IRIS, Paris, *Marianne Péron-Doise*, French ministry of Defense, *Alberto Priego Moreno*, UNISCI, Madrid, *Pierre Rigoulot*, Institute for Social History, Paris, *Régine Serra*, *Centre asie ifri*, Paris.

### • Europe-US Dialogues on China

With a view to securing deeper analysis on China, the *Centre asie ifri* has decided to share its expertise with that of partner institutions in the United States by holding regular meetings.

June 25

### **China's Current Cooperative Strategy: Tactical or Strategic Shift?**

As part of an exchange program launched by Ifri and the RAND Corporation dealing with strategic and regional issues, the *Centre asie ifri* has created a framework for dialogue on China with the RAND Corporation's Center for Asia-Pacific Policy. The June 25 seminar was the first meeting in this program, which is supported by the Atomic Energy Agency (CEA).

Participants: *Thérèse Delpech*, CEA, *François Godement*, *Centre asie ifri*, *David Gompert*, RAND, *Evan Medeiros*, RAND, *James Mulvenon*, Center for Asia-Pacific Policy, RAND.

June 26-27

### **Europe-United States Seminar on China**

This seminar was the second in a series of Europe-US seminars dealing with China co-organized with the Elliott School of International Affairs' China Policy Program (George Washington University), with the support of the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). The purpose of these high-level meetings is to look at Western policy on China. Every 18 months, they bring together European and Asian experts, as well as Asia and regional affairs department heads from the German, British and French ministries of Foreign Affairs and the United States department of State. The seminar was organized by *François Godement*.

US participants: *Bates Gill*, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), *Robert Kapp*, US-China Business Council, *Hon. Donald W. Keyser*, principal deputy assistant secretary of State, East Asia and Pacific, *David M. Lampton*, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), *James Mulvenon*, Center for Asia-Pacific Policy, RAND, *David Shambaugh*, George Washington University and Brookings Institution, *Robert Sutter*, University of Georgetown.

European participants: *Nigel Cox*, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, United Kingdom, *Rosemary Foot*, St. Antony's College, Oxford, United Kingdom, *Peter Hauswedell*, Federal ministry of Foreign Affairs, Germany, *Carsten Herrmann-Pillath*, Institute for Comparative Research into Cultural and Economic Systems, Germany, *James Moran*, External Relations DG, European Commission, *Volker Stanzel*, Federal ministry of

Foreign Affairs, Germany, *Franck Umbach*, DGAP, Germany, *Kees Van Rij*, Policy Unit of the EU High Representative for CFSP, *Adam Ward*, IISS, United Kingdom, *Rod Wye*, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, United Kingdom, *Michael Yabuda*, London School of Economics, United Kingdom.

Among the French participants: *Marc Abensour*, ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Stéphanie Balme*, CERI, *Sophie Boisseau du Rocher*, *Centre asie ifri*, *Jean-Pierre Cabestan*, French Center for Research on Contemporary China, *Thierry Dana*, ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Alain Dejammet*, diplomat, *Hervé Dejean de la Bâtie*, ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Thérèse Delpech*, CEA, *Christile Drulbe*, *Centre asie ifri*, *Marie Holzman*, University of Paris VII, *Marianne Péron-Doise*, ministry of Defense, *Marc Perrin de Brichambaut*, ministry of Defense, *Régine Serra*, *Centre asie ifri*.

### **Round Tables and Conferences**

April 28

#### *Asian Development Outlook 2003*

Round table on the occasion of the publication of the Asian Development Bank's (ADB) latest report. A presentation on the report was given by *John Lintjer*, vice-president of the ADB, and *Douglas Brooks*, the bank's chief economist. The discussion was launched by *Françoise Nicolas*, economist at Ifri, and by *Véronique Seltz*, Asia economist at the Economic and Financial Research Department of CDC-IXIS.

December 18

#### *South East Asia between Terrorism and Political (In)stability: the Security of a Region*

Discussion with *Amitav Acharya*, assistant director, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), Singapore.

July 2

#### *Islam and extremism in Central Asia*

Round table co-organized by the *Centre asie ifri* and the International Crisis Group (ICG).

Speakers: *David Lewis* and *Azizulla Ghazi*, Central Asia project director and senior analyst, respectively, at Tashkent bureau of the ICG, *Olivier Roy*, research director at the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS).

## **Regional Issues and Dialogues**

### **North East Asia**

#### **China**

China has always figured high on the list of the *Centre asie ifri*'s research priorities. In-house research is carried out by a "strategic observatory" which has a dual focus, centering both on analysis of political change in China and China's regional and international integration. The international dimension to the Center's research effort is based on regular in-depth exchanges with the Center's western partners on the one hand (see Europe-United States dialogue), and with the Chinese scientific and research community on the other hand.

### **Studies and Meetings**

November 13

#### **The Chinese Perception of International Society**

This public conference was held in the context of the "China Year" events in France. Its purpose was to facilitate a broader understanding of the Chinese perception of the international system. Four major issues were addressed: What role does the notion of power play in international relations? Does the international community exist? How does China view the phenomena of international and supranational integration? How can international conflict be prevented and contained in the post-Cold War period? The debate, chaired by *François Godement*, brought together four Chinese experts: *Ding Kuisong*, vice-president of the Chinese Reformers Forum (CRF), *Li Junru*, vice-president of the Chinese Communist Party Central School, *Wu Jianmin*, president of the Diplomatic Institute and vice-president of the Chinese People's Consultative Conference on Policy of the Foreign Affairs Commission Standing Committee, *Zhang Boli*, professor and director of the Scientific Research Department of the CCP Central School.

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November 13-14

### **Sixth Round of Franco-Chinese Dialogue**

This closed seminar was co-hosted by the Chinese Reformers Forum (CRF) and the *Centre asie ifri*. The discussions alternate between Beijing and Paris, and have been ongoing since 1999. These bilateral meetings provide a forum for regular contact between Chinese experts from a number of different institutions, and facilitate informal political and economic dialogue between France and China.

Chinese participants: *Ding Kuisong*, CRF, *He Dalong*, Center for World Studies, Xinhua Agency, *Hu Jun*, CCP Central School, *Li Junru*, CRF and CPP Central School, *Pan Zhenqiang*, Institute for Strategic Studies, National Defense University (NDU), *Wang Liqiang*, Institute for European Studies, The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), Beijing, *Wu Jianmin*, Chinese People's Consultative Conference on Policy and Diplomatic Institute, *Zhang Boli*, CCP Central School, *Zhou Qiyuan*, CRF.

French participants: *Patrick Allard*, ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Gilles Andréani*, CAP, ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Pierre Bublér*, Institute for Political Studies (IEP), Paris, *Jean-Pierre Cabestan*, CNRS, *Laurent Cohen-Tanugi*, Clearly, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton, *Françoise Colas*, EDF, Beijing, *René Consolo*, ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Hervé Dejean de la Bâtie*, ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Arnaud d'Andurain*, CAP, ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Bin Gao*, AXA, *Alain Lombard*, commissioner general, "Les années France/Chine 2002-2003", *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri, *Valérie Niquet*, IRIS, *Arnaud Roux*, ministry of Foreign Affairs, *François Scheer*, AREVA, *Alexandre Sheldou-Duplaix*, French Navy History Service, *Bernard Sitt*, CEA, *François Godement* and *Régine Serra*, *Centre asie ifri*.

### **Round Tables and Conferences**

February 18

*The Modernization of China's Armed Forces*

Speaker: *David Shambaugh*, professor at George Washington University.

October 22

*China and European Policies*

Closed meeting on the occasion of the visit of a delegation from the Shanghai Institute for International Studies (SIIS).

Participants: *Zhao Gancheng*, SIIS, *Lu Gang*, SIIS, *Charles-Philippe Godard*, French ministry of Defense, *François Godement*, *Centre asie ifri*, *Wu Jinan*, SIIS, *Françoise Mengin*, CERI, Paris, *Zhang Pei*, SIIS, *Marianne Péron-Doise*, French ministry of Defense, *Wang Xiaosbu*, SIIS, *Zhang Zuqian*, SIIS.

### **Publications**

*China's New Politics*, François Godement (ed.), Les Cahiers d'Asie, issue 3, Paris, *Centre asie ifri*.

*Les Nouvelles de Chine*: this monthly China review, edited by *Christile Drulbe* and *François Godement*, provides analysis on developments in political, economic, social, strategic and international relations in China. *Les Nouvelles de Chine* draws mainly from Mandarin language press sources and presents the viewpoint of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese world in general on current affairs. Launched in November 2002, *Les Nouvelles de Chine* began publishing contributions from the French Center for Research on Contemporary China (CEFC, Hong Kong) in October 2003.

### **Korean Peninsula**

The launch of South Korea's *sunshine policy* by Kim Dae-jung marked the resumption of dialogue between the two Koreas against a backdrop of renewed tension between the United States, Japan and North Korea. The revelations of North Korea's persistent efforts to obtain nuclear capacity sparked a new international crisis in October 2002. The research projects and meetings conducted by the *Centre asie ifri* aim for a better understanding of the complexity of the North Korean problem, its international stakes, and the risks engendered by the ongoing tension.

### **Round Tables and Conferences**

February 5

*North Korea: an Irrational Step Forward in a well Considered Strategy?*

Speaker: *François Godement*, director of the *Centre asie ifri*.

March 5

*Relations Between the Two Koreas*

Closed meeting with *Park Jin*, special advisor to the chairman of the Grand National Party (GNP), South Korea's main opposition party: a spontaneous talk on relations between the two Koreas and the future of the *sunshine policy* after Kim Dae-jung.

November 21

*The North Korean Nuclear Issue: how to Build Peace in North East Asia?*

Speaker: *Yoon Young-Kwan*, minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Republic of Korea, former director of the Korean Institute for Future Strategies. Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

### **Japan**

An end to the financial and economic crisis that hit Japan following the stock market collapse finally came into sight at the end of 2003. The *Centre asie ifri* organized a public colloquium to look at the structural reform progress already achieved in Japan and the debates surrounding the reform process, a process that heralds the dawn of a new era in that country. Other publications, including *Asie orientale 2003* in particular, throw light on the changes that have taken place in Japan's international policy.

### **Studies and Meetings**

March 6

*Reform Prospects in Japan*

This public conference, which was co-chaired by senator *Xavier de Villepin* and *François Godement*, received the support of the Japanese Embassy in Paris. *Kuniko Inoguchi*, ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, took part in the meeting alongside *Hiroshi Hirabayashi*, Japan's ambassador to Paris.

The conference set out to provide clarification on Japan's international engagements now that the long post-war era has been finally consigned to the past, on the contrast between Japan's micro-economic upturn and the structural obstacles to growth, and on the socio-political changes seen in the transfor-

mation of local democracy and the electorate's growing detachment from the country's political parties.

Participants: *Christian de Boissieu*, Economic Analysis Council (CAE), *Jean-Marie Bouissou*, CERI, *François Godement*, *Centre asie ifri*, *Hiroshi Hirabayashi*, Japanese ambassador to Paris, *Kuniko Inoguchi*, ambassador, Conference on Disarmament, Geneva, *Koichi Nisbioka*, "Nihon Keizai Shimbun", *Haruko Satoh*, Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA), Tokyo Office, *Hiroshi Takaku*, Takaku Associates, Inc., *Xavier de Villepin*, senator, *Katsuyuki Yakushiji*, "Asahi Shimbun", *Fumihiko Yamada*, *Centre asie ifri*.

## South East Asia

The *Centre asie ifri* South East Asia program essentially focuses on the regionalization model developed by the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN); the social and political transitions taking place in key countries in the region (notably, Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand); and relations between ASEAN and its closest neighbors (the recent free-trade agreements with China and Japan, in particular), etc.

In order to expand the scope of its research programs, the *Centre asie ifri* launched a new partnership with the Institute for Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), Singapore, in June 2002. The first meeting between the two establishments took place in Paris. The second meeting took place in Singapore on November 10-11, 2003. The purpose of the partnership is to identify areas of common interest with a view to developing cooperation in the future.

## Studies and Colloquiums

November 10-11

### **Second Round of France-Singapore Dialogue – Singapore**

This meeting, which was co-hosted with the IDSS, addressed the following issues: integration and the building of national identities (a comparative study on Islam in France and in Singapore), challenges of regional integration, and the human factor of new technologies and military applications.

The French delegation was led by *Sophie Boisseau du Rocher* and *François Godement* from the *Centre asie ifri*. Participants included *Amélie Blom*, IEP, Paris, *Jean-Louis Bruguière*, Court of first instance, Paris, *Etienne de Durand*, Ifri, *Claire de Galembert*, CNRS, *Guillaume Parmentier*, French Center on the United States (CFE), Ifri, *Michel Pétré*, ministry of Defense.

## Centre asie ifri Workshops

The *Centre asie ifri* holds regular workshops that provide a forum for informal discussion with university researchers and government representatives.

January 30

*Malaysia: the Mabathbir Legacy*

Introductory remarks: *Sophie Boisseau du Rocher*, researcher at the *Centre asie ifri*.

March 27

*Asia and the War in Iraq*

Introductory remarks: *François Godement*, director of the *Centre asie ifri*.

April 24

*The North Korean Issue*

Introductory remarks: *Marianne Péron-Doise*, analyst, French ministry of Defense.

May 22

*Chinese IR Think Tanks and China's Energy Security in Post-9.11 Era*

This meeting discussed a report prepared by *Janet X. Liao* (PhD), researcher at the Center for Energy, Petroleum and Mineral Law and Policy, University of Dundee (Scotland, United Kingdom). The report is a contribution to the research work on contemporary China carried out by the *Centre asie ifri*.

May 23

*The East Asian Perception of the United States*

Introductory remarks: *François Godement*, director of the *Centre asie ifri*.

October 27

*Security in the Asia-Pacific Region*

Closed seminar co-organized by the *Centre asie ifri* and the Bureau of Policy Planning of the ministry of Foreign Affairs of Taiwan.

## EXTERNAL EVENTS

### **Sophie Boisseau du Rocher**

Presentation on "The difficulties experienced by the ASEAN", Asia Network general conference, *Paris*, September 24-25.

### **François Godement**

Presentation on "Directions for Open Global Economies – The WTO, Greater China and Multilateralism", 2003 The Evian Group Hong Kong Initiative, *Hong Kong*, March 18-19.

Presentation on "Political Developments in China and East Asia", internal seminar at the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), *Versoix*, Switzerland, April 3.

Presentation "Prospects for DPRK-EU Relations: International Security and Economic Cooperation", The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), *London*, May 1-2.

Presentation "Securing Energy – China's Policy and its Wider Strategic Implications", round table at the policy planning department of the German ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Berlin*, May 19-20.

Participation in the *Second Conference on Security in Asia: Shangri-La Dialogue*, IISS, *Singapore*, May 30-June 1.

Participation in the *Sixth Europe-Asia Forum*, "Asia-Europe Partnership: New Challenges and New Responses", BMW Herbert Quandt Foundation, Political Studies Institute, *Brussels*, September 19-20.

Presentation on "A Changing Regional Security Environment. Cross Strait Issues", at the conference *Global Governance in the Light of the Recent Developments in the Area of Security*, organized by the Asia-Pacific Security Forum (APSF), The Institute for National Policy Research (INPR), *Taiwan*, November 30-December 1.

Presentation on "Japan's Regional Policy: Leadership Change and its Effects on East Asia's International Relations, Security and Economy", Institute for International Policy Studies (IIPS), *Tokyo*, December 2-3.

Presentation on "Strategic Perspectives in Asia Pacific: Europe's View of the Global Order after Iraq", general conference of the CSCAP, *Jakarta*, December 7-9.

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### **Régine Serra**

Presentation on Japan and North Korea at the French Foreign Trade Center (CFCE), Paris, April 4.

### OTHER PUBLICATIONS

#### **Books**

*Annuaire de l'Asie orientale 2003*, Régine Serra and François Godement (eds.), Paris, La Documentation française.

#### **François Godement**

"L'Asie Orientale en 2003 : entre vulnérabilité et rééquilibrage" (with Régine Serra), in *Annuaire de l'Asie orientale 2003*, Régine Serra and François Godement (eds.), Paris, La Documentation française.

"Les États-Unis en Asie : un empire sans mission", in *Annuaire de l'Asie orientale 2003*, Régine Serra and François Godement (eds.), Paris, La Documentation française.

"La Chine, puissance revendicatrice ou intégrée", in *La Chine aujourd'hui*, Université de tous les savoirs, Yves Michaud (ed.), Paris, Odile Jacob.

"Escaping the Merchant/Missionary Dilemma: an Imperial Policy for Asia-Pacific", *The Pacific Review*, vol. 16, n° 2/2003.

"Will Asia's Hot Spots Cool?" (with Sophie Boisseau du Rocher), *The World in 2003*, London, *The Economist*.

"Americans and Europeans Widened the Gulf before the Iraq War", *Yale Global Online*, March 19.

#### **Françoise Nicolas**

"East Asia, Production Base or Market Place? The State of Play", *Communications and Strategies*, issue 52, 4<sup>th</sup> quarter of 2003.

"Which Exchange Rate Policy to Help Boost FDI-led Growth in ASEAN?", in Pierre-Bruno Ruffini (ed.), *Economic Integration and Multinational Investment Behaviour*, Cheltenham, Edward Elgar Publishing, Series on New Horizons in International Business (forthcoming).

#### **Sophie Boisseau du Rocher**

"La régionalisation en Asie orientale: aspects économiques et politiques", in *Annuaire de l'Asie orientale 2003*, Régine Serra and François Godement (eds.), Paris, La Documentation française.

"L'Asie orientale : quelle régionalisation ?" (with François Godement), *Le Moci*, n° 1618, October.

#### **Régine Serra**

"Chine-Japon, après trente années d'entente cordiale", in *Annuaire de l'Asie orientale 2003*, Régine Serra and François Godement (eds.), Paris, La Documentation française.

# Middle East, North Africa

*The year was dominated by the war in Iraq, with its regional and transatlantic implications, and by the downward spiral of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Through a series of seminars, Ifri sought to refocus attention on the conflict, to look at how Franco-American action is proceeding, and at the regional impact of the shift in US policy.*

January 24

## **Ifri-ECFA - France-Egypt: Complementary Approaches to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict?**

This seminar between Ifri and its Egyptian counterpart, The Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs (ECFA), was the first in a cycle of regular Franco-Egyptian meetings whose purpose is to facilitate an open debate on issues of common interest regarding the Middle East. Egypt and France share the same concern to contain the spread of conflict. The meeting, which was coordinated by *May Chartouni-Dubarry*, provided a forum for French and Egyptian public figures and specialists to present their viewpoints to a broad audience. The meeting focused on the gravity of the regional consequence of the “declared war” in Iraq. The Egyptian delegation expressed the bitterness felt in the Arab world at the tone of the US discourse (the use of the term “crusade”) and reaffirmed its condemnation of terrorism (suicide bombings) while at the same time drawing a distinction between terrorism and “resistance of occupation”.

Having noted the vacuum of debate created around the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the two parties agreed that this conflict should be prioritized. The parties agreed broadly on the need to involve a third party in solving the conflict. The debates highlighted the complementary approaches of France and Egypt in the search for a solution: Egypt in light of its role with regard to the Palestinian authorities, and France as part of the Quartet, where it seeks to reaffirm the

role of the European Union. The seminar was opened by *Esmat Abdel Meguid*, former secretary general of the Arab League and former permanent representative for Egypt to the United National Organization (UNO) in New York, and by *Thierry de Montbrial*. *Mohamed Sid-Abmed*, writer and columnist for the daily newspaper *Al-Abram*, reported on the meeting.

Other participants: *Mohamed Abdellab*, vice president of the University of Alexandria, former president of the Foreign Affairs Commission at the Egyptian Parliament, *Denis Bauchard*, president of the Institut du monde arabe (IMA), *Alain Dieckhoff*, Centre d'études et de recherches internationales/ Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CERI/CNRS), *Nassif Hitti*, director, Mission of the League of Arab States to Paris, *Agnès Levallois*, Nord-Sud Export, *Mona Makram-Ebeid*, professor at the American University of Cairo, former member of Parliament, Cairo, *Hassan Nafaa*, professor of political science at the University of Cairo, *Alain Rémy*, North Africa-Middle East department, French ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Patrick Seale*, writer, journalist.

November 2

## **Ifri-RAND/CMEPP – Franco-American Conference on the Middle East, Washington**

This one-day workshop, which was jointly organized by the Center for Middle East Public Policy/RAND Corporation directed by *Jerrold Green*, and Ifri, was the second bilateral meeting between the two institutions, to be held regularly in the future. The French delegation was led by *Olivier Roy*,



Khadija Mohsen-Finan, Dorothée Schmid, Rémy Leveau, Jeanne Frey

research director at the CNRS. The participants took a sweeping look at the key regional players and at the Israeli-Arab conflict. The French delegation stressed at the outset that the differences in opinion between Europe and the US concerned timetable and priorities more than interpretation of the issues. The debate revealed significant differences of opinion regarding the notion of *regime change*, which US neo-conservatives see as the panacea to all of the region's problems. The French and the majority of Europeans, however, view the resolution of the Israeli-Arab conflict as the key. The French delegation also questioned the notion of democratization of the Arab world from outside.

The main points of agreement concerned the situation in Iran and the mixed and mainly pessimistic views regarding the situation in Afghanistan.

Participants: RAND delegation: *Jim Thomson*, president and CEO, *Michael Rich*, executive vice president, *Jerrold Green*, director of the Center for Middle East Public Policy (CMEPP) and International Programs, *David Gompert*, emeritus vice president, *Bruce Hoffman*, director Washington Office of External Affairs, *Jim Dobbins*, director of International Security and Defense Policy Center, *Steve Larrabee*, Corporate Chair in European Security, *Cheryl Bernard*, senior political scientist, *John Parachini*, policy analyst, *Steven Simon*, senior policy analyst. Ifri delegation: *Olivier Roy*, research director, CNRS, *Alain Dieckhoff*, research director, CERI, *Farhad Khosrokhavar*, research director, Centre d'analyse et d'intervention sociologiques (CADIS/Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales [EHESS]), *Rémy Leveau*, professor emeritus, IEP, scientific adviser, Ifri.

October 20

### **The New Dimension to Relations between the United States and the Arab World**

Organized by *Rémy Leveau* and *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, the purpose of this one-day workshop was to re-evaluate the situation by looking at how the US has realigned its strategy in the Arab world. The debates highlighted the emergence of Arab public opinion, which is becoming ever more autonomous of governments and spiritual leaders as it forms its own perceptions of the democratization process.

Participants: *Joseph Babout*, Center for Contemporary Middle East Studies and Research (CERMOC), Beirut, *Yadb Ben Achour*, Tunis Faculty of Legal, Political and Social Sciences,

*Daniel Brumberg*, Georgetown University, Washington, senior associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, *Mohamed El Oifi*, IEP, Paris, *Akram Ellyas*, *La Tribune*, Paris, *Gilles Kepel*, IEP, Paris, *Richard Labévière*, Radio France Internationale, *Flynt Leverett*, Brookings Institution, Washington, *Robert Malley*, International Crisis Group (ICG), Washington, *Dominique Moïsi*, Ifri, *Pierre Thénard*, French Embassy in Washington, *Justin Vaisse*, CAP, French ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Malika Zeghal*, Centre d'études interdisciplinaires des faits religieux, CNRS.

### **Round tables**

May 15

The Representation of French Islam

with *Franck Frégosi*, researcher at the CNRS, *Rémy Leveau*, Ifri, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, Ifri, *Catherine Wihtold de Wenden*, research director at the CNRS/CERI, and *Xavier Ternisien*, journalist, *Le Monde*.

The purpose of this round table was to offer an overview of the works published in the context of the *New European Identity and Citizenship* program led by *Rémy Leveau*, *Catherine Wihtold de Wenden* and *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*.

June 17

Israelis and Palestinians: the Shared War

with *Alain Dieckhoff*, research director, CERI/CNRS, and *Rémy Leveau*, professor emeritus at the IEP, Paris, scientific adviser, Ifri.

September 11

Political Authoritarianism: Reflexion Based on the Case of Tunisia

with *Michel Camau*, professor, IEP, Aix-en-Provence, *Vincent Geisser*, research fellow at the CNRS, Aix-en-Provence, *Sadi Khiaru*, University of Paris VIII.

### **PUBLICATIONS**

#### **Collective Works**

*De la citoyenneté locale*, Rémy Leveau, Catherine Wihtold de Wenden and Khadija Mohsen-Finan (eds.), Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri, Paris, 2003.

*Afrique du Nord, Moyen-Orient – Espace et conflits, 2003*, Rémy Leveau (ed.), Les Études de la Documentation française, Paris, 2003.

#### **Rémy Leveau**

*Israéliens et Palestiniens: la guerre en partage*, with Alain Dieckhoff, Balland, Paris, 2003.

#### **Khadija Mohsen-Finan**

##### **Articles**

“Maghreb : ce que voter veut dire”, *Marchés tropicaux et méditerranéens*, n° 3000, May 2003.

“Sahara occidental : un conflit oublié”, *Afrique du Nord, Moyen-Orient – Espace et conflits, 2003*, Rémy Leveau (ed.), Les Études de la Documentation française, Paris, 2003.

“Maghreb : vers un échec des transitions consensuelles?”, *RAMSES 2004*, Ifri-Dunod, 2003.

### **EXTERNAL EVENTS**

#### **Rémy Leveau**

Participated in the conference on *The Middle East on the Eve of US Intervention in Iraq*, University of Lausanne, *Lausanne*, January 6-7.

Mission on *The Gulf Monarchies and the Iraq Crisis, Babrein/Abu Dhabi*, January 20-26.

Mission on *The Middle East Crisis* and conference on *Space and Conflict in the Middle East – Muslim Culture and Immigration in Europe*, various research institutes, *Beijing and Shanghai*, March 3-7.

Conference on *Muslim Communities in Europe*, The Institute for the Transregional Study of the Contemporary Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia, *Princeton*, March 27.

Participation in the seminar on *Europe and the Middle East*, British Council, *London*, April 10.

Speech on “The Role and Impact of Arab Communities in Europe”, international colloquium on *Relations between Europe and the Arab World*, Institut du monde arabe, *Paris*, June 26-27.

Conference on *US Intervention in Iraq*, University Institute of Development Studies (IUED), University of Geneva, *Geneva*, October 28.

Speech on “Developments in Morocco and Algeria and their Implications for Western Sahara”, colloquium on *Western Sabara, Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum, London*, December 10.

Speech on “Monarchies, Republics, Social and Political Change and Institutionalization: A New Middle East after the Iraq War?”, seminar on *The Future of Middle Eastern Societies*, The Transregional Institute Princeton University, *Versailles*, December 12-14.

### **Khadija Mohsen-Finan**

Speech on “The Perception of Europe in the Countries on the Southern Shores of the Mediter-

ranean”, first Toulon and Var Euro-Mediterranean Forum on *Citizens and Territories*, Conseil Général du Var, *Toulon*, January 31.

Participation in the MIM Master Programme, Università “Ca” Foscari di Venezia, *Venice*, February 3-4.

Participation in the XIV<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Istiqlal Party, *Rabat*, March 28-30.

Presentation “The Emergence of a New Muslim Leadership: Tariq Ramadan”, at the workshop *Changes and Emerging Players in European Islam*, Robert Schuman University, *Strasbourg*, April 10.

Presentation “Socio-Economic and Cultural Aspects of Migration” at the first workshop of the Groupe d’études et de recherches interdisciplinaires sur la Turquie (GERIT) on *Young Researchers on the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, École des

hautes études en sciences sociales/Institut d’études de l’islam et des sociétés du monde musulman (EHESS-IISMM), *Paris*, May 30.

One week field research in Morocco, June.

Visiting fellow at Princeton University, July.

Participation in the conference on *Religion and Terrorism*, North Atlantic Treaty Organization Defense College (NATO), *Rome*, September 17.

Presentation on “Developments in Morocco and Algeria and their Implications for Western Sahara”, *Western Sabara* colloquium, Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum, *London*, December 10.

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# security



Jean Klein, Thomas Gomart, Dominique David, Françoise Thomas, Etienne de Durand

*During 2003, the security studies department focused its efforts on four major themes: how conflict is evolving (contemporary conflict classification, conflict containment, the evolution of terrorism); how weapons are transforming (new developments in the US and their lessons, the outlook for military/civilian relations in Russia); issues raised by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery (nuclear, chemical and biological, missiles) with a particular focus on the lessons to be drawn from the Iraq conflict; and, finally, approaches to collective international action (shifts in alliances, the role of the European Union, ad hoc coalitions, etc.).*

## **Conflict, Weapons Proliferation**

*March 20-21*

### **What Future for Missile Proliferation Control?**

The purpose of this expert seminar, organized in collaboration with Unidir (United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, Geneva), directed by *Dominique David*, was to measure the scope for the creation of a missile control plan, to identify the missiles and missile technologies that should be covered by such a control plan, to take stock of existing systems, to analyze the impact of anti-missile defense efforts, and to evaluate proposals.

Participants: *Christophe Carle*, Unidir, *Bernd Kubbig*, Peace Research Institute, Frankfurt, *Dingli Shen*, Center for American Studies, Fudan University, Shanghai, *Aaron Karp*, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, *Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu*, University of Delhi, New Delhi, *Mark Smith*, Mountbatten Centre for International Studies, University of Southampton.

*April 9*

### **Biotechnology, Biological Weapons and Biological Terrorism**

This seminar, which was organized with the support of the ministry of Defense, the ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the French Atomic Energy Agency (CEA), and was directed by *Dominique David*, looked at what the future might be for the 1972 Convention

on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Biological Weapons. The participants surveyed the existing regulatory environment. They also evaluated how the European Union has adapted to post-September 11, and examined the epidemiological surveillance instruments currently available.

Participants: *Malcolm Dando*, Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, *Thérèse Delpech*, director of long-range planning, CEA, *Patrick Lamb*, Counter-Proliferation Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), *Graham Pearson*, Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, *Alexander Kelle*, Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, *René Van Sloten*, European Chemical Industry Council (CEFIC), Brussels, *Ottorino Cosivi*, World Health Organization (WHO), Geneva, *David Franz*, Vice President, Chemical and Biological Defense Division, Southern Research Institute, Frederick, Maryland.

The seminar was closed by *Dominique Klein*, assistant director, Strategic Affairs Delegation (DAS), ministry of Defense.

*October 16-17*

### **Proliferation Crisis Scenario Simulation**

The purpose of this seminar, which was organized for the Strategic Affairs Delegation by *Etienne de Durand*, was to test a simulated crisis scenario involving a proliferation country (a SIGREP). The

seminar produced a simulation that combined role-playing and wargame elements: two teams participated, one representing France, and the other representing an imaginary regional proliferating power. The members of the respective “camps” were accorded precise political and military functions and were required to make decisions within an all-encompassing set of rules that covered the bulk of the possible scenarios for the type of crisis in question. The SICREP was launched and tested over several game sessions organized between January 2001 and March 2002.

## Conflict Classification

This study, which was carried out at the request of the ministry of Defense by *Aline Leboeuf* and *Corentin Brustlein* working under the supervision of *Dominique David*, sets out to classify the major actors, causes and forms of contemporary conflict. Its purpose is twofold: first, to create a general analysis matrix that can adapt to conflict evolution; second, to perfect a guide for political and military policy makers confronted with various forms of conflicts and new, hitherto unseen, trends in their evolution. The first part of the study was scheduled to complete in March 2004. An analysis of the specific needs of French policy makers will follow and may lead into a more operational second part of the study, more focused on direct conflict containment.

## Non-Proliferation and Weapons of Mass Destruction in the New International Environment

**Series of seminars organized in collaboration with the French Atomic Energy Agency (CEA)**  
Chaired by *Dominique David*

*April 15*

North Korea: Next Crisis?

with *Gary Samore*, South Asia and Middle East non-proliferation expert, former special assistant to president William J. Clinton and senior director for non-proliferation and export controls at the National

Security Council. Gary Samore directs the program on “Fostering an International Consensus on Fighting the Spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction” at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), London.

*May 21*

Evolution of Nuclear Strategy in the US and Russia: Implications for Arms Control

with *Nikolai Sokov*, research associate at the Centre for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies. Nikolai Sokov looked after nuclear arms control matters and participated in the START I and START II negotiations for the Soviet and later the Russian ministry of Foreign Affairs.

*November 3*

Weapons of Mass Destruction in Irak: An Appraisal  
This one-day workshop, introduced by *Thérèse Delpesch* (CEA), was devoted to evaluating Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction programs: nuclear WMD, with *Michel Saint-Mleux*, former member of Unscop (United Nations Special Commission), and *Camille Grand*, assistant diplomatic adviser at the ministry of Defense; ballistic WMD, with *Fouad El Khatib* and *Bruno Gruselle*, former members of Unscop, and *Christophe Carle*, assistant director of Unidir; and biological WMD, with *Tim Trevan*, former member of Unscop, *Patricia Lewis*, director of Unidir, and *Harald Muller*, executive director of the Peace Research Institute (Frankfurt).

The conclusions drawn on the basis of the workshop were summed up by *Leonard Spector*, assistant director of the Centre for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies.

The texts of the speeches given during the working meeting are published in issue 1-2004 of *Politique étrangère*.

## Transformations of Defense Systems

*December 15-16*

**French-Russian Dialogue on Security Issues: Political Systems and Defense Systems – Shared Experience**

This seminar was the 9<sup>th</sup> annual meeting between Ifri and the Russian State Institute of International Relations (Mgimo), which are held alternately at the

“Penser la sécurité dans un monde fluide”  
*Annuaire français de relations internationales*,  
2003, volume IV, Bruylant, Brussels.

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“Vladimir Poutine ou les avatars de la politique étrangère russe”

Thomas Gomart, *Politique étrangère*, issue 3-4, fall-winter 2003.

“Les transformations de l’US Army”

Etienne de Durand, *Les Études de l’Ifri*, issue 1, July 2003 (available on <www.ifri.org>).

Ifri campus and at Mgimo headquarters in Moscow and are attended by delegations from each of the two establishments. In 2003, the Ifri/Mgimo seminar was held in Moscow under the supervision of *Dominique David*.

The opening session, which was dedicated to considering how military force has been used in the post-Cold War period, with *Thierry de Montbrial*, director general of Ifri, and *Andrei Kokochine*, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences and State Duma deputy, was followed by a series of debates on the relationship between civil authority and military authority in the political, strategic and economic domains in France and in Russia. The participants set out to evaluate the significance of the armed forces in the Russian and French systems, the adaptation of operational concepts to various strategy hypotheses, the influence of the military industrial complex in Russia, and the prospects for industrial cooperation between Russia and Europe.

Other participants included: *Nicolas de Chezelles*, French ministry of Defense (DGA), *general Jean Coulloume-Labarthe*, commandant of the Écoles de Coëtquidan (Saint-Cyr), *Dominique David*, Ifri, *commodore Jean Dufourcq*, France’s assistant military representative to the European Union, *Etienne de Durand*, Ifri, *general Vladimir Dvorkin*, Russian ministry of Defense, *Yuri Fedorov*, Mgimo, *Louis Gautier*, former defense advisor to the Prime minister, *Youri Hozainov*, Committee for Military and Technical Cooperation, Moscow, *Maxime Pyadushkin*, Center for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies (CAST), Moscow, *Ivan Safrantchouk*, Center for Defense Information, Moscow, *Colonel Vitaly Schlikov*, member of the presidium of the Foreign and Defense Policy Council, Moscow.

## Studies

### ***The Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) and Asymmetrical Strategies***

After more than ten years of heavy investment and spectacular technological advances the overwhelming military superiority of the United States today means that the U.S. adversaries can no longer give serious consideration to engaging with the United States today militarily using classical means. They are systematically forced

to rely upon cunning and deception, approaches which are now categorized as “asymmetrical strategies”. These strategies, as an adapted response to American supremacy, constitute a challenge that the RMA, which is concerned with “targeting strategies”, is ill-suited to deal with. The purpose of this study, led by *Etienne de Durand*, is to look at the implications of these “asymmetrical strategies”.

### ***The Impact of the Concept of Coalitions of Circumstance on Defense Organizations (NATO, ESDP, etc.)***

Led by *Jolyon Howorth*, professor at the University of Bath and associate researcher at Ifri, the aim of this study is to evaluate the present and future implications of *coalitions of circumstance*, a concept which has emerged with the recent changes in US strategic thinking, for the North Atlantic Alliance and for the European defense project and institutions. It sets out to analyze its implications for political and strategic concepts, operational choices, and institutions (armed forces and defense industries).

## PUBLICATIONS

### **Dominique David**

#### **Articles**

“Penser la sécurité dans un monde fluide”, *Annuaire français de relations internationales*, 2003, volume IV, Bruylant, Brussels.

“Pourquoi sommes-nous anti-américains?”, *Études*, January 2003.

“La Méditerranée à l’aube du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire: entre coopération et confrontation”, *Transition and Perspectives*, Algiers, Institut national d’études de stratégie globale, issue 2-2002.

### **Etienne de Durand**

“Les transformations de l’US Army”, *Les Études de l’Ifri*, issue 1, July 2003 (online publication).

“Révolution dans les affaires militaires”, *Hérodote*, issue 109, 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of 2003.

### Thomas Gomart

#### Books

*Double détente. Les relations franco-soviétiques de 1958 à 1964*, Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris, 2003 (Jean-Baptiste Duroselle Prize).

#### Chapters and articles

“Les dilemmes de la coopération : prévention des conflits, gestion des crises et règlement des conflits”, in D. Lynch, *EU-Russian Security Dimensions*, IES/UE, Paris, 2003.

“Russie, Vladimir Poutine aux commandes”, in T. de Montbrial and P. Moreau Defarges (eds.), *RAMSES 2004*, Ifri/Dunod, Paris, 2003.

“Le PCF au miroir des relations franco-soviétiques (1964-1968)”, *Relations internationales*, summer 2003.

“Vladimir Poutine ou les avatars de la politique étrangère russe”, *Politique étrangère*, issue 3-4, fall-winter 2003.

“Gêner sans pénaliser : l’utilisation du dossier algérien par la diplomatie soviétique (1958-1962)”, *Communisme*, winter 2003.

### EXTERNAL EVENTS

### Dominique David

Speech, “CFSP/ESDP: A French Perspective”, during the 7<sup>th</sup> European Security Policy Training Course (ETC) of the Centre de politique de sécurité, *Geneva*, February 17.

Speech, “Post-September 11”, as part of the cycle on *Terrorism, Conflict and Violence in a World in Mutation* at the Société de lecture, *Geneva*, February 27.

Speech, “America’s Gamble”, during the conference on *The Iraq Question: Consequences for Security in Canada, France and the World*, organized by the Canadians in Europe group, *Paris*, March 12.

Speech, “Iraq and the US National Security Strategy”, during the cycle of conferences *Geneva Series on Security Policy* of the Centre de politique de sécurité, *Geneva*, March 24.

Speech, “Domestic Security: An Urgent Matter of International Strategy”, during the information day *Domestic Security: Needs and Priorities* at the campaign army corps command headquarters, *Freiburg/Düdingen*, April 11.

Speech, “Power, Asymetry, Multilateralisms: A New Framework for Security?”, during the conference *New Shape of International Cooperation USA-Europe-Russia?*, Instytut Studiów Strategicznych, *Cracow*, May 24.

Speech, “What Scenarios for the Future of European Security?”, during the second conference of the European Military Schools and Academies, *Brussels*, June 26.

Speech, “What Choice for the Future: Europe, a Military or a Political Power?”, in the framework of the Ifri/CFA bilateral colloquium *Europe Between the Iraq Crisis and Enlargement*, *Vienna*, October 7.

Speech, “What Power Choice for Europe?”, during the 3<sup>rd</sup> European Interviews at Epernay, *Europe at the Service of the International Community and Europe at the Service of the Europeans*, *Epernay*, October 25.

Speech, “After the Empire, What Kind of Relationship between the Two Sides of the Mediterranean?”, during the 10<sup>th</sup> edition of the Averroès Meetings *Colonialism and Post-Colonialism in the Mediterranean*, organized by Espace Culture, *Marseille*, November 8.

### Etienne de Durand

Speech during the colloquium at the Institut d’études politiques (IEP), *Transatlantic Relations: the Stakes of Influence and Power*, *Paris*, May 27.

Research trip to *Iraq* and preparation of a report for the Analysis and Forecasting Center (CAP), French ministry of Foreign Affairs, October.

Speech, “The RMA and Middle Powers”, during the annual meeting between Ifri and the IDSS (Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies), *Singapore*, November 10-11.

### Thomas Gomart

“Putin’s Foreign Policy”, IPI, *London*, November 6.

### Thierry de Montbrial

Participation in the Munich Conference on Security Policy, *Munich*, February 8-9.

Participation in the annual conference of the Bilderberg meetings. Speech on Non-Proliferation, *Versailles*, May 16-18.

# global economy



Vincent Vasques, Luis Miotti, Frédérique Sachwald, Eddy Fougier, Eliane Mossé, Françoise Nicolas, Jean-Marie Paugam

*In 2003, Ifri focused on two major issues: the role played by national circumstances and policies in the ability of economies to benefit from the opportunities of globalization, and the growing integration of the emerging countries with the global economy.*

*The program on reactions and responses to globalization, which was wound up in 2003, highlighted the uniqueness of France's "altermondialiste" movement and its influence on political debate. More generally, it demonstrated that the growing integration of the global economy has not led to total convergence between capitalist systems, most strikingly between the United States and Europe. The research conducted on the influence of multinationals in developing countries threw light on the key role played by national contexts and policies in enabling countries to benefit from integration with the global economy.*

*The various debates and studies conducted in 2003 with respect to global economic governance underlined both the importance of national circumstances and the need for harmonization, or at the very least the need for compatibility and dialogue, on the global level. Ifri also set about looking at the consequences of the growing role of emerging countries in global economic governance, and, specifically, in multilateral trade negotiations.*

## 2003 Programs

### Reactions and Responses to Globalization

Led by *Frédérique Sachwald*, this program, completed in 2003, analyzed reactions to the globalization process and the responses that could be deployed. The political debate at the international level has been dominated by global governance and the need to adapt existing institutions or even create new institutions. The program also highlighted the equal importance and urgency of internal economic and social reforms. Ifri is continuing to build on this approach.

The program was supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). It was conducted jointly with the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP, Berlin) and the Institute for International Economics (IIE, Washington, DC).

February 24, Washington, DC

### Obstacles to Globalization: Transatlantic Comparisons

This third Ifri-IIE-DGAP seminar, which was hosted by the Institute for International Economics, was dedicated to comparing obstacles to globalization in France, Germany and the United States, and to understanding the clear differences between the three countries. *Eddy Fougier* spoke on resistance to globalization in France at the session on anti-globalization movements; *Frédérique Sachwald* dealt with changing inequalities in the globalization context.

Key participants: *C. Fred Bergsten*, IIE, *Kimberly Elliot*, IIE, *Eddy Fougier*, Ifri, *Phil Henderson*, GMF, *Karl Kaiser*, Otto-Wolff-Stiftung and DGAP, *Bernard May*, DGAP, *Reinhard Rode*, University of Halle, *Frédérique Sachwald*, Ifri, *John Williamson*, IIE.

Eddy Fougier's contribution can be downloaded from the Ifri website. Frédérique Sachwald's contribution was published in "Note de l'Ifri" n° 48, *Mondialisation, innovation et inégalités*. An English translation of the document can also be downloaded from the Ifri website.

## Publications

Follow-up to the series "Notes de l'Ifri", "Réactions et réponses à la mondialisation", edited by *Frédérique Sachwald*:

– *Mondialisation, innovation et emploi*, Jean-Marie Cardebat and Eric Maurin, n° 49 (available on the Ifri website).

– *Les Mutations du capitalisme en France : le rôle de la finance*, Dominique Plihon, n° 50.

– *Mondialisation et diversité culturelle. Le cas de la France*, Maryvonne de Saint Pulgent, Pierre-Jean Benghozi and Thomas Paris, n° 51.

## Global Economic Governance

January 8, Paris

### Shadow G8: The Role of the G8 in Global Economic Governance

*An initiative of Fred Bergsten (IIE), the Shadow G8 has brought together once a year since 2000 around twenty experts from the G8 countries. Thierry de Montbrial is a regular member. Ifri organized the Shadow G8's 2003 meeting, which coincided with the G8 summit at Evian. The Shadow G8 elaborates proposals that are submitted to the governments of the G8 countries before each summit.*

The Shadow G8 one-day workshop, which was hosted at Ifri, discussed the role of the G8, and, more specifically, the need for the G8 to evolve and change in the context of globalization. The outcome of the debates highlighted the need for the G8 to refocus on its initial objectives and to revert to its original role in order to contribute in a more effective way to global economic gover-

nance. It also underlined the responsibility borne by governments as regards their analysis and representation of globalization, which is all too often used as a scapegoat.

Key participants, in addition to *Fred Bergsten* and *Thierry de Montbrial*: *Richard N. Cooper*, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, *Boris Fedorov*, former Russian minister of Finance, *Yoichi Funabashi*, Asahi Shimbun, *Paolo Guerrieri*, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome, *Toyoo Gyohten*, Institute for Monetary Affairs, Tokyo, *Karl Kaiser*, DGAP, Bonn, *Sergei Karaganov*, former president of the Presidium, Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, Moscow, *Barbara McDougall*, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Toronto, *Patrick Messerlin*, GERM, Paris, *Richard Portes*, Centre for Economic Policy Research, London, *Renato Ruggiero*, European Investment Bank. From Ifri: *Pierre Lepetit*, *Françoise Nicolas*, *Pierre Noël* and *Frédérique Sachwald*.

The meeting was supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

May 22, Paris

### Debate: What Reforms can Spur Growth? The Recommendations of the Shadow G8

*Frédérique Sachwald*, who heads economic studies at Ifri, presented the conclusions drawn by the Shadow G8 at the opening of a debate on the global economy and the policies of the industrialized countries with *Jean-Philippe Cotis*, chief economist with the OECD, and *Jacques Mistral*, financial advisor and minister at the Embassy of France in Washington.

### Tokyo Club Work on Digital Economy Governance and Financial Markets

*The Tokyo Club Foundation for Global Studies was established in 1987 by Japanese investment banking company Nomura Securities to facilitate research and debate on global economic governance. The foundation federates two groups of research institutions: five institutions from the G5 countries, the Brookings Institution (United States), the Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, IFO (Germany), the Royal Institute of International Affairs (United Kingdom), the Nomura Research Institute (Japan) and Ifri; and ten research institutions from Asian countries (China, Korea, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, the*

« Du bon usage de la mondialisation »  
Frédérique Sachwald, *Politique étrangère*,  
n° 2/2003, summer 2003.

« Mondialisation : l'ère des refus »  
Eddy Fougier, *Politique étrangère*, n° 3-4/2003,  
fall-winter 2003.

« Antimondialisation. Essor et politisation »  
Eddy Fougier, in *RAMSES 2004*, Paris,  
Ifri/Dunod, 2003.

*Restoring G-8 Leadership of the World Economy. Recommendations for the Evian Summit from the Shadow G-8*, May 2003, available at <[www.iie.com/publications/papers/g8-2003.pdf](http://www.iie.com/publications/papers/g8-2003.pdf)>

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*Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Taiwan*). Its purpose is to promote work conducted by these institutions on issues that are defined jointly every year. Results of the work are published in the Tokyo Club Papers and the Joint Policy Statement, which outline public policy recommendations.

The Tokyo Club hosted two workshops in 2002. Results were published in 2003.

The first series of publications looked at governance issues raised by the digital economy (competition policy, intellectual property, etc.):

– *Governance Issues in the Digital Economy*, Frédérique Sachwald (ed.), Tokyo Club Papers 15, Ifri/Tokyo Club Foundation, 2003.

The second series of publications looked at the evolution of the financial markets since the 1980s, and the regulatory problems posed by financial markets for national governments and at the international level:

– *L'Émergence du capital-risque : la politique publique française*, Emmanuelle Dubocage and Dorothee Rivaud-Danset, "Notes de l'Ifri", n° 55, Paris, Ifri, 2003.

– *The Development of Capital Markets and Their Governance: A Shift to Markets in Diverse National Contexts*, Policy Statement from the T-5 Members of the Tokyo Club Foundation for Global Studies (texts available at <[www.tcf.or.jp](http://www.tcf.or.jp)>).

March 9, Paris

### **Restructuring Sovereign Debt**

This workshop was organized at Ifri by *Pierre Lepetit* and *Françoise Nicolas* in partnership with the Institute for International Economics (Washington, DC), with the support of the French ministry of the Economy, Finance and Industry. The workshop, which took place on the eve of the IMF annual meetings, brought together around fifty participants from the central banks and ministries of Economy and Finance of the G7 and G20 countries, as well as representatives of international financial institutions (the IMF and the World Bank). The meeting was also attended by representatives of the banking sector and academics. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the various options for dealing with sovereign debt.

The working paper used as a basis for the discussions was prepared by *Nouriel Roubini*, Stern School of Business, New York University, and *Brad Setser*, Council on Foreign Relations. The paper can be downloaded from the Ifri website.

## **International Trade and Trade Policy**

April 25, Paris

### **The Characteristics of Global Trade in the Twenty First Century. Scenarios for the Future of Europe**

The purpose of this roundtable was to present the Ifri report on *The Characteristics of Global Trade in the Twenty First Century. Scenarios for the European Union*, carried out by *Philippe Colombani*. The report was published at the end of 2002 (text available on the Ifri website).

Key participants: *Hassan Abouyoub*, ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco in France, *Jean-Claude Chesnais*, Institut national d'études démographiques (INED), *Philippe Colombani*, Ifri, *Jean-Pierre Lehmann*, International Institute for Management Development, founder of the Evian Group, *Paul-Henri Ravier*, former director general of the WTO.

### **Launch of the program "Multilateral Trade Negotiations and the WTO"**

The purpose of this applied research program on political economy, launched in October 2003 by *Jean-Marie Paugam*, is to identify the basic "problems" confronted by the global economic system, and to carry out case studies that may provide useful guidelines in the elaboration of public policies and private strategies. The program focuses on short-term and medium-term analysis of the forces at play and issues at stake in international economic confrontation, as well as obstacles to the system of governance. It will focus initially on three topics: the multilateral system after Cancun; the transatlantic economic partnership; and civil society and economic governance. These themes will be looked at in further detail during the first half of 2004.

## **Debates**

September 2, Paris

Cancun: A Technical Phase or a Political Test for the Development Cycle?

A round table with *Paul-Henri Ravier*, former assistant director general of the WTO, *Jacques Desponts*, president of the MEDEF and UNICE WTO Committee, *Tom Lines*, Oxfam, and *Hervé Jouanjean*, European Commission Trade DG.

October 15, Paris

The Failure of Cancun: A Turning Point?

A round table with *Jacques Desponts*, president of the MEDEF and UNICE WTO Committee, *Olivier Cattaneo* from the French Development Agency (AFD), *Jean-Marie Paugam*, researcher at Ifri.

## **Trade and Sustainable Development**

This program was elaborated in the context of the SUSTRA (Sustainable Trade)<sup>1</sup> network of multidisciplinary institutions. The member institutions organize conferences and foster expertise on the interaction between trade and sustainable development. The purpose of the program is to analyze the nature of the links between trade and development. Ifri, represented by *Jean-Marie Paugam*, is more specifically charged with providing geopolitical analysis and looking at how European governance may impact external trade and sustainable development. SUSTRA organized a conference in March 2003, the aim of which was to assess the sustainability of trade liberalization. An e-forum was held in September on trade and development from a sustainable development perspective. Ifri will host the closing conference in June 2004 on European governance in trade and sustainable development.

1. ENSAM (École nationale supérieure d'agriculture de Montpellier, France), École polytechnique (France), Centre d'études et de recherches internationales (CERI, France), Ifri (France), Ecologic (FRG), Institute for Environmental Studies (IVM, Netherlands), Sussex European Institute (SEI, United Kingdom), Centre de philosophie du droit (CPDR, Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium), Solagral (France), FIELD (United Kingdom), Universidad politécnica de Valencia (UPV, Spain). See <[www.agro-montpellier.fr/sustra/main.htm](http://www.agro-montpellier.fr/sustra/main.htm)>.

## The Growing Role of Emerging Countries in the Global Economy

### Developing Economies in Globalization

*Françoise Nicolas* analyzed the theme of confiscated sovereignty in a chapter of *RAMSES 2004*, where she looked at the reality of the constraints imposed by globalization and the international economic institutions (IMF, World Bank and WTO).

“Économies en développement : le mythe de la souveraineté confisquée”, in *RAMSES 2004*, Paris, Ifri/Dunod, 2003.

### Multinationals and Development

This program, conducted jointly with the French Development Agency (Afd), analyzed the contributions made by foreign direct investment to development. The publication contains a review of a large number of empirical studies of the impact of multinationals (technology transfers, impact on trade and productivity, etc.) and sets out to provide public policy recommendations.

*Multinationales et développement : le rôle des politiques nationales*, Frédérique Sachwald and Serge Perrin, Paris, AFD/Ifri, 2003.

### The Role of Foreign Direct Investment in Korea

This program, run by *Frédérique Sachwald*, is supported by the Korea Foundation. It looks into how foreign direct investment in South Korea is evolving and evaluates its role in the restructuring of major industrial groups and in transforming the Korean economy. It focuses in particular on the role of foreign corporations in the “realignment” that has seen the Korean economy shift from imitation-based development to growth through innovation and from hostility towards foreign investment to its promotion.

### Debates

April 16, Seoul

FDI and International Learning: Is Korea an Exception? Presentation by *Frédérique Sachwald* at the Korea Development Institute.

April 30, Paris

Restructuring and corporate governance in Korea. The outlook for foreign investors

Discussion chaired by *Frédérique Sachwald*, with *Edward Graham*, IIE, Washington, *Françoise Nicolas*, Ifri, and *Randall Jones*, Japan/Korea bureau chief at the OECD.

### China’s Appeal for High-Technology Activities

September 25, Paris

#### Innovation Milestones in China

Organized by the National Association for Technical Research (ANRT) in partnership with Ifri, this conference debated how China’s innovation system has evolved and the possibility for technological partnerships with French companies.

Participants: *Michel Ab-Fa*, Snecma, *Bo Tao Fan*, University of Paris VII, *Thierry Clerc*, Thalès, *Pascal Colombani*, A.T. Kearney, *Joëlle Gauthier*, Alcatel, *François Godement*, Ifri, *Pierre-François Gouiffès*, Thomson Multimedia, *Olivier Monga*, Franco-Chinese Information Technology, Automation and Applied Mathematics Laboratory (LIAMA), Denis Randet, ANRT, *Frédérique Sachwald*, Ifri, *Wang Shaoqi*, Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in Paris.

### France’s Economic Growth Outlook

This program, which is run by *Frédérique Sachwald* in conjunction with *Luis Miotti*, *Françoise Nicolas* and *Vincent Vasques*, analyzes trends in French economic growth over the period 1950-2030. It looks at avenues that France can explore and the steps the country can take to restore growth potential and reverse the growing gap with living standards in the United States that has opened up since the 1980s.

### PUBLICATIONS

#### Philippe Colombani

“Afrique et mondialisation. De l’échec à l’espoir”, in *RAMSES 2004*, Paris, Ifri/Dunod, 2003.

*Pour une relance du cycle du développement : refonder le consensus multilatéral après Cancun*  
Jean-Marie Paugam, Policy Paper 1, Paris, Ifri, October 2003.

*Le dialogue économique transatlantique est-il hors sujet ? Mettre à jour le partenariat pour le restaurer*

Jean-Marie Paugam, Policy Paper 2, Paris, Ifri, December 2003.

(texts available on the Ifri website)

« FDI and the Economic Status of Korea: The Hub Strategy in Perspective »  
Frédérique Sachwald, Washington, DC, Korea Economic Institute, December 2003.

“The restructuring of South Korea’s financial sector – the first steps towards a new form of capitalism”  
*Françoise Nicolas*, in *Après la crise : les économies asiatiques face aux nouveaux défis de la mondialisation*, J.M. Bouissou, D. Hochraich and Ch. Milelli (eds.), Paris, Karthala, 2003.

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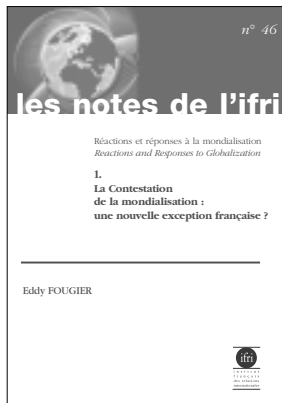
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Michel Ah-Fa, Frédérique Sachwald, Wang Shaoqi, Fan Bo Tao, Thierry Clerc



Eddy Fougier was awarded the "Young Researchers" Philippe Habert Prize – Sciences Po – *Le Figaro* for the year 2002.

### Eddy Fougier

"Mondialisation: l'ère des refus", *Politique étrangère*, n° 3-4/2003, fall-winter 2003.

"Antimondialisation. Essor et politisation", *RAMSES 2004*, Ifri/Dunod, Paris, 2003.

"La mondialisation en débat: l'après-11 septembre", *Le Débat*, May-August 2003.

"Le mouvement alter-mondialiste", *Problèmes politiques et sociaux*, n° 896, February 2004 (file in preparation).

"L'entreprise à l'épreuve de la contestation", *Sociétal*, n° 43, 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of 2004.

### Thierry de Montbrial

"Point de vue sur la gouvernance financière mondiale des années 1990", *Journal of the Association d'Économie Financière*, n° 70, June 2003.

### Françoise Nicolas

"East Asia, Production Base or Market Place? The State of Play", *Communications & Strategies*, n° 52, 4<sup>th</sup> quarter of 2003.

"La restructuration du secteur financier en Corée du Sud – Premiers pas vers une nouvelle forme de capitalisme", in *Après la crise : les économies asiatiques face aux nouveaux défis de la mondialisation*, Jean-Marie Bouissou, Diana Hochraich and Christian Milelli (eds.), Paris, Karthala, 2003.

"Mondialisation et intégration régionale, des dynamiques complémentaires", in *Comprendre l'économie – 2. Problèmes et débats contemporains, Les Cahiers français*, n° 317, November-December 2003.

"Théorie de la croissance: les leçons pour les pays en développement – Revue sélective de la littérature théorique et empirique" (with Nathalie Avallone), *Working paper CDC-IXIS*, Paris, 2003.

"FDI as a Factor of Economic Restructuring: The Case of South Korea", in *International Trade, Capital Flows and Economic Development in East Asia: The Challenge in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Anthony Bende-Nabende (ed.), London, Ashgate, 2003.

"Économies en développement : le mythe de la souveraineté confisquée", in *RAMSES 2004*, Ifri/Dunod, Paris, 2003.

"Which exchange rate policy to help boost FDI-led growth in ASEAN?", in *Economic Integration and Multinational Investment Behaviour*, Pierre-Bruno Ruffini (ed.), Edward Elgar Publishing, Series on New Horizons in International Business (forthcoming).

### Jean-Marie Paugam

"Pour une relance du cycle du développement : refonder le consensus multilatéral après Cancun", Policy Paper 1, Paris, Ifri, October 2003 (available on the Ifri website).

"Le dialogue économique transatlantique est-il hors sujet ? Mettre à jour le partenariat pour le restaurer", Policy Paper 2, Paris, Ifri, December 2003 (available on the Ifri website).

### Frédérique Sachwald

"Du bon usage de la mondialisation", *Politique étrangère*, n° 2/2003, summer 2003.

"Governance Issues in the Digital Economy" (ed.), Tokyo Club Papers 15, Ifri/Tokyo Club Foundation for Global Studies, 2003.

"Multinationales et développement : le rôle des politiques nationales" (with Serge Perrin), Paris, AFD/Ifri, 2003.

"FDI and the Economic Status of Korea: The Hub Strategy in Perspective", Washington, DC, Korea Economic Institute, December 2003.

"Cooperative R&D: who and with whom" (with Luis Miotti), *Research Policy*, 2003.

"Les migrations de la recherche", *Sociétal*, 4<sup>th</sup> quarter of 2003.

## EXTERNAL EVENTS

### Pierre Lepetit

Presentation on "Coal, gas, oil: strengths and weaknesses, until when?", during the 4<sup>th</sup> meeting of the *Débat national sur les énergies*, chaired by Nicole Fontaine, delegated minister of Industry, *Bordeaux*, April 24.

Presentation at the conference on *Food balance and agricultural policies*, organized by *The Economist*, Paris, October 2.

Presentation on “Geostrategic balance for 2010” during the annual oil day, *Oil and Gas 2010: Challenges and Partnerships*, organized by the Association of Oil Technicians and Professionals (AFTP), Paris, October 8-9.

### Thierry de Montbrial

Speech on “Key issues on the Doha agenda: governance, services and market access”, at the international conference on *The Future of the World Trade System: the US, the EU and the Doha Development Agenda*, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and Harvard University, Talloires, June 13-15.

Presentation on “Major Trends in the World Economy” at the convention of the French International Investment Agency (AFII), with Francis Mer, French minister of the Economy, Finances and Industry, and Jean-Pierre Delevoye, minister of the Public Service, *New International Investment Strategies*, Paris, July 3.

Participation as board member in the first meeting of the WTO Consultative Board set up by the WTO secretary general, *Geneva*, December 8.

### Françoise Nicolas

Report on “East Asia’s Fast Changing Financial Architecture” at the France-Vietnam conference on *The new economic configuration in Asia and foreign direct investment flows*, co-organized by the CVFG, Hanoi, the CEDIMES (University of Paris II) and the ESCP-EAP/Paris, *Hanoi*, February 13-14.

Report on “Growth Profiles: A Typology Study of Developing Countries” (with Nathalie Avallone) at the 4<sup>th</sup> university workshop of the GRECOS *Development, growth and institutions*, Perpignan, February 27-28.

Report on “Monetary and Trade Integration in East Asia: Is Europe’s Experience Relevant?”, at the 5<sup>th</sup> study day of the Centre asie ifri, *The new dimensions of regional devolution – Theoretical debates and Asian references*, Centre asie ifri/EPIID/LEPII, Pierre Mendès France University (UPMF), Grenoble, June 15.

Report on “Economic Governance of Globalization” at the Mgimo/Ifri/SWP meeting on *Europe and Russia in the New World Order*, Mgimo, Moscow, September 16-17.

Participation in the first meeting of the Asia Network, CNRS-MSH. Report on “The Restructuring of South Korea’s Financial Sector – the First Steps Towards a New Form of Capitalism”, Paris, September 24-25.

Participation in the 4<sup>th</sup> international conference on *Regional Cooperation and Economic Integration*, co-organized by the University of Le Havre and Inha University (Incheon). Report on “East Asian Economic Integration – Going Beyond the Chang Mai Initiative”, *Incheon* (Korea), October 7-9.

Presentation on “East Asia: Economic and Geopolitical Milestones” at the international seminar on *Market trends and development models for TIC in Asia*, IDATE Foundation, Montpellier, November 19.

Report on “The Restructuring of Korea’s Financial Sector: the First Steps Towards a New Form of Capitalism?” at the colloquium on *The Aftermath of Crisis:*

*the Asian Economies in the Face of the Challenges of Globalization*, CERI, Paris, November 20-21.

### Jean-Marie Paugam

Participation in the seminar on *Trade and Migration*, organized by the OCDE, the World Bank and the IOM, *Geneva*, November 12-14.

Participation in the Conference on the Global Governance of Trade, Environment and Sustainable Development, *Moving forward from Cancún*, Concerted Action on Trade and Environment (CAT&E), Berlin, October 30-31.

### Frédérique Sachwald

Presentation on “FDI and International Learning: Is Korea an Exception?”, during a seminar at the Korea Development Institute, *Seoul*, April 16.

Invited speaker at the conference on *Understanding FDI-Assisted Economic Development*, The Centre for Technology, Innovation and Culture Centre (TIK), University of Oslo, *Oslo*, May 22-25.

Participation in the Evian Group – VIII Plenary meeting, *The Post-Cancún Crisis – The Evian Group Agenda for Action*, *Geneva*, November 7-9.

Invited speaker at the joint meeting of experts of the OECD Development Center and the Asian Development Bank on *Foreign Direct Investment in Developing Asia*, OECD, Paris, November 26-27.

Report on “Globalization of innovation networks: The Case of French firms”, European International Business Association, Annual Conference, *Copenhagen*, December 11-13.

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# Ifri and the corporate sector

*With their dynamic and operational approach, all of the debates organized at Ifri are designed to be of interest to the business and financial community. Ifri also offers businesses a special program that focuses particularly on the issues that matter to them. The goal of that program is to give businesses contextual clarity to guide their strategic choices.*

*The program is based around meetings, in a variety of formats: informal get-togethers, working lunches, and off-the-record dinner discussions with French and foreign policy-makers and analysts on the international scene. These meetings fulfill a double function of information and exchange: they offer business leaders multiple opportunities for informal contact with their peers, with public sector representatives, with foreign counterparts and policy-makers, and with the international research community. Thanks to its international links, Ifri is able to make its extensive international network available to its members.*

*This year, Ifri hosted Vaclav Klaus, president of the Czech Republic; Arun Jaitley, minister of Trade and Industry of India; Ana Palacio, minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain; Supachai Panitchpakdi, director general of the WTO; and Lord Simon of Highbury, a close advisor to Tony Blair.*

*2003 also saw numerous debates on the Iraq war and post-war Iraq. Oil-related issues were addressed during a cycle of meetings.*

*Europe on the eve of enlargement was also broadly discussed from the point of view of its institutional, economic and political dimensions. The Franco-Austrian Center (CFA), which works in close collaboration with the corporate sector on strengthening economic, social and security integration in Europe, continued to pursue that goal by facilitating exchanges between the business and economic sectors in the accession countries.*

*Business leaders also participate in research programs that have implications for the private sector (organized by the Centre asie ifri and the French Center on the United States, CFE). Whenever requested by businesses, Ifri sets up meetings and projects adapted to their needs.*

*Ifri plans to expand its collaboration with its member companies by inviting them to participate more fully in its projects. With this in mind, Ifri is not just targeting French or European businesses, but rather all businesses that seek to develop their business internationally.*

*Corporate relations are handled by Dominique Letourneur, assisted by Jean-Louis Andreu, Aymar de Lastours and Augustin Renaud, corporate advisors.*



Dominique Letourneur, Augustin Renaud, Martine Breux, Marie-Josèphe Turpault, Aymar de Lastours, Jean-Louis Andreu

## Meetings

### Europe

*February 19*

Organizing France's European and International Policy  
*Admiral Jacques Lanxade*, former French ambassador in Tunis, *Nicolas Tenzer*, policy officer at the Commissariat général du Plan.

*February 24*

Croatia and Europe

*Stipe Mesić*, president of the Republic of Croatia.

*March 27*

*Goran Svilanović*, minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia and Montenegro.

*April 30*

Where is the Convention going?

*Robert Badinter*, senator for the Hauts-de-Seine department, *Pierre Lequiller*, member of Parliament for the Yvelines department.

*May 21*

Islam, migration and European identity: a Franco-German perspective

*Valérie Amiraux*, research fellow, CNRS/CURAPP, *Bassam Tibi*, professor of international relations and specialist in Islam, University of Göttingen.

*June 16*

Germany and NATO after the Iraq crisis

*Klaus Naumann*, former president of the NATO military committee.

*September 30*

From the Convention to the IGC: what kind of constitution for Europe?

*Philippe Moreau Defarges*, researcher, Ifri, *Etienne de Poncins*, advisor at the ministry of Foreign Affairs, member of the European Convention Secretariat, *Maxime Lefebvre*, researcher, Ifri.

*October 14*

Is Germany marginalized? Foreign policy under Gerhard Schröder

*Hanns W. Maull*, professor of political science, University of Trier, *Jean-Paul Picaper*, former *Figaro* correspondent in Germany.

*November 13*

An end in sight to recession? The German economy under the Schröder government

*René Lasserre*, professor, director of the CIRAC, president of the University of Cergy-Pontoise, *Isabelle Bougeois*, research fellow at the CIRAC.

*December 19*

The Constitution: a step forward for Europe?

*Pascale Andréani*, European affairs advisor to the Prime minister, former assistant representative of the French government at the Convention, *Pervenche Bérès*, member of the European Parliament, president of the French socialist delegation at the European Parliament, former representative of the European Parliament at the Convention, *Jean-Louis Quermonne*, Universities professor emeritus, author of *L'Europe en quête de légitimité*, Presses de Sciences Po, 2001.

### Asia

*April 28*

Asian Development Outlook 2003

*John Lintjer*, vice-president of the Asian Development Bank, *Douglas Brooks*, economist, BAD, *Françoise Nicolas*, economist, Ifri, *Véronique Seltz*, economist, CDC-IXIS, *François Godement*, director, Centre asie ifri.

*April 29*

Corporate restructuring and governance in Korea. Prospects for foreign businesses

*Edward Grabam*, Institute for International Economics, Washington, *Françoise Nicolas*, researcher, Ifri, *Randall Jones*, Japan/Korea bureau chief, OECD, *Bertrand Pointeau*, director, Bain & Company, *Frédérique Sachwald*, economic research director, Ifri.

*November 21*

The nuclear question in North Korea: How can peace be achieved in North East Asia?

*Yoon Young-kwan*, minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Republic of Korea, former director of the Korean Institute for Future Strategies.



Yoon Young-kwan and Thierry de Montbrial

December 18

Southeast Asia between terrorism and political (in) stability: the security of a region

*Amitav Acharya*, assistant director, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Singapore.

## Africa

March 26

The crisis in Côte d'Ivoire

*François Bakou*, Octide SA, *Nicole Chevillard*, editor-in-chief, *Afrique, Nord-Sud* (Le Monde Group), *Jean Heirich*, president of the surveillance board, GEOS.

## Middle East

March 26

Iraq: domestic issues

*Loulouwa Al Rachid*, Iraq researcher and analyst at the International Crisis Group.

March 27

Iraq: the War and after the War

*Thierry de Montbrial*, *Dominique David*, *Etienne de Durand*, *Dominique Moïsi*, Ifri, and *Fatiba Dazi-Héni*, senior lecturer at IEP, Paris.

April 25

Iraq: the first Lessons of the War

with *Thierry de Montbrial*, *Khadija Mobsen-Finan*, *Dominique Moïsi*, *Pierre Noël* and *Guillaume Parmentier*, Ifri.

November 25

Can democracy be imposed from outside in the Arab world?

*Bassma Kodmani*, senior program officer, Ford Foundation, The Middle East and North Africa Office, Cairo.

December 3

Iraq: A look at the chaotic post-war situation

*Peter Harling*, independent researcher, journalist.

## Transatlantic Relations

May 14

Transatlantic relations tested by the War in Iraq  
*François Bujon de l'Estang*, French ambassador.

September 24

Transatlantic rift: how to bring the two sides together?

*Charles Grant*, director, Centre for European Reform, London, *Gilles Andréani*, director, CAP, ministry of Foreign Affairs.

## Human Rights

February 6

The Human Rights Commission: Lessons from the Past and Priorities for the Future

*Sergio Vieira de Mello*, high commissioner for Human Rights, United Nations Organization, Geneva.

## International Economy and Trade

April 25

Global trade in the twenty-first century – scenarios for the Future of Europe

*H.E. Hassan Abouyoub*, ambassador of Morocco in Paris, *Jean-Claude Chesnais*, director, Population Trends and Renewal Unit, National Institute of Demographic Studies (INED), *Jean-Pierre Lehman*, professor of international political economy, International Institute for Management Development, *Paul-Henri Ravier*, assistant director general of the WTO (1999-2002).

May 22

What reforms will spur growth? The recommendations of the Shadow G8

*Jean-Philippe Cotis*, chief economist, OECD, *Jacques Mistral*, minister financial counsellor, Embassy of France in Washington, *Frédérique Sachwald*, economic studies director, Ifri.

June 17

Are there limits to financial globalization?

*Kenneth Rogoff*, economic advisor and research department director, IMF.

October 15

The failure of Cancun: a turning point?

*Olivier Cattaneo*, policy officer, French Development Agency, *Jacques Desponts*, president of the WTO Committee of the Medef and the Unice, *Pierre Lepetit*, executive director, Ifri, *Jean-Marie Paugam*, researcher, Ifri.



Charles Grant, Dominique Moïsi and Gilles Andréani

## Energy

### « Energie 2003 » cycle

under the supervision and chairmanship of Philippe Colombani

*February 21*

Iraq's oil after Saddam Hussein: issues and scenarios

*Vera de Ladoucette*, director Middle East Research, Cambridge Energy Research Associate, Paris, *Valérie Marcel*, senior Research Fellow, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, *Pierre Noël*, researcher, French Center on the United States, Ifri.

*March 18*

Europe's energy markets

*Pierre de Gaulle*, vice-president France and Belgium, RWTE Trading UK Ltd, *Christiann Vrolijk*, analyst, Natsource Tullet Europe.

*April 15*

Energy market regulation

*Raphaël Hadas-Lebel*, commissioner, Energy Regulation Commission.

*June 6*

The opening of the Electricity Markets: the Role of network administrators

*André Merlin*, director of the Electricity Transport Network administrator.

## Lunch Debates

*January 22*

China: the consequences of a trend

with *François Godement*, director of the Centre asie ifri

invited by *Grégoire Olivier*, chairman of the board of directors of Sagem.

*January 29*

Energy and sustainable development

with *Thierry Desmarest*, chairman and managing director of Total, in collaboration with the *Harvard Business School Club de France*.

*March 27*

The war underway and its consequences

with *Thierry de Montbrial* and *Etienne de Durand* invited by *Jean-Claude Gruffat*, CEO of Citigroup.

*June 12*

The globalization strategy of PSA group

with *Jean-Martin Folz*, chairman of PSA Peugeot Citroën, in collaboration with the *Harvard Business School Club de France*.

*June 23*

with *Conrad Black*, chairman and CEO of Argus Corporation Ltd, Hollinger Inc, Canada, Hollinger Inc, USA and chairman of Telegraph Group Ltd, London

invited by *Anne-Claire Taittinger*, chairman of the board of Groupe Taittinger and CEO of the Société du Louvre.

*December 19*

End of economic crisis and start of political crisis in Germany?

with *René Lasserre*, director of the CIRAC and president of the University of Cergy-Pontoise, and *Hans Stark*, general secretary of the Cerfa invited by *Benjamin Cohen*, deputy chairman of the board of Accor.

## Dinner Debates

*February 4*

with *Lord Simon of Highbury*, adviser to Tony Blair.

*February 19*

with *Pascal Couchepin*, president of the Swiss Confederation.

*March 13*

with *Günter Verbeugen*, member of the European Commission, in charge of enlargement.

*April 28*

with *Supachai Panitchpakdi*, director general of the WTO.

*June 17*

with *Kenneth Rogoff*, economic advisor and research director at the IMF.



Vaclav Klaus, president of the Czech Republic



Ana Palacio, Spanish minister of Foreign Affairs

*July 15*

with *Vaclav Klaus*, president of the Czech Republic.

*September 4*

with *Ana Palacio*, Spanish minister of Foreign Affairs.

*October 1*

with *Eisuke Sakakibara*, former Japanese deputy minister of Finance for international affairs, professor at the Keio University of Tokyo, in the context of the Ifri Asia Center's "East Asia and Europe: Experimenting with Region Building" colloquium.

*November 3*

with *Arun Jaitley*, Indian minister of Trade, Industry and Justice.

*November 20*

with *Ion Iliescu*, president of Romania.

*December 18*

with *Ghassan Salame*, UN special advisor on Iraq.



Michel François-Poncet, BNP Paribas,  
Dominique Letourneur, Ion Iliescu, president of Romania,  
and Jean-Jacques Tamburini, CIC

# Ifri's corporate members

(as at 31 December 2003)

ABN-AMRO FRANCE  
ACCOR  
AGENCE FRANÇAISE  
DE DÉVELOPPEMENT  
AIR FRANCE  
AIR LIQUIDE  
ALCATEL  
ALTADIS  
AMERICAN EXPRESS  
ANVAR  
ARCELOR  
ARCHIBALD INTERNATIONAL  
AREVA  
ARIANESPACE  
AXA  
BANQUE DE FRANCE  
BANQUE FÉDÉRALE  
DES BANQUES POPULAIRES  
BANQUE PATRIMOINE  
ET IMMOBILIER  
BARCLAYS BANK  
BAYARD PRESSE  
BC PARTNERS  
BESV  
BNP PARIBAS  
BOUYGUES  
BRGM  
BURELLE S.A.  
CABINET GIDE LOYRETTE NOUËL  
CAISSE DES DÉPÔTS  
ET CONSIGNATIONS  
CAIXABANK  
CARREFOUR  
CCF

CENTRE NATIONAL D'ÉTUDES  
SPATIALES  
CHAMBRE DE COMMERCE  
ET D'INDUSTRIE DE PARIS  
CHARBONNAGES DE FRANCE  
CILAS  
CITIGROUP  
CLEARY, GOTTLIEB, STEEN  
& HAMILTON  
CNP ASSURANCES  
COFACE  
COFIP  
COLAS  
COMMISSARIAT  
À L'ÉNERGIE ATOMIQUE  
CRÉDIT AGRICOLE S.A.  
CRÉDIT AGRICOLE INDOSUEZ  
CRÉDIT FONCIER DE FRANCE  
CRÉDIT INDUSTRIEL ET COMMERCIAL  
CRÉDIT LYONNAIS  
CRÉDIT MUTUEL  
CRÉDIT SUISSE GROUP  
DAIMLER CHRYSLER  
DASSAULT AVIATION  
DEUTSCHE BANK  
DEXIA - CRÉDIT LOCAL DE FRANCE  
DIRECTION GÉNÉRALE  
DE L'AVIATION CIVILE  
DRESDNER KLEINWORT  
WASSERSTEIN FRANCE  
EADS  
EIFFAGE  
ÉLECTRICITÉ DE FRANCE  
ENTENIAL

ENTREPRISE MINIÈRE ET CHIMIQUE  
ERAMET  
FÉDÉRATION DES INDUSTRIES  
DE LA PARFUMERIE  
FÉDÉRATION FRANÇAISE  
DES SOCIÉTÉS D'ASSURANCES  
FÉDÉRATION NATIONALE  
DES TRAVAUX PUBLICS  
FIEEC  
FIMALAC  
FONCIÈRE THERMALE  
FONDATION HIPPOCRENE  
FRANCE TELECOM  
GAZ DE FRANCE  
GIMELEC  
GLOBAL EQUITIES  
GROUPEMENT  
DES CARTES BANCAIRES  
HSBC  
IBM FRANCE  
INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DU PÉTROLE  
JEANTET & ASSOCIÉS  
JP MORGAN CHASE BANK  
KSB  
L-A FINANCES  
LA MONDIALE  
LA POSTE  
LABORATOIRES SERVIER  
LAFARGE  
LAZARD FRÈRES  
LES ÉCHOS  
L'ORÉAL  
LVMH  
MARSH

MAZARS  
MEDEF  
MERRILL LYNCH FRANCE  
MONDIAL ASSISTANCE  
MONITOR COMPANY  
MORGAN STANLEY  
NATEXIS BANQUES POPULAIRES  
PSA PEUGEOT CITROËN  
RATP  
RENAULT  
RHODIA  
ROLAND BERGER ET PARTNERS  
ROTHSCHILD & CIE BANQUE  
RTE  
SAGEM  
SANOFI-SYNTHELABO  
SIEMENS FRANCE  
SOCIÉTÉ DU LOUVRE  
SOCIÉTÉ GÉNÉRALE  
SODEXHO ALLIANCE  
SOFIL'LIONE  
SOFINNOVA PARTNERS  
SOFRESA  
STARSEM  
SUEZ  
THALES  
TOTAL  
UNION DES INDUSTRIES  
MÉTALLURGIQUES ET MINIÈRES  
UNISTRAT ASSURANCES  
VALLOUREC  
VIEL & CIE  
VIVENDI UNIVERSAL  
WENDEL INVESTISSEMENT

# conferences and debates

*The aim of the monthly conferences program is to inform and structure the debate on international issues and to provide civil society with first-hand information and analysis. The conferences are targeted at Ifri members and the organization's partners: government representatives, parliamentary deputies, senior officials, the business community, and the media. As an independent forum of debate, Ifri is now at the top of the list of venues visited by many foreign dignitaries on official trips to France.*

## Asia

*February 5*

North Korea: an irrational step forward as part of a coherent strategy?

*François Godement*, director of the Centre asie ifri.

*February 18*

The modernization of China's armed forces: developments, obstacles and outlook

*David Shambaugh*, professor of political science, George Washington University.

## The United States and Transatlantic Relations

*March 12*

The United States, the United Nations and Iraq

*David Malone*, president, International Peace Academy, New York.

*April 24*

Washington and the world: a superpower's dilemma

*Pierre Hassner*, emeritus director of research, CERI.

*June 19*

"Gulliver on the Rampage". George W. Bush's foreign policy

*Stanley Hoffmann*, professor at Harvard University.

*September 17*

September 11, 2001 and the war in Iraq: an historic rupture?

*Thérèse Delpech*, senior lecturer, CERI, *Marcel Gauchet*, director of studies, EHESS, *Thierry de Montbrial* and *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Ifri

On the occasion of the publication of *RAMSES 2004*.

*October 8*

In the face of hyper-power: what can be done?

*Hubert Védrine*, former French minister of Foreign Affairs.

*October 15*

The West versus the West

*André Glucksmann*, philosopher and writer.

*November 12*

The American West and the European West: how to avoid divorce?

*Dominique Moïsi*, Ifri.

## Europe

*January 22*

Turkey and the European Union in the wake of the Copenhagen summit

*Soli Özel*, advisor to the president of TUSIAD, lecturer at Bilgi University, Istanbul.

*February 3*

Italy and the test of the Second Republic

*Marcello Pera*, president of the Senate of the Republic of Italy.

*February 25*

The Franco-German Dynamic: a sustainable recovery for Europe?

*Andreas Schockenhoff*, deputy, president of the France-Germany group at the Bundestag, and *Jean-Louis Bianco*, deputy, member of the France-Germany friendship group at the National Assembly.

*February 27*

The democratic legitimacy of Europe

*Larry Siedentop*, professor of political philosophy at the University of Oxford and at Keble College.

*March 13*

The European Union on the eve of an historic enlargement: challenges and prospects

*Günter Verbeugen*, European enlargement commissioner.

*April 22*

The Convention: what kind of project for Europe?

*Elmar Brok*, European deputy, PPE member and coordinator at the Convention.

*May 22*

What future for the CFSP?

*Guy Legras*, external relations director, European Commission.



*June 23*

The European Union after enlargement  
*Edouard Kukan*, Slovakian minister of Foreign Affairs.

*September 4*

The European Union and its neighbors: the Euro-Mediterranean partnership and Middle East relations  
*Ana Palacio*, Spanish minister of Foreign Affairs.

*December 1*

The marginalization of foreigners. The logic behind the Schengen visa  
*Didier Bigo*, senior lecturer, IEP, Paris.

*December 3*

Roma minorities  
*Prince Radu of Hohenzollern-Veringen*, special representative of the Romanian government for integration, cooperation and sustainable development.

## Middle East – North Africa

*January 30*

Coalitions in conflicts: the lessons of the past (the Gulf, Kosovo, Afghanistan...) and the implications for Iraq  
*Andrew Pierre*, associate professor, School of Foreign Service, and research fellow at the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University.

*March 26*

Iraq: domestic issues  
*Loulouwa Al Rachid*, Iraq researcher and analyst at the International Crisis Group.

*March 27*

Iraq: the war and the post-war period  
*Thierry de Montbrial*, *Dominique David*, *Etienne de Durand*, *Dominique Moïsi*, Ifri, and *Fatima Dazi-Héni*, senior lecturer at the IEP, Paris.

*April 25*

Iraq: the first lessons of war  
with *Thierry de Montbrial*, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, *Dominique Moïsi*, *Pierre Noël* and *Guillaume Parmentier*, Ifri.

*June 3*

Egypt after the war  
*Xavier de Villepin*, delegated vice-president of the centrist union group at the Senate.

*June 4*

The experience of Kurdish self-government and the Kurds in the Iraq of tomorrow  
*Kendal Nezam*, president of the Kurdish Institute in Paris.

*June 10*

The Iran of the new generations  
*Farhad Khosrokhavar*, director of studies, EHESS.

*June 17*

Israelis and Palestinians: a shared war?  
*Alain Dieckhoff*, director of research at the CERJ, and *Rémy Leveau*, professor emeritus at the IEP, Paris, and scientific advisor at Ifri.

*September 11*

Political authoritarianism: reflections based on Tunisia  
*Michel Camau*, professor at the IEP, Aix-en-Provence, *Vincent Geisser*, research fellow at the CNRS, Aix-en-Provence, and *Sadri Khiari*, political scientist, University of Paris-VIII.

*November 25*

Can democracy be imposed from outside in the Arab world?  
*Bassma Kodmani*, senior program officer, Ford Foundation, The Middle East and North Africa Office, Cairo.

*December 10*

Lessons to be learnt from Afghanistan for ending the crisis in Iraq?  
*Alain Boinet*, director of Solidarités, and *Olivier Roy*, research director at the CNRS.

## Islam

*May 15*

The representation of French Islam  
*Franck Frégosi*, researcher at the CNRS, and *Xavier Ternisien*, journalist at *Le Monde*.

*July 2*

Islam and extremism in Central Asia  
*David Lewis*, Central Asia project director, International Crisis Group.

## Russia

*April 11*

Chechnya after the March 23 referendum  
*Alvaro Gil Gobles*, human rights commissioner at the Council of Europe.

## International Trade – Globalization

*April 28*

The WTO and regulations  
*Patrick Messerlin*, professor of economics, IEP of Paris.

*September 2*

Cancun: a technical phase or a political test for the development cycle?  
*Paul-Henri Ravier*, former assistant director general of the WTO, *Jacques Desponts*, president of the WTO Committee of the Medef and the Unice, *Annick Jeantet*, Advocacy Officer, Oxfam International, and *Hervé Jouanjean*, WTO and OECD director at the European Commission Trade Directorate General.

*October 14*

Globalization: the democratic challenge  
*Samy Cohen*, director of research, CERJ, and *Jan Aart Scholte*, director of the Globalization and Regionalization Centre, University of Warwick.

## Global Issues

*October 21*

The role of civilizations in the international system  
*Yadh Ben Achour*, professor of international law, Tunis Social and Political Science Faculty, member of the International Law Institute.

*October 28*

15 years that rocked the world  
*Thierry de Montbrial*, director general of Ifri.

***The “Globalization” Cycle  
directed by Thierry de Montbrial  
as part of the CNAM – 2002/2003***

(the conferences took place at Ifri)

*January 13*

Globalization and trends in inequality

*Frédérique Sachwald*, economic studies director, Ifri.

*February 24*

The environmental impact of globalization. A case study on energy resources

*Pierre Noël*, researcher at the CFE, Ifri.

*April 28*

The WTO and regulations

*Patrick Messerlin*, professor of economics at IEP of Paris, director of the World Economy Group at Sciences Po.

*March 10*

The IMF and the challenges of financial globalization

*Françoise Nicolas*, Ifri researcher.

*May 19*

The social responsibility of corporations

*Ethan Kapstein*, Harold Stassen Professor of International Peace, University of Minnesota, invited researcher at Ifri.

*June 16*

The European Union and globalization

*Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Ifri researcher.

***“International Relations Theory  
and Reality” Cycle  
directed by Thierry de Montbrial  
as part of the CNAM – 2003/2004***

(the conferences took place at Ifri)

*November 20*

Power and the international system: the thirty year outlook

*Etienne de Durand*, Ifri researcher.

*December 18*

The end of the Rhine model? Reform issues in Germany

*Hans Stark*, Ifri researcher.

research

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the document center

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the board of directors

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# publications

Ifri publishes the quarterly review *Politique étrangère* and the annual collective survey RAMSES (*World Annual Report on the Economy System and Strategies*). RAMSES looks at international issues using a complementary, two-pronged approach: one section addresses broad trends and emerging debates, while the second section provides thematic analysis of events and trends of the past year and their implications.

Ifri also disseminates its works via other channels, which provides updates on medium and long-term research programs. Ifri's publishing activities are looked after by Christophe Jaquet, Marielle Roubach and Delphine Renard.

## Les Cahiers d'Asie

N° 2 – *Unemployment in East Asia and Europe*, Françoise Nicolas and Charit Tingsabath (eds.), 295 p., April

N° 3 – *China's New Politics*, François Godement (ed.), 170 p., September

## Les Notes de l'Ifri

N° 53 – *La France, l'Allemagne et l'Europe. Perspectives (1)*, Thierry de Montbrial and Karl Kaiser (eds.), 56 p., February

N° 54 – *Entreprises et politique étrangère. Le lobbying à Paris, Washington et Bruxelles*, Olivier Debouzy, Steven C. Clemons, Alan Butt Philip, 96 p., April, available at <www.ifri.org>

## Series "Réactions et réponses à la mondialisation"

N° 49 – *Mondialisation, innovation et emploi, Globalization, Innovation and Employment*, Jean-Marie Cardebat and Eric Maurin, bilingual text available at <www.ifri.org>

N° 50 – *Les Mutations du capitalisme en France: le rôle de la finance*, Dominique Plihon, 71 p., January

N° 51 – *Mondialisation et diversité culturelle: le cas de la France*, Maryvonne de Saint Pulgent, Pierre-Jean Benghozi and Thomas Paris, 90 p., April, English version available at <www.ifri.org>

## Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri

*De la citoyenneté locale*, Rémy Leveau, Catherine Wihtol de Wenden and Khadija Mohsen-Finan (eds.), February

## Politique étrangère

• n° 1/2003 – *January-March*

### Les États-Unis, la puissance et la guerre

"La puissance militaire en question", *Martin van Creveld*; "La guerre asymétrique et l'avenir de l'Occident", *Steven Metz*; "La maîtrise des espaces, fondement de l'hégémonie des États-Unis", *Barry R. Posen*

### Autour de la crise irakienne

"L'adversaire irakien", *David Baran*; "La politique étrangère en Iran: de la révolution à l'axe du mal",

*Farhad Khosrokhavar*; "La Turquie: puissance régionale et forteresse assiégée", *Hamit Bozarslan*

## Repères

"Le Maghreb face aux revendications berbères", *Maxime Ait Kaki*; "Les élites africaines, enjeu de la diplomatie scientifique des États-Unis", *Jean-Philippe Dedieu*; "L'ASEAN entre élargissement et marginalisation", *Eric Teo Chu Cheow*; "L'affrontement Nord-Sud aux Nations unies: un anachronisme sur le déclin?", *David M. Malone*

## Libre propos

"Mitterrand, l'Europe et la réunification allemande", *Daniel Vernet*

• n° 2/2003 – *April-June*

## Mondialisation, politiques nationales et gouvernance globale

"Pour une nouvelle légitimité du G-8", *Shadow G-8*; "Du bon usage de la mondialisation", *Frédérique Sachwald*; "De Doha à Cancun: les enjeux du cycle de négociations", *Paul-Henri Ravier*; "L'architecture financière internationale et les faillites d'État", *Jérôme Sgard*

## Afrique: conflits et développement

“L'évolution des conflits en Afrique subsaharienne”, *Tom Porteous*; “Le conflit ivoirien: les enjeux régionaux du maintien de la paix”, *Hugo Sada*; “Le NEPAD entre partenariat économique et gestion des conflits”, *Philippe Hugon*

## Repères

“La Chine sur la voie des réformes: métamorphose économique ou suicide politique”, *Jonathan Story*; “L'humanitaire non gouvernemental face à la guerre”, *Béatrice Pouligny*; “Biodiversité et mondialisation: défi global, réponses locales”, *Michel Trommetter and Jacques Weber*

## Libre propos : l'Irak

“La guerre d'Irak, la stratégie du faible face à la puissance américaine”, *David Baran*; “Irak : et si la France s'était trompée?”, *Pascal Cuche*

## • n° 3-4/2003 – July-December

### 2003, une année tournant?

“L'Amérique a redécouvert les limites de la puissance”, interview with *Thierry de Montbrial*

### L'Amérique et l'Occident

“Pour une nouvelle politique américaine de paix et de sécurité”, *Zbigniew Brzezinski*; “Réinventer l'Occident”, *Dominique Moïsi*; “Gulliver au banc des accusés”, *John G. Mason*

### De l'Irak à l'Afghanistan: le nouvel arc de crise

“Vers un nouvel ordre régional au Moyen-Orient?”, *Volker Perthes*; “Les dilemmes des régimes arabes”, *Philippe Droz-Vincent*; “Espérances et incertitudes en Iran”, *Mohammad-Reza Djalili*; “Un triangle dangereux : Inde-Pakistan-Afghanistan”, *Gilbert Etienne*

### L'économie en questions

“Y a-t-il un risque de déflation mondiale?”, *Patrick Artus*; “Pétrole : mythe et réalité de l'hégémonie des États-Unis”, *Michel Chatelus*; “Mondialisation : l'ère des refus”, *Eddy Fougier*

## Sécurité, terrorismes

“Violence islamiste et terrorisme international”, *Alain Chouet*; “Les réseaux terroristes islamistes : moins puissants, plus violents”, *François Legaré*; “SRAS et bioterrorisme : au risque de la mondialisation”, *Antoine Andremont*

## L'avenir des Nations unies

“Maintien de la paix : les nouveaux défis”, *Jean-Marie Guéhenno*; “L'ONU après la crise irakienne”, *Alexandra Novosseloff*

## Europe(s)

“Un programme géopolitique pour l'Europe élargie”, *Maxime Lefebvre*; “La Convention : un moment

constituant pour l'Europe?”, *Thierry Chopin*; “Au-delà des apparences ou les lents progrès de la PESD”, *Jolyon Howorth*; “L'Allemagne entre affirmation nationale et ancrage multilatéral”, *Hans Stark*; “Les Européens existent-ils?”, *Claire Demesmay*; “Vladimir Poutine ou les avatars de la politique étrangère russe”, *Thomas Gomart*

## Religions et histoire

“Le retour du religieux dans la politique internationale”, *Henri Madelin*; “2003 dans l'Histoire : “tour-nant”, “rupture” ou “continuité”?”, *Pierre Grosser*; “Plus rien ne sera comme avant”, *Philippe Moreau Defarges*

## RAMSES

RAMSES is edited by *Thierry de Montbrial* and *Philippe Moreau Defarges*.

## RAMSES 2004

Perspectives, by *Thierry de Montbrial*

### Part 1: After Iraq: new threats, new States, new justice

Vers une nouvelle course aux armements non conventionnels?, by *Thérèse Delpech*; Le state building au secours de la sécurité internationale? by *Béatrice Pouligny* and *Raphaël Pouyé*; La justice pénale internationale: États et justice, by *Philippe Moreau Defarges*

### Part 2: Europe confronts its future: three challenges for the continent

Quel avenir pour l'Union européenne?, by *Maxime Lefebvre*; L'empire de la règle : l'intégration européenne en mal de démocratie, by *Jean-Paul Fitoussi* and *Éloi Laurent*; L'Union européenne face aux migrations, by *Catherine Wibtol de Wenden*

### Part 3: Adapting to globalization: Asia, Latin America, the Middle East

Économies en développement : le mythe de la souveraineté confisquée, by *Françoise Nicolas*; L'Amérique latine entre démocratie et populisme, by *Guy Hermet*; Turquie : des crises aux réformes, by *Gilles Dorronsoro*; Iran : l'impossible transition, by *Olivier Roy*

### Survey

Edited by *Eddy Fougier* and *Christophe Jaquet*, this part examines events and trends from the past year in around fifty essays written by top specialists in their field.



## Other publications

### Philippe Moreau Defarges

#### Books

*Relations internationales I – Questions régionales*, “Points-Essais”, Seuil, Paris, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., 2003.

*L’Ordre mondial*, Armand Colin, Paris, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 2003.

*La gouvernance*, Que sais-je ? n° 3676, Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 2003.

#### Articles

“La justice pénale internationale. États et justice”, *RAMSES 2004*.

“Les ONG à la recherche d’un monde juste”, *Questions internationales*, issue 4, November-December 2003.

“Plus rien ne sera comme avant”, *Politique étrangère* 3-4, 2003, fall-winter 2003.

“Quel gendarme mondial?”, *Le Débat*, n° 125, May-August 2003.

“Acte II : les États-Unis peuvent-ils gagner?”, *Le Débat*, September-October 2003.

### Thierry de Montbrial

#### Books

*L’action et le système du monde*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Quadrige 2003, PUF (Several translations forthcoming).

*Réformes, révolutions : le cas de la France* (ed.), PUF, 2003.

*Quinze ans qui bouleversèrent le monde. De Berlin à Bagdad*, Dunod, 2003.

#### Article

“Événements et temps quasi-leibnizien” in B. d’Espagnat (ed.), *Implications philosophiques de la science contemporaine*, vol. 3, PUF, 2003.

### Ethan Kapstein

#### Books

*Income and Influence: Social Policy in Emerging Economies*

with Branko Milanovic, Upjohn Institute, 2003.

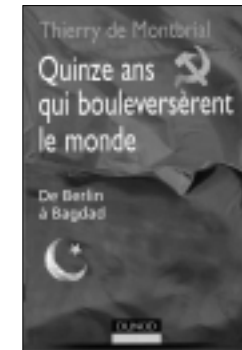
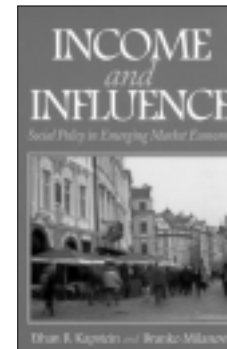
*When Markets Fail: Social Policy and Economic Reform*

with Branko Milanovic, Russell Sage, 2003

#### Articles

“The Baby Trade”, *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2003.

“Two Dismal Sciences are Better than One”, *International Security*, Winter 2003.



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# the library and the document center

## The Library

The Guy Ladreit de Lacharrière Library, named after a former chairman of the board of Ifri, is run by *Dominique Desgranges*, who is assisted by *Dina Marx* and *Olivier Javay*. It inherited the library of the *Centre d'études de politique étrangère* and includes remarkable collections on the first half of the twentieth century and foreign journals from that era (the Royal Institute of International Affairs' *Bulletin of International News*, the *Far Eastern Survey*, *Pacific Affairs*, etc.). It also holds a large collection of works on World War I from the *Carnegie Foundation* and interesting documents on World War II.

The Library, which is continually updated, today possesses nearly 32,000 French and foreign volumes on international relations issues. Every year, the Library serves large numbers of readers, Ifri members, students, teachers, researchers and journalists specializing in international relations. It also subscribes to some 250 French and foreign journals.

## The Documentation Center

The Documentation Center, which covers international, economic, political and strategic current affairs, is mainly reserved for Ifri's researchers. The Center compiles and processes information from electronic sources (websites, press agencies) and print sources (daily and weekly press, unofficial papers, etc.), which it stores on internal databases and in press files.

The Center's documentation specialists – *Guity Banan-Bailey*, *Dominique Desgranges* (documentation manager) and *Daniel Marier*, and two assistants, *Azra Isakovic* and *Gerardo Ramos* – also monitor information sources in the researchers' subject areas (mostly via the Internet) in order to keep abreast with the main sources of specialized information. They also disseminate information in various documentary formats and carry out individual research projects. The Center's documentation specialists play a key role in the major research projects conducted at Ifri.





# the team

(as at 31 December 2003)

## Direction

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

Pierre Lepetit, *executive vice-president*

Dominique Moïsi, *special advisor*

Marie-Claude de Saint-Hilaire, *special assistant to the  
president*

Thérèse Vigne, *assistant to the president*

Marie-France Feigenbaum, *assistant  
to the executive vice-president*

## Development Department

Dominique Letourneur,  
*vice-president for development*

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

Martine Breux, Marie-Josèphe Turpault, *assistants*

Natacha Crance, *membership assistant*

## Secretarial Assistants

Marie-Claire Bani Amer, *Europe*

Nicole Bedel, *CFE*

Cécile Campagne, *Asia and Cerfa*

Jeanne Frey, *Middle East/North Africa*

Françoise Thomas, *Security*

## Research

Christophe Bertossi, *research fellow*, Citizenship, Immigration

Florence Biot, *project co-ordinator of the Centre asie ifri*

Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, *research associate*, Asia-Pacific area

Frédéric Bozo, *senior research associate*, NATO, European security

Corentin Brustlein, *research assistant*, Security and strategic issues

Anne-Lorraine Bujon de l'Estang, *CFE project co-ordinator*

Dominique David, *head of security studies*, Security and strategic issues

Claire Demesmay, *research fellow*, Germany, Franco-German relations, Europe

Christile Drulhe, *research fellow*, Asia-Pacific area

Etienne de Durand, *research fellow*, Strategic and military issues

Eddy Fougier, *research fellow*, Reactions to globalization, civil society

François Godement, *director of the Centre asie ifri*, Asia-Pacific area

Thomas Gomart, *research associate*, Russia

Jolyon Howorth, *senior research associate*, European security

Jean Klein, *senior research associate*, Germany, disarmament

Aline Leboeuf, *research fellow*, Security and strategic issues

Maxime Lefebvre, *research fellow*, European issues

Guy Legras, *scientific advisor*, Agricultural policies

Rémy Leveau, *scientific adviser*, Arab muslim world

Luis Miotti, *senior fellow*, Economic growth, competitiveness

Khadija Mohsen-Finan, *head of Middle-East and North Africa studies*, Immigration, Islam in Europe

Dominique Moïsi, *special advisor*, Transatlantic relations, European issues

Philippe Moreau Defarges, *senior research fellow*, Globalization, European issues

Eliane Mossé, *senior research fellow*, Central and Eastern Europe

Laurence Nardon, *research associate*, Space policies and industries

Françoise Nicolas, *senior research fellow*, Emerging economies and development

Pierre Noël, *research fellow*, United States

Guillaume Parmentier, *director of the French Center on the United States (CFE)*, Transatlantic relations, NATO

Jean-Marie Paugam, *senior fellow*, International trade, WTO

Pierre Rainelli, *senior research fellow*, Agricultural policies

Frédérique Sachwald, *head of economic studies*, Globalization, innovation, corporate strategy

Dorothee Schmid, *research fellow*, Middle-East, Mediterranean

Régine Serra, *research fellow*, Asia-Pacific area

Hans Stark, *secretary general of the Cerfa*, Franco-German relations, European issues

Vincent Vasques, *research assistant*, Economy

François Vergniolle de Chantal, *research fellow*, United States (domestic policy)

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

## **Administrative Staff**

Florent Baran, *vice-president for finance and administration*

Corinne Bureau, *assistant vice-president for finance and administration*

Bernadette Chartrin, *accounting*

Françoise Henry, *secretary*

Daniel Marier, *webmaster*

Daniel Safon, *information system supervisor*

### *General services:*

Nathalie Rivet, *head of facilities*

Selim Bouabsa, Alex Maleau, Mustapha Zitouni

### *Reception:*

Dayra Gastine, Catherine Meniane

## **Publications**

Christophe Jaquet, *head of publications*

Marielle Roubach, *editorial assistant*

Delphine Renard, *editorial assistant*

## **Library, Documentation Center**

Dominique Desgranges, *head of the library and documentation*

Guity Banan-Bailey, *political issues*

Dina Degras-Marx, *library*

Daniel Marier, *political issues*

Olivier Javay, *library*

Gaëlle Laudrin, *economic issues*

## **Changes in the staff in 2003**

### **Leaving Ifri:**

Jacques Beltran, *research fellow, security*

May Chartouni-Dubarry, *research fellow, Middle East, Arab world, Mediterranean*

Philippe Colombani, *research fellow, geopolitics of resources*

Anita Tiraspolsky, *senior research associate, Central and Eastern Europe, CEI*

### **Joining Ifri**

Christophe Bertossi, *research fellow*

Florence Biot, *project co-ordinator, Centre asie ifri*

Anne-Lorraine Bujon de l'Estang, *CFE project co-ordinator*

Aline Leboeuf, *research fellow*

Guy Legras, *scientific advisor*

Luis Miotti, *senior fellow*

Jean-Marie Paugam, *senior fellow*

Pierre Rainelli, *senior research fellow*

Dorothee Schmid, *research fellow*

Vincent Vasques, *research assistant*

### **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 1<sup>st</sup> 2000*

Benoît de Tréglodé, *research associate*

## **Interns**

### *Germany*

Max Buege, IEP, Paris

Timon Perabo, IEP, Rennes – Humboldt Universität, Berlin

Sophie Hofmann, IEP, Paris

Gerrit Schlomach, IEP, Paris

Esther Moeller, Maison de Rhénanie-Palatinat

Janine Ziegler, University of Munchen

### *United States*

Jessica Krintz, American University of Paris

Sandra Gonzalez, IEP, Paris

Timothy Campbell, IEP, Paris

Angela Wallace, University Jean Moulin, Lyon 3

### *France*

Florian Kessler, University of Paris V

Guillaume Launay, University of Marne-la-Vallée

Linda Oulmane, University of Paris II Assas

Marguerite Collignan, University of Paris X Nanterre

Carine Chichkowsky, University of Paris II Assas

Benoît Aguelon, University of Paris I Panthéon

Valentine de Crévoisier d'Hurbache, IEP, Paris

Fanny Blanchi, IEP, Grenoble

Amélie Jacquet, ISIT, Paris

Rachid Zairi, University of Paris XIII Nord

Benoît Auguste, IEP, Paris

Hélène Wulfman, IEP, Paris

Marianne Kac-Vergne, École normale supérieure, Cachan

### *Russia*

Ksenia Tratchouk, MGIMO-Moscow/IEP, Paris

### *Sri Lanka*

Eleanor Pavey, IEP, Paris

# board of directors

(as at 31 December 2003)

## Chairman

Bertrand Collomb  
*Chairman of Lafarge*

## Deputy Chairman and Secretary

René Galy-Dejean  
*Member of Parliament and Mayor of the 15th district in Paris*

## Deputy Chairman and Treasurer

Michel François-Poncet  
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## Members

- Robert Badinter  
*Former Minister, Senator*
- François Bujon de l'Estang  
*Ambassador of France, Chairman of Citigroup France*
- Michel Camdessus  
*Honorary Governor of the Banque de France, former Managing Director of the IMF*
- Bertrand Dufourcq  
*Ambassador of France*
- Alain Dupont  
*Chairman and CEO of Colas*
- Pierre Joxe  
*Former Minister, Member of the Conseil Constitutionnel*
- Philippe Jurgensen  
*President and CEO of Anvar*
- Jacques de Larosière  
*Honorary Governor of the Banque de France, Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques*
- Marceau Long  
*Honorary vice-President of the Conseil d'État*
- Philippe Marini  
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- Jean Peyrelevade  
*Former Chairman and CEO of Crédit Lyonnais*
- Jean Rannou  
*Former Air Force Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor of the Court of Accounts*
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- Yves-Thibault de Silguy  
*Senior Executive vice-President in charge of international affairs of Suez*
- Jean-François Trogrlic  
*National Secretary of CFDT*
- Hubert Védrine  
*Former Minister*
- André Villeneuve  
*Chairman of Euronext.LIFFE*
- Xavier de Villepin, *Senator*
- Prosper Weil  
*Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques*



# financial annex

(exercice 2003)

## Consolidated accounts (euros)

EXPENDITURE	2002	2003	INCOME	2002	2003
Expenditure	90 090	64 950	Public grants	2 122 026	1 625 169
<i>Stationary</i>	<i>51 594</i>	<i>27 026</i>			
<i>Power and water</i>	<i>18 075</i>	<i>18 467</i>			
<i>Books</i>	<i>6 706</i>	<i>6 177</i>	Donations and members subscriptions	1 218 482	1 170 552
<i>Paper for Ifri's journal</i>	<i>13 715</i>	<i>13 280</i>			
Other expenditures	1 749 163	1 598 282	Research funding	1 382 196	1 341 205
<i>Printing</i>	<i>140 946</i>	<i>109 758</i>			
<i>Rentals for machinery</i>	<i>94 877</i>	<i>86 123</i>			
<i>Maintenance</i>	<i>89 549</i>	<i>101 284</i>	Subscriptions to Ifri's Journal	123 267	133 934
<i>Insurance</i>	<i>13 407</i>	<i>20 274</i>			
<i>Documentation</i>	<i>105 406</i>	<i>77 726</i>			
<i>Honoraria and professional services</i>	<i>607 168</i>	<i>555 388</i>	Other income	52 332	42 541
<i>Donations, membership subscription</i>	<i>13 618</i>	<i>14 648</i>			
<i>General travel and meetings</i>	<i>534 214</i>	<i>502 742</i>			
<i>Postage and telephone</i>	<i>148 725</i>	<i>130 339</i>			
<i>Sundry expenses</i>	<i>1 253</i>				
Taxes	214 615	205 629			
Staff costs	2 613 857	2 291 085			
Depreciation and provisions	369 036	314 686			
Deferred grant income		106 825			
<b>Operational activities expenditures</b>	<b>5 036 761</b>	<b>4 581 457</b>	<b>Operational activities income</b>	<b>4 898 303</b>	<b>4 313 401</b>
<b>Financial costs</b>	<b>19 555</b>	<b>12 410</b>	<b>Financial income</b>	<b>64 829</b>	<b>49 702</b>
<b>Exceptionnal costs</b>	<b>1 196</b>	<b>18 450</b>	<b>Exceptionnal income</b>	<b>119 150</b>	<b>178 519</b>
<b>Net income for the year</b>	<b>24 770</b>		<b>Net expenditure for the year</b>		<b>70 695</b>
<b>TOTAL EXPENDITURE</b>	<b>5 082 282</b>	<b>4 612 317</b>	<b>TOTAL INCOME</b>	<b>5 082 282</b>	<b>4 612 317</b>

research

Ifri and  
the corporate sector

conferences  
and debates

publications

the library and  
the document center

the team and  
the board of directors

financial annex

## Consolidated balance sheet (euros)

ASSETS	2002	2003			LIABILITIES	2002	2003
	Net value	Cost	Depreciation provisions	net value			
<b>Fixed assets</b>					<b>Funds</b>		
Intangible assets	46 110	281 478	273 513	7 965	General Fund	8 470 553	8 470 553
Tangible assets	8 495 342	10 783 780	2 518 517	8 265 263	Reserve	1 061 297	1 086 068
Financial assets	25 280	32 527	10 061	22 466	Restricted fund	46	46
					Deferred grant income	194 212	252 064
					Net income for the year	24 770	-70 695
<b>FIXED ASSETS</b>	<b>8 566 732</b>	<b>11 097 785</b>	<b>2 802 091</b>	<b>8 295 694</b>	<b>FUNDS</b>	<b>9 750 878</b>	<b>9 738 036</b>
<b>Current assets</b>					<b>Provisions</b>	252 669	205 681
Inventories	2 727	2 310		2 310	<b>Creditors</b>		
Prepayments and accrued income	50 743	29 575		29 575	Bank overdrafts	26 726	250
Accounts receivable	406 211	569 487	569 487		Accounts payable and other liabilities	472 301	438 864
Others debtors	34 630	27 324		27 324	Taxes and social security	496 330	458 393
Portfolio (fixed interests)	1 903 824	2 051 169		2 051 169	<b>Accruals and deferred income</b>	212 166	254 386
Bank balances	168 424	54 222		54 222			
Prepayed costs	77 779	65 829	65 829				
<b>CURRENT ASSETS</b>	<b>2 644 338</b>	<b>2 799 916</b>		<b>2 799 916</b>	<b>CURRENT LIABILITIES</b>	<b>1 460 192</b>	<b>1 357 574</b>
<b>TOTAL ASSETS</b>	<b>11 211 070</b>	<b>13 897 701</b>	<b>2 802 091</b>	<b>11 095 610</b>	<b>TOTAL LIABILITIES</b>	<b>11 211 070</b>	<b>11 095 610</b>

Ifri sponsors three associations:

- **ADIFLOR (Association for the International Promotion of French Language Books, Works and Reviews):** Founded in 1985 by Xavier Deniau, ADIFLOR distributes French language books in around one hundred countries that lack the material and financial infrastructure to ensure the adequate distribution of French language publications. Ifri has provided ADIFLOR with around one ton of books a year since 1995.
- **ENFANCE ET PARTAGE:** Founded in 1979, this association works to protect the rights of children. It deals with around 1000 cases a year of children subjected to physical and sexual abuse (legal aid, psychological aid, social assistance, and prevention).
- **HANDISPORT - LES BOUCHONS DE L'ESPOIR:** Founded in 1999, this association collects plastic bottle stoppers for recycling. The proceeds raised are used to buy specially adapted wheelchairs for disabled people wishing to take up a sport.







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