



Regional approaches



1 The United States: (still) the leading world power in 2040

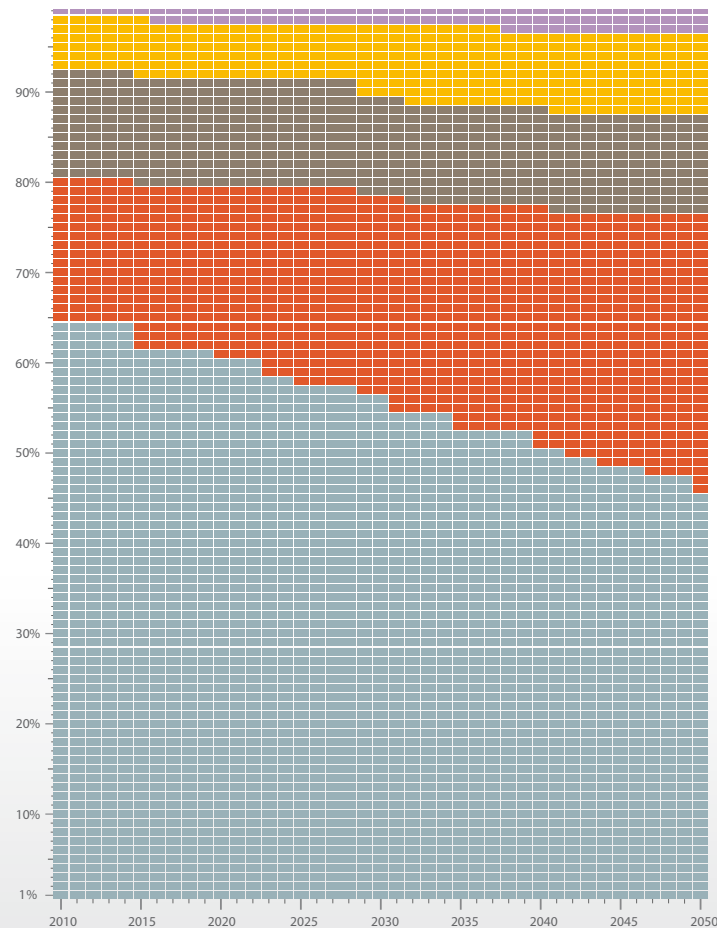
Key facts

- **383 million inhabitants in 2040 (compared with 313 million in 2011).**
- **Will be overtaken by China in terms of GDP around 2020 (purchasing power parity, or PPP) and 2030 (nominal value).**

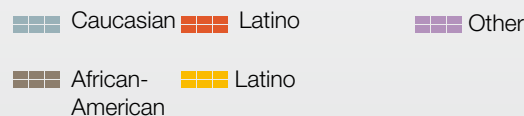
Major trends

- Despite recurring speculation about its future decline, trend indicators confirm that the United States will still be the world's leading power in 2040. Although the unipolar interim period that began with the collapse of the Soviet Union is likely to have come to an end by that date, Washington should retain its supremacy in international affairs, whether considered in demographic, economic, cultural, scientific or military terms.
- Current projections show a dynamic demographic situation in the US. The population should reach 383 million by 2040 and cross the 400 million mark around the middle of the century. In demographic terms, the country will thus remain in third place behind China and India. This trend is explained by two factors: a high natural rate of increase and a favourable outlook regarding migration. The total fertility rate of the United States has been above two since 1989, which is exceptionally high for an industrialised nation. In addition, the country will remain the world's preferred destination for emigrants, with a yearly average of 1.5 million newcomers to the country expected between now and 2040.
- America's continuing appeal in 2040 will be due to an economic system which, on the whole, will remain a reference model. While observers estimate that the United States should drop to second place, behind China, in terms of GDP (PPP) by 2020, the American economy will hold on to its competitive edge. Current research and development investments – which account for 35% of global expenditure in this area – should ensure that the country maintains its capacity to innovate, as shown by the very high share of its industrial output attributable to high-technology firms, second only to South Korea. The American vanguard is particularly prominent in the military sector and the country should remain at the forefront of all sectors of defence technology, whether on land, at sea, in the air or in space.
- The United States should not see any serious challenge to its cultural influence around the world. The 'American way of life' will remain a universal reference, largely supported by an unrivalled entertainment industry. Even if China and India have expressed an interest in deploying similar soft power strategies, the US should continue to dominate in this area between now and 2040.

- American leadership in the political-military sphere should be placed in a quite different perspective by 2040. Firstly, the strategic superiority of the USA all over the world will tend to be challenged by the growing strength of new regional players in Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. A new world map will emerge on which the global imprint of American power could gradually decline – especially in military terms. In some regions, this trend could lead to America's withdrawing from local issues. Faced with the growing difficulty of maintaining its presence all over the globe, the country could feel the need to define its geopolitical priorities more firmly. If a consensus were to be reached on European stability, Washington could consider withdrawing its conventional forces and nuclear weapons from the continent over the next fifteen years. The United States is not expected to make any major changes to its policy in Latin America and should maintain a relatively modest strategic presence there. American defence efforts in Africa should continue to focus on the need to secure energy supplies, particularly in the Gulf of Guinea, and stem terrorist activities in regions such as the Horn of Africa and the Sahel.



Distribution of the U.S. population by race and ethnicity, 2010-2050



2033, *Atlas des futurs du monde*, Virginie Raisson (Robert Laffont publisher) © www.lepac.org

Regional approaches

- As it withdraws from certain regions, Washington could decide to concentrate its forces more on Asia – something it has already started to do. Following the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, the United States concentrated its forces in the Middle East, where they have remained for the past ten years. Now, however, the centre of gravity of American global strategy has begun to shift to the Pacific region. Thanks to its military bases and the strengthening of its strategic local partnerships, with Japan, India, Australia or South Korea, the United States should remain a major Asian power in 2040. This regional hegemony will inevitably be challenged by China, however, which has embarked

on an ambitious, long-term policy to modernise its armed forces, based on the use of conventional means, capable of denying or complicating US access to the China Seas within the next ten years.

- Political developments and current debate on the need to restore America's public finances would seem to indicate that as the political and financial cost of preserving the status quo (whether in the Pacific or elsewhere) rises, Washington will be under increasing pressure to answer questions at home as to the justification for these commitments. In other words, the Tea Party Movement, which emerged in 2009, could be the sign of a profound radicalisation of

political debate in America. In this event, isolationist views could be voiced with increasing insistence at both ends of the political spectrum, a phenomenon that has already occurred several times in American history. This could result in American homeland security objectives being reconsidered - if not lowered – possibly with a more restrictive interpretation of US national interests.



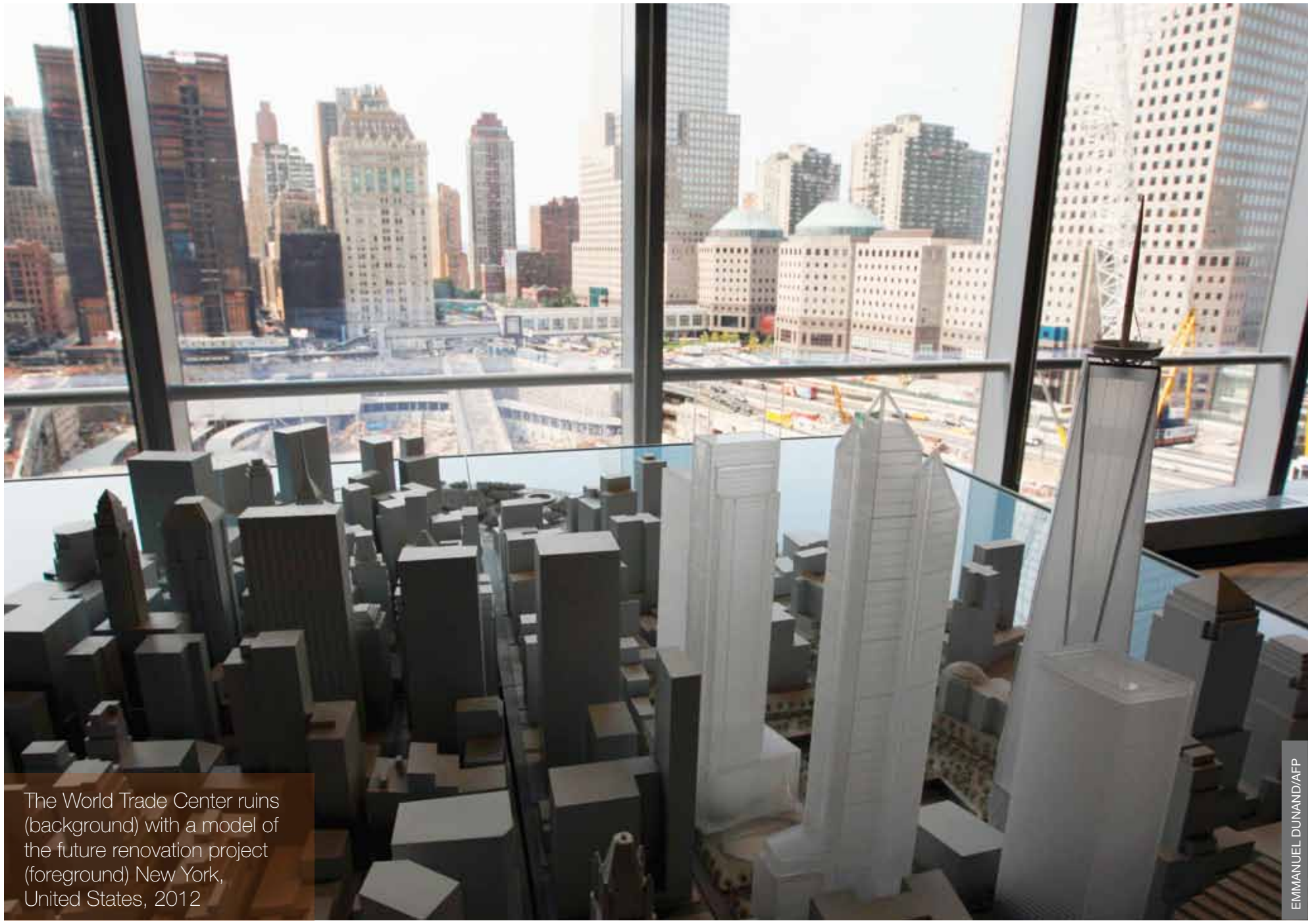
STEP CHANGE

The most significant step change that could occur by 2040 would be a partial or complete withdrawal of the United States from international affairs. Whether due to a lack of alternative or induced by isolationist temptations, a period of instability could ensue:

- The withdrawal of American forces from Europe would be detrimental to the region's stability unless European governments were to agree to a common security strategy to fill the gap. A crisis on the edge of the European Union could exacerbate divisions between Member States and cause them to revert to more inward-looking policies.
- The removal of American forces from Asia (following a decision by Washington to redeploy US forces or as the result of a local conflict) would affect the balance of forces between local powers (China, Japan, India). This situation could give rise to tension between these nations and, ultimately, the risk of dangerous escalation.

⇒ CONSEQUENCES FOR DEFENCE

- Acknowledging the relative decline in its power, the United States will increasingly call on its allies and partners to share the political and financial burden of its international missions. This will mean the pursuit of American ambitions - which are more topical than ever – for a global security scheme which the United States would continue to steer. In the long term, such a scheme would lead to the standardisation of allied defence practices, the possible emergence of a single operational contract baseline and, most importantly, a decision-making process increasingly controlled by the United States. Indirectly, the autonomy of our decisions regarding our international security environment could thus be regularly put to the test between now and 2040.
- Lastly, Sino-American relations will inevitably shape future governance, although this will not necessarily result in a bipolar world. Although the notion of a G2 has not been promoted for very long, the idea that dialogue between these two powers will determine not only economic but also strategic stability is growing. If rivalry between China and the United States were to structure the international system, France could find itself up against a binary approach to international politics which would limit its diplomatic options, regarding both transatlantic relations and French presence in Asia.



The World Trade Center ruins (background) with a model of the future renovation project (foreground) New York, United States, 2012

EMMANUEL DUNAND/AFP

2 Europe – a medium-sized power?

Key facts:

- 537 million inhabitants in 2040.
- Potentially 36 member States in the European Union in 2040.

Major trends

- A new economic level: facing the aging of its population, lower productivity, a rigid labour market, the domination of the Chinese economy and the transformation of the emerging countries' economies, Europe is expected to lose its leadership in international trade. Europe's budget deficits are likely to grow further and Europe's share in global GDP to shrink. However, it will still constitute a vigorous single market via the European Union. The key issue will be to maintain technological innovation, weakened by scattered national efforts in the field of research.
- Continued geographic enlargement: in 2040, all the countries which are officially candidates for membership could join the EU. These include the Balkans (Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo and even Turkey), Iceland and - though this is far less certain - Switzerland. This would bring membership to 36. Special partnerships should be reinforced with neighbours to the east of Europe, such as Russia, Ukraine and the Caucasus, and countries on the southern Mediterranean shores, whose strategic importance is growing in the fight against cross-cutting threats.
- The demographic challenge: the relative rankings of European countries in terms of population will no doubt change, with Germany probably being overtaken by France and the United Kingdom and Poland moving up among the leaders. Turkey would, however, be the most populous country in the European Union, were it to become a Member State. If current trends are confirmed, the proportion of working-age population in Europe should see a significant drop, which will have a negative impact on the economy. This demographic decline could be partially offset by migratory flows, which are predicted to remain at high levels, with around 80 million newcomers arriving over the next 40 years. Managing these flows in a balanced manner and integrating immigrant populations and their descendants will represent a major challenge.
- Global warming and the northward shift in the centre of gravity of European economic activity and migratory flows will drastically affect the balance between different European regions, with the Mediterranean countries liable to be the hardest hit by extreme climatic events such as storms and floods. A new dividing line could appear between the north and south of the continent determined by access to water resources. In addition, the costly but necessary prospects of exploiting sources of fossil energy in the Arctic must be considered, along with the opening up of shipping routes in the Far North as glaciers melt. The number of climate refugees from Asia and Africa is also predicted to rise.

European Union,
March 2012

- Members
- Acceding states
- Candidate countries
- States recognized by the EU as having a "vocation" to become a member
- Members of the Euro zone
Estonia joined the Euro zone on 1 January 2011.

- Members of the Schengen area
- The Azores (Portugal), which do not appear, are part of the Schengen area

European Neighbourhood Policy

- Agreements signed
- No agreements signed

Council of Europe

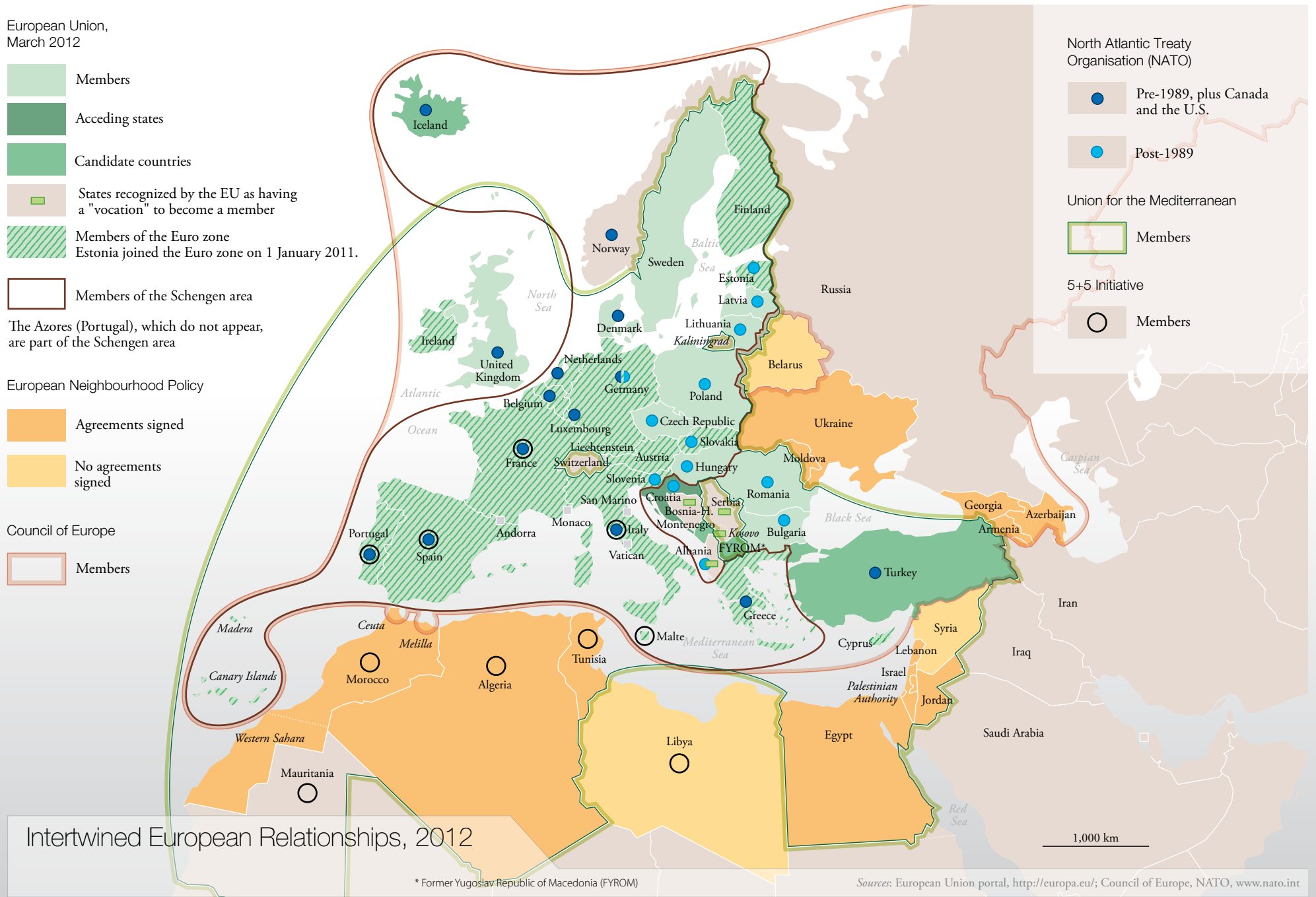
- Members

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

- Pre-1989, plus Canada and the U.S.
- Post-1989

Union for the Mediterranean

- Members
- 5+5 Initiative
- Members



Intertwined European Relationships, 2012

* Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)

Sources: European Union portal, <http://europa.eu/>; Council of Europe, NATO, www.nato.int

Regional approaches



UNCERTAINTIES

- Undermining of European solidarity: economic and social uncertainty could lead the EU as a whole and individual Member States to become more inward-looking.
- Rising social tensions as the ageing population begins to place pressure on the healthcare and social security system.
- The European Union's future depends on its ability: to put politics at the heart of the European project: given the foreseeable weakening of the European economic model, which is the foundation for European construction, Europe will only manage to preserve its stability if it overcomes its present bureaucratic failings and consolidates its political plan. The European Union should serve to amplify power rather than acting as a mere sounding box for national interests. What is at stake is not so much the choice of institutional model (federal or supranational) but rather the possibility for Member States to protect their security interests through Europe. If European integration continues to move forward in the field of internal security, the European Union's ability to manage its immediate geographical environment more effectively (countries to the south and east) will be key to securing supplies and taking advantage of migratory flows which, though a potential source of instability, are vital for the continent's growth. To this end, the European Union must clarify its relations with Russia and, building on stronger regional solidarity networks, set up strategic partnerships with its different neighbours, going beyond chequebook diplomacy and project micro-management.



STEP CHANGE

Breakdown of the European model: with the growing lack of convergence between the political interests of Member States, persistently sluggish economic conditions will undermine two EU pillars – the internal market and the single currency – unless the recently adopted European Stability Mechanism produces the expected effects. That in turn would undermine the consensus on the European model based on preserving the balance between social concerns and markets. This could ultimately weaken the idea of an integrated political Europe.

⇒ CONSEQUENCES FOR DEFENCE

- The main pitfall in the short term is the risk of a widening gap between what the Common Security and Defence Policy is expected to achieve and the operational capabilities and resources that the EU can actually mobilise. Too wide a gap, combined with the effects of economic and budgetary hardship, could lead Member States to adopt a more inward-looking stance. To avoid this happening, the European defence project should refocus on the immediate defence and security interests of Member States. The cross-cutting logic introduced by the Lisbon Treaty, which does away with the pillars and includes a solidarity clause in the event of terrorist attack or natural disaster, makes this feasible. It opens the way for greater coordination of each Member State's national defence resources to ensure the protection of European territory, through both its civil protection mechanism and its 'area of freedom, security and justice. Other possible applications to be explored within the context of the European Common Security and Defence

Policy include the security of supply and the protection of critical infrastructures.

- At a time when national defence budgets have already been hard hit by the crisis, a situation which will soon lead Member States to abandon their national capabilities, preserving the European defence industry and its 300,000 jobs will be a major challenge. Unless a common strategy is defined and implemented and a system of community preference gradually recognised, European technology is likely to fall so far behind that skills will be almost irretrievably lost.



Security forces near the Eurotunnel, Calais, 6 December 2010

ZOÉ BONCOURRE/SIRPA TERRE

3 Africa on the move?








Key facts:







- **2040: double the present population, with 60% living in urban areas.**
- **2050: nearly 2 billion inhabitants (Sub-Saharan Africa).**

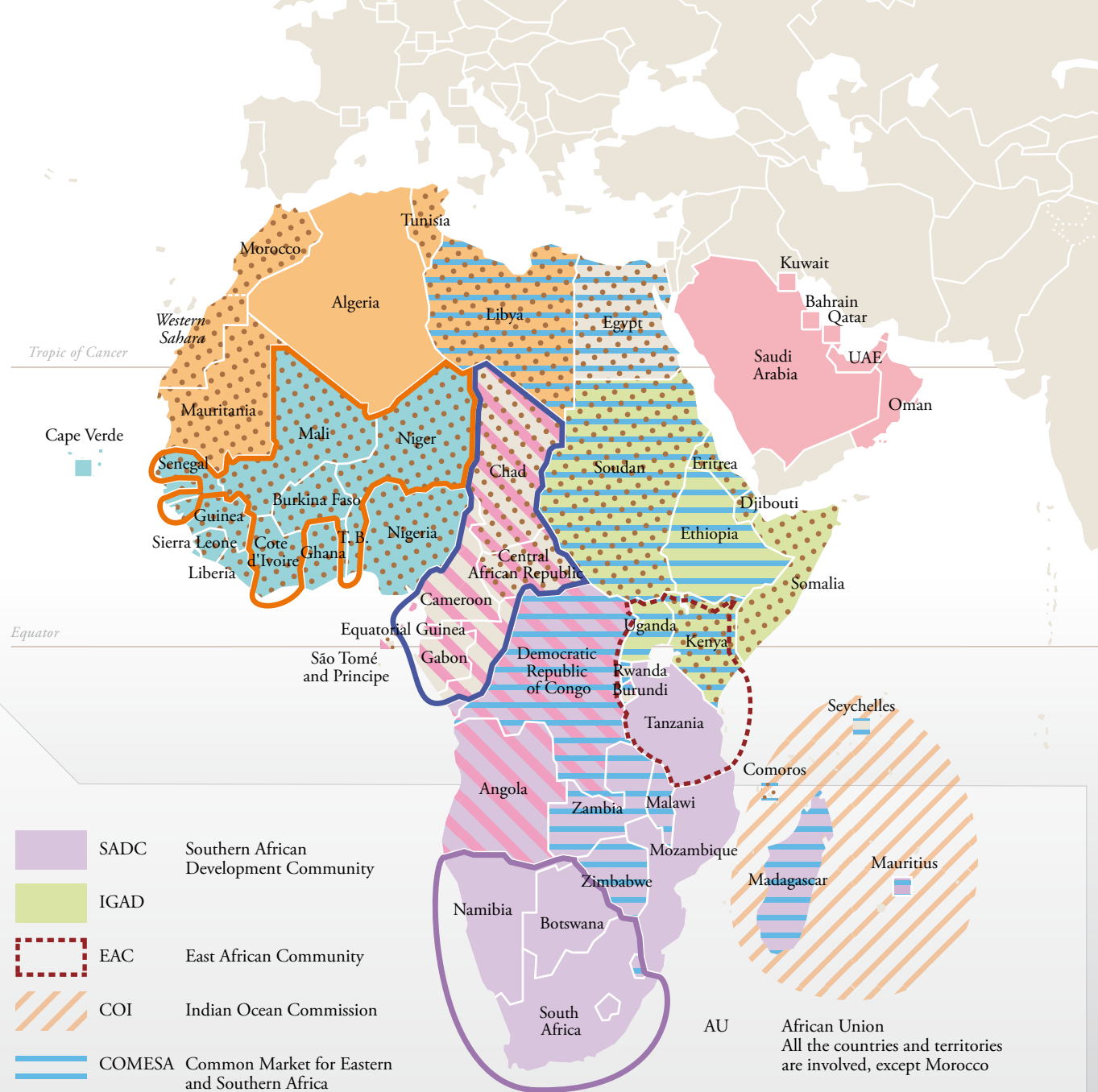
Major trends

- Twenty years after the end of the Cold War, Africa's geopolitical importance should continue to grow over the next few decades, driven by increasing competition in the economic and security arenas (crises and conflicts, terrorism, supply of raw materials) between emerging countries from the 'South' (China, India and Brazil) and declining nations (United States, France, United Kingdom and Russia). Different regions within the continent could, however, take different paths depending on their external environment (Horn of Africa/Arabian peninsula; Sahel/Maghreb/Europe; East Africa/Indian subcontinent, etc.).
- Crises based on 'identity' issues, resulting from the instrumentalisation of certain communities by political and economic players (power sharing, distribution of wealth) could still flare up. Muslim and Christian fundamentalism – not to say radicalism – could grow through lack of any prospects for economic and political integration for the poorest populations, especially the young. At the same time – and paradoxically – nationalist and/or Pan-African feelings could develop, sometimes to the detriment of western interests.
- Viewed in economic terms, the rural exodus should allow the development of 'urban' individualism which, in turn, should promote the generalisation of the contemporary capitalist mindset (savings, investment) at the expense of community solidarity in its various forms. Processing industries should remain relatively rare, especially in landlocked regions. Even if oil extraction were to decline, the rent economy would live on through other raw materials. Significant economic disparities from one subregion or country to another should nonetheless remain or grow. Integration in the global economy will be far from uniform.
- From the political angle, societies should continue to open up increasingly. Better organised, more informed civil societies will emerge, although corruption will also rise. This trend, however, will remain fragile (intercommunity clashes, constitutional/institutional disruptions) and could be reversed in countries where the State is weak. On the whole, political regimes should continue as formal patrimonial democracies, despite the emergence of opposition groups (civil society, media and trade unions). In this respect, the development of the middle classes will be a crucial factor in the evolution of political systems.

African regional economic groupings, September 2012

-  AMU Arab Maghreb Union
-  ECOWAS Economic Community of West African States
-  CEN-SAD Community of Sahel-Saharan States
-  WAEMU West African Economic and Monetary Union
-  CEMAC Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa
-  ECCAS Economic Community of Central African States
-  SACU Southern African Customs Union

-  SADC Southern African Development Community
-  IGAD
-  EAC East African Community
-  COI Indian Ocean Commission
-  COMESA Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
-  CCG Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf



Sources: www.maghrebarabe.org, www.ecowas.int, www.cen-sad.org, www.uemoa.int, www.cecac-eccas.org, www.sadc.int, www.eac.int, www.coi-ioc.org, www.comesa.int, www.gcc-sg.org

Map Department of Sciences Po, 2012

Regional approaches

- By 2040, the demographic transition in the continent will have progressed, in spite of significant regional differences (the process will have gone further in southern Africa than in the Sahel). Women's access to education will be a crucial factor in this process. Life expectancy should continue to be shortened by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, while the declining incidence of malaria should have the opposite effect.
- The African population will be increasingly urbanised, with 60% of the total population living in urban areas by 2040. This process will bring with it major health, political and social challenges, including the spread of pandemics, control by the authorities, public service delivery and a restructuring of social relations at the expense of community traditions.
- Food crops should remain the dominant feature of the agricultural model, with intensive farming also gaining ground. Agriculture and land-related issues will, however, be decisive in many respects. The current boom in renting out land to powers outside the continent could lead to serious economic, social and – in the long term – political crises.
- At the same time, global warming and the growing ecological footprint should have a hydrographical impact in Africa, with falling water levels in the major rivers and Lake Chad, growing desertification of certain areas of the Sahel strip and the risk of certain coastal cities (Nouakchott) and islands (Seychelles) being submerged as the ocean level rises. The deterioration of these environments could eventually lead to the large-scale displacement of populations, the political and security consequences of which could be a source of crisis. Agricultural policies will need to respond to these challenges at all costs if populations are to settle.



STEP CHANGE

- It seems unlikely that the democratic upsurges in the Arab world will spread to Sub-Saharan Africa. While certain structural features (lack of political alternatives, unemployment among young graduates, marginalisation of elements of the army) may make an ideal breeding ground for popular uprisings, several other factors limit political change in the short and medium terms in Africa, particular examples being the lack of a middle class, inter-community divisions and poor institutionalisation of the State. The Arab example is only likely to be followed in a few countries where a solid civil society, rooted in local history (trade unions, churches, traditional chieftainships) clashes with a strong State or immobile political system, and provided certain conditions are met (economic crisis, blatant election rigging, etc.).
- Border disputes could arise leading to the creation of new countries or changes in existing borders. These could give rise to varying degrees of violence (South Sudan, Somalia, etc.). Any challenge to the principle of border inviolability could have repercussions across the entire continent - and even beyond.
- Major ecological disasters produced by the early effects of climate change, especially in the most exposed areas, could lead to large-scale displacements of populations both within and between continents. These could be serious sources of destabilisation.
- The eradication of malaria and full access to HIV/AIDS treatments, especially in southern Africa, will have a positive effect on the continent's economic and social dynamics.



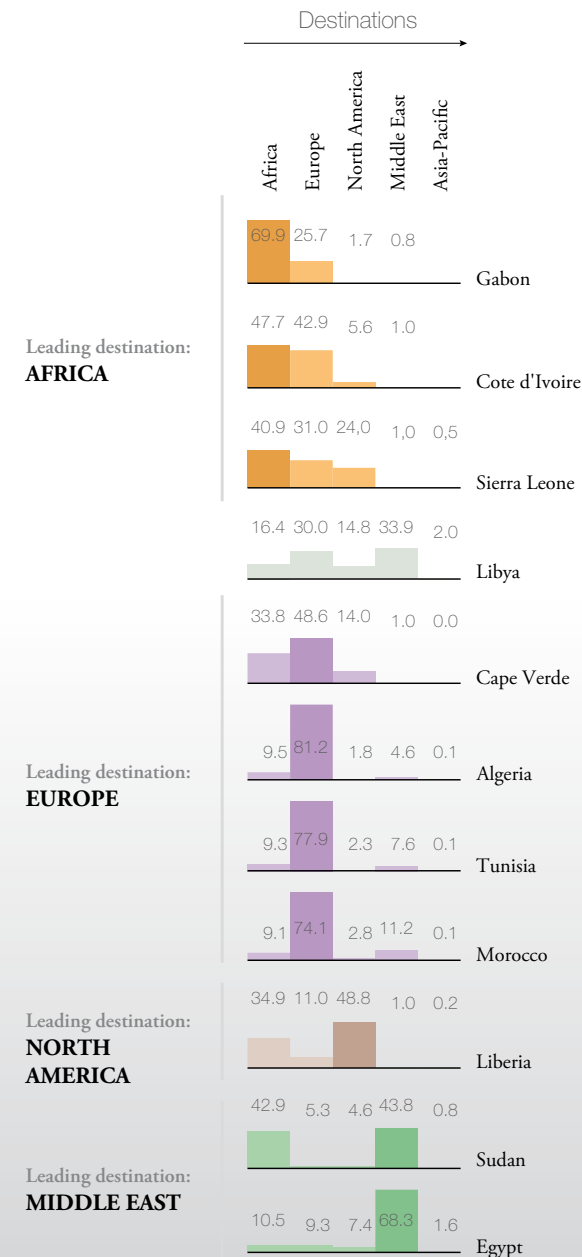
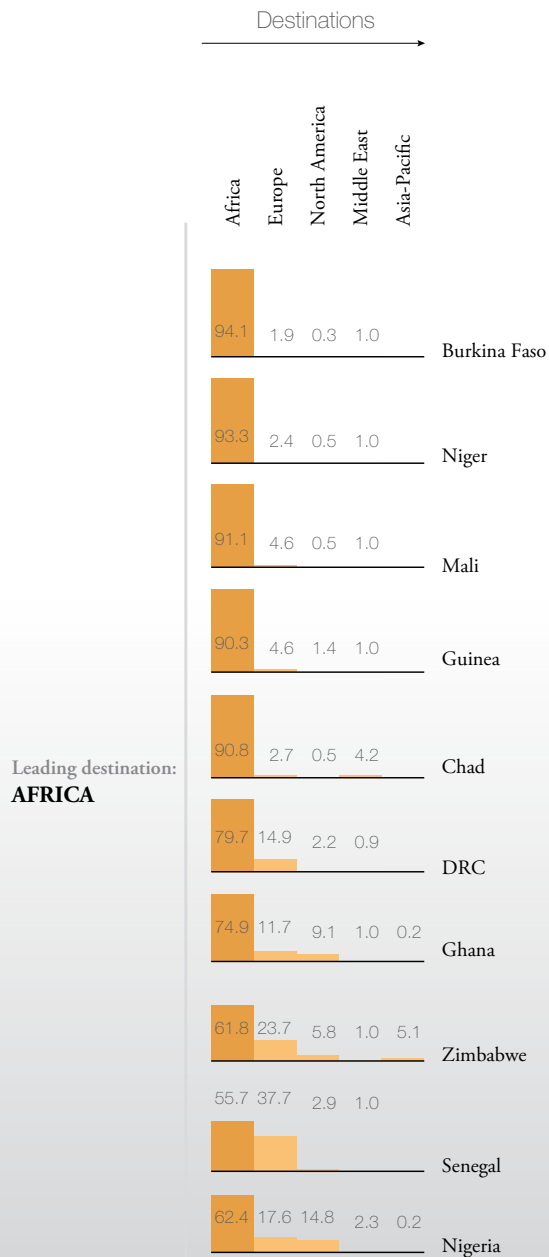
UNCERTAINTIES

- Owing to the inability of States to control their territories, 'grey zones' harbouring organised crime groups (traffickers, terrorists) and rebels will grow and multiply. This situation could call for western intervention in which European countries - and France in particular - might be called on to participate.
- As Europe's role as leading provider of official development assistance dwindles, Sub-Saharan countries are likely to turn increasingly to the major emerging powers.
- Recurring food crises induced by volatile raw material prices could lead to food riots in the relatively short term, undermining security and stability in some countries.

➔ CONSEQUENCES FOR DEFENCE

Africa will remain a highly coveted region, the site of potential conflicts and a major strategic priority for France. Widening inequalities and the instrumentalisation of community differences – particularly in the weakest States – could encourage the development of radical Islam and terrorist threats (Sahel, Horn of Africa). France will be a prime target.

- Renewed defence agreements with several African partners give France special long-term responsibilities regarding assistance.
- The many French nationals residing in cities in a highly insecure environment should increase the need for appropriate evacuation capabilities. These will need to be increasingly coordinated at the international level as well as with local players - particularly in the private sector.
- France will continue to support African continental and subregional organisations in the development of collective security instruments, preferably within a multilateral context (EU, UN, etc.).
- Collective security instruments under the aegis of the African Union are likely to remain inadequate, regardless of any progress achieved in terms of capabilities. This will increase the need for comprehensive policies combining security, development and governance, implemented on a bilateral or *ad hoc* multilateral basis, and effective regional partnerships.
- The development of European conflict prevention capabilities, in which France participates, is a major issue and should, to a certain extent, address the risk of a growing number of 'grey zones' liable to undermine European interests (terrorism, drug trafficking, etc.).



Migrants' primary destinations, 2007

Estimates: % of total emigrants

4 The Middle East: long-term tensions

Areas concerned:

North Africa, Near East

Key facts:

- Population of 600 million by 2050 (compared to 360 million in 2010).
- Percentage of young people under 20: 20-30% in 2050 (compared with 35- 50% in 2010).
- At present, the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (CCASG), Iran and Iraq account for 65% of the world's oil reserves and 47% of its gas reserves.

Major trends

- Most countries in the region have begun their demographic transition (the average age in Tunisia, Lebanon and Iran will be around 40 years in 2025). As observed in Tunisia, this situation has an impact on the labour market and social stability (breakdown of social and cultural ties), especially in countries with the lowest per capita income and the youngest population (Egypt, Yemen, Palestine, Syria, Algeria and Morocco).
- The continuing existence of autocratic, ageing power structures that have been in place for decades has been subject to radical challenge by the Tunisian and Egyptian 'revolutions' and the ensuing protest movements throughout the region (the 'Arab spring'). This should lead to the emergence of new participative (more inclusive) dynamics and new forms of governance intended to build a more democratic Arab world in which political Islam will play a decisive role.
- In addition, the geopolitical upheavals underway are likely to have a major impact on new regional balances (the potential emergence of a more unified North Africa and closer relationships among the States of the CCASG).
- Geopolitical weight of the region: the Middle East and North Africa (MENO) region will continue to experience complex and long-term crises (Near East, Iran).
- The question as to whether Iran will gain access to nuclear weapon technology is the number one strategic issue for the future of the Middle East. If Iran were to possess nuclear weaponry, current conflicts could escalate, leading to a string of nuclear proliferation crises and a change in the region's strategic order. The strategic situation in the region will continue to be marked by US presence and, increasingly, by that of China, owing to security- and energy-related issues. The European powers are likely to see their role diminish.
- The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is likely to remain the focal point of regional tensions for a long time to come unless the parties reach an acceptable settlement.
- Regional geopolitics: Whether or not they acquire nuclear weapons, emerging regional powers like Turkey, Israel and Iran will play a far more decisive role in the region, to the detriment of the Arab countries (Egypt and Saudi Arabia in particular).



Joint patrol, French and Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) along the Blue line

BRUNO BIASUTTO/DICOD

Regional approaches

- Water problems: Overexploitation of drinking water resources (lakes, ground water) could result in the outbreak of water shortage crises (Yemen) in a region that is already exposed to severe water stress. Regional disparities and the dependence of some countries on their neighbours for water (Nile, Euphrates, Jordan, etc.) could lead to escalating tension and even conflicts. Freshwater shortages in the wealthy Gulf nations are offset by their energy resources (oil and gas). The rent from these resources generates considerable wealth that is invested in sovereign funds to guarantee the future of these countries when oil reserves run dry (seawater desalination plants, plans for nuclear power plants).
- Economic imbalance in the region: while the GDP of the CCASG is expected to reach 2 trillion USD by 2020, Yemen and Palestine are among the world's poorest regions. Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt will rely increasingly on foreign aid.

Uncertainties and foreseeable step changes concerning domestic policies



STEP CHANGE

- Most of the regimes in authoritarian State systems will lose their resilience faced with a lack of legitimacy and considerable social disparities. The shock wave that spread across the region following the fall of Tunisian President Ben Ali and President Mubarak of Egypt is evidence of this.
- The shock wave that spread across the entire region following the 'Tunisian revolution' is now a recognised fact. Although its effects cannot be measured as yet, they will be felt for a long time to come. The dynamic of the Arab Spring may be understood as:
 - an irreversible movement (the return to a *status quo ante* now seems impossible),
 - a non-linear movement (each stage creates a new dynamic that strongly influences continuing events),
 - a movement that reveals a sharply fragmented Arab identity (each country may evolve into a specific political model).



UNCERTAINTIES

- As far as domestic policies are concerned, transition to democracy will thus be the main issue over the coming years, that is to say, a possible alternative to the traditional binary configuration where autocracy is presented as the only bulwark against radical Islam.
- Furthermore, uncertainties persist in regions where the structural shortcomings of the State are combined with deep divisions within society (identification with communities, clans, tribes, etc.), which are the result of past wars and the lack of reconciliatory policy (Syria, Yemen, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine).
- The security and armed forces will play a decisive role in the democratic process underway. Challenges to their central role in the operation of the State could provoke recurring political crises in certain countries.

Uncertainties and foreseeable step changes in the region



UNCERTAINTIES

- At a time when the United States is seeing a relative decline in its influence in the Middle East, the administration's shilly-shallying on regional affairs (deadlock in Israeli-Palestinian talks, its ambiguous policy towards Iran, its swinging between distancing itself from autocratic rulers whose power is waning and attempting to preserve the stability of old established regimes) leads to uncertainty for the region as a whole. The US administration's reaction to the unforeseen Egyptian uprising in January 2011 (distancing from President Mubarak, direct involvement in talks on the post-Mubarak period) could have lasting repercussions, with Washington's allies in the region – the Gulf States and Israel in particular – losing trust in America and no longer seeing it as a reliable ally. All US policy in the MENA region, and even the 'western trademark', which is now seen as neo-orientalist, if not to say neo-colonial, in its overcautious attitude towards the desire for freedom expressed by the people in the Middle East, could fall increasingly out of step with geopolitics in the region.



STEP CHANGE

- In the face of domination by non-Arab countries, the Arab world remains divided, although all the Arab countries are campaigning to denuclearise the region. America's response could lead to a step change, with the Arab nations turning for support to the major emerging powers, like China, India or even Brazil or Turkey, a situation that would lead to considerable uncertainty as to the strategic future of the MENA region.

→ CONSEQUENCES FOR DEFENCE

- In view of its increasing energy dependence, Europe has every strategic interest in helping to guarantee the security and stability of the MENA region. This being the case, it will not be able to stay on the sidelines in the event of unrest or conflict in the region. France and its partners are therefore involved in this region, although their effective weight will depend on their ability to coordinate their political, economic and military action there.
- France has lasting bilateral commitments in the region, especially in the Gulf (defence agreements, base in Abu Dhabi), and will continue to have special responsibilities there.

5 Russia, Eastern Europe, Caucasus and Central Asia: power and fragmentation of territories

Areas concerned:

Eastern Europe: Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus.

Caucasus and Central Asia: Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan.

Key facts:

- **Russia: the leading exporter of natural gas. Supplies approximately 25% of Europe's gas. This proportion should rise to 60% of European imports in 2030. The country plans to double its gas exports by 2030.**

- **Russia, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan: 15% of world production and 10% of the world's oil reserves.**

Major trends

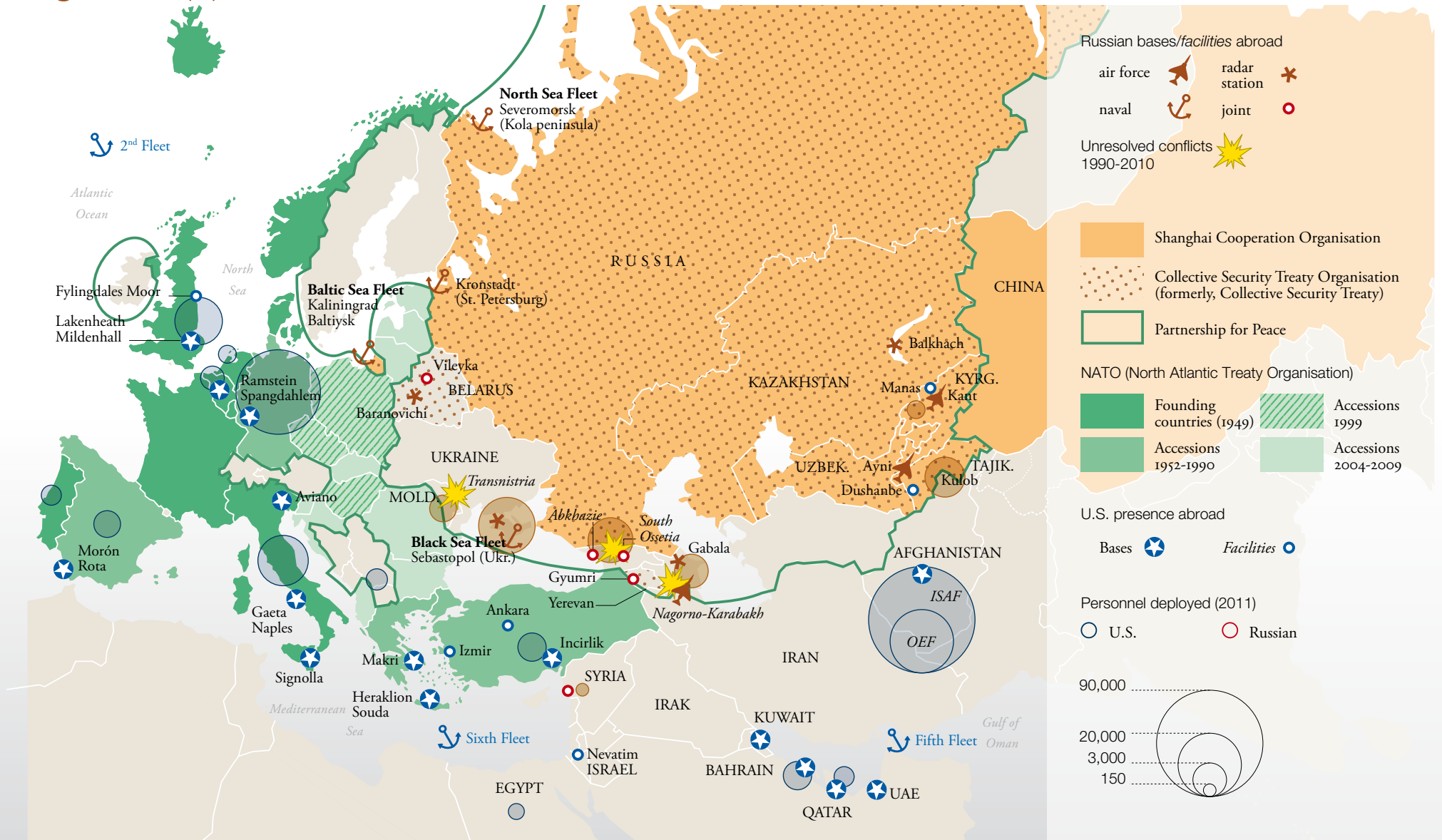
- The demographic indicators, which have been in the red for many years, reflect a significant depopulation trend, affecting Russia, Ukraine and the Caucasian countries in particular. By 2050, Russia's population could have dropped by more than 12 to 126 million, while Ukraine could see a 21% decrease in its population. This trend may only be offset by large migratory movements, although these are proving hard for most countries in the region to manage, owing to rising nationalist feelings in particular. Already occurring on a significant scale, migratory flows from Central Asia (Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan) to Russia should continue to increase.

- Underdevelopment continues to seriously handicap stable, sustainable economic growth for countries in the region. The growth rate will be characterised by spurts rather than a steady rise. On the whole, the various countries in the region are not at all likely to be well integrated in an increasingly competitive European and global environment. Despite this, international trade and partnerships (with the EU, USA and Asia - particularly China) will provide some opportunities for improvement. Extensive modernisation of political structures and the economy will have a high political and social cost which will be hard for the regimes currently in power to take on.

- Many of the regimes that sprang up around Russia following the collapse of the Soviet Union have remained authoritarian and highly corrupt. This state of affairs is liable to be a source of significant instability and bring about the (sometimes violent) downfall of the ruling regimes. The institutionalisation of organised crime (Mafia) and the proliferation of trafficking activities (drugs), particularly from Afghanistan, should be a lasting obstacle to reform in the Central Asian countries.
- In addition to growing social inequalities, regional disparities will continue to widen between provinces within Russia, and between the centre and outlying regions of Central Asia. Countries are likely to become increasingly fragmented over the next decade.
- Nationalist sentiments could be exacerbated by Moscow's ambitions to preserve a privileged sphere of influence in the area formally covered by the Soviet Union, an area in which energy issues are likely to gain in importance. Conflicts between States, as well as domestic unrest, are conceivable in this area.
- Resources from the Caspian and Arctic regions will continue to be developed in an unstable environment making the exploitation of oil and gas resources and the opening of new routes costly and technically complex. In the long term, however, Russia should lose ground to new players in the region. Other Asian countries - China, Iran and Turkey in particular – could also seek to play the situation in the Caspian region to their advantage. EU interest in the region's gas resources (in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan) is likely to continue and even grow as certain Member States seek to diversify their energy sources.
- The countries in the region will not form a united, coherent whole. On the contrary, resource management could trigger conflicts (access to resources in the Caspian region, access to water in Central Asia) and domestic unrest.
- The military leverage that Russia and, to a lesser extent, Ukraine, will be able to bring to bear will largely depend on the ability of the authorities to:
 - open up strategic sectors to foreign investments in order to close the technology gap;
 - begin a process of extensive modernisation of their armed forces by forming projectable expeditionary forces.

Whether Russia will succeed in modernising its armed forces remains uncertain for several reasons: delays in initiating the process; the many hurdles to be overcome; and the huge investments and large-scale restructuring required to carry the process through.

Regional approaches



Russia and the regional security structures

Sources: IISS, The Military Balance 2011, Routledge, 2011; NATO, www.nato.int and French Delegation for Strategic Affairs, 2012



UNCERTAINTIES

- It is uncertain as to whether the countries in the region – starting with Russia - will be able to break free of the hydrocarbon and resource curse which perpetuates the rent economy and exacerbates rivalries for access to resources. If Russia were to meet this challenge and establish the rule of law, its relationships with Europe would be radically transformed.
- The emergence of protest movements modelled on the 'colour revolutions' (Ukraine, Georgia) in the region in the near future remains uncertain. Nonetheless, given the lack of solid opposition parties, the role of the Internet and social networks should not be underestimated in the organisation of such movements. As demonstrated by the revolutions in the Arab world, societies that have long been under tight control are capable of overthrowing authoritarian regimes. Under the combined effect of urbanisation, access to media, rising levels of education and the disappearance of the generation of post-Soviet leaders, several countries in Central Asia and the Caucasus could be the scene of popular uprisings thirty years from now, although these will not necessarily lead to the emergence of democratic governments.
- The question remains as to whether Russia will be able to control the non-Russian areas of its vast territory, especially in the Caucasus, where Pan-Russian nationalism is rising at the same time as populations in Islamic areas express a growing sense of identity.
- The problems faced by Russia concerning conscription, a consequence of the country's demographic decline, could lead the government to put an end to conscription and create fully professional armed forces. This could trigger a genuine modernisation of Russia's defence system and promote the development of new external intervention capabilities, particularly in the regions bordering on the country.



STEP CHANGE

- China could become the main economic – then political – partner of the Central Asian countries, while Eastern Europe, Ukraine and Belarus could eventually begin or continue to seek closer ties with the European Union, thanks to a renewal of Germany's eastern policy. Under these conditions, Russia's feeling of being hemmed in and losing its influence could grow, provoking sharp political reactions.

⇒ CONSEQUENCES FOR DEFENCE

- A modernised economy and normalised political institutions would be conducive to fuller cooperation with Russia and the development of joint operations in the field of international security and industrial cooperation.
- A growing feeling of isolation in Russia, fuelled by the presence of China in the Central Asian countries and centrifugal movements in Ukraine and Belarus, could lastingly complicate the country's relations with its neighbours, including those in the European Union.
- Bilateral defence relations between France and countries in Central Asia should not see any significant change in the medium-to-long term. Non-conventional security matters, however, are likely to receive closer attention in view of the challenges faced by these countries over the coming decades (changes of regime, increase in trafficking, energy issues, water resources, etc.).

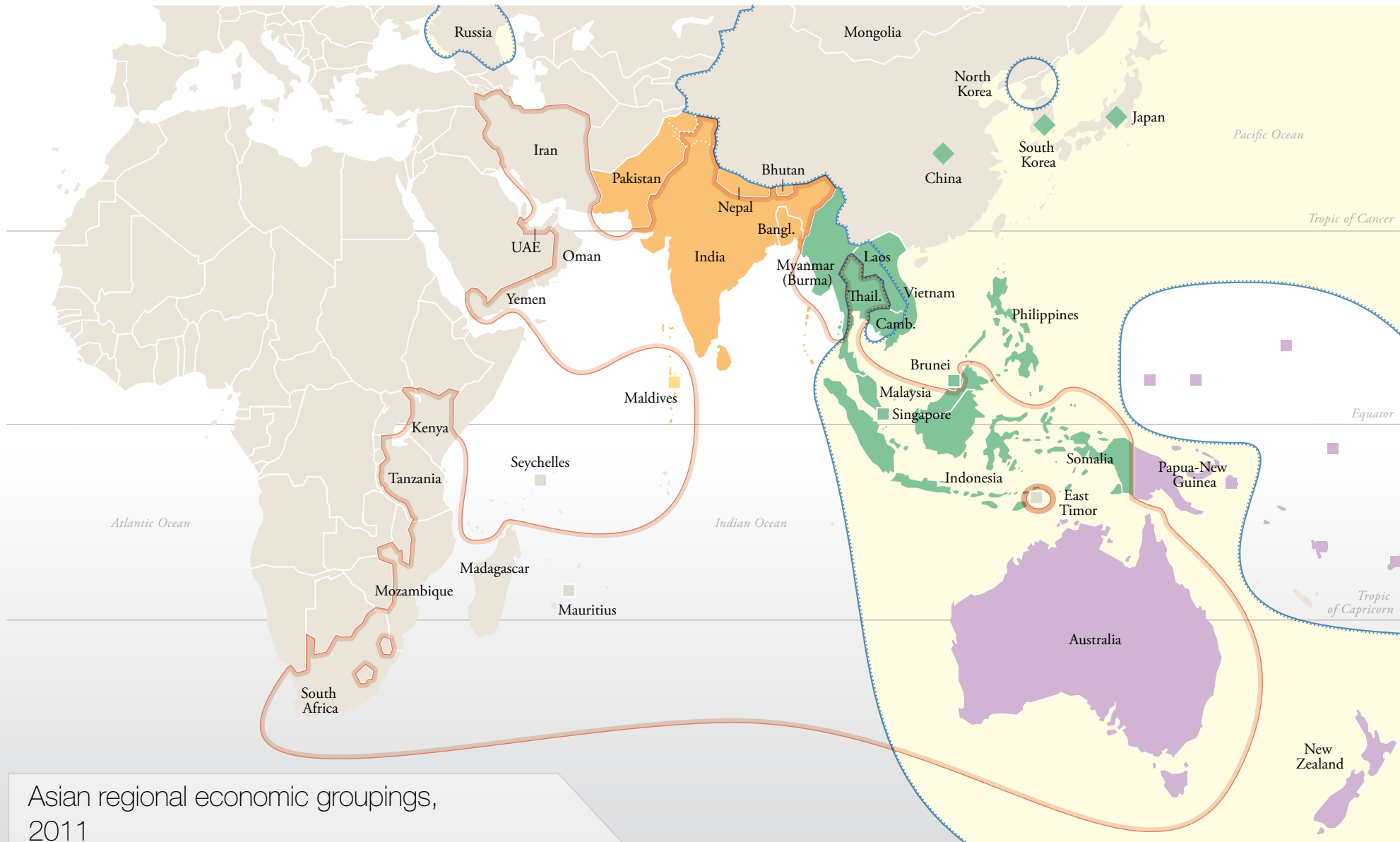
6 Asia, a power opportunity

Key facts:

- **By 2040: China and India, respectively the world's 1st and 2nd largest economy (PPP).**
- **In 2040: 60% of the world's population on 30% of its area.**
- **In 2040, Asia's urban population will be more than 4 times that of North America and Europe combined. China and India alone will have an urban population of more than 700 million.**

Major trends

- The region's main powers, China and India, will reinforce their capacity for action and their ambitions on the international stage. This basic trend should not, however, exclude the emergence of new regional poles, such as Korea, assuming its reunification, and Indonesia, enjoying fast growth and keen to assert itself as a global power and model of development for the Muslim world. Japan will experience a relative decline. The countries of Central Asia, resolutely turned towards Asia's growth markets, are likely to seek to reinforce their partnerships, particularly with China and India.
 - While the risk of international conflict will tend to be limited in much of the world, Asia should continue to present a risk of major conventional conflicts that could have a serious impact on international stability. Against this background, attempts at setting up a regional security structure, aimed at preventing and settling conflicts, will be both crucial and particularly hard to bring about, especially at a time of growing nationalist feelings and the structural difficulties of finding a peaceful solution for the very many disagreements between the parties concerned.
- Asia remains a potential conflict zone in the medium or even short term, with continuing territorial disputes between regional powers (disputed territories in the East and South China Seas, Kashmir and border disputes between China and India and between Afghanistan and Pakistan), the risk of the Iranian crisis spreading to Central and South Asia, instability in the Korean peninsula and a possible change in political status of Taiwan (independence). In the medium term, this instability is liable to worsen in stages over the medium-term: risk of radical Islam spreading from South to Central Asia; expansion of the Chinese naval fleet; rising tensions and growing number of incidents in the South and East China Seas; collapse of North Korea, deterioration in Sino-American relations. A confrontation between China and India cannot be ruled out.
 - Another major factor in determining the future international relations in Asia will be the role and position adopted by the United States in the region, that is to say whether Washington will decide to strengthen its traditional alliances and open up to new partnerships, or on the contrary, opt to gradually withdraw from the region.



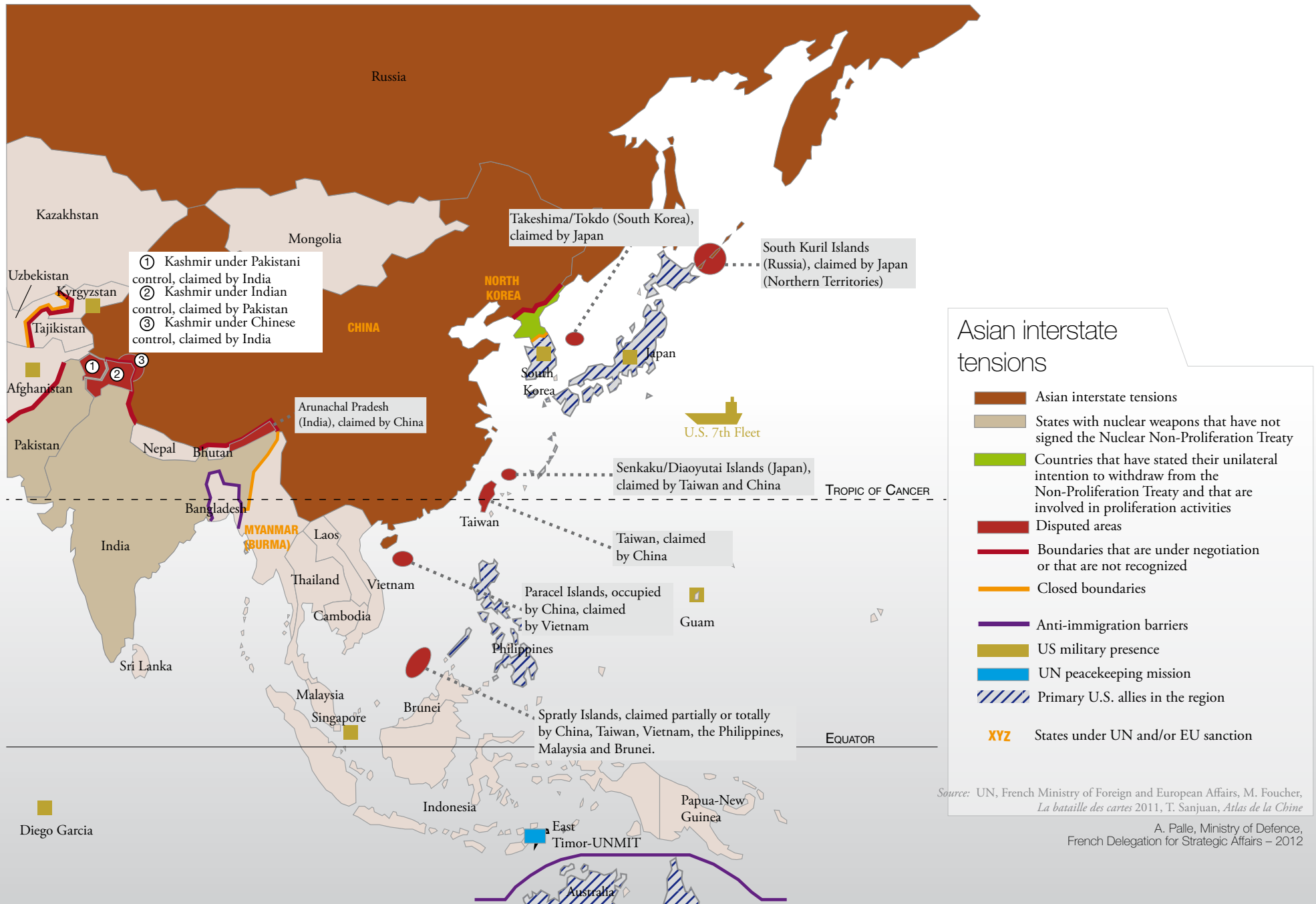
Asian regional economic groupings, 2011

- | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|--|---|-------|--|---|---------|---|
|  | ASEAN | Association of Southeast Asian Nations |  | SAARC | South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation |  | IOR-ARC | Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation |
|  | ASEAN + 3 | |  | PIF | Pacific Islands Forum |  | APEC | Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation |

Sources: www.aseansec.org, www.apec.org, www.saarc-sec.org, www.forumsec.org, www.iorar.org

Map Department of Sciences Po, 2012

Regional approaches





STEP CHANGE

- Nuclear weapons will remain a major issue in the region. The growing temptation of some States to acquire nuclear arms capability is a major risk specific to this part of the world. The increasing feeling that the United States might no longer be able to offer the same guarantee of security as in the past could lead some governments to develop their own nuclear capability. Within this context, North Korea's role and the future of its present regime are crucial issues.
- The oceans and seas in the region will be the focus of security issues, such as the control of supply routes, security matters and access to offshore areas and resources. These issues could come together and fuel a naval arms race. In this region, the access denial strategies of some countries along the seaboard will clash with US strategies seeking to counter them. The East Asian countries' growing need for energy resources is likely to exacerbate tensions around the potentially oil-rich archipelagos in the East and South China Seas.
- Those countries which have completed their demographic transition (Japan, China, South Korea) will be increasingly faced with the economic, political and social consequences of their ageing population (slower growth rate, cost of caring for the elderly, inter-generational tensions).
- Climate change: while Asia is especially vulnerable, given its increasing urbanisation (as of 2015, Asian cities will be responsible for 55% of the world's greenhouse gas emissions) and the need to feed its population, the deterioration of the environment and the early effects of climate change will have a major social, economic and political effect.
- The future of Taiwan could bring about a step change in at least two cases: in the first scenario, Taiwan declares independence, sparking an armed conflict in the Strait, which could lead to American intervention; in the second, Washington, wishing to prevent the Taiwan question from degenerating into a Sino-American conflict, reconsiders the Taiwan Relations Act. The countries in the region would interpret this as the start of a strategic withdrawal from East Asia, signalling the possibility of a geopolitical reshuffle in the region. Any reconsideration of existing alliances and of the United States' role as 'policeman' in Asia would represent a major step change.
- The risks of large-scale conflict between India and Pakistan seem to be growing. If such a conflict were to occur within a nuclear context, it would have global strategic and geopolitical consequences, with the risk of the nuclear taboo being broken and relations among the great powers becoming harder for a long time to come.
- The continuing emergence of major new centres for innovation in technology and science in Asia (in particular in China and India) would modify the world economic and strategic map, with the European powers lagging behind in some technical fields. The development of new military 'access denial' capabilities could challenge America's ability to continue to fulfil its role as the region's 'policeman'.
- Climate change and the ensuing displacement of population (climate refugees) on a massive scale could seriously affect stability (in terms of the economy and security) in the region or even globally.
- Asia and its European and American partners will be called on to make a significant economic and humanitarian contribution to the reconstruction of North Korea should the present regime collapse.



UNCERTAINTIES

- Whatever the political outcome and the process adopted for the gradual withdrawal of NATO forces from Afghanistan, the Afghanistan-Pakistan region will long remain a zone of interest and strategic tension. Jihadist groups, drug trafficking, rival factions and power struggles (involving Pakistan, India, Iran, China, Russia and the United States in particular) will continue to be major sources of tension in a region with a very strong military presence and high nuclear risk. Tensions there are likely to persist, especially as the States in the region will remain fragile and likely to face significant domestic unrest.
- The affirmation of the Asian powers in the international arena raises the question as to whether they will be willing and able to assume their responsibility in the region and in the rest of the world.



CONSEQUENCES FOR DEFENCE

- The progress made by many Asian countries in both civil and defence technology should provide a favourable environment for cooperation and partnerships with France and the rest of Europe, particularly in the defence field.
- As part of the UN Command, France would be involved if a conflict were to break out in the Korean peninsula. In addition, if the United States became involved in any other major conflict in Asia, the question of the (mainly political) support of France and its main allies would also be raised.
- The French Government will need to step up its commitment to combating proliferation in Asia, where the nuclear issue will continue to be a priority concern.

7 Latin America: a voice on the world stage

Key facts













- **734 million inhabitants in 2040 (including the Caribbean).**
- **2050: Brazil and Mexico will respectively represent 25% and 17% of the American continent's GDP.**

Major trends




- Rich in agricultural, energy and mineral resources, Latin America will remain integrated in the market economy and globalisation as a major exporter of raw materials. Brazil, drawing on its economic development to close the science gap, will have a stronger voice among the industrial nations and boost its capacity to promote a multipolar environment.
- The consolidation of trade relations with Asia and the Middle East will be a factor in changing the rules of international relations. Brazil, together with Argentina and Mexico and, in a second circle, Colombia and Chile, will most likely represent Latin America on the world political and economic stage.
- Various forms of illicit trafficking will remain the chief threat to the security of populations and to democracy, in spite of progress made in regional security cooperation and cooperation with the United States. The economic power of the criminal organisations will allow them to exercise a strong corrupting influence and to commit violence, which may lead States to revise their laws on drug use. The effectiveness of collective security instruments will continue to be restricted by the imbalance between Brazil and the other countries in South America and by Mexico's difficulty in involving itself in affairs beyond its borders.
- The entire region will have completed its demographic transition by 2040, leading in particular to a considerable increase in median age and a higher proportion of women due to excess mortality among the male population. City dwellers will account for 85% of the population. Migratory flows from underprivileged regions to regions with dynamic economies will have declined but will continue nevertheless, contributing to the solidity of inter-American relations.

Primary regional integration institutions active in the Americas, 2012

Sub-regional organisations

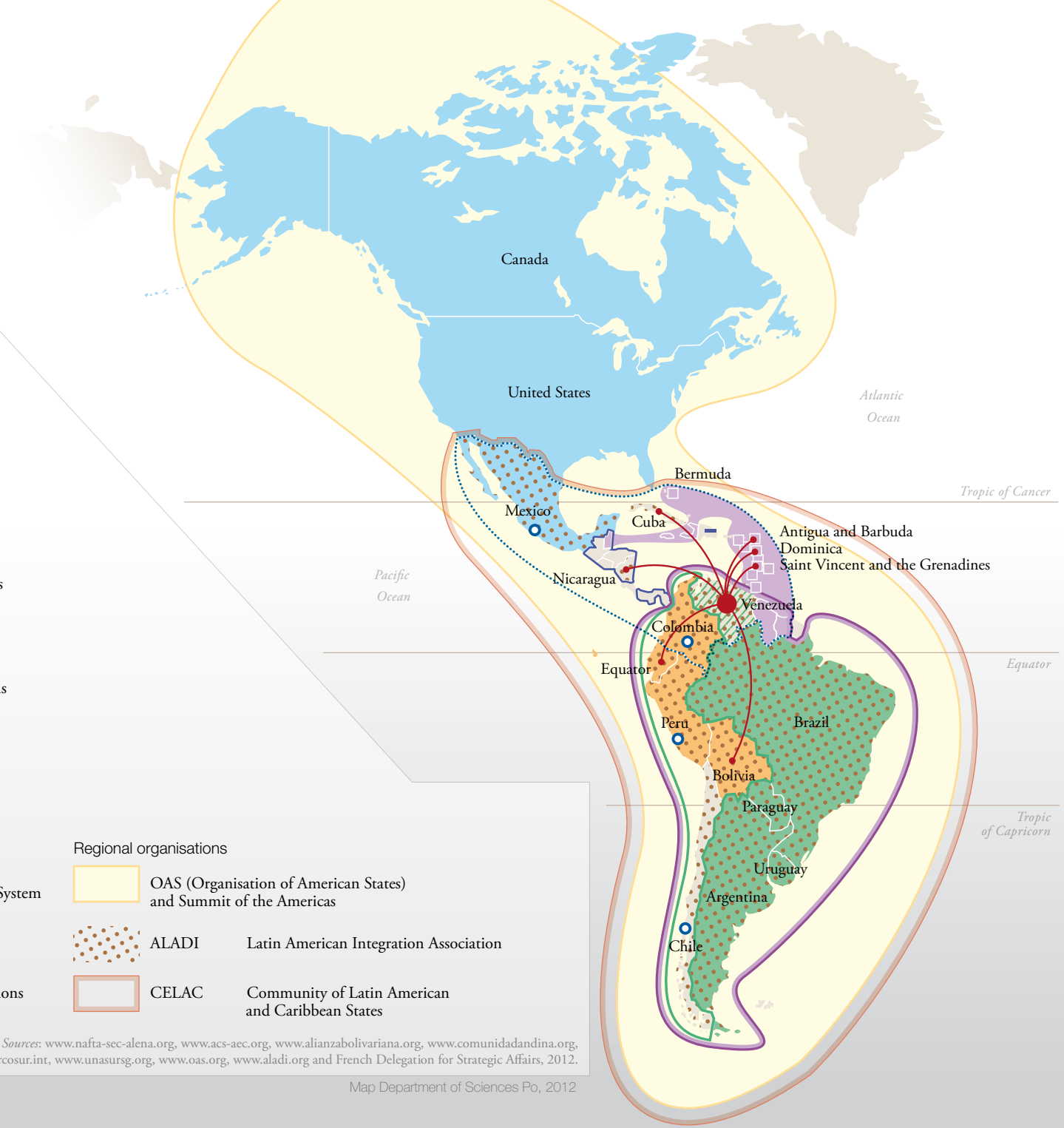
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|---|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
|  | NAFTA | North American Free Trade Agreement |
|  | Pacific Alliance | |
|  | ACS | Association of Caribbean States |
|  | BAA | Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas |
|  | CAN | Andean Community of Nations |
|  | CARICOM | Caribbean Community |
|  | MERCOSUR | Common Market of the South |
|  | associate members | |
|  | awaiting membership | |
|  | CAIS | Central American Integration System |
|  | associate member | |
|  | UNASUR | Union of South American Nations |

Regional organisations

- | | |
|---|--|
|  | OAS (Organisation of American States) and Summit of the Americas |
|  | ALADI Latin American Integration Association |
|  | CELAC Community of Latin American and Caribbean States |

Sources: www.nafta-sec-alena.org, www.acs-acc.org, www.alianzabolivariana.org, www.comunidadandina.org, www.caricom.org, www.mercosur.int, www.unasursg.org, www.oas.org, www.aladi.org and French Delegation for Strategic Affairs, 2012.

Map Department of Sciences Po, 2012



Regional approaches

Although emigration to North America will have lessened, it will have had a lasting impact on the composition of the USA's population. The Hispanic population in the United States will have doubled to reach a quarter of the total population (108 million), in other words, slightly less than the population of Mexico. Research efforts will have led to a decline in the AIDS pandemic and endemic tropical diseases (malaria, Chagas disease, leishmaniasis), although the very large industrial cities, particularly in Mexico and Brazil, will still be vulnerable to viral pandemics.

- Representative democracy will be consolidated in countries where industry and services have been developed. The political integration of Native Americans will also lead to a qualitative improvement. The development of the rule of law, however, will be hampered by persistent corruption for the benefit of large economic groups. Clientelism will only continue to prevail in the weakest economies and States of Central America and the Caribbean; the easy migration will act as a safety valve.

- The Caribbean islands and the densely populated coastal areas on the Atlantic seaboard, especially in Brazil, will be particularly exposed to global warming phenomena. Driven by agrofuel production and livestock farming, farmland will advance at the expense of the tropical rainforest, which will also be affected when hydrocarbon production begins in the Amazonian foothills of the Andes and off-shore. Agrofuel - and possibly water - exports will have done a great deal to boost the region's commercial and political importance on the international scene. The region will also be under increasing international pressure to preserve the Amazonian environment.
- Compared with other powers outside the region, Chile will see its security interests develop the most in Latin America, as it seeks to secure its industrial investments and supply of raw materials. It will also be more closely involved in maritime security – especially in Panama. Latin America should be under no direct military threat. The joint management of inter-American security by Brazil and the United States will be one factor in Brazil's rise as an international power.



UNCERTAINTIES

- Brazil's greater integration in the global economy will go hand in hand with the development of its maritime power to protect its trade interests and, to a lesser extent, simplify military participation for collective security purposes.
- At the same time as a regional collective security system is put in place, the development of Brazil's defence industry will lead to a drop in defence sector imports from outside the region.



STEP CHANGE

The concentration of the economy in Brazil and Mexico could lead to the collapse of representative democracy and undermine the rule of law elsewhere in the region, which could usher in the return of economic predation by powers outside the region.

⇒ CONSEQUENCES FOR DEFENCE

- The foreign policy of Brazil and Mexico will continue to be characterized by a desire for political autonomy born of their colonial experience. Because of its size and economic energy, Brazil, in particular, feels a kind of 'manifest destiny' that will lead it to adopt shared political positions with other emerging powers in the southern hemisphere.
- In support of its legitimate claim to a permanent seat on the UN Security Council, Brazil will become involved on a more regular basis in crises that are handled collectively, although it will not necessarily cooperate with Europe and the United States, especially in Africa and the Middle East (see the Iranian crisis). Its military contribution will, however, remain limited until such time as its defence system has developed sufficiently and as long as internal and regional security remains the priority.
- French Guiana will not be left out of the increasing trade flows within the region, including illicit trafficking. This underscores the need for cooperation with neighbouring countries on security matters. It will see the arrival of Brazilian migrants coming to invest, as already observed in earlier migratory movements to Paraguay, Uruguay and Bolivia. Security will need to be reinforced around the European Space Centre.