The French EU Enlargement Debate

A manual with information and contacts

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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), the parliament and the leading parties.

We have included people working on South Eastern Europe, including Turkey, as well as those who are active in the current enlargement debate in general, as these are often individuals who could be expected to be interested in the questions raised by Turkish or Western Balkan accession even if they are not focusing on it at this moment.

As one of the biggest EU member states France is not only an important player influencing EU policies towards Turkey. 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 certainly belong to the most important ones.

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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 have circulations of above 200,000. In addition
there are close to 200 regional weeklies, of which 12 have a circulation higher than 20,000 (for
instance La Manche libre with 73,699 and Le Courier Cauchois (Yvetot) with 39,046).

Agence France Press (AFP) maintains offices in Belgrade and Ankara, two of their 18 European main
bureaus, and has what it calls secondary bureaus in Istanbul, Pristina, Sarajevo and Tirana (see below).

Except for Gaelle Perio (gaelle.perio@hotmail.com), a freelance journalist based in Belgrade
contributing to the weekly L’express and to the daily La Croix, there are no correspondents
permanently based in the Western Balkans. Balkan affairs are covered by journalists from Paris who
travel to the region if there are bigger events (Kosovo’s Independence declaration, Montenegro’s
referendum, elections, etc.). Most of the papers also have a number of regular political commentators
who take up Balkan issues from time to time.

For Turkey, many of the main media have an accreditation in Turkey such as Le Monde, Le journal du
Dimanche, Le Point, Le Figaro, Liberation, L’Express, La Tribune, Le Parisien, RTL/RFI, and
Arte/France 24.

For a full list of French journalists (all media) accredited in Turkey you can go to the site of La France

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

1.1. The national dailies

Unlike in the United Kingdom or Germany, quality dailies are account for most of the newspapers
with the highest circulation. 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 dailies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National dailies (circulation above 80,000)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Le Figaro</td>
<td>333,405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’équipe</td>
<td>327,168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Monde</td>
<td>321,086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aujourd’hui en France</td>
<td>188,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les Echos</td>
<td>136,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libération</td>
<td>134,511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La croix</td>
<td>103,796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Tribune</td>
<td>86,997</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Source: Association pour le contrôle de la diffusion des media (OJD), Book 2007 Presse Payante Grand
Public, 26 February 2008. Total distribution in France (against payment and free).

www.esiweb.org
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.

Daniel Vernet (dvernet@lemonde.fr) leads the international relations department and frequently comments on strategic international issues. He is well connected to the Elysée and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Vernet was pro-East European enlargement and warned against a “no” vote in the French referendum on the European Constitutional Treaty in 2005.

Thomas Ferenczi (ferenczi@lemonde.fr), since 2003 the paper’s Brussels correspondent, regularly writes editorials on enlargement (generally in favour).

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 also sometimes covers issues in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. Éric Le Boucher (leboucher@lemonde.fr) writes a weekly economic column, mostly critical of the “French economic model”. Sometimes, when writing about competitiveness or globalisation, he touches on the issue of EU enlargement.

Christophe Châtelot (chatelot@lemonde.fr) is the main person covering Balkan affairs. Guillaume Perrier (guillaume.istanbul@yahoo.fr) is the main person covering Turkey for Le Monde, but also for Le Journal du Dimanche and Le Point.

Sophie Bilderling Shihab (sophieshihab@gmail.com) who in the 1990s has been reporting for Le Monde from Moscow, is currently writing for Le Monde from Istanbul (contacts: Şahkulu Mah. Tımarcı Sok. 3/9, Kuledibi-Beyoğlu-Istanbul, phone: +90 (212) 252 32 55, fax: +90 (212) 252 32 55).

Contact in France: Le Monde, 80, boulevard Auguste-Blanqui, 75707 Paris Cedex 13; phone +33(0)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, and generally though nor always supportive of the current government.

One journalist knowledgeable about Turkey is Laure Marchand (lauremarchand1@yahoo.fr) who also writes for L’Expansion, La Tribune de Genève and L’Hebdo. Thierry Oberle has repeatedly written on Turkey as well.

The foreign affairs editor, Pierre Rousselin (prousselin@lefigaro.fr), sometimes writes on Turkey. The papers 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.
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 his departure, the paper moved to a more moderate centrist line in the early 1980s.

The paper has been haunted by financial crisis of which the most recent one is not yet overcome.
The journalists focusing on South Eastern Europe are Marc Semo (semo@liberation.fr), Hélène Despic-Popovic (despic@liberation.fr) and Laurent Rouy. Thomas Hofnung (hofnung@liberation.fr) is in charge of the “World” section, and the paper’s Brussels correspondent is Jean Quatremer (quatremer@liberation.fr).

The “Rebonds“ section reserved for external commentators includes comments and articles about Turkey. Ragip Duran (ragip137@hotmail.com) is the Turkey correspondent for Libération.

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 f 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 Françoise Crouïgneau (fcrouigneau@lesechos.fr). The paper includes a two page ideas & debate section (Idées) 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 and Turkey. One of the papers permanent editorialists, Jacques Hubert-Rodier (jhubertrodier@lesechos.fr), focuses on international politics.

At La Tribune, Daniel Vigneron (dvigneron@latribune.fr) is the editor for international economic affairs. Delphine Nerbollier (delphnerbollier@hotmail.com) is correspondent for Turkey. She also writes for Le Parisien.

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
then 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regional dailies (above 200,000 circulation)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ouest France</td>
<td>793,757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Parisien</td>
<td>342,397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sud-ouest</td>
<td>318,704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La voix du nord</td>
<td>291,831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Dauphine Libéré</td>
<td>249,516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La nouvelle République du Centre-Ouest</td>
<td>217,232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le progrès + La Tribune / Le progrès</td>
<td>228,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Télégramme</td>
<td>207,947</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3. **The 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Important weeklies</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paris Match</td>
<td>663,073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le nouvel observateur</td>
<td>515,429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’express</td>
<td>457,157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le point</td>
<td>421,892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marianne</td>
<td>278,338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courrier International</td>
<td>194,497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Canard Enchained</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here you find short descriptions 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.

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² Source: Association pour le contrôle de la diffusion des media (OJD), Book 2007 Presse Payante Grand Public, 26 February 2008. Total distribution in France (paid and free).

There were crises, however, when 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. Nukte Bouvard (bouvarddev@yahoo.fr) is the Turkey correspondent based in Istanbul.


► 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 became one of the highest circulation weeklies, a position it still holds today. It is published Thursdays. The “world” section is headed by René Backmann (rbackmann@nouvelobs.com). Regular commentators include people like Jacques Delors and Robert Badinter.


► Le point was also founded by a group of journalists who had quit L’express, in 1972. Its political orientation initially was centre-right, but it has moved more towards the right over the years. It was considered very close to Nicolas Sarkozy from 2002-2007. Pierre Beylau heads the foreign affairs section. The paper’s regular commentators include some famous names such as Bernhard-Henri Lévy, Jacques Marseille, Alain Duhamel, Patrick Besson and Claude Allègre.

Contact: Le Point, 74, avenue du Maine, 75682 Paris Cedex 14, phone +33 (0)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, who can be reached at +33 (0)1 5372 2945.

Contact: Marianne, 32, rue René-Boulanger, 75484 Paris Cedex 10, phone +33 (0)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 for big events, it overall devotes little space to international politics.

Contact: Paris Match, 149, rue Anatole-France, 92534 Sevallois-Perret Cedex, phone +33 (0)1 41346000, 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 live and only irregularly has articles on international affairs.

The director is Michel Gaillard; the chief editors are: Claude Angeli, Erik Emptaz.

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Contact: Le Canard enchaîné, 173, rue St-Honoré, 75051 Paris Cedex 01, phone +33 (0)1 4927 9787, 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 focusing on a rather specialised audience, the fact that it specialises in international affairs makes it relevant.

Philippe Thureau-Dangin, the editor in chief, can be reached at +33 (1) 4646 1616 through his assistant Balila Bounekta or at thureau-dangin@courrierinternational.com. Alexandre Lévy (alevy@courrierinternational.com) is the chief of the East European Section. Phone: +33 (0)1 4646 1657.

The following people are responsible for the Western Balkans: Mandi Gueguen (Albania, Kosovo), Miro Miceski (Macedonia), Kika Curovic (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia).

Marc Saghié (marcsaghie@courrierinternational.com) is in charge of the Middle East Section, including Turkey. He can be reached at +33 (1) 46 46 16 69 or (1) 46 46 16 02.

1.4. Monthly’s and journals

► Le Monde diplomatique, a monthly founded in 1954, was initially a weekly supplement to Le Monde aiming at diplomatic circles and international organisations. The clearly left-leaning monthly addresses a wide range of issues of global politics and international relations. While earlier on the paper strongly criticised colonialism and imperialism, during the last years a focus lies 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.

By October 2007, Le Monde diplomatique was available in 71 editions in 26 languages (38 printed editions with a total circulation of 2.2 million, and 22 internet editions). In South Eastern Europe Bulgarian, Croatian, Romanian, Serbian (as a supplement to the weekly NIN) and Slovene editions are available. In the foreign language editions, about 80 percent of contents are translations of articles of the French edition, with the remainder are contributed by the respective domestic offices. There is no foreign edition of Le Monde Diplomatique in Turkish.


► Le Courrier des Balkans, an on-line publication founded in 1998, is dedicated to make 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). His deputy is Laurent Geslin.

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

www.esiweb.org
► 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.


► 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. Its editor is Pierre Charentenay, who wrote that Turkey cannot be considered a secular country (http://turquieeuropeenne.eu/article921.html), as in Turkey only the state asserts its independence while dominating the Mosque.

Contacts:

► Another monthly paper is Reforme, a journal published by the protestant community. Its editor Jean-Luc Mouton is in favour of Turkey’s EU membership, arguing that "the European West is not a Christian West, Europe does not belong to judeo-christianity." Contact: www.reforme.net

► 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 Franc: 43-45, av. de Clichy, 75850 Paris Cedex 17, phone +33 (1) 5699 6076 (secretary Katherine Montémont) or +33 (1) 5699 6061 (secretary Corinne Barougier), www.geomagazine.fr. Reach the Editor in Chief Jean-Luc Marty through his secretary at kmontemont@prisma-presse.com or his deputy Eric Meyer at emeyer@prisma-presse.com.
National Geographic France: 43-45, av. de Clichy, 75850 Paris Cedex 17, phone +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 Time (FT) Paris correspondent is Ben Hall (ben.hall@ft.com). As one of the founders of the London-based Centre for European Reform, he is very interested in EU affairs. He did a very interesting interview with State Secretary Jean-Pierre Jouyet in January 2008 in which Jouyet

4 Talking Turkey in Europe, Nathalie Tocci, Instituto Affari Internazionali, December 2008, p.128

www.esiweb.org
said that there was a sea change in the government’s approach towards the EU (see chapter on politics). The FT’s correspondent in Ankara is Delphine Strauss (Delphine.Strauss@FT.Com).


► Matthew Kaminski was the Editorial Page Editor of the European edition of the Wall Street Journal until 2008. 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. From early 2003 to 2008 he lived in Paris, and has also written about Turkey. Since July 2008 he is a member of the Wall Street Journal's editorial board in New York (matthew.kaminski@wsj.com).

Philipp Shishkin (philip.shishkin@wsj.com) is the Turkey correspondent for the Wall Street Journal in Istanbul. Contact: +90 (212) 249 57 75.


► Since January 2004 Alison Smale (asmale@iht.com), a former deputy foreign editor at The New York Times, is the managing editor of the Paris-based International Herald Tribune. Alison Smale has covered the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and most of the wars in former Yugoslavia.

Susanne Patrice Fowler (sfowler@iht.com) is covering Turkey as a correspondent for The International Herald Tribune.

Contact: International Herald Tribune, 6 bis, rue des Graviers, 92521 Neuilly Cedex, phone +33 (1) 4143 9322, e-mail iht@iht.com, www.iht.com.

1.6. Agence France Press

The French Press Agency Agence France Press maintains an extensive network of offices through South East Europe. One of the 18 European main offices is located in Belgrade, smaller bureaus are operated in Pristina, Sarajevo and Tirana.

AFP has also an office in Ankara and a secondary office in Istanbul. The correspondent in Ankara is Sinan Fisek (sinan.fisek@afp.com). The correspondents in Istanbul are Nicholas Cheviron (nicholascheviron@afp.com) and Sonia Logre.

Contact:

Belgrade office: Trg Nikole Pasica 2, 11000 Belgrade, phone: +381 (11) 323 2622, fax: +381 (11) 33 45 501
Pristina office: Qamil Hoxha 1, Pristina, phone: +381 (38) 249 618, fax: +381 (38) 249 618
Sarajevo office: Kosevo 5, 71000 Sarajevo, phone: +387 (33) 202 279, fax: +387 (33) 202 331
Tirana office: Muhamet Gjollesha, P 69, Tirana, phone +355 (4) 227 426
Ankara Office: And Sk. 8/13, Cankaya-Ankara, phone: +90 (312) 468 96 80, fax: +90 (312) 468 96 83
Istanbul Office: Günesli Sok. No: 38/3 Cihangir/Istanbul, phone +90 (212) 292 26 48, fax +90 (212) 292 26 49

www.esiweb.org
2. Radio

There are about 1,200 radio stations in France. 99% of French households have a radio set. According to the European Journalism center, 81% of French people above the age of 15 say that 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 François 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 International 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 far 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, programs on various themes and music. Mediametrie reports that 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. None of these are in Southeast Europe. Laurent Rouy, France 24’s correspondent in Belgrade has contributed to recent programs featuring the Balkans.

Jerome Bastion (jorham64@hotmail.com) is the correspondent for Turkey in Istanbul. He works also for Radio France Internationale, Radio Television Belge Francophone (RTBF), Radio Suisse Romande, Radio Canada, La Libre Belgique, TV5.

The station’s programme “Et pourtant elle tourne” (And nevertheless, it turns), broadcast on weekdays between 18:15 and 19:00, has a global focus. In addition to news it also reports on geopolitics, society, culture, music, etc. The report on a particular region is usually put together by that region’s foreign correspondent.

Contact:
France Inter Paris: 116 avenue du Président Kennedy, 75220 Paris cedex 16, www.radiofrance.fr/franceinter/accueil. Contact Emmanuel Perreau, the “délégué à la Direction de la communication” (emmanuel.perreau@radiofrance.com).
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 generaliste” 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 shares some foreign correspondents with RFI.

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 program 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. It airs on weekdays at 14h53, 18h23, 19h47 and 21h53. None of the last 29 editions of the show was devoted to Turkey, one was devoted to a Southeast European country (about honour killing in Albania; http://www.france-info.com/spip.php?article224210&theme=81&sous_theme=190).


2.3. Radio France Internationale (RFI)

Radio France Internationale (RFI) is a public radio station which is broadcast worldwide. A study by GEDA reported that it had an estimated 44 million listeners in 2006. RFI therefore 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 programs are in French and in 19 other languages. These include offerings in the local languages of the West Balkans and Turkish.

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 contribute a significant portion of its budget, RFI largest source of income remains the French Foreign Ministry.

Internationales, a joint program of TV5Monde, RFI, and Le Monde, is a weekly program about current international developments, covering politics, economics, science and culture. The three journalists Xavier Lambrechts (TV5Monde), Bruno Daroux (RFI) and Annick Cojean (Le Monde) are conducting the 52 minutes program.

RFI’s foreign correspondent in Turkey is Jerome Bastion (jorham64@hotmail.com) in Istanbul, Kılıç Ali Paşa Mah. Kumrulu Sok. Gezi Apt. No: 24, 80030 Cihangir-Istanbul, phone: +90 (0)212-293 43 96, fax: +90 (0)212-245 57 97

www.esiweb.org
RFI’s foreign correspondent in the Balkans is Jean-Arnault Dérens (balkans@balkans.eu.org). Dérens is the founder and chief editor of Le Courrier des Balkans (see above). He also contributes to Ouest-France, Le Temps (Geneva), Le Monde Diplomatique and La Libre Belgique (Brussels). Contact him at Le Courrier des Balkans, phone +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.

Accents d’Europe is a program which presents European news and society to an audience stretching from Africa to South America, including reports on South East Europe and Turkey. On a monthly basis it cooperates with Le Courrier des Balkans to report on the latest developments in the Balkans region. Accents d’Europe is produced in cooperation with Deutsche Welle, Radio Prague, Radio Rumania International and RTBF. The show is presented by Laurent Berthault, Catherine Potet, and Frédérique Lebel and produced by Françoise Greleau.

Valérie Lainé, Europe Desk, valerie.laine@rfi.fr, phone: +33 (1) 5640 1286.

2.4. 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 Bertelsmann’s RTL Group, which with 42 TV and 32 radio stations is the leading private media network in Europe. RTL offers a varied program with news, music, and discussion shows on various topics. The station’s audience is boosted by the highly popular show 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.

Important programmes:

“On refait le monde”: presented by Nicolas Poincaré, “On refait le monde” (Redoing the World) features debate between notable guests who react to 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.

www.esiweb.org
As part of RTL’s morning program Alain Duhamel presents “Le fait politique” (the political event). In a brief look at current events the political editor offers his summary and analysis. Duhamel also writes many of the news articles on RTL’s website.


2.5. 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 the 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.

Guillaume Pierre Perrier (guillaume.istanbul@yahoo.fr) works for Europe 1 from Istanbul. He also works for the papers Le Journal du Dimanche, Challenges, Le Point and for the TV Channel France 24.


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, Eurosport International (the largest European sports network) and 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 programs, including content from TF1 and the France Télévisions group, are broadcast worldwide on the global network TV5MONDE. A 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 programs, in both French and German.

95% of French households had a television set in 2005. Mediametrie’s study reports 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. In a panel discussion in 2007, Jean Quatremer, a journalist at *Libération*, bemoaned the lack of coverage of Europe in the French media, pointing to the fact that TF1, TV5 and France 24 have no correspondent in Brussels. France 2 and France 3 each have one, whereby the foreign correspondent for France 3 is responsible for all of ‘Europe’ from Moscow to Iraq.

3.1. **TF1**

*TF1* is the most viewed television network in France. Mediametrie reports 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 privatization 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 Bouygues Group was eventually successful. TF1’s program 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.

**Patrick Le Lay** is president of TF1 and a key figure in French television. He has been in charge of the channel for two decades, having previously held the position of President-Director General until this was split in 2007. Patrick Le Lay has served as a member of the Bouygues Board of Directors since 1986. A Breton himself, Le Lay was instrumental in the creation of the regional Breton channel TV Breizh in 2000. He was made a knight of the Légion d’honneur in 2003 and was presented with a directorate award for transforming TF1 into a “multimedia organization that is a pioneer in many of the emerging new digital platforms” at the International Emmy ceremony in 2007.

**Nonce Paolini** is director general at TF1, a position he has held since May 2007. He 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. Paolini is also the director general of LCI, the TF1 group’s news channel (see below).

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 program at 13:00 is presented by **Jean-Pierre Pernaut** while the main news at 20:00 is presented by **Patrick Poivre d’Arvor**. On week-ends both programmes are presented by **Claire Chazal**.

Contact: TF1, 1 Quai du Point du Jour, 92656 Boulogne Cedex, phone +33 (1) 4141 1243, [www.tf1.fr](http://www.tf1.fr).

**LCI**: “La Chaine 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 the director general of TF1. LCI has foreign offices with permanent correspondents: in Moscow, Jerusalem, Washington, Rome and London.

“Le Journal du Monde“, broadcast from Monday to Thursday at 19:40, 20:40 and 22:10 is a rarity on French television, a daily international newscast. The 20 minute program consists of reports, interviews, and the accounts of LCI’s foreign correspondents. The show is presented by Vincent Hervouet who is the head of LCI’s international division.

Contact: LCI, 54 Avenue de la Voie Lactée, 92100 Boulogne-Billancourt, phone +33 (1) 41 41 23 45, www.lci.fr. Director of Communications is Laetitia de Luca, to be reached at +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 programs are broadcast on two channels; one offering 24 hour international news coverage in French, with the second showing programs in English, Arabic and French. 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’s foreign correspondent in Belgrade is Laurent Rouy. Its foreign correspondent in Turkey is Guillaume Pierre Perrier (guillaume.istanbul@yahoo.fr), who also works for the radio channel Europe 1 and for the papers Journal du Dimanche, Challenges and Le Point.


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 or Turkey.

François Guilbeau is director general of France 2. He was appointed in December 2007 after the resignation of his predecessor Phillipe Baudillon. At an administrative meeting, the government representatives abstained from his nomination, in protest of the lack of consultation that preceded the decision. Guilbeau had previously been the head of RFO. He was coordination director at France 3 in 1995 and Secretary General of France Télévisions from 1996 till 1999.

www.esiweb.org
Arlette Chabot has been deputy general director and director of news at France 2 since 2004. Her previous roles include: deputy director of news, chief editor of the politics and economics department at both France 2 and France 3, and member of the editorial staff at TF1. Arlette Chabot has also been the presenter of the program “À vous de juger” since September 2005. In 2004 she was awarded the title, knight of the Légion d’honneur by Renaud Donnedieu de Vabres, Minister for Culture and Communication. In May 2007, before the second round of the presidential election, Chabot was one of the moderators of a debate between Nicolas Sarkozy and Ségolène Royal.

Important programmes:

Broadcast on Thursday evenings, “Envoye Special” is a weekly news program 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 (see picture on the right) and produced by Jean-Jacques Amsellem. See its webpage at: http://envoye-special.france2.fr.

“Un oeil sur la planète” (An eye on the planet): Presented by Thierry Thuiler, this geopolitical program generally focuses on one specific country in each edition. France 2 broadcasts the show once a trimester on a Monday night. An edition tends to be composed of a number of interviews and reports about different aspects of the country in question. While “Un oeil sur la planète” has featured a variety of countries from Canada to Turkey, there has as yet been no edition on a Balkan country. The editor in chief of the programme is Patrick Boitet, its producer Nicolas Maupied. See: http://oeil-sur-la-planete.france2.fr.

Sans Frontières (Without Borders) is the European News ‘Magazine’ of the popular breakfast show Télématin. Shown from Monday to Friday at 7:00, it always consists of a report by one of France 2’s European correspondents.

Contact: France 2, 7 Esplanade Henri de France, 75907 Paris Cedex 15, phone +33 (0) 1 56 22 30 3, www.france2.fr.
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.

**Geneviève Giard** is director general of France 3. Her long career in public television dates back to her work for ORTF, which was the national agency for public television and radio between 1964 and 1975. In 1997 she became director of production at France 2. She moved to France 5 in 2000 where she occupied the position of deputy general director. She assumed her present role as director general of France 3 in September 2005. She has also been director general of the Communauté des Télévisions Francophones since 2006.

**Paul Nahon** is France 3’s director of news. He was made deputy general director and head of news in 2005 by the new general director Genevieve Giard. Nahon had previously been chief editor at France 2 from September 1997, and co-presenter of the program “Face à l’image”.

**Soir 3** is France 3’s evening newscast broadcast daily at 23:00. On weekdays it is presented by **Marie Drucker, Francis Letellier** presents the weekend editions. The latest news items are presented and analyzed in the course of the 25 minute program. The format also includes a summary of tomorrow’s headlines in 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.”


**Avenue de l’Europe**: Shown on Saturdays at 19:55, this program 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 today and European integration. See [http://info.france3.fr/avenue-europe/](http://info.france3.fr/avenue-europe/).

“**Ce soir (ou jamais!)***” which translates into “This evening (or never!)”, is a talk show hosted by Frédéric Taddeï and broadcast from Monday to Thursday from around 23.00 (varies depending on other programmes), lasting for 1 ½ hours. Taddeï has usually six to seven guests, talking on an actual topic, including actual foreign policy themes. It is widely watched and influential.

Contact: 7 Esplanade Henri de France, 75907 Paris Cedex 15, phone +33 (0) 1 56 22 42 42, [www.france3.fr](http://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 programs. 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 Télésévisions group in 2000. It was renamed France 5 in 2002.

Claude-Yves Robin is director general of France 5. He started working for Canal J in 1991, became 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 of cultural and educational channels and also became president of Tiji, Match TV and Filles TV. In 2005 he succeeded Daniel Goudineau as director general of France 5.

“L’Europe de Demain” (Tomorrow’s Europe): In 2004, France 5 produced a documentary series to mark the occasion of the EU enlargement. Each of the 10 new member states was presented in a short documentary. The series aired from April to June of 2004. In conjunction with this project France 5 put together a collection of material on Europe and Enlargement on their website. A section entitled “l’Est passe à l’Ouest” (the East joins the West) mentioned the accession status of Rumania, Bulgaria and Turkey at that time. The Europe section has not been updated to reflect the current situation of EU enlargement (Europe on France 5: http://www.france5.fr/actu_societe/W00137/13/109733.cfm).

An important talk show on France 5 is “C dans l’air”, presented by Ives Calvi. It is broadcast on weekdays from 17.45 to 19.00. Calvi also does a radio show and a monthly show on political issues on France 2. On Sundays, at the same time, there is another talk show, “Riposte”, moderated by Serge Moati.

France5/ARTE’s Turkey correspondent is Ariane Bonzon (arianeb@superonline.com), who also works for the Swiss Television Suisse Romande (TSR) and the Swiss News Agency Idemages Production. She is based in Istanbul: Özoğul Sok. 15/2, 80040 Istanbul, phone +90 (212) 293 36 87, fax: +90 (212) 293 36 87

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

www esiweb.org
B. CIVIL SOCIETY, ACADEMIA AND OTHER INTEREST GROUPS

1. Think tanks and research institutes

1.1 (Formerly) 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 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, lunch and dinner debates.

Recent events on Turkey included a roundtable on 6 December 2008 US-Turkey Relations: an Evolving Strategic Partnership with Abdullah Akyüz, the representative of the US Office of TUSIAD (Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association). A one day seminar Turkey and Europe after the French Presidency of the EU took place on 18 December 2008, organized by IFRI’s contemporary Turkey Program in partnership with TESEV (Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation) at the Palais du Luxembourg, Paris.

Dorothee Schmid (schmid@ifri.org) is responsible for the Turkey Program. She is a Research Fellow from the North Africa/Middle East Centre. She is specialised in European politics, French foreign policy in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. On 13 May 2008 she introduced a debate Turkey and the EU: current key issues, which forms part of the series "Ifri's Tuesdays in Brussels". Her latest publications include The Franco-Turkish Relationship in Turmoil (January 2007) and Turkey and the Mediterranean Union : A Calculated Partnership (March 2008).

The person with most experience on the Balkans is Hans Stark (stark.cerfa@ifri.org, phone +33 (1) 4061 6047), a German who, besides working on Franco-German relations, also 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 only deals occasionally with South Eastern Europe.

For more information on the IFRI Turkey program, contact Brynhild Dumas (dumas@ifri.org), director for development.

Other relevant researchers include:

o Olivier Louis – Europe, European enlargement, international trade, louis@ifri.org;
The French EU Enlargement Debate

- Dominique Moisi – 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 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 2005 the FRS is headed by Guillaume Schlumberger (g.schlumberger@frstrategie.org), a former vice director for strategic affairs at the Ministry of Defence.

The latest Turkey related publications was La Turquie a la croisee des chemins (March 2008). Other publications are La Méditerranée au prisme du nouveau panorama stratégique: Du Partenariat de Barcelone au “Grand Moyen-Orient” (Mai 2004), by Jean-François Daguzan (jf.daguzan@frstrategie.org) who has a worldwide knowledge of Mediterranean, Middle East and Central Asia; further la mer noire: un centre de gravite strategique (The Black Sea: Centre of Strategic Gravity, August 2005) by Annie Jafalian.

FRS’s former director, 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 an expert for the “Strengthening the Global Partnership” project of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. Contact him at heisbour@noos.fr

Within the framework of European defence policy research papers related to the Balkans were written, the latest “L’union européenne et l’expérience des Balkans” (The European Union and the Balkan experience, September 2006) by FRS’s researcher Hélène Masson (h.masson@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 people with 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 over European questions and economic challenges to energy and environmental issues. The institute does little on the Balkans or on Turkey, but has interesting press reviews regarding Turkey on its website.

Contact: IRIS, 2 bis, rue Mercure, 75011 Paris, phone: +33 (1) 5327 6060, contact@iris-france.org, www.iris-france.org.
The Centre d’études et de recherches internationales – CERI 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 (Science Po, www.sciences-po.fr) that operates nine research centres (including CERI) and the renown 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 a number of researchers working on EU enlargement.

One is Jacques Rupnik (rupnik@ceri-science-po.org) who is also, since 1982, professor at the Institut d’Études Politique de Paris.


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 asks what could be done in the European periphery without offering full membership? Besides Ukraine, Georgia, Moldavia, the Mediterranean countries and Turkey, the book also offers a chapter on the Western Balkans, written by Rupnik himself (pp. 127-149, “Les Balkans et la pax europea entre protectorates et integration”).

Riva Kastoryano (kastoryano@ceri-sciences-po.org) is a sociologist and Directeur de recherche CNRS. She published numerous articles and books on Turkey and Europe and migrants, such as Turks in France.

Anne-Marie Le Gloannec (legloannec@ceri-sciences-po.org) is Senior Research Fellow at Sciences Po. She is a political scientist who taught at several universities including the European Center of the Johns Hopkins University (Italy) and at Paris I.

Nadège Ragaru (nragaru@yahoo.fr), a research fellow at CNRS (ISP), associated with CERI, has worked extensively on the Balkans. One of the latest publications is: “Macedonia: Between Ohrid and Brussels” (in: EUISS, Chaillot Papers, No. 108, December 2007, pp. 41-60);

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.

François Bafouil (bafouil@ceri-sciences-po.org) is Director of research at the CNRS and the CERI of Sciences Po. He currently teaches the sociology of communism and
post communism at Sciences Po Paris, Dijon campus. Since 2003, he has taught the course “Widening of the European Union: EU enlargement to 25 members and more” in the Online Academy (Köln, Berlin, Nice), and “Decentralisation and Enlargement of the EU” in the CIFE (Berlin). In 2008 he published together with Burcu Gorak the Article L’européanisation de la Turquie par la régionalisation et les coopérations transfrontalières (http://www.ceri-sciences-po.org/themes/ue/recherches/bafoil_gorak.pdf).


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. It has four focus areas: European visions; European democracy in action; Co-operation, competition and solidarity; and Europe and global governance. Besides 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.

Jacques Delors is less involved these days, though he remains the “founding president”. The current president is Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa, a former Italian Minister of Economy and Finances. Gaëtane Ricard-Nihoul is the Secretary General, and Steven Boucher the Vice Secretary General. There is little activity on enlargement, Turkey or the Balkans today.

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

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

The movement’s president is Sylvie Goulard (sylviegoulard@wanadoo.fr), a rather well-known public figure who maintains also her own website (http://www.sylvie-goulard.eu). She has written (very critically) on France and EU enlargement towards Turkey, and has for a while been a very visible voice in the French debate, but is more positive about enlargement to the Western Balkans.

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 led by Philippe Manière (PManiere@institutmontaigne.org), who previously has worked with the Centre for European Reform in London. The institute has three main areas: mobility and social cohesion; modernisation of the public space; economic and European strategy. The institute does not work on Balkan issues, but is well connected to French Policy networks.

www.esiweb.org
Philippe Manière and Michaël CheyLAN, responsible for public affairs of the institute Montaigne, published the briefing paper *Europe et Turquie: mariage ou PACS?* in December 2004. The authors suggest a privileged partnership with Turkey rather than EU membership.


► **Nouvelle Europe**

Nouvelle Europe was set up in 2004 as a think tank to describe the widening Europe, through a website and a group of researchers and students, monthly meetings and a programm of simulating the European Parliament.

Philippe Perchoc, who set up Nouvelle Europe, is the President and editor in chief. He has written several articles on Turkey.

Sevil Budak is responsible for the section on Turkey. She is specialised in EU-Turkey relations and democratic rights in Turkey. She has written several articles on Turkey, which are available on the website.

Emilie Proust (left) writes on Balkan related issues on the website.

Contact: 10 rue de Strasbourg, 92 700 Colombes, France, phone: +33 (0)1 47 80 99 50, contact@nouvelle-europe.eu

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

In December 2004 the Club Grande Europe organised an informative seminar on perceptions contrastées des frontières de l’U.E: Ukraine, Turquie.

Contact: **Club Grande Europe**, 78 rue Saint Dominique, 75007 Paris, phone +33 (1) 4555 7790, 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 above).

► **Comité de Coordination des Musulmans Turc de France** (CCMTF, Committee to Coordinate the Turkish Muslims in France); its president is Haydar Demiryurek, who is specialised in questions regarding secularism and cultural rights.

► **Le Comité Musulman des Turcs français** (The Muslim Committee of French Turcs, CMTF) depends on the **Department of Turkish Religious Affairs** and represents about 150 mosques. (Many other Turkish Muslims belong to the French section of Milli Gorus).
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.


► The Fondation pour l’innovation politique became operational in 2004 and is close to the centre-right (UNP). Its current general director is Frank Debié who also heads the Centre de géostratégie of the École normale supérieure in Paris. He is the author of a series of publications on the Middle East and the Balkans.

Contact: Fondation pour l’innovation politique, 137 rue de l’Université, 75007 Paris, phonr +33 (1) 4753 6700, 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 also 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 interior 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 sort of topics related to the EU can be found on the foundation’s website. A publication about Turkey, privileged partnership, an alternative to membership (December 2006) is described on the website as follows:

“This study, written by committed Europeans of various backgrounds and from several Member States, refuses to consider that relations with EU neighbours will lead either to accession or to nothing at all. It attempts to nurture the concept of a ’privileged partnership’ which is often spoken of but rarely developed.”

Contact: Fondation Robert Schuman, 29 bd Raspail, 75007 Paris, phone +33 (1) 5363 8300, info@robert-schuman.eu, www.robert-schuman.eu. The foundation operates also a Brussels office, headed by Nicole Pompidou (Rond-Point Schuman 6, 1040 Brussels, phone +32 (2) 234 7826, 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 is Laurence Parisot. After her
The French EU Enlargement Debate

election as president, she declared that “liberal does not mean antisocial” and announced to fight against unemployment and for placing the enterprise at the heart of French society in order to make it “the motor of social mobility”.

MEDEF’s Europe Commission is headed since 2005 by Jerôme Bédier, the President of the Federation of Trade and Distribution (FECD), France’s retail federation. He previously held a series of positions at the Ministry for Trade and Artisanat, the Ministry for Economy and Finances and the Ministry of Industry. In cooperation with the Robert Schuman Foundation he recently organised a round table on the topic “Are there any plumbers left in Poland? Demography, immigration and the borders in Europe” (15 January 2008).

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

4. Foreign organisations

► The European Union Institute for Security Studies has one senior research fellow dedicated to Balkan affairs. This position has been occupied by Professor Judy Batt from the UK.

Besides publications (mostly within the Chaillot paper series or briefing papers) the institute organises also a bi-annual Balkan Task force, bringing together Balkan experts with EU member state officials dealing with the Balkans.

On 29 June 2007 the Institute organised a “Round Table on Turkey” and published the paper ‘Crisis in Turkey: just another bump on the road to Europe?’, which was being printed at the time of the conference. Another Turkey related writing was Ideology and the Ongoing Crisis in Turkey (June 2007) and Root causes and consequences of the AKP’s victory (July 2007). All these papers were written by Walter Posch (Walter.Posch@iss.europa.eu).


► A new European think tank, the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR) has also set up an office in Paris. It is headed by Thomas Klau, a former journalist with extensive experience in France, who is also the Editorial Director of the organisation.

Contact:

ECFR Paris Office, 38, rue de Bassano, 75008 Paris, Thomas Klau, phone +33 (1) 4431 2902, thomas.klau@ecfr.eu, paris@ecfr.eu, www.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.

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

www.esiweb.org
5. Diplomatic missions

5.1. Embassies of Western Balkan countries and Turkey

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

Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ambassador Almir Sahovic
174, rue de Courcelles, 75017 Paris, phone +33 (1) 4267 3422, fax +33 (1) 4053 8522, z.zovko@wanadoo.fr, amb_pariz@mvp.gov.ba

Embassy of the Republic of Croatia, Ambassador Mirko Galic

Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia, Ambassador Jon Ivanovski
5, rue de la Faisanderie, 75116 Paris, phone +33 (1) 4577 1050, fax +33 (1) 4577 1484, ambassade@fr.oleane.com

Embassy of Montenegro, Ambassador Milica Pejanovic-Djurisic
216, Bd. Saint Germain, 75007 Paris, phone +33 (1) 5363 8030, fax +33 (1) 4222 8390, ambasadorcg@orange.fr, ambasadacg@organge.fr

Embassy of the Republic of Serbia, Chargé d’Affaires Pavle Jankovic
5, rue Léonard de Vinci, 75116 Paris, phone +33 (1) 4072 2417, fax +33 (1) 4072 2411, ambasadapariz@yahoo.fr

Embassy of the Republic of Turkey, Ambassador Osman Koruturk
16, Avenue de Lamballe, 75016 Paris, phone +33 (1) 4496 5071, fax +33 (1) 4524 6705, vpa@gov.si

Embassy of Montenegro, Ambassador Milica Pejanovic-Djurisic
216, Bd. Saint Germain, 75007 Paris, phone +33 (1) 5363 8030, fax +33 (1) 4222 8390, ambasadorcg@orange.fr, ambasadacg@organge.fr

Slovenian presidency (first half 2008):
Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia, Ambassador Janez Sumrada
28, rue Bois le Vent, 75016 Paris, phone +33 (1) 4496 5071, fax +33 (1) 4524 6705, vpa@gov.si

Czech presidency (first half 2009):
Embassy of the Czech Republic, Ambassador Pavel Fischer (since 2003)
15, avenue Charles Floquet, 75007 Paris, phone +33 (1) 4065 1300, fax +33 (1) 4065 1313, paris@embassy.mzv.cz

Swedish presidency (second half 2009):
Embassy of the Kingdom of Sweden, Ambassador Gunnar Lund
17, rue Barget de Jouy, 75007 Paris, phone +33 (1) 4418 8800, fax +33 (1) 4418 8840, info@amb-suede.fr

www esiweb.org
6. **Books on France**


C. POLITICS

1. The Presidency

On the 6th of May 2007 Nicolas Sarkozy was elected as President of the French Republic, winning a 53% majority in the second round. Sarkozy is only the third president since 1981. His recent predecessors François Mitterrand and Jacques Chirac ruled for a combined stretch of 26 years.

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 leads to cohabitation. This has occurred three times in the Fifth Republic most recently between 1997 and 2002 when Chirac was president and the socialist Lionel Jospin was prime minister.

The president is elected for a five year term. There is no term limit. Mr. Sarkozy’s current term is due to end in 2012. The first 9 months have seen a dramatic fall in the president’s approval ratings: from 67% last July to 37% in February. This can partly be explained by Sarkozy’s failure, so far, to deliver on his electoral promise of a revitalized economy and his turbulent private life.

While very powerful, the Elysée is much smaller in terms of staff then the Prime Ministers office (often referred to simply as Matignon). So the office of the president has to focus and carefully pick the priorities it deals with.

Of crucial importance is the top staff and the President’s advisers. Claude Guéant is the General Secretary in the Elysée. He worked with Sarkozy when the latter was Interior Minister and quickly earned his trust. Sarkozy made him cabinet chief in the Ministry of Finance and Economy, though he had not much experience in financial questions. Henri Guaino has the title of “special adviser”. He writes many of the President’s speeches, provides ideas and quotations. References to Jean Jaurés and Léon Blum in Sarkozy’s speeches came from Guaino. 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
- Erard Corbin de Mangoux, Counsellor on Home Affairs
- Maxime Tandonnet, Counsellor on Immigration and Integration
- Damien Loras, Technical Counsellor in the Diplomatic cell on the Americas, Russia, Caucasus, Balkans and Central Asia
- Eric Tallon, Technical Counsellor in the Diplomatic cell on European Affairs
2. **Government**

The current centre-right government was elected on 10 and 17 June 2007, shortly after the election of Nicolas Sarkozy in the second round of presidential elections on 6 May 2007.

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](http://www.premier-ministre.gouv.fr)

In Prime Minister Fillon’s cabinet, Gilles Briatta is his main adviser on European affairs. Briatta also heads the General Secretariat of European Affairs, a co-ordination body that serves to ensure unity on EU affairs within the government. It is a very important body, but hardly visible in media and official proceedings.

Contact him at: 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.

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**Bernard Kouchner**  
Foreign Minister and Minister for European Affairs

**Christine Lagarde**  
Minister of Finance

**Rachida Dati**  
Minister of Justice

**Hervé Morin**  
Minister of Defence

**Michel Barnier**  
Minister for Agriculture and Fisheries

**Michèle Alliot-Marie**  
Minister of the Interior and Overseas Territories
Find below a list of all ministries with respective contact details (except for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which will be treated separately in a subsequent section):

**Ministry of Finance**
Minister Christine Lagarde
139, rue de Bercy (6th Floor)
75572 Paris
Phone: +33 (1) 40 04 04 04
www.minefe.gouv.fr/

**Ministry of Justice**
Minister Rachida Dati
13, place Vendôme
75042 Paris Cedex 01
Phone: +33 (1) 44 77 60 60
www.justice.gouv.fr
Ministry of Defence
Minister Hervé Morin
14, rue Saint-Dominique
75700 Paris
Phone: +33 (1) 42 19 30 11
www.defense.gouv.fr

Ministry for Agriculture and Fisheries
Minister Michel Barnier
78, rue de Varenne
75700 Paris
Phone: +33 (1) 49 55 49 55
http://agriculture.gouv.fr/

Ministry of the Interior and Overseas Territories
Minister Michèle Alliot-Marie
Place Beauvau
75800 Paris
Phone: +33 (1) 49 27 49 27
www.interieur.gouv.fr

Ministry for Immigration, Integration, National Identity and Solidarity Development
Minister Brice Hortefeux
101, rue de Grenelle
75323 Paris cedex 07
Phone: +33 (1) 77 72 61 00
www.premier-ministre.gouv.fr/iminideco

Ministry of Labour, Social Relations and Solidarity
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
Minister Xavier Darcos
110, rue de Grenelle
75357 Paris 07 SP
Phone: +33 (1) 55 55 10 10
www.education.gouv.fr/

Ministry for Ecology, Sustainable Development and Planning
Minister Jean-Louis Borloo
Hôtel de Roquelaure
246, boulevard Saint-Germain
75700 Paris
Phone: +33 (1) 40 81 21 22
www.developpement-durable.gouv.fr

www.esiweb.org
2.2. **Key contacts in the Ministry for Foreign and European Affairs**

Bernhard Kouchner, a co-founder of *Médecins sans frontière* (MSF, Doctors Without Borders) and socialist politician, was brought in by President Sarkozy after his victory in 2007 to head the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs.

Kouchner started his political career as a member of the French Communist Party, but was expelled in 1966. He co-founded MSF in 1971 and later – due to disagreements with MSF chairman Claude Malhuret – *Médecins du Monde* (Doctors of the World).

He started to work for socialist governments in 1988 and was Minister of Health from 1992-93. After an intermezzo at the European Parliament, he again became Minister of Health under Prime Minister Lionel Jospin in 1997.
In 1999, Kouchner was nominated as the first UN Special Representative and Head of the United Nations Interim Administration in Kosovo (UNMIK), a position he held for 18 months. From 2001 to 2002 he again was Minister of Health.

He was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Fillon Government, though during the campaign he had supported Sarkozy’s rival Ségolène Royal. After accepting the post, he was expelled from the Socialist Party.

Contact: Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Minister Bernard Kouchner, 37, quai d’Orsay, 75351 Paris cedex 07, T +33 (1) 43 17 53 53, www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/

Policy decisions are often taken in the cabinet, where – with regard to the Balkans – both Eric Chevallier, who is close to the Minister, and Isabelle Dumont are important persons.

The Directorate for Continental Europe deals with European countries that are not members of the EU. Here Éduard Beslay, the Deputy Director for the Western Balkans, is the most important person. Of relevance is also the Sub-directorate for EU External Relations of the Directorate for European Cooperation, headed by Caroline Ferrari.

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. It is currently headed by a Socialist, Pierre Lévy, the party of both the Minister, Bernard Kouchner, and the Minister of State for European Affairs, Jean-Pierre Jouyet. The Balkans is covered by Xavier Rey, a younger diplomat. He is an obvious contact for engagement. Here a list with relevant contacts.

Key persons in the cabinet:

Philippe Etienne
Cabinet chief
Phone: +33(1) 43 17 81 63
philippe.etienne@diplomatie.gouv.fr

Isabelle Dumont, Foreign Minister’s Secretary
Adviser for continental Europe, Balkans, CEI, OSCE and Council of Europe
Phone: +33 (1) 43 17 43 23
isabelle.dumont@diplomatie.gouv.fr

Eric Chevallier
Special Adviser to Minister Kouchner (worked with him when Kouchner was SRSG in Kosovo)
+33 (1) 43 17 67 39
eric.chevalier@diplomatie.gouv.fr

Jean-Louis Falconi
EU adviser to Minister Kouchner
Phone: +33 (1) 43 17 40 49
jean-louis.falconi@diplomatie.gouv.fr

www.esiweb.org
Jean-Pierre Jouyet was appointed Minister of State (State Secretary) for European Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs in May 2007. He studied at ENA, together with Ségolène Royal and François Hollande. He joined the Ministry of Finance, where he held different positions, before becoming Chief of Cabinet of Jacques Delors when he was President of the European Commission, and Deputy Chief of Cabinet of Socialist Prime Minister Lionel Jospin, a position he held from 1997 to 2000.
From 2001 to 2005 he was Director of the Treasury, before becoming chief of the General Inspection for Finances (Inspection générale des finances).

While not very well known to the French public, Jouyet is an important figure with regard to French’s position towards EU policies. In September 2007 he suggested to the Balladur Commission (established to draft constitutional changes) abolish the obligation to put all new EU accession countries to a referendum in France.

In January 2008 he gave an interview to the Financial Times, announcing that there was a “sea change” in French foreign policy, that the EU-27 works very well and that there is no reason to worry about further enlargement in the Balkans: “We have crossed a very important Rubicon in the last two years in terms of European integration. We used to believe that a federal Europe was necessary for a more deeply integrated union and that enlargement would counter this and prevent Europe from working effectively. We have now overcome this contradiction.” (FT, 7 January 2008)

His Chief of Cabinet is Denis Simonneau, a career diplomat who has served in South Africa, Houston (USA) and the French Permanent Representation to the EU in Brussels.

Jean-Pierre Jouyet
Minister of State (State Secretary) for European Affairs
37, quai d’Orsay
75351 Paris cedex 07
Phone: +33 (0)1 43 17 53 53
jean-pierre.jouyet@diplomatie.gouv.fr

Denis Simonneau
Director of the Minister of State’s Office (Head of Cabinet)
Phone: +33 (1) 4317 5560
denis.simonneau@diplomatie.gouv.fr
Secretariat: secdircab.seue@diplomatie.gouv.fr

Jonathan Lacote
Adviser to State Secretary Jean-Pierre Jouyet
jonathan.lacote@diplomatie.gouv.fr

Finally, another very important position is that of the French Permanent Representative to the EU, based in Brussels. Denis Simonneau, the Chief of Cabinet of Minister of State Jouyet, as well as the advisers on European affairs to the President, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister (Fabien Raynaud, Gilles Briatta and Jean-Louis Falconi), have all worked at the same time in France’s Permanent Representation to the EU. Pierre Sellal is currently the Permanent Representative.

Pierre Sellal
Ambassador, Permanent Representative
14 Place de Louvain
1000 Brussels
Secretariat: Isabelle Bellamy
Phone: +32 (2) 229 82 09
isabelle.bellamy@diplomatie.gouv.fr
www.rpfrance-ue.org
3. Parliament and the main parties

France has a bicameral parliamentary system: the Senate (Sénat) forms the upper chamber with 331 senators (348 from 2011); and the National Assembly (Assemblée nationale) forms the lower chamber with 577 deputies. The National Assembly's deputies are popularly 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 in the National Assembly and the Senate

The current distribution of seats in the National Assembly and the Senate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union for a Popular Movement</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist, Radical and Citizen Group</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic and Republican Left</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Centre-Presidental Majority</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-affiliated Deputies</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>574</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Current Distribution of Seats by Group in the Senate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union for a Popular Movement</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialists</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centrist Union – UFD</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist, Republican and Citizen</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic and Social European</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-affiliated Senators</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>330</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The official Website of the French Senate
www.senat.fr/role/fiche/groupespol.html

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 legislative 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 his defeat of Ségolène Royal in the 2007 presidential election, the party chose to appoint a collegial leadership composed of Patrick Devedjian, Jean-Pierre Raffarin, Jean-Claude Gaudin and Pierre Méhaignerie.

The UMP won an absolute majority of the seats in the National Assembly in the June 2007 elections. In local election in March 2008 the UMP suffered a setback losing a number of key cities: Toulouse, Caen, Strasbourg, Amiens and Reims. Many observers have attributed this defeat to dissatisfaction with the first months of Sarkozy’s presidency. The president’s approval ratings fell from a high of 67% in July 2007 to 37% in February 2008.

UMP contacts in Parliament on SEE related topics:

**National Secretary for Foreign Relations**
Thierry Mariani
Deputy for Vaucluse
82 avenue Charles de Gaulle, 84100 Orange
Phone: +33 (0) 4 90 11 00 00
thm.orange@wanadoo.fr

**National Secretary for Europe**
Alain Lamassoure (MEP)
European Parliament
Bureau ASP 13 E 158
Rue Wiertz 1047, Bruxelles, Belgique
Phone: +32 2 284 57 06
contact@alainlamassoure.eu

www.esiweb.org
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 be 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. Five years later, in the 2007 presidential election the party chose Ségolène Royal as its candidate. She eventually lost to Nicolas Sarkozy garnering 46.9% of the vote in the second round. The party fared better in the 2007 parliamentary elections, gaining 46 seats.

PS contacts in Parliament on enlargement related topics

Member of the Foreign Affairs Commission, Vice President of the Delegation for European Affairs
Pierre Moscovici
Assemblée nationale
126 rue de l'Université
75355 Paris 07 SP
Phone: +33 (3) 81 32 31 69

Member of the Foreign Affairs Commission
Jean-Louis Bianco
Assemblée nationale
126 rue de l'Université
75355 Paris 07 SP
Phone: +33 (4) 92 30 04 04
Member of the Foreign Affairs Commission
President of Group for Relations with **Serbia**
**Jean-Pierre Dufau**
Assemblée nationale
126 rue de l'Université
75355 Paris 07 SP
Phone: +33 (5) 58 72 10 09

Member of the Foreign Affairs Commission
**François Loncle**
Assemblée nationale
126 rue de l'Université
75355 Paris 07 SP
Phone: +33 (2) 32 40 58 80
francois.loncle@wanadoo.fr

[Image of Jean-Pierre Dufau]

[Image of François Loncle]