

ABSTRACTS (*)

« *The Political Economy of the World Trade Organization Agenda* », Mehdi Abbas

The aim of this article is to present the World Trade Organization within the perspective of the political economy of trade. The article highlights the transformation in trade regulation caused by the Uruguay Round negotiations and agreements. Today, this trade regulation concerns both beyond-the-border and regulatory measures that affect the functioning and the organization of domestic markets. From the analysis of the nature of the WTO, which is simultaneously : an international economic organization, a set of juridical and multilateral agreements and a member-driven organization, the article develops a functional analysis of the institution. It stresses four functions taken on by the WTO in managing the multilateral trade system : the supervision of international economic interdependencies, the diffusion of international influences, the regulation of trade conflicts and the managing of openness.

« *L'Humanité's New Political Economy. From the Mishaps of the Communist Daily To Its Joining the 'Great Capital'* », Gérald Arboit

L'Humanité was a communist daily. After the disappearance of the Soviet Union, it went through reconsideration made compulsory by its decreasing readership and its increasing financial setbacks. The new *Humanité* that emerged presented itself as a socialist daily, yet had retained all of its former ideology, making it an exception in Europe. It was then forced to renew itself, going along the lines of the Italian model. In 2001, it opened its capital to some French media groups.

« *Dynamics of Proliferating Powers. For a New Interdisciplinary Approach* », Jean-Claude Archambault, Camille Grand, Xavier Pasco and Bernard Sitt

Putting into perspective « psychological » methods with the gist of scholarly works in political sciences, history, economy, or sociology allows the authors to draft a grid that helps understand the phenomenon of mass destruction arms proliferation, based on the leaders' psycho-sociological dimension. It appears that a « proliferating leader » not only reacts to a given situation, but that his outlook on nuclear arms proliferation and his actions are very much influenced by several essential determinants : national resources, the country's history and strategic context; the type of political government; the leader's personal history and typology; the country's allies and its international dependence; the interior power elite and mediators; public opinions.

« *Civil Society and Conflict Resolution in West Africa* », Anatole Ayissi

In the last decade of the 20th century, a new kind of armed conflict has emerged in West Africa, consisting in chaotic battles, with no clearly defined political agenda,

(*) Les résumés en anglais sont classés par ordre alphabétique d'auteur.

in which it is hard to distinguish between combatants and non-combatants and where the main victims are civilians. Facing these transformations in the scope and the nature of violence, preventive diplomacy, in the classical sense of the term, remains confused and powerless. Consequently, societies, states and multilateral organizations, in their search for innovative avenues for peace, endeavor to break the face to face deadlock between governmental authorities and rebel leaders, notably by calling on civilian society, which is now expected to play a key role in the eradication and prevention of violence.

Taking into consideration this new environment of violence in West Africa, the option of grassroots preventive diplomacy holds great promise. However, it would be wise not to exaggerate its potentialities, to take the right measure of its real capacities and to proceed with caution, realism and common sense.

« *France's Ratification of the Nice Treaty. Juridical Technique and Political Mobilization* », Loïc Azoulay

Community construction is both included in the international system and singled out because of its attempt to devise an autonomous juridical system. There is also the fact that it belongs to a logic of « process » that confers its constructions an irreversible quality, which makes them be considered « established ». Because of its unilateral dynamics and its very technical aspect, this method has maintained diffidence in the public opinion towards integration and community institutions. Thus the authors of the Nice Treaty have attempted to put a stop to this order of things by striving to set up a common space that would be political as well as economical. Such an approach implies a new framework of institutions : this framework has been thought up but it has not been used yet, as the conclusion of the Nice Treaty has been made in the traditional community method. Thus the ratification procedure of the Nice Treaty on France shows a « unanimist » method. This blatant display of the limits of the community technique enhances the necessity of a political mobilization that would open the way to a collective consciousness and voice of the European nations.

« *Of European citizenship and Other Shenanigan. Remarks on European Union Citizens' Participation to the French Municipal Elections in March 2001* », Christian Bidégaray and Sylvie Strudel

The Maastricht Treaty created European citizenship, which notably included the right to vote and be elected in the local and European elections in the Member State of residence. One would hope that it would help Europe lessen its democratic deficiency, which had been proved by surveys and the meager results of the elections for the European Parliament. The European citizens' participation rate at the French municipal elections in March 2001 does not seem to be a reason for rejoicing. On a population of about 1,200,000 residents in France, only 166,000 have enlisted themselves to vote and less than 1,000 have been candidates, against about 256,000 French candidates.

An analysis based on quality shows that only those Europeans who are most integrated in municipal life participate, and more those in small towns than those in large cities do. The interdiction of being a mayor or a deputy partly explains this

deficient participation, but Europe still remains this Unidentified Political Object discussed by Jacques Delors.

« *From the Introduction of the Concrete Euro to the Assessment of European Ambitions* », Christian de Boissieu

The introduction of the Euro has consequences on the macroeconomic and microeconomic scenes. First of all, it implies the existence of a monetary reference area, including several states, due to be enlarged : the Euro zone. It also implies that the inhabitants of the Euro zone get used to a new currency as well as a new value referential ; this will be facilitated by the manipulation of coins and notes. Price level should be maintained : in other words, the inflation risks linked to the introduction of the single currency should be limited. Consumption is likely to remain more or less the same, not to increase or decrease dramatically.

« *The Bush Administration : a Year of Defense Policy* », Yves Boyer

The American President George W. Bush has chosen numerous specialists to help him devise his country's defence policy, which consists essentially in reorganizing the American security apparatus and in defining a new strategic framework based on a new equilibrium between nuclear dissuasion, anti-missile defense and measures aiming at stopping mass destruction arms proliferation. It is submitted to several interior lobbies, and linked to political life as well as the business world. What appears through the defense policy measures the Bush Administration has taken this year, and especially through those concerning the anti-missile project and the ABM Treaty, is that it tends towards an active unilateralism, attempting to limit the United States' commitment while preserving their autonomy of action.

« *The Revolution in Military Affairs : Strategic Paradigms, Limitations and Illusions* », Philippe Braillard and Gianluca Maspoli

The Department of defense (DoD) and the Armed forces of United States have undertaken an important transformation of their structures and doctrines. This reform is based on the thesis that a radical change of war is underway because of a *Revolution in military affairs* (RMA) based on information technologies. Within the field of military and strategic studies a debate has taken place between promoters and critics of the current RMA. The aim of this article is to broaden the debate by introducing an analysis in terms of *strategic paradigms*. On the one hand, it is argued that the RMA is not simply based on technological development, but that it relies on an approach to war that is connected with a specific tradition in strategic thinking. On the other hand, this article is an attempt to understand the limits of the RMA and in particular its simplified and misleading view of war of the forthcoming future.

« *Constructivism and Reflexivism in International Relations Theory* », Thierry Braspenning

Since the publication of Wendt's *Anarchy is what States Make of It* (1992), there has been a deep shift into a constructivist alternative in International Theory.

Indeed, constructivism tries to shrink the classical epistemological gap between reflexivism and rationalism; it also endorses the ambition of reshuffling traditional core themes of international relations, that is, anarchy, balance of power, interest, system, structure and institution. While enlisted in Wendt's article, our project tackles respectively the statute of reflexivity and rationality within the discipline. We then examine constructivist-sociological axioms in the one hand, and the concept of « identity » in the other hand. Through a reflexive approach, we end our journey by a comparative analysis of realism and constructivism.

« *International Stakes of Internet Democratization and the French Approach to the 'Numerical Fracture'* », Renaud de la Brosse

A few months ago, talking about the numerical revolution, Jacques Chirac evoked the danger of a growing gap, even of a fracture, between the regions, between North and South, in economical and cultural terms. This specter has not yet provoked a coordinated answer from the international authorities (UNESCO, UNDP, *etc.*). This article investigates how the present technical revolution and the dangers it brings forth are understood by state actors in a period in which the needs are booming (the predictions are that the volume of data conveyed will be 20 times as important in 2003 as it was in 2000) and in which offering easy access to the Web to everyone has become urgent.

« *Strategic Uncertainties in Eastern Europe. The Baltic States, NATO and the CFE Treaty* », Matthieu Chillaud

In their quest of security guarantees, the three Baltic States have a lot of difficulties dealing with the CFE Treaty. In fact, in the rush of the events linked to their independence in 1991, they had preferred to withdraw of the CFE system, fearing that it perpetuates legally the soviet and Russian military presence in their territory. Traumatized by fifty years of annexation, the Baltic States have wished to join NATO. Nonetheless, the structure of the CFE treaty, composed in the time of the Cold War, is made in a way that it is impossible for NATO to widen to non-member states. A new CFE treaty, besides, has been taken up at the time of the OSCE summit in Istanbul in November 1999. It puts an end to any ambiguity in the former treaty mainly because it excludes all notions of alliance. Nevertheless, the Baltic States still consider that their commitments to join NATO and their membership to the CFE Treaty are closely connected.

« *Using Force and the Conceptual Framework of the Cosmopolitan Paradigm in International Ethics* », Ryoa Chung

Numerous political problems involve normative questions which must be addressed in philosophical terms. International ethics deal with such fundamental issues. The present international context can be characterized by a new set of political and historical circumstances that we commonly depict as the post-Westphalian, post-cold war, new world order. As we enter the era of globalization, it is quite astonishing to grasp the far-reaching scope of Kant's cosmopolitan intuitions and to acknowledge their long-lasting aptness. Liberal thinkers are revisiting Kant's ideal and this paper expounds some of the essential features of the cosmopolitan paradigm

in international ethics. Our purpose is to set the normative background enabling us to tackle the pressing issue of military force in a non-ideal world. Although there is a case for justifying, in extreme circumstances, the lexical priority of justice over peace as a *prima facie* principle, we want to highlight the pacifist components of Kantian cosmopolitanism. Our standpoint argues in favor of institutional reforms rather than forceful imposition of democracy at the international level which represents, on such a global scale, a self-defeating goal.

« *Franco-German Partnership in Post-Cold War Era. From the Moscow Treaty (1990) to the Nice Treaty (2001)* », Daniel Colard

Franco-German relationships have much evolved in the post-Cold war era, that is after the fall of the Berlin wall on November 9th, 1989. Else than the reunification of the new Germany within the new Europe, the international status of France and reunited Germany has known a considerable transformation, the rise in power of the Berlin Republic has wiped the discriminations that would profit France before the Soviet Empire disintegrated.

This being said, Franco-German consensus and partnership remain essential to favor the European integration process, especially on the verge of another enlargement towards the East of the Union.

« *The Attacks on September 11th : Following and Departing from the Logic of Terrorism* », Xavier Crettiez and Isabelle Sommier

The attacks on September 11th can definitely be coined « terrorist », yet their scale makes them singularly portentous, the evidence of a radical evolution in the ordinary modalities of terrorism. The unusual in these acts are two of their most notable characteristics : the de-contextualization of violence and the total disconnection between the end pursued and the means those responsible for the attacks have employed. This absence of a social and intellectual grounding for violence indicates a non political violence, deprived of ideological roots and whose aims cannot be achieved. Moreover, we are faced here with an anti-social terrorism of a theological nature, very much different from « classic » terrorism, which is generally aimed against a State. Last, the novelty of the event on September 11th resides in the setting up of the narration of the terrorist show, which has been conceived here as a media show, even as a show of the media.

« *US Missile Defence Policy* », by Ivo H. Daalder and Karla J. Nieting

Whereas missile defence clearly dominated the foreign policy debate during the nine first months of the Bush Administration, terrorism quickly became the new priority. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to see this change as a major shift in Washington's position towards missile defence. On the eve of a trustful and cooperative relationship with Russia, the United States have made the unilateral decision of withdrawing from the ABM Treaty, in order to develop freely their missile defence project.

« *Beyond Arms control? Searching for Paradigm Lost...* », Paul Dahan

September 11th represents a definite breaking point with the ancient order, and calls for a new analysis grid to interpret international relations. Thus, the concept of *arms control*, which was at its acme at the end of the Cold War, with the conclusion of numerous non-proliferation and disarmament international agreements, is now going through a veritable decay. This is due, first of all, to the fact that these treaties have been violated by some States, then that they are difficult to apply, and also to the evolution of the international strategic context. Within this context, the perspectives for arms control and disarmament, concerning nuclear weapons and the other categories, seem unpromising. The current phenomenon of senescence, abrogation *de facto* and avoidance of the existing juridical instruments threatens to be topped up by an increasingly frequent recourse to political declarations without a juridical value, and by verification and ratification mechanisms, which are thus reversible by nature.

« *Security Globalization : Hope or Illusion* », Charles-Philippe David

Is it possible to speak of a security globalization? We are forced to consider that security now belongs to a new world order, where the territorial integrity of a State is a generally constructed and established norm, which provokes a pacification in inter-State relations, accompanied by a globalization of inter-State security. Nevertheless, State sovereignty is still being questioned, but through the principle of humanity now, the core of the development of new norms and new intervention mechanisms. Yet, this hope of a global and humanized security engendered by this new juridical world order, built around a planetary consciousness and public space, proves to be limited. That belief in peace being implanted by the spreading of democracy and trade is now being debunked by the recent events, that show that what is becoming global are the new risks, transnational terrorism for instance. Therefore, a security globalization is indeed being drafted; but, far from resting on the definition of a common possession transcending the State dimension, it rather leans on the convergence and clustering of State interests around common risks.

« *Death Penalty as a New Stake in International Relations* », Emmanuel Decaux

Death penalty became recently an important issue for international relations, and no more a purely domestic matter, as it used to be. On the one hand, legal obligations were determined in the fields of human rights – the right to live, prohibition of torture and inhuman treatment – as in procedural matters, with a case-law of international jurisdictions, from the International Court of Justice to the European Court of Human Rights. On the other hand, international standards were set within the UN soft law or the news forms of parliamentary diplomacy. These various trends are the starting line of the international campaign of the European countries and the NGOs for a universal abolition of capital punishment.

**« *Innovation, Income Repartition and Growth in Transition Countries* »,
Gérard Duchêne, Philippe Rusin and Geomina Turlea**

This paper highlights the role of self-employment in transition economies. It focuses on the process of labor allocation and on the determination of development paths. There are three sectors, two of which – industry and services – show specific innovation patterns. These innovations, presented in a Schumpeterian creative destruction framework, generate flows on the labor market. The third sector (subsistence agriculture, informal activities) is conceived as a form of unemployment, specific of transition. By comparing this theoretical framework with the experience of Poland and Romania, the authors put forward and calculate an original indicator of transition, which is the ratio of the self-employee's income in services to the average wage in industry. It expresses both the maturity and the orientation of the transformation process.

« *European Commitment in Crisis Management : a Case of Military Situation* », Jean Dufourcq

Two years after having assessed in Helsinki their global objective of approaching the autonomous management of crises within the particular framework of the Petersberg missions, the Fifteen are getting closer to the moment of truth. They have, with a fast pace, inventoried the necessary capacities, the available means and the projects which should be developed in order to fill the deficiencies of the apparatus their forces have built little by little; they have been able to declare themselves operational without too many reservations, all the more so that they now dispose of the minimal structures required to conduct action. The tragic events of September 11th have made them realize both their dependency towards the American means in the Atlantic Alliance, and the necessity of filling their share in the common security « allotment ». It is doubtless that the year 2002 will confirm this perspective.

« *The Revival of the Concept of 'European White Paper' on Security and Defence* », André Dumoulin

After several unsuccessful attempts, the notion of official document, a kind of « European White Paper » on security and defence comes back at the front of the stage. The need to have a conceptual « dictionary », to unite European identity bases (objectives of forces and capacity; Petersberg missions, solemn declarations) and to present pedagogically the acquirements of the Union concerning European politics of security and defence, became imperative. Despite the semantic, methodological and content difficulties, the Belgian presidency initiated a process of reflection that will impose a deepening of this concept starting in 2002 as part of the works of the Institute for Security Studies of the Union, in collaboration with the national specialists of the official documents. The events of September 11, 2001 in the United States could accelerate the European identity process concerning the definition of the risks and threats; that matter being part of a potential future document by the Fifteen preceding a still virtual European Strategic Concept.

« *Support for the European Audiovisual Industry. France as the Driving Force in the MEDIA PLUS Program* », Séverine Dupuy-Busson

French cinema is currently one of the most vibrant in Europe. As a fundamental element in French international relations, it is included in the politics of the European Union. France has systematically been at the forefront of the endeavors to ensure the survival of European audiovisual creativity. In order to create a « European audiovisual shield » to compete with American domination, the European Union established, in 1991, a support program called « MEDIA », in which France played a determining role. The third part of the program, « MEDIA PLUS », was launched in January 2001. Prompted by France, it has permitted the rebirth of European audiovisual arts. However, it seems that much progress remains to be undertaken.

« *Austria and European Union's Eastwards Enlargement* », Sophie Enos-Attali

Austria's position towards European Union's eastwards enlargement is characterized by a certain ambiguity. While Austria claims its vocation to support this process, as a « relative » of the candidate countries to join the Union, it actually proves to be more of a setback than a driving force for enlargement. This gap between the rhetoric and the reality results from the difficult position the country's leaders find themselves in : they are split between their concern of displaying on the European scene the image of a volunteer Austria, willing to help its neighbor countries join the EU, and their personal political ambitions, which lead them to follow the inclination of their electorate, mostly hostile to the Union's eastwards enlargement. This paradoxical attitude proves a certain identity crisis in the Austrian population. As they keep to themselves and remain jealously attached to their comfort, the Austrians have difficulty defining their national identity, which explains their feeling of vulnerability and its consequence, their uneasiness, even their reticence, to project themselves into an open and large Europe.

« *The Use of Armed Force and the International Court of Justice. Attempts at Politically Instrumentalizing the Principal Judicial Organ in the United Nations* », Guillaume Etienne

The International Court of Justice (ICJ), the principal judicial organ in the United Nations, is meant to exercise the function of a « *world tribunal* », but actually, it sees its role depend largely on the States' good will to acknowledge its ability. Since the last few years, a recrudescence of recourse to this jurisdiction to settle conflicts in inter-State relations has been observed, the recourse intervening frequently for matters directly linked to the question of the use of armed force. These demands do allow the ICJ to define more precisely its jurisprudence in that field, yet this jurisprudence remains incomplete, as most of the demands have not resulted in a fundamental judgment.

**« September 11th : a New Impetus in Russian-American Relations? »,
Isabelle Facon**

Just after September 11th, many analysts welcomed the US-Russia rapprochement. Some of them even predicted that an alliance could emerge between the two countries, even though their relations suffered considerably in the 90s. Yet, many developments that have been interpreted as improvements in the relationship are in fact the result of a logic that pre-existed the terrorist attacks in the US. Moreover, while the « Western orientation » Vladimir Putin imprinted on his policy does not benefit from an important interior support, some elements of the US policy in the post – September 11th period might make this logic more fragile, all the more that many points of tension remain between Washington and Moscow. And for many reasons exposed in this article, the evolution of Washington's attitude towards Moscow will be a decisive factor in Putin's continuing his line of co-operation with the West.

**« Towards Paradigm Changes in International Action for Development? »,
Guy Feuer**

New notions have appeared in the dialectics of North-South relations since the mid-1970s, and have eventually deeply modified the traditional approach to international action for development through the last two decades. Whereas until the first petrol disaster, Third-World countries development was regarded an essentially economical process in nature, a certain number of other parameters have been taken into consideration throughout the years, so much so that eventually, there has been talk of « social development », « sustainable development », « human development », and finally, « sustainable human development ». This new theoretical approach, impinged with both reason and ideal, gives way to numerous practical applications and provides the beginning of a response to the moral demands of justice and equity lying at the core of human nature.

« The Anti-Globalization Protest Movement », Eddy Fougier

Far from being unified and homogenous, the anti-globalization protest movement includes different types of organizations, whose propositions and means of action are often divergent, and sometimes contradictory. It is possible to discern a protest of a political order, mostly present in Southern countries, and a protest originating mostly from industrialized countries, which is essentially animated by organizations belonging to civil society. The themes in protest dialectics range from the denunciation, in the name of « ethical » values, of the unfair and undemocratic character of the current globalization process, and of the policy led by the organizations supposed to symbolize it, to summoning the principal actors of the economic system to adopt and apply social, environmental and democratic norms. They also advocate a transformation of the economic system, its philosophy, its institutions and its actors, or rejecting the economic system as a whole (market economy, the principle of economic growth, consumer society, brand monopoly, private property...). The success of the protest movement cannot be denied, yet its future evolution remains difficult to conceive, especially since the events on September 11th.

« *Space as a Power Asset* », Thierry Garcin

Since World War II, states have privileged space activity as an instrument of power. Relying on long-term programs, generally simultaneous with a nuclear endeavor, space effort may multiply strength and force, and involves considerable effects in armaments. It also allows the management of international crises, armed conflicts and even wars. United States, USSR, European countries (mainly, France), medium powers and developing countries, have deployed their space realizations in various directions. And, if space power has promoted increasing co-operations, it has always been included in political relations of force, as military and civil branches are more and more linked and interdependent.

« *The United States and Biological Negotiation – Which Future for the 1972 Convention ?* », Henri Garrigüe

The international community is attempting to repair the lack of an organization to check the enforcement of mass destruction weapons (biological, chemical and nuclear) interdiction norms. But this endeavor is blocked by the American refusal of a reinforcement protocol to the Biological Convention in 1972 : since they are under the pressure of the pharmaceutical industry, the United States question transparency visits and the declaration of bio-defence installations, as well as inspection procedures when violation is suspected. During the Convention study conference, in November 2001, the United States have declared they did not want any more negotiations, nor any group of experts charged with identifying measures to reinforce the Convention. The conference was finally suspended for a year; but unless exceptional circumstances occur, the United States are not likely to revise their position for November 2002.

« *What Threatens Europe ?* », François Heisbourg

Whereas risk management and leading « chosen wars » characterized the strategic landscape in the 1990s, the classic notion of « threat » has come back to center stage since the attacks on September 11th, with, especially, the exacerbation of risk factors in the Middle East, the failure of non-proliferation policies, and the access of non-State actors to mass destruction. This new situation marks the end of the post-Cold War era and calls for decisions which include the evolution of American and Russian security policies and would involve, for instance, as what regards Europe, the integration of security measures as well as interior and exterior defense measures, the extension of the scope of European Security and Defence Policy, the reinforcement of force projection means, and the redefining of the fighting policy against proliferation.

« *The Stakes of World Governance* », Zaki Laïdi

The events on September 11th prove that globalization not only endorses an economic character, but also an important political dynamics. This dynamics transforms the nature of the international system, by making a world social system where an increasing number of heterogeneous actors, whose reciprocal relationships are asymmetrical, interact. The events also reflect the necessity of a world governance,

at the opposite end of the fragmented governance practiced until now. This world governance has to be conceived as a new institutional construction and as an ensemble of political, economic, social and cultural organizations, making it possible that the globalization process be dealt with consciously and actively, not passively. Strategic action in Europe concerning world governance may go through a reinforcement of the normative power detained by the existing international institutional archipelago, so that global collective preferences can be expressed.

« Food Security at the Beginning of the 21st Century », Yves Jeanclos

Food security is an utmost requirement for 21st century population; it is essential that all states and the International community should guarantee it. The ongoing and extensive world urbanization requires that water and food are being provided to the Human Community, these being an essential need. Food security is the source of scientific and technological research in order to give sufficient quality and quantity in terms of water and food. This quest makes agrochemical companies wealthier everyday but, on the other side, triggers health and food dependence for human beings. Food security is at the origin of the progressive raise of the Precaution Principle, leading then to assess the risks and threats which weigh on physical-biological human life, especially in the EEC. Therefore, the European Parliament and European Commission can lead the European construction towards a peaceful, organized and controlled satisfaction for food needs. The right to healthy and secured food should be raised to the rank of priority for Human Rights.

« Domestic and International Determinants of US Environmental Policy », Michael E. Kraft

A close look into the environmental policy led by the United States, especially into their climate policy, reveals that their political process, their policies and both national and international results are deeply intermingled. Indeed, environmental decision-making seems to be closely linked with the institutional structure of the US political system, with the way key strategic actors define problems and endorse suggested solutions, with the importance of media coverage, as well as with the relative influence of the diverse interest groups.

« Will Euro Be Sustainable? », Gérard Lafay

On the long run, Euro sustainability relies on the results, which will be obtained for growth and employment in the area's national economies. Euro can suffer from contradictions between its economic basis (dogmatic independence of the Central Bank) and its political aims (United States of Europe, built on a federal model). Euro complete achievement was allowed by positive results, stemming from the initial fall of its exchange rate, which led to a strong unemployment decline from 1998 to 2000. Nevertheless, this fall wasn't wished, being only the after-effects of the Federal reserve monetary policy. Since 1999 January 1st, policy of the European Central Bank has applied Taylor's rule, combining two targets of growth and inflation. Use of a debatable measure of potential growth has led to a too restrictive policy, which has put Euroland on the towline of American business cycle in 2001. So, eventual Euro success can only be obtained by a more coherent policy, implying

that the European Council has a clear upper hand over the Commission and the ECB.

« *France and the Enlargement of the European Union to Balkan, Southeast and Middle Europe* », Béatrice Majza

France's position in the immediate aftermath of the Cold war was characterized by a certain distrust towards the Eastern and Middle European states willing to enter the European Union. This explains the suggestion of such projects as a European confederacy, which quickly revealed itself as a dilatory initiative, in no way the guarantee of a future integration. The following suggestion was a stability Pact : an exercise designed to compel these States to reinforce their relations of peaceful cohabitation, which eventually proved to be a project integrated in the wider perspective of the enlargement process.

France has expressed a more explicit support in favor of enlargement since 1995. Nevertheless, it has maintained that a necessary reform of the institutions would be a compulsory pre-requisite to any introduction of a new State into the European Union. France's presidency ends in 2000 with the adoption of the Nice Treaty which, despite its weak points, matches French demands by starting the debate on the future architecture of a potential Europe enlarged to more than twenty states. So has France managed, with varied success, to weigh on the decisions of the European Union since its creation and so it keeps being a choice actor in its construction.

« *September 11th, 2001, or Terrorism between the 20th and the 21st Century* », Jean-Luc Marret

In general, terrorist actions do not appear *sui generis* ; most of the time, they are built on former attacks. Therefore the attacks on September 11th are not a first, but because of the large number of victims they have made. This was precisely the aim of Al Qaida, an informal club, like other Islamist groupings, organized as autonomous satellites gravitating one around the other : to result in human losses, especially American ones, rather than provoke material damage. These suicide-actions presuppose that the militants are strongly impregnated with the doctrine and mentally controlled, with a view to increase their operational success. Their origins are multiple : bestowing legitimacy on the reigning Saudi family by a sectary interpretation of Islam; Wahhabism; the war in Afghanistan and the Saudi and American supports to Muslim fighters against Soviet troops; Islam as a source of mobilization « by », then « against » States.

« *A Square Peg in a Round Hole. Perspectives For a Common Security and Defence Policy* », Michael Meimeth

The European Union seems to have realized the necessity of being endowed with an autonomous security and defence policy. Several practical measures to that effect have already been taken. Nevertheless, this cannot exist without a contradiction and a gap : as it combines its efforts to attain manifest autonomy in matters of

security and defence, while the Atlantic cooperation is maintained and even reinforced, the EU actually seems to be in a dead end.

« George W. Bush's Exterior Policy », Pierre Mélandri and Justin Vaïsse

George W. Bush's exterior policy pursues the three great priorities that have dominated US exterior relations since the end of the Cold War : to avoid letting the country be seduced by the isolationist temptation, as the USSR, the only enemy matching the US in measure, has disappeared; to make sure that the new international system, that is, « globalization », serves the US interests, by promoting market economy; to maintain the leading position of « Empire of the Middle », or hegemonic power, into which they had been propelled. Within these general lines, the Bush Administration has always asserted its determination to act without feeling constrained either by the approaches its Democrat predecessors had privileged, or by pressure from its partners and allies. At the same time, it has endeavored to avoid the most negative reactions such an attitude was prone to provoke. Yet President Bush's exterior policy has been constrained by inside questioning of some of his decisions.

Despite the modifications the attacks on September 11th have caused to the modalities of the US exterior policy (the constitution of a new coalition and widespread popular support to the American President), George W. Bush still attempts thoroughly to maintain the upper hand on the military campaign he initiated and to privilege the sole American national interest.

« Murder in the Global Village », Marcel Merle

The attacks on September 11th are a perfect illustration of the theses supported for ten-some years by the « new international politics » theorists. Clinging to the hypothesis of the erosion of the State-nation, they put forward the notions of « civil society », « governance », *etc.* In the same time, the attacks seem to be engendering a redistribution of values, a companion to the establishment of a new strategic installation, resting on strong come-back of State, security concerns, a larger importance of politics and restrictions to mass migrations, *etc.* Which brings forward the thought that the former decade was actually a mere transition period.

« Loft Story : Between Identification and Estrangement. Between International Programming Exception and Uniformity », Jean-Luc Michel

Loft Story is an original program since it is based on a strong involvement from the audience and it offers the possibility of discovering psychological mechanisms. Indeed, it draws its audience closer to its protagonists, « people next door » who eventually identify themselves to celebrities : in other words, the identification process the « Loft » initiates is simultaneously accompanied by a phenomenon of estrangement. The « lofters » attempt to get over this phenomenon by integrating in their appearance the image the audience expects from their character, which leads them to go through self-examination. Thus, *Loft Story* can be considered a useful program since it allows its young audience to progress in their self-knowledge.

« *South-Eastern Europe Twelve Years Later. Between Reforms and Crises, Closer to Crises* », Milan Milanov

During the last decade, South-Eastern Europe has witnessed one of the worst political and military crisis of the post-War era. The Macedonian crisis is linked to the radical changes that occurred in the region as much as it is to the influence of several exterior factors; it is part of the aftermath of the splitting apart of Yugoslavia. The international community was very much present in South-East Europe, but did not, at the occasion of this crisis, give very convincing evidence of its efficiency. Imagining the future of the situation in Macedonia does not give much enthusiasm : the country risks sinking into partition on a confederate ethnic basis and the choice of secession would be left open to partisan and nationalistic passions.

« *India and its Power* », Aminah Mohammad-Arif

A democratic, but poor country in 1947, India has progressively set the bases of its power in its fifty-some years of independence. The nuclear tests in 1998 have proved its determination to play a role in a future multi-polar world; they are the most dramatic sign of it. Despite political, economic and social disparities, as well as still obsolete infrastructures, India's power is visible through its stable democratic regime, its fully expanding economy and its emerging *soft-power*.

« *Vivendi as the New Champion in Information Capitalism* », Pierre Musso

Currently world number 2 in media industry, the group *Vivendi Universal* appeared at the beginning of the year 2000. It originated from the « old » *Compagnie Générale des Eaux* that has extended its activities into the communication business for the past two decades, thanks to the liberalization process of the audiovisual and telecommunications. Now, it appears to be a « European champion ». Under the management of Jean-Marie Messier, a financial strategy of corporation purchasing and merging is being pursued, in order to establish members' wallets and copyrights, thus making the group more and more American.

« *Settling the Conflict Between Western Sahara and UNO. For Which 'Third Way'?* », Frank Neisse

In April 1991, a UNO report on the situation in Western Sahara advocated that the population of this former Spanish colony claimed by Morocco and the Polisario Front may exercise its right to self-determination; to this end, it planned that a Mission of the United Nations watch over the application of the cease-fire and proceed to the organization of a referendum in the region. Yet, ten years later, the conflict is going on, no solution has been found and it seems almost certain that the dispositions of the Settling Plan will not be applied; it has to be mentioned that this plan does not take into account the reality of the Sahrawi conflict. In these conditions, only a solution taking into account the Sahrawi's aspirations and favoring the settling of disputes between Morocco and Algeria seems viable.

« *The Popular Republic of China's Security Doctrine* », Valérie Niquet

A permanent member of the UN Security Council, and an « official » nuclear power, the Popular Republic of China occupies a choice place on the international scene. Its security doctrine is of an essentially « defensive » character, and consists in re-establishing the cut between the « Western » and « Asian » worlds as it was until the beginning of the 19th century; it rests on the idea of « double non-interference » (of exterior powers in China's interest sphere and of China in the world's matters). At regional level, this is translated in an offensive position, with the aim of securing Chinese national interests. Nevertheless, this strategy, which is totally out of focus with the reality of the means the country disposes of, might be questioned soon. China might consider strictly defending the national territory's security interests.

« *The Rise of Multilateralism : Principles, Institutions and Common Actions* », Alexandra Novosseloff

Multilateralism is a recent phenomenon (beginning of the 21st Century), somehow unknown. It is both a historical and theoretical concept that evolved after World War II. The multiplication of international exchanges and of various international organizations has made this concept and method of international cooperation increasingly complex to grasp. It is instrumentalized or bypassed by Member States who are supposed to promote it. Nevertheless, in a globalized and transbordered world, multilateralism is a necessary, indeed essential, method for negotiations and decision-making to manage crises.

« *Euro : an Unfinished Construction* », Dominique Plihon

This article describes the historical evolution which led to the creation of the Euro. It presents the reasons why a single currency has been launched in Europe and it analyses the consequences of the Euro in two fields : the implementation of macroeconomic policies and the working of the international monetary system. The conclusion of the article is that the monetary organization in Europe is unbalanced and has not been completed. This conclusion raises the crucial problem of the governance of the Euro zone.

« *After the Nice Treaty : the Harmonisation of the Franco-German Discourse through the Blaesheim Process* », François Rivasseau and Andréas Michaelis

Created in January 2001, the Blaesheim process is a process of close and regular consultation between France and Germany. This important tool for a Franco-German unified approach in foreign policy matters is based on monthly meetings and gathers behind closed door the French President of Republic and Prime Minister, the German Federal Chancellor, and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs from both countries. This process, which is at the origin of a frank and regular dialogue, enables Paris and Berlin to go beyond their disputes and to agree on the broad outlines of a common public speech, in order to establish a convergence and display a common approach, which could give Europe the impulse it needs to go forward.

« *European Construction According to Chancellor Schröder or the Failures in the Franco-German Dialogue* », Jean-Luc Sauron

On April 30th, 2001, Chancellor Schröder made a speech that marked a change in German conceptions of the future of Europe. He proposed a federal conception of the future institutional architecture of Europe, inspired from the German national structure, and associated to the re-nationalization of certain common policies (agricultural and regional policies) compensated by the fact that foreign policy be a community foreign policy and by audacious initiatives concerning interior security. Prime Minister Lionel Jospin clearly rejected this federalist vision, and opposed against it the idea of a « *State-nations federation* », and the idea of renovating the community institutional triangle, on May 28th, 2001. Improving the Franco-German relation demands that the difficulties engendered by German reunification be settled by a joint political tactics of the two partners.

« *Defence Industry in Europe* », Burckard Schmitt

The year 2001 saw the consolidation of the European defense industry, which has evolved in different ways, depending on the sectors and market specialties. Great European groups in aeronautics and electronics have developed their Transatlantic links and, at the same time, gone through a process of integration, whereas transnational acquisitions have multiplied in the field of ground armament ; as what regards naval construction, sketches of international regroupings, that will have to multiply, have been perceived.

« *Inter-Korean Dialogue : Negation, Reciprocal Recognition and Stalemates* », Régine Serra

On June 2000, the South-Korean President, Kim Dae-jung, and the North-Korean Leader, Kim Jong-il, had a historical meeting in Pyongyang, whose conclusions were most promising : reciprocal recognition, agreement on the way reunification should be conducted, establishment of ministerial meetings on a regular basis (even between the Ministries of Defence) and North Korean engagement on the separate families' issues. Today, as the September 11 events pressured the United States and a large international coalition for a reinforced vigilance over countries which support or/and practice terrorism, and as Kim Dae-jung's presidential mandate will end by the end of 2002, one may only deplore the weakness of North Korea's signals to the South and the vehemence of North Korea's attitude towards the United States and its Republican President, George W. Bush. In fact, a tiny prospect for a deeper dialogue exists between the two Koreas on the short term.

« *Questioning the American Hegemony* », Serge Sur

The question of the American domination now stands at the center of international relations and their analyses. But which form of domination is it? It is a fundamentally inter-State one, but it could translate itself either as imperialism, or as *leadership*, or as hegemony. The latter concept seems to suit it best, even if hegemony is by nature existential, therefore ambiguous. It implies a defensive domination policy, resting on the economy of means and on minimal involvement,

without a specific focus, dedicated foremost to its own conservation. Its components are diplomatic opportunism, military superiority, and economic preponderance. Still, it is part of hegemony's nature to be protested against. Traditional protest can be found in inter-State relations, be it either diffuse, adverse, or coming from partner States. A new, structural protest, has emerged from transnational movements, which can be translated symbolically into the dialectics of Antigone on the one side, which the NGO have chosen, and the violence of Spartacus of the other side, which international terrorism champions. But none of them seems able to reduce or get over the American hegemony, whose future, eventually, depends but on itself.

« *The Gaullist Vision of European Order* », Andrej Szeptycki

The Gaullist vision of the European system was widely different from the conceptions of the general's partners. De Gaulle criticized the « hegemony » of two of the superpowers and he proposed to create a new « Concept of Europe ». He supported the Franco-German reconciliation and the creation of the European Community, but he objected to the supranational cooperation, as he wanted to build the « Europe of the nations ». He attached great importance to the alliance with the USA, yet he considered that Europe should be « European », that is to say independent from her American ally. He denounced the communist expansion in Eastern Europe, however he decided to develop the cooperation with the Soviet Union in order to create the « Europe from Atlantic to Oural ».

The changes during the last decade proved that Gaullist conceptions were impossible to establish. Nevertheless the general's ideas still influence French foreign policy. In 1989 president Mitterrand proposed to create a « European confederation » in order to overcome the division of the continent. In 1992 France accepted the Treaty of Maastricht, however it still rejects federal conceptions of the European integration. French leaders emphasize the importance of the Atlantic Alliance, yet they are attached to the conception of the « Defence Europe ».

« Finland and the 'Nordic Dimension Initiative' », Jérôme Vanachter

The Northern dimension, introduced during the European Council in Helsinki in 1999, holds now a choice position in the European Union's exterior relations. This initiative illustrates in a previously unseen way the importance of this regional area for the European Union that is due to be enlarged. Thus the « initiative of the Nordic dimension » contributes more than any other initiative to the evolution of the role of the European Union on the international scene. What Finland mostly achieved by adding a new dimension to its exterior politics, and by attracting Member States' attention on a little-known region, was to transmit its European partners a « method » for maximizing the use of the European Union's multilateral cooperation tools.

« *Precaution Principle, International Law and International Relations. A Few Remarks* », Joe Verhoeven

The precaution principle that is often referred to in the field of environment and public health, imposes to take the measures required to avoid the risk of serious and

irreversible damage, even when this risk is not certain – which distinguishes it from the prevention principle. Today this principle is consecrated in numerous international conventions; doubtlessly hastily, some even confer it a customary value. Nevertheless, it remains difficult to agree on its precise (juridical) content. Contrary to prevention, the precaution duty has no incidence on the juridical regime of damage repair; what it commands is rather the preparation of the conditions in which the public – « political » – decision is taken, in a society due to determine democratically the socially acceptable risks. In the immediate future, the risk is that the precaution principle should serve first of all the particular interests of the mightiest, which could discredit it to the eyes of the greater number.

« *Technology and Security after September 11th, 2001* », Bertrand Warusfel

The attacks on September 11th, 2001 are a sophisticated technical operation in their aims as well as in their elaboration, their coordination, and their execution. At the same time, the attacks have dramatically proved the vulnerabilities of open and developed societies, especially the limits of the security technologies they use against major threats. Thus, not only was all of the United States' security technology unable to detect and prevent on time acts which were deemed possible and whose potential targets were even suspected, but moreover, it has been used by terrorists to create strong perturbations. This is why now is the time to proceed to a qualitative, more than quantitative, re-evaluation of collective security means, in order to avoid the very technological drift which created the fragility used by those responsible for the attacks on September 11th.

« *The 'defence diplomacy', main component of the preventive diplomacy. Toward a new symbiosis between diplomacy and defence* », Henry Zipper de Fabiani

« Defence diplomacy », a British concept created by the Strategic Defence Review of 1998, intends to better integrate military and diplomatic tools operating with a view to prevent conflicts or to manage crises. Whereas the United Kingdom is mainly focusing on the democratic transition in Eastern Europe, France retains a strong interest in Africa, despite a real endeavour towards rebalancing part of its activities towards Eastern Europe. The main goals are however very similar, since both countries try to promote the modernisation of armed forces in a democratic environment. They train their partners to peace-keeping operations in order to enhance their regional capabilities. Interoperability is thus developing through combined operations in the Balkans, as well as through exercises in Africa in the framework of the French program RECAMP. A cooperative approach is more systematically being developed, whether in a NATO context or in an endeavour to involve members of the European Union. Key to the success of such a policy is the deep reforms already accomplished inside the Departments of Foreign Affairs and of Defence : the former has now fully integrated co-operation in its organisation, the latter is increasingly opening to international affairs.