

Who's Who in the French Debate on EU Enlargement

Information and contacts

22 November 2011

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~ Contents ~

A. MEDIA	4
1. PRINT MEDIA.....	4
1.1. National dailies.....	4
1.2. Regional dailies	6
1.3. Weeklies	7
1.4. Monthlies and journals.....	9
1.5. Foreign correspondents	10
1.6. Agence France Press.....	10
2. RADIO	11
2.1. France Inter.....	11
2.2. France Info.....	11
2.3. France Culture	12
2.4. Radio France Internationale (RFI).....	12
2.5. RTL	13
2.6. Europe 1	13
3. TELEVISION	14
3.1. TFI.....	14
3.2. France 2	16
3.3. France 3	17
3.4. France 5/ARTE.....	18
B. CIVIL SOCIETY, ACADEMIA AND OTHER INTEREST GROUPS	19
1. THINK TANKS AND RESEARCH INSTITUTES.....	19
1.1. (Former) government-sponsored think tanks.....	19
1.2. Other think tanks, institutes and associations.....	21
2. POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS	23
3. ECONOMIC INTEREST GROUPS	23
4. FOREIGN ORGANISATIONS	24
5. DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS	25
5.1. Embassies of the Western Balkan countries and Turkey	25
5.2. Embassies of the countries holding the current and upcoming EU presidencies.....	25
6. BOOKS ON FRANCE	26
C. POLITICS.....	27
1. THE PRESIDENCY	27
2. GOVERNMENT	28
2.1. Prime Minister and Ministers.....	28
2.2. Key contacts in the Ministry for Foreign and European Affairs	31
3. PARLIAMENT AND THE MAIN POLITICAL PARTIES	34
3.1. Current composition of the National Assembly and the Senate	34
3.2. Union for a Popular Movement – Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (UMP).....	36
3.3. Socialist Party (PS).....	37
3.4. Relevant French members of the European Parliament.....	37

ABOUT THIS MANUAL

Who shapes the debate on the future of EU-enlargement in France today? This manual is intended to provide an answer to this question through a user-friendly overview of more than 150 key people in more than 80 institutions.

It starts with a description of the French media scene, from the leading print media over radio to television. The subsequent chapter provides information about think tanks, research institutions and other relevant interest groups. The final chapter gives an overview of the relevant political institutions, the current government (with a focus on foreign affairs), parliament and leading parties.

As one of the biggest EU member states France is not only an important player influencing EU policies in South Eastern Europe. France is also home to a big range of institutions and key players that – in one way or the other – have a say in the debate of future EU enlargement. The persons and institutions described in this manual are certainly among the most important.

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A. MEDIA

1. Print Media

France has a very rich print media scene. There are 16 national dailies and over 50 regional and local dailies, some of which exceed the circulations of the national dailies. In addition there are 35 Sunday or Monday papers, usually special editions of national, but mostly regional dailies.

No less than eight national weekly news magazines had circulations of above 200,000 in 2010. In addition there were close to 200 regional weeklies, of which 15 had a circulation higher than 20,000 (for instance *La Manche Libre* with 79,344 and *Le Courrier Cauchois* (Yvetot) with 49,550).

Agence France Press (AFP) maintains offices in Belgrade and Ankara, and has what it calls secondary offices in Istanbul, Pristina, Sarajevo and Tirana (see below).

There are seven French journalists permanently based in Turkey (in Ankara and Istanbul) and two in the Balkans (see below). In most cases, Balkan affairs are covered by journalists from Paris who travel to the region to report on events of major importance. Most papers also have a number of regular political commentators who occasionally take up Balkan and Turkey issues.

This section gives an overview of the most important and most relevant papers.

1.1. National dailies

Unlike in the United Kingdom or Germany, *quality* dailies account for most of the newspapers. In fact, except for *L'équipe*, focusing on sports, and *Aujourd'hui en France*, all national dailies with a circulation above 100,000 can be considered quality papers.

Circulation of French national dailies¹

National dailies (circulation above 70,000)

Le Figaro	321,580
L'équipe	306,205
Le Monde	290,654
Aujourd'hui en France	170 508
Les Echos	118,024
Libération	115,085
La croix	105,013
La Tribune	78,665
France Soir	76,804

► *Le Monde*, founded in 1944, is perhaps the most important and most influential daily in policy circles. With close to 40,000 copies sold abroad, it is also the French daily most widely read outside France.



While its editorial line is usually described as centre-left, it actually occupies the centre ground between *Figaro* on the right and *Libération* on the left.

¹ Source: Association pour le contrôle de la diffusion des media (OJD), Book 2010 Presse Payante Grand Public, 25 August 2011. Total distribution in France (paid and free). <http://www.ojd.com/books>.

Piotr Smolar (smolar@lemonde.fr) is the main journalist covering Balkan affairs. He knows the region well and travels there regularly. Of Polish origin, Smolar previously worked as coordinator of the Franco-Russian Centre for Journalism at the Moscow School of Journalism (1997-1999) and as Russia correspondent for *Le Figaro* (1999-2001). Smolar also covers Eastern Partnership countries.

Gilles Paris (paris@lemonde.fr) leads the international relations department. His predecessor was Daniel Vernet. Philippe Ricard (ricard@lemonde.fr) has been one of the paper's Brussels correspondents since June 2003. He writes about EU enlargement and institutional and economic issues.



Philippe Ricard

Natalie Nougayrède (nougayrede@lemonde.fr), one of *Le Monde's* writers on foreign and diplomatic affairs, has a deep understanding of French foreign policy. She sometimes covers issues in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. Éric Le Boucher (leboucher@lemonde.fr) writes a weekly economic column and is critical of the "French economic model". Sometimes, when writing about competitiveness or globalisation, he touches on the issue of EU enlargement.

Since 2009 *Le Monde's* permanent correspondent in Turkey has been Guillaume Perrier (perrier@lemonde.fr, T +90 212 251 19 75). He manages a blog called "Au fil du Bosphore" ("Along the Bosphorus"), which covers and analyses news from Turkey (<http://istanbul.blog.lemonde.fr/>).

Since 2010, the official website of *Le Monde* (www.lemonde.fr) has featured a blog entirely dedicated to the Western Balkans (<http://balkans.blog.lemonde.fr/>) and managed by Alexandre Lévy, former chief of the East Europe section at the *Courrier International*. Lévy lives in Sofia and covers the Balkans for *Courrier International*. He is also the Bulgaria correspondent for Radio France International (RFI) and Presseurop.

Contact: *Le Monde*, 80, boulevard Auguste-Blanqui, 75707 Paris Cedex 13, T +33 (1) 5728 2000, www.lemonde.fr.

► *Le Figaro* is the oldest national French daily, founded in 1826. Many famous writers, including Émile Zola, Marcel Proust and André Gide published in this paper. The line of the paper today is centre-right. It is generally though and not always supportive of the current government.



Isabelle Lasserre

The paper's journalists knowledgeable about Balkan affairs are Isabelle Lasserre (ilasserre@lefigaro.fr), who has also written a book on French diplomacy, and Laure Mondeville (lmondeville@lefigaro.fr). Laure Marchand (lauremarchand1@yahoo.fr) is *Le Figaro's* permanent correspondent in Istanbul.

The foreign affairs editor, Pierre Rousselin (prousselin@lefigaro.fr), sometimes writes editorials on South Eastern Europe and Turkey. On his blog 'Geopolitique', which focuses on international and European affairs, Rousselin regularly writes on issues related to Turkey.

The paper's Brussels correspondent is Pierre Avril (pavril@lefigaro.fr).

There are a series of regular editorialists, including Jean Dormesson (writer, essayist, pro-Sarkozy) and Philippe Tesson (writer). Space is given to different opinions for debates.

Contact: *Le Figaro*, 14 boulevard Haussmann, 75009 Paris, T +33 (1) 5708 5000, E [first letter of the first name followed by the last name and then @lefigaro.fr], www.lefigaro.fr.



► *Libération* is the most leftist (and smallest) of the three leading opinion-forming French dailies. It was founded as a far left paper by Jean-Paul Sartre and started to appear in 1973. After Sartre's departure, the paper moved to a more moderate centrist line in the early 1980s.

The paper has been haunted by financial crises of which the most recent one is not yet overcome.

The journalists focusing on South Eastern Europe and Turkey are Marc Semo (semo@liberation.fr) and H el ene Despic-Popovic (despic@liberation.fr). Thomas Hofnung (hofnung@liberation.fr) is in charge of the "World" section, and the paper's Brussels correspondent is Jean Quatremer (quatremer@liberation.fr).

Lib eration also has a section reserved for external commentators, "Rebonds". This sometimes includes comments and articles about the Western Balkans and Turkey.

Contact: *Lib eration*, 11, rue B eranger, 75154 Paris cedex 03, T +33 (1) 4276 1789, www.liberation.fr.

► Two French dailies have a strong focus on the economy: *Les Echos* and *La Tribune*. Though *Les Echos* has a considerably higher print run, both are relevant and important. They are read by parts of the political and the business elite. Big French companies are an important factor in the French policy environment, also with regard to foreign policy.

The editor for international affairs in *Les Echos* is Fran oise Crou gneau (fcrouigneau@lesechos.fr). The paper includes a two-page ideas & debate section (Id ees) which is open to external views and comments. As a widely read forum it might be an attractive opportunity to present arguments about South Eastern Europe. One of the paper's permanent editorialists, Jacques Hubert-Rodier (jhubertrodier@lesechos.fr), focuses on international politics. While not an enthusiastic enlargement supporter, he maintains – in an article about Kosovo – that "Europe has one single card to play: the perspective of eventual integration of Serbia and Kosovo into the EU." (9 January 2008). More recent articles cover the arrest of Ratko Mladic (May 2011) and Turkey's parliamentary elections (June 2011).

At *La Tribune*, the editor for international economic affairs is Daniel Vigneron (dvigneron@latribune.fr).

Contact:

Les Echos, 16, rue du 4-Septembre, 75112 Paris, Cedex 02, T +33 (1) 4953 6565, www.lesechos.fr.

La Tribune, 51, rue Vivienne, 75095 Paris Cedex 02, T +33 (1) 4482 1616, www.latribune.fr.

1.2. Regional dailies

In terms of circulation and readership, there is a series of regional dailies that compete with national dailies, most notably *Ouest France*, which has a higher print run than any other French daily. Important is also *Le Parisien*, which is partly distributed jointly with *Aujourd'hui en France*.

Given their very nature as regional papers, foreign affairs occupy a less prominent place in these publications. They are less read by the mostly-Paris based political elites and thus are less important than the national dailies in forming elite opinion.

However, if one wants to reach out to the broader public, these papers are very relevant.

*Circulation of French regional dailies²***Regional dailies (above 200,000 circulation)**

Ouest France	780,754
Le Parisien	297,173
Sud-Ouest	299,039
La Voix du Nord	272,546
Le Dauphine Libéré	237,040
Le Progrès + La Tribune	215,024
Le Télégramme	210,856

1.3. Weeklies

There is no shortage of weekly magazines in France. Four of them reach a distribution of more than 400,000 copies. However, in terms of shaping the public policy discourse, they do not have the importance of the most prestigious dailies (like *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*).

*Circulation of French weeklies³***Important weeklies**

Paris Match	619,596
Le Nouvel Observateur	508,060
L'Express	442,050
Le Point	410,550
Marianne	266,567
Courier International	204,915
Le Canard Enchaîné	n/a

Here a list with contact details of the main weekly papers:

► **L'Express** is the oldest of the French weeklies, founded in 1953 by the former editor in chief of *Elle* and Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, an editorialist at *Le Monde*. The centre-left oriented paper, modelled on the American Time magazine, was known for its anti-colonial stance and could attract famous French writers such as Albert Camus, Jean-Paul Sartre, André Malraux and François Mauriac as columnists. It became the big media success of the 1960s.



Marc Epstein

There were crises, however, as groups of journalists split repeatedly to form other magazines, most notably *France Observateur* (the predecessor of *Le Nouvel Observateur*) and *Le Point*. A very influential commentator on international affairs is Bernard Guetta (bguetta@wanadoo.fr).

The “World” section is headed by Marc Epstein (mepstein@lexpress.fr).

Delphine Saubaber (delphine.saubaber@lexpress.fr) reports about big foreign policy events.

Contact: *L'Express*, 29, rue de Châteaudun, 75009 Paris, T +33 (1) 7555 1000, www.lexpress.fr.

² Source: Association pour le contrôle de la diffusion des media (OJD), Book 2010 Presse Payante Grand Public, edited 25 August 2011. Total distribution in France (paid and free). <http://www.ojd.com/books>.

³ *Ibid.*

► In 1964, a group of journalists that left *L'express* re-launched *France Observateur*, a weekly going back to 1950, as **Le Nouvel Observateur**. By the mid-1970s this paper of centre-left orientation had become one of the highest circulation weeklies, a position it still holds today. It is published on Thursdays. René Backmann (rbackmann@nouvelobs.com) comments every week on international affairs in the “World Observer (Observateur du Monde)” section. Other regular commentators include people like Jacques Delors and Robert Badinter.

Contact: *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 12, Place de la Bourse, 75002 Paris, T +33 (1) 4488 3434, www.nouvelobs.com (online edition) and <http://hebdo.nouvelobs.com/> (site of the print edition).

► **Le point** was also founded by a group of journalists who had quit *L'Express*, in 1972. Its initial political orientation was centre-right, but it has moved more towards the right over the years. Pierre Beylau heads the foreign affairs section. The paper's regular commentators include famous personalities such as Bernard-Henri Lévy, Alain Duhamel, Patrick Besson and Claude Allègre.

Contact: *Le Point*, 74, avenue du Maine, 75682 Paris Cedex 14, T +33 (1) 4410 1010, www.lepoint.fr.

► **Marianne** is similar in style to *L'Express* or *Le Point*, but it has a lower circulation. The world section is led by Martine Gozlan, to be reached at +33 (1) 5372 2925. The main editor of this section is Eric Dior (+33 (1) 5372 2945).

Contact: *Marianne*, 32, rue René-Boulanger, 75484 Paris Cedex 10, T +33 (1) 5372 2900, www.marianne2.fr.

► **Paris Match** is the highest circulation magazine, but its style is more that of a lifestyle magazine than a political weekly. Many articles devote more space to photographs than to text. While it features foreign policy articles when big events occur, particularly conflicts and natural disasters, overall it devotes little space to international politics.

Contact: *Paris Match*, 149, rue Anatole-France, 92534 Sevallois-Perret Cedex, T+33 (1) 41346000, I www.parismatch.com.

► **Le Canard enchaîné** can look back to 93 years of history. Subtitled “a satiric weekly appearing Wednesdays”, it has a longstanding reputation as an independent weekly. Some media observers call it the “only really independent weekly” and a “last bastion of investigative journalism”. It is nearly exclusively focused on French political life and has articles on international affairs only occasionally. The director (at the same time Président-directeur général) is Michel Gaillard; editors in chief: Claude Angeli and Erik Emptaz.

Contact: *Le Canard enchaîné*, 173, rue St-Honoré, 75051 Paris Cedex 01, T +33 (1) 4927 9787, E redaction@lecanardenchaine.fr, <http://www.lecanardenchaine.fr/>.

► The **Courrier International** is a weekly mainly translating stories on international affairs into French. It appears on Thursdays. Though limited in circulation and targeting a rather specialised audience, the fact that it focuses on international affairs makes it relevant.

Philippe Thureau-Dangin, the editor in chief, can be reached at +33 (1) 4646 1616 or at thureau-dangin@courrierinternational.com. The following people are responsible for the Western Balkans: Mandi Gueguen (Albania, Kosovo), Miro Miceski (Macedonia), Kika Curovic (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia). It might be useful to contact Alexandre Lévy, the chief coordinator of the Balkan team, which can be reached directly at +33 (1) 4646 1657 or alevy@courrierinternational.com. In 2010, Lévy launched a blog dedicated to the Balkans, which is

published on the website from *Le Monde*, at <http://balkans.blog.lemonde.fr/>. Pierre Vanrie (pvanrie@courrierinternational.com) is responsible for Turkey.

Contact: *Courrier international*, 6-8, rue Jean-Antoine-de-Baïf, 75212 Paris Cedex 13, T +33 (1) 4646 1600, www.courrierinternational.com.

1.4. *Monthlies and journals*

► ***Le Monde diplomatique***, a monthly founded in 1954, was initially a weekly supplement to *Le Monde* targeting diplomats and international organisations. The clearly left-leaning monthly addresses a wide range of issues from global politics to international relations. In the past, the paper strongly criticised colonialism and imperialism. Over the last years, it has put a focus on criticising the effects of neo-liberalism and globalisation. The paper had a role in the founding of Attac, an anti-globalisation NGO, and in the organisation of the Porto Allegre World Social Forum. *Le Monde diplomatique* includes both long and substantial articles and (often equally long) opinion pieces.

As of March 2011, *Le Monde diplomatique* is available in 84 editions in 27 languages (41 printed editions with a total circulation of 2.4 million, and 43 internet editions). In South Eastern Europe, the following editions are available: Bulgarian (published by *Amis du Monde diplomatique*, 6,000 copies), Croatian (together with the weekly *Novosti*, 6,000 copies), Romanian, and Slovenian (as a supplement to the daily *Delo*, 81,000 copies). In Turkey, the paper is published each month with the daily *Taraf*, 70,000 copies). In the foreign language editions, about 80 percent of the content is translations of articles of the French edition, while the rest is produced by the respective domestic offices.

Contact: *Le Monde diplomatique*, 1, avenue Stephen-Pichon, 75013 Paris, T +33 (1) 5394 9601, E secretariat@monde-diplomatique.fr, www.monde-diplomatique.fr.

► ***Le Courrier des Balkans***, an on-line publication founded in 1998, is dedicated to making the “democratic press” from the Balkans available in French language. The website (<http://balkans.courriers.info/>) also features a search engine to retrieve articles by theme, country, publication or date. One can subscribe for free to a bi-weekly newsletter with selected translated articles. The publication is run by Jean-Arnaud Dérens, a journalist who covered the Balkans extensively and also works for radio (see the section on Radio).

Contact: *Le Courrier des Balkans*, Centre Marius Sidobre, 26 rue Emile-Raspail, 94110 Arcueil, T +33 (9) 5072 2226, E Balkans@balkans.eu.org, I <http://balkans.courriers.info/>. Contact Jean-Arnaud Dérens at jaderens@wanadoo.fr or +33 (6) 0886 8015 (M).

► ***La nouvelle Alternative*** is a journal specialised in Central and South Eastern Europe, founded in 1986. It maintains a network of correspondents, though in South Eastern Europe it is limited to Bucharest, Cluj and Sofia.

Contact: Association des amis et lecteurs de La Nouvelle Alternative, 41, rue Bobillot, 75013 Paris, M +33 (6) 1870 3266, E tienska@club-internet.fr, www.nouvelle-alternative.org

► France has a strong tradition of intellectual journals (appearing monthly or quarterly). Some of the most important ones with regard to international affairs and politics are *Commentaire*, *Esprit*, and *Études*. ***Commentaire*** was founded by the renowned French social scientist Raymond Aron and has sections on world politics and Europe. ***Esprit*** usually has a special topic to which most articles of the respective issue are dedicated. ***Études*** is edited by Jesuits, but is also read by people without religious background.

Contact:

- *Commentaire*, 116, rue du Bac, 75007 Paris, T +33 (1) 4549 3782, www.commentaire.fr The director is Jean-Claude Casanova. For content-related issues contact Manon Peyrat at redaction@commentaire.fr.
- *Esprit – Revue internationale*, 212, rue Saint-Martin, 75003 Paris, T +33 (1) 4804 9290, www.esprit.presse.fr. Contact the Editor in Chief Marc-Olivier Padis at mo.padis@esprit.presse.fr.
- *Études – revue de culture contemporaine*, 14, rue d'Assas, 75006 Paris, T +33 (1) 4439 4848, www.revue-etudes.com. The Editor in Chief is Pierre de Charentenay.

► The French editions of *GEO* and *National Geographic* reach circulations of over 300,000 and over 150,000 respectively. Both feature big stories on individual countries.

Contact:

- *GEO magazine France*, 43-45, av. de Clichy, 75850 Paris Cedex 17, T +33 (1) 5699 6076 or +33 (1) 5699 6061, www.geomagazine.fr. You can reach the editor-in-chief Eric Meyer (emeyer@prisma-presse.com) also through his secretary Katherine Montémont (kmontemont@prisma-presse.com)
- *National Geographic France*, 43-45, av. de Clichy, 75850 Paris Cedex 17, T +33 (1) 5699 6096, www.nationalgeographic.fr. Contact the editor-in-chief François Marot at nationalgeographic@ngm-f.com or his deputy Cathérine Ritchie at critchie@ngm-f.com.

1.5. Foreign correspondents

► The *Financial Times'* Paris correspondent is Ben Hall. As one of the founders of the London-based Centre for European Reform, he is very interested in EU affairs.

Contact: Financial Times, 40, rue la Boétie, 75008 Paris, T +33 (1) 5376 8256, M +33 (6) 7146 0003, E ben.hall@ft.com, I www.ft.com.

► Matthew Kaminski is the Editorial Page Editor of the European edition of the *Wall Street Journal*. He reported for the Financial Times from the former Soviet Union before joining the Wall Street Journal in 1997 where he reported on security issues and Central and South Eastern Europe. Since early 2003 he has lived in Paris. He knows the French political scene well.

Contact: Wall Street Journal Europe, 17, rue de Surène, 75008 Paris, T +33 (1) 4017 1807, M +33 (6) 0719 9282, E matthew.kaminski@wsj.com, www.wsj.com.

► Since January 2004 Alison Smale (asmale@iht.com), a former deputy foreign editor at *The New York Times*, has been the managing editor of the Paris-based *International Herald Tribune*. She has covered the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and most of the wars in former Yugoslavia. She speaks some Serbo-Croatian. Contact: International Herald Tribune, 6 bis, rue des Graviers, 92521 Neuilly Cedex, T +33 (1) 4143 9322, E iht@iht.com, www.iht.com.



1.6. Agence France Press

The French press agency *Agence France Press* maintains an extensive network of offices throughout South East Europe and Turkey. Two of its 18 European main offices are located in Belgrade and Ankara, while smaller bureaus are run out of Istanbul, Pristina, Sarajevo and Tirana.

Contact:

- *Belgrade office*, Trg Nikole Pasica 2, 11000 Belgrade, T +381 (11) 323 2622, F +381 (11) 33 45 501

- *Ankara office*, And Sokak 8/13, Cankaya, 06680 Ankara, T: +90 (312) 468 9680, F +90 (312) 468 9683; journalist Michel Jean Bernard Sailhan (michel.sailhan@afp.com), M +90 530 406 31 55
- *Istanbul office*, Abdülhak Hamit Caddesi, Pamuk Palas No 13/10, Taksim Beyoglu, Istanbul, T +90 (212) 292 2648, F +90 (212) 292 2649, journalist Nicolas J. F. Cheviron (nicolas.cheviron@afp.com), M: +90 532 684 73 10
- *Pristina office*, Qamil Hoxha 1, Pristina, T +381 (38) 249 618, F +381 (38) 249 618
- *Sarajevo office*, Kosevo 5, 71000 Sarajevo, T +387 (33) 202 279, F +387 (33) 202 331
- *Tirana office*, Muhamet Gjollësja, P 69, Tirana, T +355 (4) 227 426

2. Radio

There are about 1,200 radio stations in France. 99% of French households have a radio set. According to the European Journalism centre, 81% of French people above the age of 15 say they listen to the radio for an average of 3 hours a day. Of these, 60% do so at home, 20% in the car and 18% at work. Up until the early 1980s, the French state had a monopoly on broadcasting, forcing private stations like Radio Luxembourg (now RTL) and Europe 1 to transmit from abroad. This was relaxed by Francois Mitterrand after his election as President in 1981.



The public broadcaster, Radio France, runs the stations France Inter, France Info, France Culture, France Musique, France Bleu (a network of regional stations), FIP, and Le Mouv'. All Radio France editors and staff can be reached at firstname.lastname@radiofrance.com. The worldwide broadcaster *Radio France Internationale* is no longer a part of Radio France.

France also has a number of important private radio networks. RTL is the country's most popular station with a cumulative daily audience of over 6 million, followed by NRJ, the biggest music station.

Overall, the morning (news) shows on the main channels are very important and widely listened to, while in the evenings TV is more important.

2.1. France Inter

France Inter is part of the public Radio France group and is one of the leading radio stations in the country. It offers newscasts, talk shows, programmes on various themes and music. Mediametrie reports it had an audience share of 9.9% in November and December of 2007. France Inter was founded as Paris Inter in 1947, starting with a transmitter left by the Americans after WWII.



France Inter has permanent foreign correspondents in 10 cities around the world, with **Laurent Rouy** (laurentrouy@hotmail.com, T +381 63 8591 691) reporting from Belgrade. No Radio France journalists are permanently based in Turkey.

Contact: *France Inter*, 116 avenue du Président Kennedy, 75220 Paris cedex 16, www.radiofrance.fr/franceinter/accueil/. Contact Catherine Gaiffe (catherine.gaiffe@radiofrance.com), responsible for public relations.

2.2. France Info

France Info, founded in 1987, also forms part of the Radio France Group. Unlike France Inter, which is classified as a "programme généraliste", France Info focuses solely on news and is the major news station in the country.



Mediametrie's study reports an audience share of 9.6% in November and December of 2007.

France Info has the same foreign correspondents as France Inter. It also shares some foreign correspondents with *Radio France Internationale*.



In between its regular newscasts, France Info broadcasts a variety of shows that feature business, literature, sport and discussions of national as well as international current events. The programme **Quelque part dans le Monde** (Somewhere in the world) calls itself a “window on the lives of others”, reporting on social and economic developments from around the world (however, Southeast Europe and Turkey feature rarely). The show airs on weekdays at 14h53, 18h23, 19h47 and 21h53.

Contact: *France Info*, 116 avenue du Président Kennedy, 75220 Paris cedex 16, www.france-info.com.

2.3. *France Culture*

France Culture is a public radio devoted to cultural matters. It was created in 1946, under the name *Chaîne Nationale*. From Monday to Friday (6h50-6h58), the radio broadcasts a daily show called "*Les Enjeux internationaux*", which is presented by Thierry Garcin and Eric Laurent. The show comments on global and geopolitical issues, with the aim of placing them in a historical perspective. The Western Balkans is covered from time to time, the latest examples being [Macedonia](#) and [Kosovo](#).



Contact: *France Culture*, 116 avenue du Président Kennedy, 75220 Paris cedex 16, www.franceculture.com. T +33 (1) 42 30 19 19.

2.4. *Radio France Internationale (RFI)*

Radio France Internationale (RFI) is a public radio station broadcast worldwide. A study by GEDA reported that it had an estimated 44 million listeners in 2006. According to this figure, RFI has the third largest audience worldwide, after the BBC's World Service and Voice of America. The majority of listeners, 35 million, were in Africa and in the Middle East. RFI's programmes are in French and 19 other languages. These include the local languages of the Western Balkans.



RFI was originally founded in 1975 as a radio station for the countries of Equatorial Africa. It was part of the Radio France group until 1986 when it became independent. While licensing fees cover a significant portion of its budget, RFI largest source of income remains the French Foreign Ministry. The radio broadcasts various shows on European affairs and enlargement. The main ones are "[Allô Bruxelles](#)", "[Bonjour l'Europe](#)", "[Carrefour de l'Europe](#)" and "[Ici l'Europe](#)".

RFI's foreign correspondent in the Balkans is **Jean-Arnault Dérens**. Dérens is probably the French journalist with the longest experience in the region. He is editor in chief of *Le Courrier des Balkans* (see above), which he founded in 1998. Since then, he has continually reported from the region for various media in France. Nowadays, he writes for *Ouest-France*, *Le Temps* (Geneva), *Le Monde Diplomatique* (Paris) and *La Libre Belgique* (Brussels). Dérens' publications include, together with Laurent Geslin, “Voyage au pays des Gorani” (Journey to the Land of Gorani), 2010; also together with Laurent Geslin, “Comprendre les Balkans” (Understanding the Balkans), 2007, second edition in 2010, and “Kosovo, année zero” (Kosovo, year zero, 2006). Contact him at *Le Courrier des Balkans*, E balkans@balkans.eu.org, T +33 (9) 5072 2226.





Presented alternatively by **Eddy Caekelberghs** (RTBF) and **Daniel Desesquelle**, the programme *Carrefour de l'Europe* focuses on current European issues. The show, which is broadcast from Brussels, offers Brussels-based journalists from all member states the opportunity to voice their opinion on important contemporary questions. *Carrefour de l'Europe* is a cooperative venture with RTBF, the Belgian Radio and Television network. It is produced by **Jean-Marc Munier**.



Bonjour l'Europe is a programme that features news on specific EU countries. Every day, an RFI correspondent based somewhere in Europe provides some recent news on his or her respective country. This includes the Western Balkans. Some of the most recent editions were presented by Jean-Arnault Dérens (see contacts above) and RFI's permanent correspondent in Belgrade, Laurent Rouy (see above).

As for Turkey, Jerome Bastion (jorham64@hotmail.com) is RFI's correspondent in Istanbul.

Contact: Radio France Internationale, 116 avenue du Président-Kennedy, 75762 Paris Cedex 16, T +33 (1) 5640 1212, www.rfi.fr.

Valérie Lainé, Europe desk, E valerie.laine@rfi.fr, T +33 (1) 5640 1286

Klara Buda, Albanian desk, E klara.buda@rfi.fr, T +33 (1) 5640 1598

Stanko Cerovic, Southern Slavic Languages desk, stanko.cerovic@rfi.fr, T +33 (1) 5640 2170

2.5. RTL

RTL is the leading radio station in France. According to Mediametrie, it had an audience share of 12.9% in November and December 2007. RTL, formerly Radio Luxembourg, is the oldest private radio station in Europe. It started broadcasting in 1933. The station forms part of the Bertelsmann's RTL Group, which with 42 TV and 32 radio stations is the leading private media network in Europe. RTL offers a varied programme with news, music, and discussion shows on various topics. One of the most popular shows is *Les Grosses Têtes* which features news, questions from listeners and humorous interviews with guests. This show has been running for thirty years and attracts an audience of over two million.



On refait le monde (Redoing the world), presented by **Christophe Hondelatte**, features debates on current world events. The show prides itself on the open and irreverent nature of the perspectives and proposals expressed. It airs from Monday to Friday from 19:15 to 20:00.

As part of RTL's morning programme, **Alain Duhamel** presents *Le fait politique* (The political event). The editor goes through current event, offering a summary and his analysis. Duhamel also writes many of the news articles on RTL's website.



Contact: RTL, 22 rue Bayard, 75008 Paris, T +33 (1) 4070 4070, www.rtl.fr

2.6. Europe 1

Europe 1 is one of the most popular radio broadcasters in France with a 9.0% audience share in November and December of 2007. The station was founded in 1955 at a time when private broadcasting was prohibited. In order to circumvent this restriction it was broadcast from Saarland in Germany.



Europe 1 played an important role in the sixties, particularly during the student protests and general strike of May 1968 when it served as one of the only independent sources of information on the crisis, earning it the moniker, “barricade radio”. Europe 1 is owned by the Lagadère group. Like RTL and France Inter, Europe 1 is a “*programme généraliste*” providing news and debate as well as entertainment.

Contact: 28 rue François Premier, 75008 Paris, +33 (1) 4232 9000, www.europe1.fr.

3. Television

France’s television scene is dominated by two major players. The private TF1 group owns, among others, France’s most popular channel, TF1, the news channel LCI, and Eurosport International (the largest European sports network), and it is a partner in several other channels such as France 24. The public France Télévisions group is the national broadcaster and provides the channels France 2, France 3, France 4, France 5 and Réseau France Outre-mer. According to Mediametrie, the three most popular channels, TF1, France 2 and France 3 had an audience share of 59.5% in March 2008.



French television programmes, including content from TF1 and the France Télévisions group, are broadcast worldwide on the global network TV5MONDE. A relatively recent project, France 24, aims to become an internationally available French counterpart to CNN and BBC World. Another international venture, the Franco-German network Arte provides mainly cultural programmes in both French and German.

95% of French households had a television set in 2005. Mediametrie’s study reported that the average household watched 5:49 hours of television per week (Monday to Thursday) in March 2008. For individuals between the ages of 15 and 49, this figure was 3:02.

In contrast to television networks in other European countries, French television has very few foreign correspondents.

3.1. TF1

► **TF1** is the most viewed television network in France. Mediametrie reports that TF1 had an audience share of 28.0% in March 2008. The channel, which was the first in France, dates back to 1935. In 1986, Prime Minister Jacques Chirac proposed the privatisation of one of France’s three large public networks. After some to and fro, TF1 was chosen. There were numerous candidates for its takeover, including Silvio Berlusconi’s Fininvest, but a consortium led by the Bouygeus Group was eventually successful. TF1’s programme places a large emphasis on entertainment, offering many American and French series, films and reality TV shows. Its newscasts are, however, equally popular, with *Le Journal de 13 Heures* and *Le Journal de 20 Heures* the most viewed news broadcasts in Europe.



Nonce Paolini has been the chairman and chief executive of TF1 since July 2008. He replaced Patrick LeLay, a key figure in French television. Paolini joined TF1 in 1993 as director of Human Resources and became executive vice president in 1999. In 2002, he became senior vice-president of Bouygues Telecom and was appointed deputy director general in 2004. In September 2008, he became chairman of *TF1Publicité*. Since January 2011, he has also chaired the TF1 Foundation.



TF1's news broadcasts are so popular that they are sometimes referred to as "the high mass of televised news". Its newscasts at 13:00 and at 20:00 have reportedly been the most viewed in Europe for the last 15 years. On weekdays the programme at 13:00 is presented by **Jean-Pierre Pernaut** while the main news at 20:00 is presented by **Laurence Ferrari** and **Claire Chazal**.

Contact: TF1, 1 Quai du Point du Jour, 92656 Boulogne Cedex, T +33 (1) 4141 1243, www.tf1.fr.

► **LCI**: "La Chaîne Info" (the News Channel) is the TF1 group's 24-hour cable news channel, started in 1994. It has a relatively small audience share estimated to be slightly below 1%. However, its influence may be out of proportion to the size of its audience as this is purported to be made up of "decision makers". LCI's president is **Nonce Paolini**, who is also chairman and CEO of TF1. LCI has foreign offices with permanent correspondents: in Moscow, Jerusalem, Washington, Rome and London. There is no permanent correspondent for the Balkans.



"**Ainsi va le monde**", broadcast from Monday to Thursday at 18:40, 20:40, and Friday at 21:40 is a daily international newscast and thus a rarity on French television. The 20-minute programme consists of reports, interviews and accounts of LCI's foreign correspondents. The show is presented by **Vincent Hervouët**, the head of LCI's international division.

Contact: LCI, 54 Avenue de la Voie Lactée, 92100 Boulogne-Billancourt, T +33 (1) 41 41 23 45, www.lci.fr. Director of communications is Laetitia de Luca, to be reached at T +33 (1) 41 41 38 73 or ldeluca@lci.fr.

► **France 24** was founded in 2006 as a cooperative venture between TF1 and *France Télévisions*. Its programmes are broadcast on two channels, one offering 24 hour international news coverage in French and the other showing programmes in English and Arabic, too. France 24 is currently broadcast in Europe, the Middle East, Africa and the cities New York and Washington DC. It aims to extend its coverage worldwide. France 24 is conceived as an equivalent to CNN or BBC World but from a more Francophile perspective. It draws on content from associated channels such as Euronews and TV5MONDE and benefits from a network of foreign correspondents from international news networks such as CNN, CBS, BBC World and Al Jazeera.



France 24 broadcasts two TV shows of relevance to this manual. One covers European affairs ("**Ici l'Europe**"). The other is exclusively dedicated to EU enlargement policy ("**Europe District**"). It explores the Balkans and Turkey and provides broad descriptions of the candidate and potential candidate countries, with the aim of showing how each has been transformed by the prospect of EU membership. The editors of this bilingual programme (French-English) are Caroline de Camaret and Christophe Robet. The programme has featured interviews with Serbian president Boris Tadic, Croatian president Ivo Josipovic and Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan. The producer the "Europe District" programme is Magali Faure (mfaure@france24.com, T +33 (0) 1 73 01 26 92).

Contact: France 24, 5, Rue des Nations Unies, 92130 Issy-les-Moulineaux, T + 33 (1) 73 01 24 24, E webdesk@france24.com, I www.france24.com. France 24's foreign correspondent in Belgrade is

Laurent Rouy (see above), while Chaouki Malek (jaspermortimer@yahoo.com) reports permanently from Ankara.

3.2. France 2

France 2 is the country's largest public television network. According to Mediametrie's estimate it had a 17.7 % audience share in March 2008. Along with France 3, France 4, France 5 and Réseau France Outre-mer (RFO), the network is part of the France Télévisions Group. France 2 was launched in 1963 under the name RTF Télévision 2. It has been called France 2 since 1992.

France 2 has ten foreign offices worldwide. None of these are in Southeast Europe.



Claude-Yves Robin is director general of France 2. He was appointed in October 2010 following the arrival in August 2010 of Remy Pflimlin as new head of France Télévision. He previously served as director-general in charge of marketing and communication. Prior to the transformation of France Television into a single enterprise in March 2009, Robin headed the channels France 5 and France 4. He also worked for Canal J in 1991, becoming director-general three years later and, subsequently, president. In 1997 he founded the association of Cable and Satellite networks (Acces). In 2004 he was made the Lagardère group's president-director general for cultural and educational channels. He also became president of Tiji, Match TV and Filles TV.



Thuerry Thuillier has been director of news at France 2 since August 2010. Thuillier started his career as a journalist at TF1. As a reporter, he covered foreign affairs from 1990 to 1993 and internal affairs from 1993 to 1994. Later on, he joined France 2 where he covered foreign affairs from 1994 to 2000 and then headed the foreign department for the next three years. From 2003 to 2007, he was editor-in-chief at the service dealing with investigations and reporting. In 2008, he left France Television to become editor-in-chief of I-Tele (Canal+).

Broadcast on Thursday evenings, "**Envoyé Spécial**" is a weekly news programme that covers current events and a wide variety of issues from around the world. The show started on Antenne 2 in 1990. It is directed and presented by **Françoise Joly** and **Guilaine Chenu** (picture on the right) and directed by **Vincent Manniez**. <http://envoye-special.france2.fr>.



"**Un oeil sur la planète**" (An eye on the planet), presented by Etienne Leenhardt (picture on the left), is a geopolitical programme that was launched in 2002. Broadcast in Monday night, it generally focuses on one specific country in each edition, which is composed of interviews and reports about different aspects of the country in question. The editor-in-chief of the programme is **Patrick Boitet**, its producer **Nicolas Maupied**. <http://oeil-sur-la-planete.france2.fr>

3.3. France 3

The second largest public network in the France Télévisions Group, France 3, has always had a regional focus. In a structure comparable to ARD in Germany, it is made up of regional stations that provide local news complementing the national news, making for a slightly different programme in each broadcasting region.

France 3's programme reflects a different approach from that of the public flagship, France 2, with a greater emphasis on culture and education. This is in line with France Télévisions' policy of making the separate networks complementary. However, France 3 does feature news and information from across Europe, with a particular emphasis on different peoples' cultural and social attributes. In March 2008, Mediametrie registered a 13.8% audience share for France 3.



Francois Gilbeau (on the left) has been director-general of France 3 since October 2006. A telecommunications engineer by training, he began his career in 1978 at Télédiffusion de France (TDF). In 1989, he joined France Telecom International's networks and services (FTRSI) and served as Director of Development and Marketing. From 1995 on, he occupied various posts at France Télévisions, including director in charge of coordination at France 3 and general-secretary of the group. In 2004, he was appointed head of RFO (réseaux France Outre-mer). From December 2007 to October 2010, he served as director-general of France 2.

Jérôme Cathalais has been France 3's director of news since September 2009. Among other things, he is responsible for the directorate in charge of coordinating the news services of France 3. He was previously regional director of France 3 Sud.

"**Soir 3**" is France 3's evening newscast broadcast daily at 23:00. On weekdays it is presented by **Patricia Loison**. **Francis Letellier** presents the weekend editions. The latest news items are presented and analysed in the course of the 30-minute programme. The programme also includes a summary of tomorrow's headlines of a selection of French newspapers. While much of the news is national, one of the aims listed on its website is to "explore new territories, deepen curiosity and promote viewer's discovery of the world."



The editors-in-chief of the programme are Jean-Jacques Basier (weekdays) and Michel Reinette (weekend). <http://soir3.france3.fr/>



"**Avenue de l'Europe**": Shown on Saturdays at 18:30, this programme is devoted to news and analysis of Europe and the EU. **Véronique Auger**, who presents the show, is also editor-in-chief of France 3's editorial staff for Europe. *Avenue de l'Europe* looks at France's relationship with its European partners and recent developments in these countries. Once a month, a guest presents his or her perspective on Europe and European integration. <http://info.france3.fr/avenue-europe/>.



"**Ce soir (ou jamais!)**" which translates into "This evening (or never!)" is a 90-minute talk show hosted by Frédéric Taddeï and broadcast from Monday to Thursday from around 23.00 (this varies depending on other programmes). Taddeï has usually six to seven guests who discuss a hot issue including foreign policy themes. It is widely watched and

influential. <http://ce-soir-ou-jamais.france3.fr/>

Contact: 7 Esplanade Henri de France, 75907 Paris Cedex 15, T +33 (0) 1 56 22 42 42, www.france3.fr.

3.4. France 5/ARTE

With a smaller audience than the main public networks France 2 and 3, France 5's focus is more on education than entertainment. Its broadcasts include documentaries and discussion programmes. According to Mediametrie, it had a 5.9% audience share in March 2008. While it is available on cable on a 24-hour basis, over the air it gives way to ARTE after 19:00. France 5 was originally founded as La Cinquième in 1994 and became part of the France Télévisions group in 2000. It was renamed France 5 in 2002.



Bruno Patino has been director-general of France 5 since 2010. In September 2010 he was also appointed director-general for digital development at France Télévisions. Patino worked for the United Nations in New York and for UNDP and as a correspondent for *Le Monde* in Chile in the early 1990s. Afterwards, he worked for and ran several media outlets, and did a stint at a publishing house. In 1999, he joined *Le Monde* and occupied various posts, including director-general (2000-2003) and President of *Monde interactif* (2003 à 2008).



“**Bar de l’Europe**” is a weekly show hosted by Paul Germain on issues related to the European Union in general, as well as its relations with the rest of the world. An important talk show on France 5 is “**C dans l’air**”, presented by Ives Calvi. It is broadcast on weekdays at 17.45h and 22.25h. Calvi also does a radio show and a monthly show on political issues on France 2.

Contact: France 5, 10 rue Horace-Vernet, 92130 Issy-les-Moulineaux, T +33 (0) 1 56 22 91 91, www.france5.fr.

B. CIVIL SOCIETY, ACADEMIA AND OTHER INTEREST GROUPS

1. Think tanks and research institutes

1.1. (Former) government-sponsored think tanks

France does not have a strong tradition of US-style think tanks. The more established institutions that come closest to this concept are former governmental research institutes that have been “released” from control by the state administration. However, still today they depend to a considerable degree on government financing.

► The *Institut français des relations internationales* – **IFRI** (French Institute of International Relations) is the oldest and most established of these institutes, founded in 1979 by its current general director Thierry de Montbrial (tdm@ifri.org). While initially financed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is today more independent, relying at about equal shares on public money on the one hand, and research contracts, membership fees and international grants on the other.

While its webpage features close to 50 researchers on a broad variety of international affairs issues (Europe, Franco-Germanic relations, Russia, US, Middle East/Magreb, Africa, economy, energy, migration, security), only about 15 of them are fully employed by the institute.

The institute publishes quite extensively, including a Journal called *Politique Étrangère* (existing since 1936, published since 1979 by IFRI 4 times/year) and *Ramses*, an encyclopaedic annual publication with current international affairs analysis (26th edition). IFRI organises conferences, seminars and round tables as well as lunch and dinner debates. The most recent events on the Western Balkans were on Kosovo (with Enver Hoxhaj, Kosovo Minister for Foreign Affairs), and on Bosnia and Herzegovina (with Valentin Inzko, OHR and EU Special Representative). Both were organised in May 2011.

The person with most experience on the Balkans is Hans Stark (stark.cerfa@ifri.org, T +33 (1) 4061 6047), a German who, besides working on Franco-German relations, has focused on Balkan issues. In the early 1990s he published a book with the title “Retour du Balkan en Europe”, but more recently he has dealt only occasionally with South Eastern Europe.

Other relevant researchers include:

- Olivier Louis – Europe, European enlargement, international trade, louis@ifri.org;
- Dominique Moïsi – international relations, globalisation, France, Europe, transatlantic relations; and is widely quoted in the English language press, moisi@ifri.org;
- Philippe Moreau Defarges – CFSP, European institutions, EU financing, EU justice and home affairs, enlargement; pmd@ifri.org;
- Éliane Mossé – Common Agricultural Policy, Europe, EU enlargement; mosse@ifri.org (she is also in charge of the “Centre franco-autrichien pour le rapprochement en Europe”, who has done a series of events on the Western Balkans with partner organisations in Austria).

The person in charge of Turkey and responsible for the programme “Turquie contemporaine” (Contemporary Turkey) is Dorothée Schmid (schmid@ifri.org). She is an expert on the EU’s external policies in the Mediterranean as well as on the Middle East. Her publications include the report “Les élites françaises et la Turquie : une relation dans l’attente” (French elites and Turkey : a relationship on hold), published by the Turkish think-tank EDAM in 2010, and “Le retour de la Turquie au Moyen-Orient” (Turkey’s return to the Middle East) in 2011.

Contact: IFRI, 27 rue de la procession, 75740 Paris Cedex 15, T +33 (1) 4061 6000, www.ifri.org.

► The *Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique* – **FRS** (Foundation for Strategic Research) emerged from the former *Fondation pour les études de défense* (FED) which was entirely financed by the

Ministry of Defence (and at a certain stage even included in its organisational chart). The institute today sees itself as a “link between relevant state structures, private and public centres and institutes, and the actors in the areas of security and defence”. It has a defence and security focus. Since 2008 the FRS has been headed by Camille Grand (c.grand@frstrategie.org). From 2006 to 2008, Grand worked at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs as deputy director for disarmament and multilateral issues in the directorate for strategic security and disarmament affairs.

Within the framework of European defence policy, sometimes there are research papers related to the Balkans, like for example “L’union européenne et l’expérience des Balkans” (The European Union and the Balkan experience) by Hélène Masson (September 2006). The FRS also recently assessed the EU’s civilian mission in Kosovo in a paper entitled “[EU Mission in Kosovo \(EULEX\): constructive ambiguity or constructive disunity?](#)” by David Cadier (June 2011).

One of FRS’s former directors, François Heisbourg, is one of the leading security experts in France. Before becoming FRS director, he was an adviser to the French Foreign Minister. Currently he is president of the board of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) and of the Geneva-based Centre for Politics and Security (GCSP). Contact him at heisbour@noos.fr.

Contact: Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique, 27, rue Damesme, 75013 Paris, T +33 (1) 4313 7777, www.frstrategie.org.

► The *Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégique – IRIS* (Institute for International Relations and Strategies) is the youngest of these institutes, founded in 1990 by its current director Pascal Boniface (boniface@iris-france.org) and one of two current deputy directors Jean-Pierre Maulny (jpmaulny@iris-france.org). Both have a defence background and good contacts to the Ministry of Defence.

The institutes’ focus is broad, covering current affairs issues from security/defence and terrorism, to European questions and economic challenges, to energy and environmental issues. The institute does little work on the Balkans. In the framework of a five-year contract signed in 2009 with the European Parliament’s Committee of Foreign Affairs (AFET), the institute manages a consortium of 13 think-tanks and universities from EU member states, candidate countries, and ENP countries, and produces various analyses on issues related to enlargement the ENP. The most recent publication on the Balkans is “[The decentralization process in Kosovo and the creation of the new municipalities – a Kosovo-Albanian and a Kosovo-Serb minority view](#)” (July 2010).

Contact: IRIS, 2 bis, rue Mercoeur, 75011 Paris, +33 (1) 5327 6060, E contact@iris-france.org, www.iris-france.org

► The *Centre d’études et de recherches internationales – CERI* (Centre for International Studies and Research) has a particular institutional setup. It was set up by the *Centre national de la recherche scientifique* (CNRS, www.cnrs.fr), France’s huge public research institution employing some 11,000 researchers over virtually all disciplines, and the *Fondation nationale des sciences politiques* (Sciences Po, www.sciences-po.fr) that operates nine research centres (including CERI) and the renowned *Institut d’Études Politique de Paris*. While CERI’s institutional origin is not related to the state administration, it belongs to the group of most established research institutes dealing with foreign politics.



CERI has two researchers working on the Balkans. One is [Jacques Rupnik](mailto:rupnik@ceri-science-po.org) (rupnik@ceri-science-po.org, M +33 (6) 08836374) (picture on the left) who has since 1982 also been a professor at the *Institut d’Études Politique de Paris*. In 2004 he published a book on EU enlargement (“Les Européens face à l’élargissement. Perceptions, acteurs, enjeux” [Europeans faced with Enlargement: Perceptions, Actors, Challenges], Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, 2004) and more recently he edited a volume on the EU neighbourhood: “Les banlieues de l’Europe. Les

politiques de voisinage de l'Union européenne" (The Suburbs of Europe: The EU's Neighbourhood Policies), Nouveaux Débats, Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 2007.

In the introduction of this book, Jacques Rupnik notes that "one of the best-kept secrets of the EU" is the fact that eastern enlargement was its biggest success since the fall of the Berlin wall. The book discusses what could be done in the European periphery without offering full membership. Besides looking at Ukraine, Georgia, Moldavia, the Mediterranean countries and Turkey, the book also has a chapter on the Western Balkans, written by Rupnik himself (pp. 127-149, "Les Balkans et la pax europea entre protectorates et integration").

The second Balkan specialist is [Nadège Ragaru](mailto:nragaru@yahoo.fr) (nragaru@yahoo.fr, M +33 (6) 2310 5083), a research fellow at CNRS (ISP), associated with CERI. She has also worked extensively on the Balkans, in particular on Macedonia, Albania and Kosovo, as well as on EU policies towards the Western Balkans. One of the latest publications is: "Macedonia: Between Ohrid and Brussels" (in: EUISS, *Chaillot Papers*, No. 108, December 2007, pp. 41-60).

In April 2011, CERI published a compilation of articles by the above-mentioned researchers and others on the European perspective of the Balkans, entitled: "The Balkans at the door of the EU":

- "[The Balkans and Europe: progress and misunderstandings](#)" by Jacques Rupnik;
- "[Croatia 2010: accession in sight, social unrest and political malaise](#)" by Joseph Krulic
- "[Où va la Serbie?](#)" by Nebojsa Vukadinovic;
- "[Bosnia and Herzegovina: enter into Europe to get out of the war](#)" by Xavier Bougarel;
- "[Macedonia and the EU: a relationship in future perfect?](#)" by Nadège Ragaru; and
- "[The independent Kosovo and the new constellation in the Balkans](#)", by Veton Surroi.

CERI also publishes three journals, "Les Etudes du CERI", "Questions de recherche", "Critique Internationale" (edited by the centre, published by Presses de Sciences Po); three series, "Recherches Internationales", "CERI-Autrement" and "CERI-Fayard"; and two English language publications: "The CERI series in Comparative Politics and International Affairs" (published by Hurst) and "The CERI series in International Relations and Political Economy" (Palgrave) – mostly translations of French texts, but also some contributions originally written in English.

As regards to Turkey, in 2009 "CERI-Autrement" published a booklet by professor Gilles Dorronsoro "Qui veut la Turquie? Ambitions et strategies internationales" (What does Turkey want? International ambitions and strategies), which tries to shed light on Turkey's foreign policy, its conflicting identities and its enhanced presence in its "near abroad".

Jean-Francois Bayart (bayart@ceri-sciences-po.org, +33158 71 70 01) is a Senior Research Fellow in CERI dealing with Turkey. His latest book published in 2010 is entitled "L'islam républicain. Ankara, Téhéran, Dakar" (Republican Islam. Ankara, Teheran, Dakar).

Contact: CERI, 56 rue Jacob, 75006 Paris, T +33 (1) 5871 7000, E info@ceri-sciences-po.org, www.ceri-sciences-po.org.

1.2. Other think tanks, institutes and associations

A series of other institutes and think tanks have emerged over the last 15 years. While most are largely identified with either centre-right or centre-left, their institutional history is less associated with the French state administration.

► **Notre Europe** was founded in 1996 by Jacques Delors, a former President of the European Commission. In June 2011, Antonio Vitorino, former defence minister of Portugal and former EU Commissioner for Justice and Internal Affairs, became the organisation's new president. The think-tank has four main focus areas: European visions; European democracy in action; co-operation,

competition and solidarity; and Europe and global governance. Among other things, it aims to promote the inclusion of European citizens and civil society in the construction of Europe, and the emergence of a European public space.

Yves Bertoncini (ybertoncini@notre-europe.eu) is the secretary-general, and Renaud Dehousse is the scientific advisor. There is little activity on the Western Balkans. Sami Andoura is the senior researcher dealing with the EU external relations and foreign policy (sandoura@notre-europe.eu).

Contact: Notre Europe, 41 boulevard des Capucines, 75002 Paris, T +33 (1) 4458 9797, E info@notre-europe.eu, www.notre-europe.eu.

► The **Movement Européen France** is the French section of the European Movement, which exists in many countries. In France, it is a big institution with branches all over the country. It conducted an extensive campaign before the French referendum on the EU Constitutional Treaty in 2005.

The movement's president is Christian Philip. In June 2010, having served as vice-president since 2007, he replaced Sylvie Goulard. (Goulard was elected in June 2009 as a Member of the European Parliament (ALDE). She has written critically on Turkey, but is more positive about enlargement to the Western Balkans.) In 2007, Christian Philip co-authored a book entitled: "The enlarged European Union's new borders in search of a neighbourhood policy" (April 2007, Bruylant).



Christian Philip

Contact: *Movement Européen France*, 95, rue de Rennes, 75006 Paris, T +33 (1) 4549 9393, www.mouvement-europeen.eu. The General Secretary of the movement is Lisa Heldwein, to be contacted at lisa.heldwein@mouvement-europeen.eu.

► The **Institut Montaigne** is a policy institute that has since November 2010 been led by Laurent Bigorgne (PManiere@institutmontaigne.org). Bigorgne previously worked at the Institute of Political Studies in Paris (Sciences-Po) as Director of the first cycles (2001-2003), director of studies (2003-2008) and deputy director (2007-2009). The institute has three main areas: mobility and social cohesion; modernisation of the public space; economic and European strategy. The institute does not really cover Balkan and Turkey issues, but is well connected to French policy networks.

Contact: *Institut Montaigne*, 38 rue Jean Mermoz, 75008 Paris, T +33 (1) 5818 3929, E info@institutmontaigne.org, <http://www.institutmontaigne.org/site/page.php>

► The **Club Grande Europe** is a small association with about 120 members, which was formed on the initiative of Jacques Rupnik (see CERI). The club organises discussions on European issues for its members, most of which are journalists and thus a formidable audience to spread new ideas.

Contact: *Club Grande Europe*, 78 rue Saint Dominique, 75007 Paris, T +33 (1) 4555 7790, E club-grande-europe@wanadoo.fr, www.club-grande-europe.eu. Contact Françoise Pons, delegate and co-founder of the Club Grande Europe, or Jacques Rupnik (see CERI).

► **Turquie Européenne**, founded in 2004, is an association comprising some 100 members, which advocates Turkey's accession to the EU. By keeping alive a debate on Turkey and European values, the group aims to contribute to better mutual understanding and to challenge existing European prejudices towards Turkey. The association's main activities focus on publishing articles on EU-Turkey relations and conducting interviews with relevant actors.

Contact: Association Turquie Européenne, 127 rue Amelot, 75011 Paris/France, T +33 (0) 67222 3649, info@turquieeuropeenne.eu, <http://turquieeuropeenne.eu/>.

2. Political Foundations

► The **Fondation Jean-Jaurès** is the political party foundation of the Socialists. Its president is Pierre Mauroy, a former prime minister. The foundation organises seminars and conferences, including on foreign policy issues.

Contact: *Fondation Jean-Jaurès*, 12 cité Malesherbes, 75009 Paris, T +33 (1) 4023 2400, E fondation@jean-jaures.org, www.fondatn7.alias.domicile.fr.

► The **Fondation pour l'innovation politique** became operational in 2004 and is close to the centre-right (UNP). Since October 2009, its general director is Dominique Reynié, who formerly worked as an expert at the European Commission (Directorate-General for Communication) in the framework of the programme "The Future of Europe". Reynié is also a member of the consultative national commission for human rights and the Observatory on Decentralisation in the French Senate.

Contact: *Fondation pour l'innovation politique*, 137 rue de l'Université, 75007 Paris, T +33 (1) 4753 6700, E contact@fondapol.org, www.fondapol.org.

► The **Fondation Robert Schuman** is not a party foundation. It describes itself as "the French think tank on Europe", following three main goals: contributing to debates and progress achieved by the EU, helping new member states in their integration efforts, and encouraging research and young European researchers. The chairman of the board is Jean-Dominique Giuliani who has good contacts to President Sarkozy's entourage. He published a book about EU enlargement ("L'élargissement de l'Europe", Paris, PUF, 2005). Board members include Pascale Andréani, the spokesperson of the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Germany's federal finance minister Wolfgang Schäuble, as well as a number of former French ministers and senators. The general manager is Pascale Joannin.

A large list of publications (in English) on all sorts of topics related to the EU can be found on the foundation's website. A recent publication on the Balkans was written by Gaëlle Pério, a journalist with extensive Balkan experience: "[Relations EU-Western Balkans: The European Bermuda Triangle](#)" (21 February 2011).

Contact: *Fondation Robert Schuman*, 29 bd Raspail, 75007 Paris, T +33 (1) 5363 8300, E info@robert-schuman.eu, www.robert-schuman.eu. The foundation also operates a Brussels office, headed by Charles de Marcilly; Rond Point Schuman 6, 1040 Brussels, T +32 (2) 234 7826, E bruxelles@robert-schuman.eu

3. Economic Interest Groups

French business is an important political factor. While many companies of the once large state-owned sector have been privatised over the last 20 years, connections between business, in particular the huge enterprises, and politics remain rather strong compared to other European countries. However, many of these connections function through personal channels, and the position of French business on foreign policy issues remain rather undisclosed to the wider public.

► **MEDEF**, the **Mouvement des Entreprises de France** (Movement of French enterprises) is France's most important business association, replacing in 1998 the *Conseil national du patronat français* (National Council of French Employers). Since 2005 its president has been Laurence Parisot.

Since mid-2011, MEDEF's Europe Commission has been chaired by Jacques Veyrat, Chief Executive Officer of the Louis Dreyfus Group, a leading French enterprise specialised in the development of global grain trade. Veyrat served as president of Neuf Cegetel SA from 2004. He also held various positions at the Ministry of Finance (1989-1993) and the Office of the Ministry of Public Works (1993-1995). The Commission promotes French companies' interests at the EU level.

MEDEF is also represented at the international level through [MEDEF International](#), which intends to build and strengthen ties between French companies, policymakers and economic actors around the world, and to promote the companies' international development. The structure of MEDEF International comprises several bilateral councils of entrepreneurs. One of them focuses on Central and Eastern Europe, Russia and NEI countries. Charles Paradis, Chief Executive Officer of Bouygues Construction Concessions, is president of the Committee on the Western Balkans.

Contact: *MEDEF*, 55 avenue Bosquet, 75330 Paris Cedex 07, T +33 (1) 5359 1919, F +33 (1) 4551 2044, www.medef.fr. Contact Jérôme Bédier at bedier@fecd.eu or T +33 (1) 33 4443 9901.

4. Foreign organisations

► The *European Union Institute for Security Studies* (EUISS) formerly employed one senior research fellow for Balkan affairs. This position was last occupied by Professor Judy Batt, a UK academic. Batt left in April 2008, however, and has not been replaced. Besides reports (mostly within the Chaillot paper series or briefing papers), the Institute's most recent publications and events include:

- "[The Western Balkans and the EU: 'the hour of Europe'](#)", edited by Jacques Rupnik, [Chaillot Paper](#) - N°126 - 06 June 2011;
- Seminar: "[The Balkans by 2030: Present trends and future challenges](#)", 6 June 2011

Esra Bulut Aymat, a Senior Research Fellow at the EUISS since 2008, deals with Turkey and other Eastern Mediterranean countries and the Middle East. She can be reached through her assistant Kathrine Benchemam at T +33 1 56 89 19 64 and E Kathrine.Benchemam@iss.europa.eu.

Contact: *European Union Institute for Security Studies*, 43, avenue du Président Wilson, 75775 Paris cedex 16, <http://www.iss.europa.eu/>.

► The *European Council on Foreign Relations* (ECFR) has an office in Paris like in many other European capitals. Launched in 2007, the ECFR calls itself "the first pan-European think-tank" and aims "to conduct research and promote informed debate across Europe on the development of coherent and effective European values-based foreign policy." The Paris office is headed by Thomas Klau, a former journalist with extensive experience in France, who is also the Editorial Director of the organisation. The ECFR also maintains an office in Sofia, covering Balkan affairs.

Contact: *ECFR Paris Office*, 103, Rue de Grenelle, 75007 Paris, T +33 (1) 70 91 72 05, E paris@ecfr.eu, <http://ecfr.eu/>. Thomas Klau can be reached at T +33 (1) 70 91 72 10 and E thomas.klau@ecfr.eu.

► The Paris office of the *Open Society Institute* (Soros Foundation) acts as a liaison and resource office to help foster cultural and educational exchange programmes between Soros Foundations and Western European countries. In terms of projects, it focuses nearly exclusively on the Soros Belarus project since the Soros office there had to close in 1997. With regard to proposals and grant requests that are not related to Belarus, OSI Paris translates and evaluates them and directs them to appropriate Soros foundations and network programmes.

Contact Annette Laborey, 38 Boulevard Beaumarchais, 75011 Paris, T +33 (1) 4805 2474, E osi-paris@osi-eu.org, www.soros.org.

5. Diplomatic missions

5.1. *Embassies of the Western Balkan countries and Turkey*

Embassy of Albania, Ambassador Ylljet Alicka
57, Avenue Marceau, 75116 Paris, T +33 (1) 4723 3177, F +33 (1) 4723 5985, E yalicka@mfa.gov.al,
ambassade.albanie@wanadoo.fr

Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ambassador Nina Sajic
174, rue de Courcelles, 75017 Paris, T +33 (1) 4267 3422, F +33 (1) 4053 8522, E
z.zovko@wanadoo.fr, amb_pariz@mvp.gov.ba

Embassy of the Republic of Croatia, Ambassador Mirko Galic
39, av. Georges Mandel, 75116 Paris, T +33 (1) 5370 0280, F +33 (1) 5370 0290,
mirko.galic@mvp.hr, www.amb-croatie.fr

Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia, Ambassador Agron Budjaku
5, rue de la Faisanderie, 75116 Paris, T +33 (1) 4577 1050, F +33 (1) 4577 1484, E
ambassade@fr.oleane.com

Embassy of Montenegro, Ambassador Irena Radovic
216, Bd. Saint Germain, 75007 Paris, T +33 (1) 5363 8030, F +33 (1) 4222 8390, E
ambasadorcg@orange.fr, ambasadacg@orange.fr

Embassy of the Republic of Serbia, Ambassador Dusan T. Batakovic
5, rue Léonard de Vinci, 75116 Paris, T +33 (1) 4072 2417, F +33 (1) 4072 2411, E
ambasadapariz@yahoo.fr / sec.paris@mfa.rs, <http://www.amb-serbie.fr>

Embassy of the Republic of Turkey, Ambassador Tashin Burcuoglu
16, avenue de Lamballe , 75016 Paris-France T +33 (1) 5392 7111, F 33 (1) 45 20 41 91, E
ambassade.paris@mfa.gov.tr

5.2. *Embassies of the countries holding the current and upcoming EU presidencies*

Polish presidency (second half of 2011):
Embassy of Poland, Ambassador Tomasz Orłowski
1, rue de Talleyrand, 75007 Paris, T +33 (1) 4317 3405, E paris.amb.info@msz.gov.pl

Danish presidency (first half of 2012)
Embassy of Denmark, Ambassador Anne Dorte Riggelsen
77, avenue Marceau, 75016 Paris, T +33 (1) 4431 2121, F +33 (1) 4431 2188, E paramb@um.dk

Cyprus Presidency (second half of 2012)
Embassy of Cyprus, Ambassador Kornelios Korneliou
23, rue Galilée, 75016 Paris, T +33 (1) 4720 8628, F +33 (1) 4070 1344, E ambrechypre@wanadoo.fr

Irish Presidency (first half of 2013)
Embassy of Ireland, Ambassador Paul Kavanagh
12 ave Foch, 75116 Paris, T +33 (1) 44176700, F +33 (1) 44176750, E
<http://www.dfa.ie/home/index.aspx?id=30663>

6. Books on France

Olivier Duhamel, *Pour l'Europe*, 2nd edition, Paris: Seuil, 2005.

Jonathan Fenby, *On the Brink: The Trouble with France*, Abacus, 2002 (new edition).

Andrew Knapp and Vincent Wright, *The Government and Politics of France*, fifth edition, London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

Bernard Kouchner, *Les guerriers de la paix: Du Kosovo à l'Irak*, Paris, Editions Grasset, 2004 (published in English as "The Warriors of Peace").

Isabelle Lasserre, *L'impuissance française. 1989-2007. Une diplomatie qui a fait son temps*, Paris: Flammarion, 2007.

Élisabeth Lau (ed.), *L'état de la France 2007-2008*, Paris: La Découverte, 2007.

Christian Lequesne, *La France dans la nouvelle Europe, assumer le changement d'échelle*, Presses de Sciences Po, October 2008.

Roger Price, *A Concise History of France*, 2nd edition, Cambridge Concise Histories, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Nicolas Sarkozy, *Témoignage*, Paris: XO Éditions (pocket), 2006.

Timothy B. Smith, *France in Crisis. Welfare, Inequality and Globalization since 1980*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Anne Stevens, *Government and Politics of France*, third edition, Palgrave, 2003.

Hubert Védrine, *Rapport pour le président de la République sur La France et la mondialisation*, Paris: Fayard, 2007.

C. POLITICS

1. The Presidency

On 6 May 2007, Nicolas Sarkozy was elected President of the French Republic, winning a 53% majority in the second round. Sarkozy is only the third president since 1981. His predecessors François Mitterrand and Jacques Chirac ruled for a combined stretch of 26 years. The next presidential elections are due to take place on 22 April and 6 May 2012, the latter date being reserved for a second round if required.



The president of the republic is the head of state of France. The president holds more power than his European counterparts. This includes the ability to appoint the prime minister, the power to name and dismiss ministers with the prime minister's agreement and to dissolve the National Assembly. The president's power and importance is, to a large extent, dependent on his or her support in parliament. For example, the National Assembly has the power to dismiss the prime minister, meaning that the president must choose a prime minister who has the parliament's approval. When the president and majority of the parliament represent different political views, this may lead to *cohabitation*. This has occurred three times in the Fifth Republic, most recently between 1997 and 2002 when Chirac was president and socialist Lionel Jospin was prime minister.

The president is elected for a five-year term. Since the constitutional reform of 23 July 2008, the term can be renewed only once (Article 6 of the French Constitution). Mr. Sarkozy's current term is ending in 2012.

Sarkozy's time in office has been marked by a dramatic fall in his approval ratings, from 67% in July 2007 to 30% in April 2011. This can partly be explained by Sarkozy's failure to deliver on his electoral promises and subsequent commitments to tackle the economic crisis, generate sustainable growth and jobs, and revitalise the economy.

While very powerful, the Elysée is much smaller in terms of staff than the prime minister's office (often referred to simply as *Matignon*). So the office of the president has to focus and to carefully pick the priorities it deals with.

Of crucial importance is the top staff and the President's advisers. **Xavier Musca** has been the General Secretary in the Elysée since February 2011. He replaced Claude Guéant who was appointed Minister of the Interior. **Henri Guaino** has the title of "special adviser". He writes many of the President's speeches, providing ideas and suitable quotations. He accompanies Sarkozy on his travels and enjoys his trust.

Jean-David Levitte, the chief diplomatic adviser who was already Chirac's foreign political adviser, is a very experienced diplomat. He was Ambassador to the UN in the run-up to the war in Iraq. As ambassador to Washington at the height of Franco-American tensions, he played a crucial role in keeping communication between Washington and Paris going.

Other positions relevant for enlargement and South Eastern Europe include:

- Fabien Raynaud, Counsellor on European Affairs
- Eric Tallon, Deputy Counsellor on European Affairs
- Damien Loras, Counsellor on Russia, Central Asia, Balkans, the Caucasus and the Americas
- Maxime Tandonnet, Counsellor on Immigration and Home Affairs
- André Parant, Deputy Diplomatic Counsellor
- Sarah Gaubert, Technical Counsellor – relations with French Senate and EU Parliament
- Pierre Regent, Technical Counsellor Press on International issues

Contact:

Monsieur le Président de la République, Palais de l'Élysée, 55, rue du faubourg Saint-Honoré, 75008 Paris, www.elysee.fr. Contact the chief foreign adviser Jean-David Levitte (Conseiller diplomatique and Sherpa) at T +33 (1) 42 92 82 23.

2. Government

Ever since its election on 10 and 17 June 2007, the current centre-right government has been already reshuffled nine times, most recently on 3 October 2011.

2.1. Prime Minister and Ministers



Prime Minister François Fillon

57, rue de Varenne

75007 Paris

Phone: +33 (1) 4275 8000

www.premier-ministre.gouv.fr/en/

In Prime Minister Fillon's cabinet, **Gilles Briatta** is the main adviser on European affairs. Briatta also heads the General Secretariat for European Affairs, a co-ordination body that aims to ensure unity on EU affairs within the government. It is a very important body, but hardly visible in the media and official proceedings. Another relevant cabinet member is **Charles Fries**, Diplomatic Advisor.

Contact: Gilles Briatta, Co-ordinator for Europe / Secretary General of European Affairs, Prime Minister's Cabinet, 57 rue de Varenne, T +33 (1) 42 75 84 15, E sec.gilles.briatta@pm.gouv.fr.

The French government



Alain Juppé

Minister of State and Minister
for Foreign and European
Affairs



François Baroin

Minister of Finance



Michel Mercier

Minister of Justice



Gérard Longuet

Minister of Defence



Bruno Le Maire

Minister for Agriculture
and Fisheries



Claude Guéant

Minister of the Interior,
Overseas Terr. and Immigration



Laurent Wauquiez
Minister for Higher
Education and Research



Xavier Bertrand
Minister for Labour and Health



Luc Chatel
Minister for National
Education, Youth and
Community Life



Nathalie Kosciusko-Morizet
Minister for Ecology,
Sustainable Development,
Transport and Housing



Frédéric Mitterrand
Minister for Culture
and Communication



Valérie Pécresse
Minister for Budget, Public
Accounting and State reform



François Sauvadet
Minister for Public Service



Roselyne Bachelot-Narquin
Minister for Solidarity and
Social Cohesion



Maurice Leroy
Minister for Urban
Development



Jean Leonetti
Minister for European Affairs



Henri de Raincourt
Minister for Cooperation



David Douillet
Minister for Sports

The composition of the government includes other Ministers and Secretaries of State, representing a total of **34 members**. The whole list [can be found here](#).⁴

The following is a list of all ministries with the respective contact details except for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which will be treated separately in a subsequent section:

⁴ The link spelled out is:
http://www.gouvernement.fr/sites/default/files/fichiers_joints/COMPOSITION_GOUVERNEMENT_270711.pdf.

Ministry of Finance

Minister François Baroin
139, rue de Bercy (6th Floor)
75572 Paris
Phone: +33 (1) 40 04 04 04
www.minefe.gouv.fr/

Ministry of Justice

Minister Michel Mercier
13, place Vendôme
75042 Paris Cedex 01
Phone: +33 (1) 44 77 60 60
www.justice.gouv.fr

Ministry of Defence

Minister Gérard Longuet
14, rue Saint-Dominique
75700 Paris
Phone: +33 (1) 42 19 30 11
www.defense.gouv.fr

Ministry for Agriculture and Fisheries

Minister Bruno Le Maire
78, rue de Varenne
75700 Paris
Phone: +33 (1) 49 55 49 55
<http://agriculture.gouv.fr/>

Ministry of the Interior, Overseas Territories and Immigration

Minister Claude Guéant
Place Beauvau
75800 Paris
Phone: +33 (1) 49 27 49 27
www.interieur.gouv.fr

Ministry of Labour, Employment and Health

Minister Xavier Bertrand
127, rue de Grenelle
75700 Paris
Phone: +33 (1) 44 38 38 38
www.travail-solidarite.gouv.fr

Ministry for National Education, Youth and Community Life

Minister Luc Chatel
110, rue de Grenelle
75357 Paris 07 SP
Phone: +33 (1) 55 55 10 10
www.education.gouv.fr/

Ministry for Ecology, Sustainable Development, Transport and Housing

Minister Nathalie Kosciusko-Morizet
Hôtel de Roquelaure
246, boulevard Saint-Germain
75700 Paris
Phone: +33 (1) 40 81 21 22
www.developpement-durable.gouv.fr

Ministry for Culture and Communication

Minister Frédéric Mitterrand

3, rue de Valois

75100 Paris

Phone: +33 (1) 40 15 80 00

www.culture.gouv.fr

Ministry for Higher Education and Research

Minister Laurent Wauquiez

21, rue Descartes

75005 Paris

Phone: +33 (1) 55 55 10 10

www.enseignementsup-recherche.gouv.fr

Ministry of the Budget, Public Accounting and State Reform

Minister Valérie Pécresse

139 rue de Bercy (5th Floor)

75572 Paris Cedex 12

Phone: +33 (1) 40 04 04 04

www.budget.gouv.fr

Ministry of Sports

Minister David Douillet

8, avenue de France

75013 Paris

Phone: +33 (1) 40 45 90 00

<http://www.sports.gouv.fr/>

Ministry of Solidarity and Social Cohesion

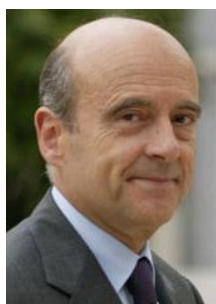
Minister Roeslyne Bachelot-Narquin

72, rue de Varenne

75707 Paris

E: cab-scs-presse@solidarite.gouv.fr

www.solidarite.gouv.fr

2.2. Key contacts in the Ministry for Foreign and European Affairs

Alain Juppé, former Prime Minister (1995-1997), was brought in by President Sarkozy during a government reshuffle at the end of February 2011 to head the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs. He already carried out these responsibilities from 1993 to 1995 under President Jacques Chirac. During the cohabitation between Francois Mitterrand and Jacques Chirac Juppé served as Minister of the Budget and Spokesperson of the Government (1986 to 1988).

At the same time, Alain Juppé holds several elected offices at the local level. Mayor of Bordeaux from 1995 to 2004, he had to resign after being convicted on corruption charges in relation to his period as secretary general of Chirac's Party RPR (1988-1995) and deputy mayor of Paris (1983-1995) responsible for financial and budgetary affairs. In spite of this he was re-elected in 2006 and in 2008, and remains mayor of Bordeaux to this day.

In May 2007, Juppé was appointed Minister of State and Minister of Ecology and Sustainable Development in the first government of François Fillon. He had to leave government a month later, however, after failing in the legislative elections. As Foreign Minister, his most notable diplomatic achievement has been to win support from Russia and China for the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1973 (March 2011), which paved the way for an international intervention in Libya.

Policy decisions are often taken in the cabinet, where **Alexis Dutertré**, advisor for European affairs and the Balkans, is among the most important figures. He can be reached at T +33 (1) 43 17 53 53 and E alexis.dutertré@diplomatie.gouv.fr. Other key persons include **Philippe Albiez**, the Chief of Cabinet (T +33(1) 43 17 53 53, E philippe.albiez@diplomatie.gouv.fr) and **Axel Cruau**, adviser for the United Nations and International Organisations (T +33 (1) 43 17 53 53, axel.cruau@diplomatie.gouv.fr).

Contact: **Alain Juppé**, Minister of State and Minister for Foreign and European Affairs, 37, quai d'Orsay, 75351 Paris cedex 07, T +33 (1) 43 17 53 53, www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/

Jean Leonetti (picture on the right) was appointed Minister for European Affairs within the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs in June 2011. A doctor and cardiologist by training, he holds several local and legislative mandates. He is Mayor of Antibes (since 1995) and a member of the French National Assembly (since 1997, re-elected in 2007). Since the spring of 2010, he has chaired the French Hospital Federation (FHF). As First Deputy Chairman of the ruling party UMP, he was actively involved on issues related to bioethics and euthanasia. He is at the origin of the August 2005 Leonetti law on end-of-life decisions.



His head of cabinet is **Christophe Parisot** (christophe.parisot@diplomatie.gouv.fr).

Contact: Jean Leonetti, Minister for European Affairs, 37, quai d'Orsay, 75351 Paris cedex 07, Phone: +33 (0)1 43 17 53 53, E jean.leonetti@diplomatie.gouv.fr

At the **Ministry of Foreign Affairs**, the **Directorate for Continental Europe** deals with European countries that are not members of the EU, including the Balkans. Here, **François Pugeaut** is the Deputy Director for the Western Balkans. The Sub-directorate for EU External Relations of the Directorate for the European Union is headed by **Fabien Penone**. Within the same Directorate, **Pascal Vagogne** serves as Deputy Director for Southern Europe including Turkey.

Another relevant body of the ministry is the Policy Planning Department, a body created in 1973 to conduct independent inter-disciplinary analysis of the international policy environment. This gives it a much wider brief than its equivalents in other foreign ministries. It acts as an internal think-tank. Its influence depends on its relations with the Minister.

Key persons in the ministry:

General Secretariat:

Pierre Sellal
Secretary General
Phone: +33 (1) 43 17 42 02
pierre.sellal@diplomatie.gouv.fr

Directorate for the European Union:

Jean-Michel Casa
European Union Director
Phone: +33 (1) 43 17 43 55
Jean-Michel.Casa@diplomatie.gouv.fr

Fabien Penone
Chief of External Relations Department of the Community and the EU

Phone: +33 (1) 43 17 45 16
Fabien.penone@diplomatie.gouv.fr

Pascal Vagogue
Deputy Director for Southern Europe
Phone: +33 (1) 43 17 45 50
Pascal.vagogue@diplomatie.gouv.fr

Directorate for Continental Europe:

Philippe Lefort
Continental Europe Director
Phone: +33 (1) 43 17 45 05
Philippe.lefort@diplomatie.gouv.fr

François Pugeaut
Deputy Director for Western Balkans
Phone: +33 (1) 43 17 45 56
francois.pugeaut@diplomatie.gouv.fr

Directorate for Middle East and North Africa:

Richard Requena
Desk officer for Turkey
richard.requena@diplomacie.gouv.fr

Nathalie Kennedy
Desk officer for Turkey
nathalie.kennedy@diplomatie.gouv.fr

Policy Planning Department:

Joseph Maila
Head of Policy Planning Department
Phone: +33 (1) 43 17 ..
joseph.maila@diplomatie.gouv.fr

Christian Lechervy
Deputy Head of Policy Planning Department
Phone: +33 (1) 43 17 ..
Christian.lechervy@diplomatie.gouv.fr

The organigram of the ministry is available at:
http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/IMG/pdf/27012012_cle818aaf.pdf.

Finally, another very important position is that of the French Permanent Representative to the EU in Brussels. Philippe Etienne, former head of cabinet of Bernard Kouchner, is presently the Permanent Representative. His main adviser for the Western Balkans is Cyril Piquemal.

Philippe Etienne
Ambassador, Permanent Representative
14 Place de Louvain
1000 Brussels
Secretariat : Marie-Sylvie Atangana
Phone: +32 (2) 229 82 09

marie-sylvie.atangana@diplomatie.gouv.fr
www.rpfrance-ue.org

Cyril Piquemal

Adviser for the Western Balkans

Phone: +32 (2) 229 85 97

Cyril.piquemal@diplomatie.gouv.fr

Mathilde Grammont

Adviser on Turkey

Phone: +32 (2) 229 82 49

Mathilde.Grammont@diplomatie.gouv.fr

3. Parliament and the main political parties

France has a bicameral parliamentary system: the Senate (Sénat) forms the upper chamber with 348 senators; and the National Assembly (Assemblée nationale) forms the lower chamber with 577 deputies. The National Assembly's deputies are directly elected by their constituencies, while the senators represent the municipal and regional *départements* and are elected indirectly by an electoral college.



The National Assembly is the more important of the two chambers with broader powers. In the case of a disagreement between the two chambers, the government can grant the National Assembly the final legislative authority, unless it concerns constitutional laws or institutional laws related to the Senate. The National Assembly is also the sole legislative body which can censure the Government by withholding its confidence or passing a censure motion.

3.1. Current composition of the National Assembly and the Senate

3.1.1. Current Distribution of Seats by Group in the National Assembly

Group	Seats
Union for a Popular Movement	313
Socialist, Radical and Citizen Group	204
Democratic and Republican Left	25
New Centre-Presidential Majority	24
Non-affiliated Deputies	9
Total	575

Source: "Composition des groupes politiques" on the National Assembly's official website
http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/13/tribun/xml/effectifs_groupes.asp

Groups of friends within the National Assembly:

1. France-Turkey
President: Mr. Michel Diefenbacher, T +33 (1) 40 63 05 54, F +33 (1) 40 63 05 84
2. France-Serbia
President: Mr. Jean-Pierre Dufau, T +33 (5) 58 72 10 09, F +33 (5) 58 72 25 82, www.jeanpierredufau.org
3. France-Macedonia
President: Mr. Philippe Duron, T +33 (2) 31 30 40 50, F +33 (2) 31 30 45 80
4. France-Kosovo
President: Mr. Christian Menard, T +33 (2) 98 86 60 20, F +33 (2) 98 86 66 26
5. France-Bosnia and Herzegovina
President: Mr. Francois Lamy, T +33 (1) 40 63 68 63, F +33 (1) 40 63 68 50
6. France-Croatia
President: Mr. Patrick Bloche, T +33 (1) 53 27 11 11, F +33 (1) 53 27 10 54, www.patrickbloche.org

*Source: « Les groupes d'amitié » on the National Assembly's official Website
<http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/international/groupe-ami-ite-index.asp>*

3.1.2. Current Distribution of Seats by Group in the Senate

Group	Seats
Union for a Popular Movement	132
Socialists	140
Centrist Union	31
Communist, Republican and Citizen	21
Democratic and Social European	17
Non-affiliated Senators	7
Total	348

*Source: Official website of the French Senate
<http://www.senat.fr/grp/index.html>*

Groups of friends in the Senate:

1. France-Turkey
President of the group: to be designated
Executive secretary: Mr. Jean-Marc Virieux, T: +33 (1) 42 34 28 94

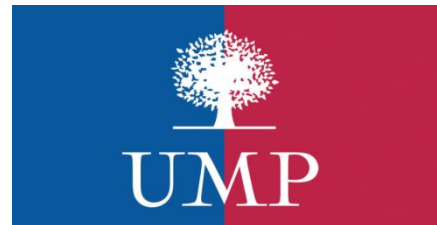
2. France-Western Balkans
 President of the group: to be designated
 Executive secretary: Mr. Sebastien Richard, T: +33 (1) 42 34 26 29
 Kosovo delegated president: Mr. Didier Boulaud
 Macedonia delegated president: Mr. Francois Rebsamen
 Montenegro delegated president: Mr. Francois Pillet
 Serbia delegated president: Mr. Jean-Pierre Michel

Source: "Liste des groupes interparlementaires d'amitié et des groupes d'information internationale", official website of the French Senate, <http://www.senat.fr/groupe-interparlementaire-amitie/amilst.html>

3.2 Political Parties in France

3.2. Union for a Popular Movement – Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (UMP)

The UMP (www.u-m-p.org) was founded in 2002, consolidating the centre right before the elections in June 2002. It had been preceded by an association of three parties that had supported Jacques Chirac's re-election as president. **Nicolas Sarkozy** became the UMP's president in November 2004. After the defeat of Ségolène Royal by Sarkozy in the 2007 presidential elections, the party chose to appoint a collegial leadership, which is currently composed of **Jean-François Copé**, **Hervé Novelli** and **Marc-Philippe Daubresse**.



The UMP won an absolute majority of the seats in the National Assembly in the June 2007 elections. In the municipal elections in March 2008, the party suffered a setback, losing a number of key cities: Toulouse, Caen, Strasbourg, Amiens and Reims. Its poor showing continued throughout other elections. In the cantonal elections in March 2011, during which half the membership of the general councils of France's 100 *départements* were elected, UMP candidates received only 20% of the votes even after the second round of voting, while the Socialist Party had been given 35% and the *Front National* of Marine Le Pen almost 12%. The Senate elections in September 2011 were also sobering for the UMP. It gained 132 seats, 19 less than in 2008 when it had already lost 4 seats compared with 2004.

UMP National Secretaries - contacts for SEE-related topics:



National Secretary for relations with candidate countries for EU membership
 Jacques Remiller
 Deputy for Isère
 French National Assembly
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National Secretary for European Security and Defence Policy
 Arnaud Danjean (MEP)
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3.3. Socialist Party (PS)

The Socialist Party was established in 1969 as a successor to the *Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière* (the French Section of the Workers' International). **François Mitterrand** is the only PS politician to have been elected president. His presidency lasted from 1981 to 1995. In 2002 the PS's candidate, **Lionel Jospin**, surprisingly failed to make the run-off, which saw the extreme right-wing politician Jean-Marie Le Pen face off against Jacques Chirac, who won. Five years later, in the 2007 presidential election, the party chose **Ségolène Royal** as its candidate. She lost to Nicolas Sarkozy, garnering 46.9% of the vote in the second round. The party was also defeated in the 2007 parliamentary elections: it received 42% of the popular votes after the second round, while Sarkozy's UMP won 46%. In the run-up to the 2012 presidential elections in April/May 2012, the PS lost its likely presidential candidate, then IMF director Dominique Strauss-Kahn, over sexual assault allegations. The party will now be represented by Francois Hollande. The party is led by Martine Aubry, the daughter of former French Finance Minister and European Commission President Jacques Delors.



PS National Secretaries - contacts for SEE-related topics:



National Secretary for Europe and international affairs

Jean-Christophe Cambadélis
Deputy for Paris (20th constituency)
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126 rue de l'Université
75355 Paris 07 SP
jccambadelis@assemblee-nationale.fr



National Secretary for External Relations

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3.4. Relevant French members of the European Parliament

Arnaud Danjean (UMP), European People's Party (EPP)

Arnaud Danjean is a member of the EP's Foreign Affairs Committee, he chairs the Sub-Committee on Security and Defence, and he is a member of the Delegation for relations with Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo. Throughout his career as a French diplomat and advisor, he has had extensive experience in the Western Balkans, especially with regards to Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo.

Contact: see p. 37

Hélène Flautre (Europe Ecologie), Greens/European Free Alliance

Hélène Flautre, MEP since 1999, is President of the Delegation to the EU-



Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee, where she features as a strong supporter of Turkey's accession to the EU. She is also a member of the Delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Union for the Mediterranean. In the EP, she is a member of the Committee for Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (LIBE) and a substitute in the Foreign Affairs Committee (AFET).

Contact:

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